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To Rahella
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## THE DICTIONARY

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Editor’s Foreword

In Afghanistan, history is always in the making. Just since the last edition, which was updated to include the Marxist period and warfare against the Soviet Union plus the emergence of the Taliban, this third edition can now add the painful rule of the Taliban and their fall to a broad coalition after September 11, 2001, and a war that is not really over in spite of the coming of an interim and then transitional government. Much of this “new” history is totally confusing if one is not familiar with the “old” history, going back many centuries since Afghanistan is heir to a tradition of 3,500 years, replete with great kingdoms and sometime glorious rulers, as well as periods of domination by neighbors and imperial powers such as Great Britain and Russia/Soviet Union. These are among the many strands that make the third edition of the Historical Dictionary of Afghanistan so welcome.

This new edition has an expanded and updated dictionary with entries on important persons, places, events, institutions, practices, ethnic and religious groups, political parties, and Islamist movements. It also covers significant aspects of the economy, society, and culture. To facilitate the transition from one period to another, it has an unusually large chronology. And some handy appendixes and lists of rulers and governments have been added. Finally, in the bibliography, it directs readers to further literature.

Professor Ludwig Adamec is one of the leading authorities on Afghanistan, which he visits frequently. He teaches Near Eastern Studies at the University of Arizona in Tucson. Over the years, he has written extensively on Afghanistan politics, foreign relations, and society, including Islam. He has produced a number of books, including a historical gazetteer and biographical dictionaries, and most recently, a Dictionary of Afghan Wars, Revolutions, and Insurgencies...
and the Historical Dictionary of Islam. His continuing interest in one of the most newsworthy countries in the world is clearly revealed in this latest work.

Jon Woronoff
Series Editor
### Abbreviations and Acronyms

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<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
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<tr>
<td>Af.</td>
<td>Afghani (monetary unit)</td>
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<tr>
<td>AGSA</td>
<td>Afghanistan Security Service</td>
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<tr>
<td>AIG</td>
<td>Afghan Interim Government</td>
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<tr>
<td>AR</td>
<td>Amir Abdul Rahman Biography</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASDP</td>
<td>Afghan Social Democratic Party, also called Afghan Millat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CENTO</td>
<td>Central Treaty Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CIA</td>
<td>Central Intelligence Agency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>Dari, the dialect of Persian (Farsi) of Afghanistan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DRA</td>
<td>Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, later ROA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>est.</td>
<td>Estimate</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gaz.</td>
<td>Gazetteer, Adamec (vols. 1–6)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Harakat</td>
<td>Harakat-i Inqilab-i Islami of Muhammadi</td>
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<td>Hizb (H)</td>
<td>Hizb-i Islami (Hekmatyar)</td>
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<td>Hizb (K)</td>
<td>Hizb-i Islami (Khales)</td>
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<tr>
<td>IMF</td>
<td>International Monetary Fund</td>
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<tr>
<td>ISFA</td>
<td>International Security Force for Afghanistan</td>
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<td>ISI</td>
<td>Inter-Services Intelligence</td>
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<td>Ittihad</td>
<td>Ittihad-i Islami Barayi Azadi-yi Afghanistan of Sayyaf</td>
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<td>Jabha</td>
<td>Jabha-yi Milli Najat-i Afghanistan of Mujaddidi</td>
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<td>Jamiat</td>
<td>Jam’iat-i Islami (Rabbani)</td>
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<tr>
<td>KAM</td>
<td>Workers’ Information Service</td>
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<tr>
<td>KHAD</td>
<td>State Information Service</td>
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<tr>
<td>Khalq</td>
<td>Faction of the PDPA and its newspaper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LCSFA</td>
<td>Limited Contingent of Soviet Forces in Afghanistan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LWA</td>
<td>Ludwig W. Adamec</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAHAZ</td>
<td>Mahaz-i Milli of Pir Gilani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MR</td>
<td>Military Report</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MRD</td>
<td>Motorized Rifle Division</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Nasr Sazman-i Nasr of Shaikh Mir Husain Sadeqi
NFF National Fatherland Front
NFROA National Front of the Republic of Afghanistan, formerly NFF
NIFA English Acronym for Mahaz-i Milli-yi Afghanistan, National Islamic Front of Afghanistan
NRP National Revolutionary Party
NWFP North-West Frontier Province of India, now Pakistan
OA1,2,3 Official Account, First, Second, and Third Anglo-Afghan War
P. Pashtu
Parcham Faction of the PDPA and its newspaper
PDP Progressive Democratic Party
PDPA Peoples Democratic Party of Afghanistan, later Watan Party
PP. Parliamentary Papers Collection
PRC People’s Republic of China
r. Ruled
R. Rupee (monetary unit)
RAWA Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan
ROA Republic of Afghanistan, formerly DRA
SAMA Sazman-i Azadibakhsh-i Mardum-i Afghanistan
SAZA Sazman-i Inqilab-i Zahmatkeshan-i Afghanistan, Organization of the Revolutionary Toilers of Afghanistan
SCCIRA Supreme Coordination Council of the Islamic Revolution in Afghanistan
SCDH Supreme Council for the Defense of the Homeland
SEATO South-East Treaty Organization
Shu’la Shu’la-yi Javid, name of a newspaper and party
s.o. Son of
T. Turkic
USSR Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WAD Ministry of State Security, formerly KHAD
Reader’s Note

Alphabetization and Spellings. Names beginning with “‘Abdul” (A. ‘abd-al, “servant” or “slave”) followed by one of the names of Allah (God), as for example Abdul Ahad (Servant of the One) or Abdul Hakim (Servant of the Wise), form a unit and should not be taken as first and last names. Abdul Hakim will therefore be found under “A,” not “H.” Similarly, the name Ghulam (A. slave) and its complement, as for example Ghulam Muhammad, is found under “G,” not “M.” Compounds with Allah, like Fazlullah (Fazl Allah), Nurullah (Nur Allah), Habibullah (Habib Allah), will be found in alphabetical order under their compound versions. Although not forming a construct, Afghan practice considers names beginning with Muhammad, as for example Muhammad Daud, Muhammad Afzal, etc., one unit; therefore the names will be found under “M.”

The arrangement of entries in alphabetical order treats headings as if they were one word, disregarding punctuation marks; for example, Afghani is preceded by Afghan Hound and followed by Afghan Interim Government. Muhammadi is preceded by Muhammad Hashim and followed by Muhammad Ishaq, and Tanai, Lt. Gen. Shahnawaz, is preceded by Tanai Coup.

Names of individuals are spelled in a modified form of transliteration, even if the person described has his own idiosyncratic spelling; for example Cher Ali, or Scher Ali, is spelled Shir Ali; Kayeum and Kayum are spelled Qayyum; and Abaucy is Abbasi. Variant spellings of names are cross-listed. Titles and honorifics are not included in the entry headings.

Statistics. Population statistics are estimates for the prewar (1979) period, unless otherwise indicated. Estimates of the Afghan population vary from 13 to 15.5 million, this includes about two million nomads. Measurements throughout are in the British rather than the
metric system. The population of Afghan towns and cities has fluctuated as a result of the war and the movement of internal refugees, therefore no exact statistics are available.

Nomenclature. Afghan rulers of the Sadozai branch of the Durranis (1747–1818) held the title Shah, “king”; but the succeeding Barakzai rulers were known as amirs, which means “chief, prince, commander,” as well as “king.” Amanullah assumed the title Shah in 1926; in order to avoid referring pedantically to Amanullah’s title at a particular time, I have employed the appellation of “king” throughout.

References. References to entries are given in bold characters.

Scope. The purpose of this volume is to provide a concise reference work on Afghanistan, including entries on major historical events, important places, leading personalities—past and present—and significant aspects of culture, religion, and economy. The focus is on the political history of contemporary Afghanistan. The reader who desires more extensive biographical information may refer to the biographical dictionaries by this author (1975 and 1987). Geographical and tribal information beyond the scope of this work can be found in the gazetteers compiled by this author (1972–1985; also see bibliography). Although not definitive in scope, this work should provide a good introduction for the study of Afghanistan and a basis for more extensive study or research.
Map 1. Afghanistan (Topography)
Map 2. Afghanistan (Administrative Divisions)
Introduction

A gateway to India, impinging on the ancient Silk Road, which carried trade from the Mediterranean to China, the area of Afghanistan has been of great strategic importance. Therefore, it was often coveted by powerful neighbors. In the sixteenth century the Persian Safavid Empire in the west, the Turkic Uzbek state to the north, and the Moghul (Mughal) Empire of India were disputing control of the area. Soon after the founding of the state of Afghanistan in 1747, Russia and Britain left the country as a precarious buffer between the two empires. During the second half of the twentieth century it became an arena of conflict in the cold war between the United States and the Soviet Union. Finally, in the 1990s, the establishment of a radical Islamist regime in Kabul threatened to make the country the base of an Islamist world revolution. American intervention brought an end to the radical Taliban regime, but Afghanistan may remain an area of conflict which could threaten the peace of the world.

LAND AND PEOPLE

Geography

Afghanistan is a mountainous, landlocked state of about 245,000 square miles, which is approximately the area of Texas, and a population of about 15.5 million in the 1970s (estimate based on demographic research under the auspices of the Afghan Central Statistics Office).

The climate in Afghanistan varies in accordance with the particular geographic zone: subarctic conditions in the northeast and Hindu Kush Mountains (with peaks at 14,000 to 17,000 feet), a semiarid steppe climate in low-lying areas, and mild, moist weather in the southeast bordering Pakistan. The estimated annual rainfall is between 11 and 15
inches with great variations—more on the southeastern slopes of mountains exposed to the monsoon rains and much less in the southwestern deserts.

About 83 percent of the Wakhan-Pamir area lies at an altitude above 10,000 feet and another 17 percent at an altitude of between 6,000 and 10,000 feet. Therefore, snow covers the mountains and most passes are seasonally closed. The yak and Bactrian camel are utilized in the transportation of man and goods.

A similar climate exists in the Central Mountains, including most of central and eastern Hazarajat and the Hindu Kush Ranges extending from the Shibar Pass through the Koh-i Baba in the west, which is crossed by the Salang Tunnel at an altitude of about 11,000 feet. A limited amount of agriculture exists in the valleys, and nomads seasonally graze their livestock on the foothills.

The Eastern Mountains include four major regions: Kabul, Kohistan/Panjshir, the Ghorband, and Nuristan, the latter being the most inaccessible. Snow exists at altitudes above 10,000 feet. Temperatures reach lows of one degree Fahrenheit, and winter lasts from December until March. Summer temperatures depend on altitude. In the southwest, stony deserts extend to the Iranian border, and the Registan, “Land of Sand,” extends south of the Helmand River and eastward as far as Shorawak, forming a natural boundary with Pakistan. On the edges of the Registan, the desert gradually changes into a hilly landscape of sand hills thickly sprinkled with bushes and vegetation and grass after rains. Baluch and Brahui nomads seasonally graze their flock in this areas. The major agricultural areas are confined to the valleys watered by the Amu Daria and the northern plains, the Hari Rud/Murghab system in the northwest, the Helmand/Arghandab system, and the Kabul River system. The melting snow feeds the dry riverbeds in spring and provides much of the water for irrigation. About 12 percent of the land is arable, 46 percent are meadows and pastures, 3 percent are forests and woodland, and 39 percent are deserts and mountains.

Religion

According to local tradition, Balkh, the “Mother of Cities,” in northern Afghanistan was founded by Balkh ibn Balakh ibn Saman ibn Salam ibn Ham ibn Nuh (Noah). Zoroastrian tradition holds that Balkh was the
birthplace of Zoroaster and Buddhism flourished before the advent of Islam. But since the 1890s, when the last remnant of non-Muslim communities was converted, the religion of Islam has prevailed in Afghanistan. The only measurable religious minorities today are small communities of Hindus and Sikhs, most of whom left during the past two decades of civil war.

Although there has never been a census, a rough estimate is that about 80–85 percent of the population adheres to the Sunni school of Islam, the rest are Shi’a of several denominations. Until recently, Islam was the criterion of nationality: to be an Afghan meant to be a Muslim. To convert to another religion is treason, an unforgivable sin. Islam is the ideology that holds the multietnic state together.

Islam is a monotheistic religion which continues the prophetic Judeo-Christian tradition, but recognizes Muhammad as the last of the prophets. Both Sunnis and Shi’as accept the Five Pillars of Islam: the profession of faith, prayer, almsgiving, fasting, and pilgrimage. They differ as to the legitimacy of leadership of the Islamic community (originally the Sunni caliphs and the Shi’ite imams), the sources of jurisprudence, as well as the authority of the clergy (ulama). For a description of the religious beliefs, see ISLAM.

**Population and Society**

The Afghan population is heterogeneous, including numerous communities that speak various dialects or mutually unintelligible languages. The largest ethnic group is the Pashtuns who speak Pashtu, an Indo-Iranian language, and are located primarily in the south and east of Afghanistan. The next largest language group comprises the Tajik, Farsiwan, and Hazara who speak local dialects of Dari and dominate in the west, north, and center of the country. Finally, there are those speaking various Turkic dialects; they include the Uzbek and Turkoman and are located primarily in north-central Afghanistan. For other, smaller communities, see ETHNIC GROUPS.

Dari (a dialect of Persian) was until recently the language of the court, education, and bureaucracy, and the lingua franca of all language groups, but since the middle of the twentieth century, education in Pashtu became available in those areas that are largely Pashtun. Governments since the 1930s attempted to establish Pashtu as the national
language and required all students and government officials to study the language, but Dari has retained its dominant position. The Constitution of 1964 proclaimed Dari and Pashtu the official languages, and during the 1980s newspapers and various publications appeared also in other minority languages.

It should be emphasized that the ethnic communities are not necessarily monolithic blocs. The focal points of loyalty are the family, clan, or village; only the Pashtun of the frontier are still organized in more or less autonomous tribes. In spite of occasional frictions, no secessionist aspirations seem to exist, and all communities accept Afghanistan as their home.

Demographically, no exact data exist, because no nationwide census has been conducted. Two decades of war have caused large population movements. There has been an increase in urbanization as internal refugees sought the safety of major cities. Some five million refugees migrated to Iran and Pakistan and thousands fled to Europe and America. The population of Kabul at times exceeded two million and may still amount to about one and a half million.

Economically, Afghanistan is largely dependent on subsistence agriculture. Major agricultural exports include fresh and dried fruit; other items are qaraqul skins, carpets, and kelims. The major trading partners are the Soviet Union, India, and Pakistan. Natural gas, exported to the Soviet Union, was an important stimulant in trade with the northern neighbor. More than two decades of war have interrupted traditional trade patterns and made opium one of the major cash crops of the country. Attempts at creating an outlet for natural gas and oil from the newly independent Central Asian states by constructing pipelines through western Afghanistan have so far failed because of the ongoing armed conflict. Foreign aid during the second part of the twentieth century made possible the development of an economic infrastructure. But much has been destroyed and the new Afghan government is depending on foreign aid to rebuild the country.

HISTORY

Afghanistan, the "Land of the Afghans," began as a political entity in 1747 when Ahmad Shah (r. 1747–1773) was crowned king of a tribal confederation; it is an ancient land with a glorious history of kingdoms
dating back some 3,500 years. As part of the nation-building process, Afghan historians in the twentieth century popularized the idea of an organic link existing between modern Afghanistan and its ancient roots. They see a continuum from Ariana (1500 B.C.) of the Indo-Iranians, centered around Balkh, city of Zoroaster, in northern Afghanistan to the Buddhist kingdom of the Kushanids (about 50–250 A.D.) with its capital in Peshawar and Bagram. Intermittently, Afghanistan was peripheral to empires as a satrapy of the Achaemenid Empire in the sixth century B.C., of Alexander the Great in the fourth century B.C., and the Maurian kingdom of Asoka a century later.

Afghanistan’s Islamic roots began with the Muslim Arab invasion in the seventh century A.D., but it was not until the tenth century that Islam was firmly established and not until the end of the nineteenth century that the last vestiges of pre-Islamic communities disappeared. The first indigenous Islamic state was the Ghaznavid Empire (977–1186), named after its capital Ghazni, a town in eastern Afghanistan. It was destroyed by the Ghoriids (1150–1217) whose capital was Ghor, a town in central Afghanistan. The domains of both empires included large portions of northern India. The Mongols wreaked destruction in the thirteenth century, as did Timur-i Lang, almost two centuries later. Timur’s descendants rebuilt Herat and made it a great cultural center. By the sixteenth century Afghanistan was again peripheral to powerful neighbors.

Almost simultaneously three empires emerged in the early sixteenth century: the Safavid rulers of Iran (1501–1786) who controlled portions of western Afghanistan; the Moghul rulers of India (1526–1858) who made Kabul their capital in 1504, until Babur (q.v., 1526–1530) and his successors established themselves in Delhi and Agra; and the Shaibanid Uzbeks (1500–1598) who founded a kingdom which extended from the plains north of the Hindu Kush far into Transoxania.

Modern Afghanistan was born as a result of revolt against foreign occupation. Mir Wais, founder of the short-lived Hotaki dynasty (1709–1738), rose in rebellion against Gorgin Khan, the Safavid governor of Kandahar; he defeated the avenging Safavid armies and, encouraged by his success, raided far into Iran. The Abdali (later Durrani) tribes liberated Herat, and Afghan tribes flocked to the banner of Mahmud (1716–1725), son of Mir Wais, who besieged Isfahan and, in the battle of Gulnabad in 1722, ended the rule of the Safavid kings. The Hotaki Ghilzais were soldiers, not empire builders. They could not hold
on to their conquests, and Nadir Shah Afshar (r. 1736–1747) reunited Iran under his short-lived dynasty, which included Afghanistan and northern India.

Ahmad Shah commanded an Afghan contingent of Nadir Shah’s army and, at the sudden death of the latter, was able to intercept a convoy of booty destined for Iran. This gave him the means to augment his forces and consolidate his power. Following the example of previous guardians of the “gateway to India,” he led nine invasions into the Indian subcontinent and made himself the undisputed ruler of an empire to which Afghan historians refer as the “historical” Afghanistan. The boundaries of this state were the Amu Darya in the north, the Indus river in the east, the Indian Ocean in the south, and the present Iranian provinces of Khorasan and Sistan in the west. Ahmad Shah ruled a heterogeneous population which also included, in addition to the dominant Pashtun element forming the core of his armies, a largely sedentary population of Dari/Farsi speakers, Turkic and Baluch minorities, and a multitude of ethnic and sectarian groups.

In 1600 the British East India Company obtained a charter for exploration and commerce in Bengal, India, and a century and a half later, the Company was the de facto ruler of Bengal. Its Board of Control appointed a governor-general as executive who conducted the government for the Company until 1858, when the crown ended the charter and appointed a viceroy, subject to the control of the London government. At the same time, Britain continued its territorial conquests and started to worry about how to protect its new acquisitions from Afghan attacks, or Russian expansionism, which had reached Persia’s borders in the Caucasus.

The Afghan heartland is a mountain fastness, surrounded by deserts in the north, west, and south, with cultivation supported by five major river systems, dependent on melting snow from the mountains for irrigation. Subsistence agriculture, small-scale mining, and a handicraft industry for domestic consumption did not provide sufficient surplus wealth to support a lavish court. The ruling Durransis and allied tribes depended on a system of military feudalism which allocated agricultural lands to the chiefs in exchange for military service, corresponding to the size of their fiefs (tiyūl). An alternative was territorial conquest. The Afghans saw it as their manifest destiny to rule the fertile Panjab plains if not all of northern India.

A policy of conquest had definite advantages: it brought prosperity to the Pashtun tribes and kept them united. Ahmad Shah was not an ab-
absolute ruler; he was a primus inter pares who had to contend with the ambitions of the khans, the chiefs of the major tribes. It was for this reason that he also recruited a force of non-Pashtun Qizilbash soldiers. When Timur, one of Ahmad Shah’s six sons, succeeded to the Afghan throne in 1773, he transferred the capital from Kandahar to Kabul, where he was more secure from the intrigues of the Kandahar chiefs. Described as “more a scholar than a soldier,” Timur Shah faced revolt in the periphery of the empire. Shah Zaman, one of Timur’s 23 sons, ascended the throne in 1793, amid internecine warfare which led to the eventual demise of the Sadozai (see DURRANI DYNASTY) dynasty. Britain extended her control in India, and the emergence of the Sikh Empire of Ranjit Singh (1780–1839) in the Panjab definitely ended Afghan aspirations of eastward expansion.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Afghanistan became directly involved in European empire politics. In addition to Russia and Britain, France emerged as a contender in the “Great Game” for imperial conquest. The first contact between a British envoy, Mountstuart Elphinstone, and an Afghan ruler (Shah Shuja, r. 1803–1810 and 1839–1842) took place at Peshawar in February 1809 and led to an alliance against a Franco-Persian invasion which, however, never materialized. The next, more fateful encounter, was the First Anglo-Afghan War (1839–1842).

When Dost Muhammad (r. 1826–1838 and 1842–1863), first of the Barakzai amirs, ascended the Kabul throne in 1826, Persia occupied Khorasan with Russian support and besieged Herat, while Ranjit Singh conquered Multan, Kashmir, Derajat, and Peshawar. Fearing an Afghan alliance with Russia, Lord Auckland, governor-general of India, decided to restore Shah Shuja to the Afghan throne. The British invasion, though initially successful, resulted in a disastrous defeat in the First Anglo-Afghan War. The British government refrained for almost 40 years from conducting a “forward” policy at its northwestern frontier. However, Russian advances in Central Asia continued, and voices in London and Delhi demanded a new policy and consolidation of a “scientific” frontier for the defense of India. In 1877 the Queen of England was proclaimed empress of India and a year later, British-Indian armies again invaded Afghanistan. Amir Shir Ali (r. 1863–1866 and 1868–1879), who had negotiated with a Russian envoy at Kabul, was forced to seek refuge in northern Afghanistan where he died shortly afterwards. He was succeeded by his
son Muhammad Yaqub who signed the Treaty of Gandomak (1879) and permitted a permanent British mission to be established in Kabul. Insurrection and the massacre of the British envoy and his staff led to the demise of Yaqub Khan and recognition in 1880 of Abdul Rahman Khan as the next Afghan ruler.

With Amir Abdul Rahman (r. 1880–1901), the traditional system of rule came to an end. The “Iron Amir” no longer appointed princes as governors of major provinces, a practice which had led to much strife in the past. He ended the local autonomy of Uzbek khans in the north, Hazaras in the center, and the Kafirs in the east of Afghanistan. Abdul Rahman reconquered the country and expelled or killed any of the notables who could pose a threat to his power. He claimed both the highest secular and spiritual powers and limited the influence of the ulama (religious establishment) and the tribes. His reign marked the beginning of centralized rule and the bureaucratization of the government. His regular army gradually replaced feudal and irregular levies, ending the system of military feudalism. An alliance with Britain protected Afghanistan from unprovoked Russian aggression and provided the funds and weapons to eliminate all domestic challenges to his power. In exchange, the Afghan ruler agreed to conduct his relations with neighboring states through the medium of the British government. Abdul Rahman formulated a foreign policy which served Afghanistan well, until King Amanullah (r. 1919–1929) in the Third Anglo-Afghan War (1919) ended the country’s dependence on Britain. A window to the West, which gradually had begun to open when Amir Habibullah (1901–1919) received a German mission during World War I, was thrown wide open under King Amanullah. Afghanistan established diplomatic relations with major European and Asian countries.

A contemporary of Kemal Ataturk of Turkey and Reza Shah of Iran, Amanullah ushered in Western reforms and first introduced the institutions of constitutional government. A short period of reaction under Habibullah Kalakani (January–October 1929) did not end the process of modernization, most visible in the expansion of education during the reigns of Muhammad Nadir Shah (r. 1929–1933) and his son Zahir Shah (r. 1933–1973). The fact that the experiment with democracy in the 1960s ended in failure, war, and foreign intervention should not be surprising. The socioeconomic conditions which favor a trend to a stable, if not democratic, government still did not exist. Muhammad Daud felt
that strong leadership was required; he revolted against his cousin, the
king, and established a republican form of government, taking direct
command of the affairs of the state. He was toppled from power in 1978
by his Marxist supporters, who thought they had a cure for the socio-
economic ills of the country. Feeling secure of Soviet support, the Marx-
ist government initiated unpalatable innovations, which resulted in
armed resistance and civil war. It evolved into a war of liberation, after
the Soviet intervention in support of the Kabul government.

Peace proved to be elusive after the fall of the Marxist government in
April 1992. An Interim Islamic Council of mujahedin leaders ap-
pointed Sebghatullah Mujaddidi interim president for two months
(April 28–June 28) to be succeeded by Burhanuddin Rabbani. Al-
though initially appointed for six months, Rabbani convened a council
of ulama to have his tenure extended and subsequently refused to step
down. This marked the beginning of a civil war in which the Kabul gov-
ernment’s power was variously challenged by ethnic and sectarian lead-
ers, most importantly Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, Abdul Rashid Dostum,
and the Hizb-i Wahdat of Abdul Ali Mazari. It was only after the
emergence of the Taliban movement that a major part of Afghanistan
came under the control of Kabul. The five-year domination of this neo-
fundamentalist movement seemed destined to eventually complete its
conquest of Afghanistan, if it had not been for the American interven-
tion in October 2001. Its radical interpretation of Islam, discrimination
against women, expansion of poppy cultivation, and above all its sup-
port for Osama bin Laden and his al Qaeda organization, that had de-
clared war on the United States, led to the destruction of the Taliban
regime.

A new attempt at establishing a broad-based government began under
the auspices of the United Nations, when a meeting in November 2001
in Bonn succeeded in arranging for an interim government. Rabbani,
who had himself installed in the palace, was politely edged out and
Hamid Karzai, a Pashtun, became the interim president, reelection to a
transitional government, which was to draft a new constitution and
prepare the way for elections of a democratic, broad-based government.
To help in the transition, an International Conference on Reconstruction
Assistance to Afghanistan was held in Tokyo, attended by 61 countries
and 21 international organizations. The two-day conference (January
21–22) voted to provide more than $4.5 billion for reconstruction to
strengthen the new government. American military activities continued while a powerless Kabul government tried to extend its control over the rest of the country. Kabul was protected by the presence of an international peace force and the process of nation building was started again.

To venture a prognosis at the time of this writing, an optimistic resolution of Afghanistan’s problems rests on many factors: Can the aspirations of the traditional and modernist forces be reconciled? Will the warlords of today become the regional leaders of tomorrow? Will the existence of political parties bring consolidation or become an element of disruption, for lack of a willingness to compromise? The agreements resulting from the Bonn Conference have not always been assiduously implemented. Much will depend on continued support by the world community. Was the omission in the U.S. budget for 2004 of an appropriation for Afghanistan a quickly corrected oversight, or the beginning of American focus on other parts of the world? It is hoped that in view of the errors of the past, Afghanistan will not be forgotten and the process of nation building will continue to secure the peace in this part of the world and improve the economic and social welfare of the Afghan people.
ABBAS, MULLA AKHUND. Minister of public health in the Taliban government. A commander, affiliated with Yunus Khaless during the jihad. He is a Pashtun from Oruzgan Province and graduate of Akora Khattak Madrasa.

ABDALI. The original name of the Durrani, the royal Pashtun tribe, located in the Kandahar area. They claim descent from Tarin and his youngest son Bar Tarin, or Abdal, hence their name Abdali. In 1747 Pir Sabir Shah, a Sufi shaikh, proclaimed Ahmad Khan of the Abdali tribe Badshah, Durr-i Dauran (King, the Pearl of the Age), which Ahmad Shah later changed to Durr-i Durran (Pearl of Pearls). His Abdali tribe became henceforth known as the Durrani.

ABDUL GHANI. An Indian Muslim, born in 1864 and graduated from medical school at Government College, Lahore, in 1883. He went to London for further study. In 1891 he came to Kabul to serve as secretary to Amir Abdul Rahman. Subsequently he served for three years as principal of the Islamia College at Lahore but returned to Afghanistan under Amir Habibullah and was appointed chief medical officer, director of public instruction in Afghanistan, and principal of Habibia School. He was a champion of political and social reform and attracted a circle of “Young Afghans” who formed a secret organization called Sirr-i milli (Secret of the Nation). In 1909 he and a number of his followers were arrested for having plotted against the life of Amir Habibullah. He was freed when King Amanullah ascended the throne and appointed a member of the Afghan delegation to the Rawalpindi Peace Conference in August 1919 (see ANGLO-AFGHAN PEACE
TREATY OF 1919). He subsequently returned to India and wrote about Afghanistan and Central Asia. He died in 1945. His *A Brief Political History of Afghanistan* was published posthumously by his nephew in 1979.

**ABDUL HADI DAWAI.** See DAWAI, ABDUL HADI.

**ABDUL HAQ (ABD AL-HAQQ).** A mujahedin commander affiliated with the Hizb-i Islami (Islamic Party) of Yunus Khales who had been active in the Kabul area. He is an Ahmadzai Pashtun, born about 1958 in Hisarak near Jalalabad, and as a student was affiliated with the Islamic Youth (jawan-i musulman), which opposed the reformist regime of President Muhammad Daud. He was imprisoned in 1975 and freed in 1978 after the Saur Revolt. Based in the Shiwaki area, south of Kabul, he was responsible for organizing guerrilla attacks on government posts within Kabul. In 1987 he suffered a crippling injury to his foot that limited his active participation in raids. After the fall of the Marxist regime in April 1992, he was appointed chief of police and security as well as commander of the gendarmerie but resigned from his posts at the beginning of the civil war between the mujahedin groups. He and his brother, Abdul Qadir, who became acting governor of Jalalabad, remained neutral between the Taliban and Jam’iati Islami forces and engaged in commerce with Pakistan and the Gulf area. On September 11, 1996, the Taliban captured Jalalabad and forced Abdul Haq and other members of the shura to flee the country. He lived in Peshawar from 1996 to 1999, when he was forced to leave and settled in Dubai where he became a prosperous businessman. His wife and daughter were assassinated in Peshawar. On October 21, 2001, Abdul Haq entered Afghanistan intending to recruit tribesmen to fight the Taliban government. He was said to be accompanied by two Americans and provided with a considerable amount of money. He was captured (rumored to have been betrayed by Inter-Services Intelligence officers) and brutally interrogated before being shot. His mission was said to have been supported by James Ritchie and his brother Joseph from Chicago, American millionaires, and Robert C. McFarlane, former presidential national security adviser.
ABDUL KARIM. A Ghilzai mulla, the son of Din Muhammad, the famous mulla Mushk-i Alam. Amir Abdul Rahman gave him the title Khan-i Ulum (Chief of [religious] Sciences), but he became disaffected when the amir ended the virtual autonomy enjoyed by the Ghilzai tribes and imposed taxes on hitherto exempt lands. He was one of the leaders of the Ghilzai Rebellion of 1886–1887, which was suppressed only with great difficulty. It was the last of three uprisings of this tribe in the nineteenth century.

ABDUL KHALIQ. Son of a Hazara servant of Ghulam Nabi Charkhi (executed by King Nadir), he avenged the killing of his master by assassinating Nadir Shah a year later on November 8, 1933. He was a student at Najat (Amani) School and attended a graduation ceremony in the palace garden where the assassination took place. He was handed over to the king’s bodyguard for execution. A number of relatives, students, and teachers of Najat and Istiqlal schools were executed in December 1933. This was the last bloodletting in the struggle for power between supporters of King Amanullah and the new royal family. See also MUHAMMAD AZIM; WALI MUHAMMAD.

ABDULLAH, DR. ABDULLAH. Son of a Panjshiri Tajik father and a Pashtun mother. A friend of Ahmad Shah Mas’ud, he joined Jamiat-i Islami in the 1980s and became the major spokesman of the Northern Alliance and acting foreign minister. Upon the capture of Kabul from the Taliban in December 2001, Abdullah became foreign minister of the interim government and the subsequent transitional government. An eloquent person, he is a medical doctor and speaks English and French fluently.

ABDUL MAJID, MAULAWI. Mayor of Kabul during the Taliban regime. An Achakzai Pashtun from Spin Buldak in Kandahar Province, he was affiliated with Yunus Khales during the war against the Marxist regime.

ABDUL MALIK, GENERAL. Son of Shamsuddin, he was born in 1962 in the village of Faizabad of Shirin Tagab district in Fariab Province. He is the brother of Pahlawan who was assassinated in the
summer of 1996. After finishing high school in Maimana, he went to Mazar-i Sharif where he graduated from the Teachers Training College (Dar ul-Mu’Allemin). During the time of President Najibullah, he was in charge of military logistics and recruitment. Together with General Abdul Rashid Dostum and Pahlawan he formed the Junbesh-i milli-yi Islami and became head of foreign relations for Junbesh. Subsequently he was head of political affairs under General Dostum and governor of Fariab Province. In May 1997 Abdul Malik revolted against Dostum, permitting the Taliban to enter Mazar on May 24, and surrendered Muhammad Isma’il Khan to them. When the Taliban attempted to disarm his forces, Abdul Malik and the Shi’ite Hizb-i Wahdat defeated the Taliban, decimating their army in northern Afghanistan. In September the Taliban recaptured Mazar and Abdul Malik was forced to flee into exile. He returned to Kabul after the fall of the Taliban government.

ABDUL QADIR, HAJI. Vice president, two-term governor of Nangarhar, and minister of public works in President Hamid Karzai’s transitional government. A powerful Ahmadzai Pashtun leader and ally of the Northern Alliance, he was, after Karzai, the most important Pashtun in the government dominated by the Panjshiris. During the war against the Marxist regime, Abdul Qadir was a member of the Hisb-i Islami of Yunus Khales. He walked out of the Bonn meeting, protesting the lack of Pashtun representation in the interim government. He cooperated with American forces in the campaign against al Qaeda and Taliban groups and took part in the Tora Bora campaign. He is a brother of Abdul Haq who was killed trying to rally Pashtun support against the Taliban regime. Abdul Qadir was killed in Kabul in early July 2002 by unknown assassins. He was the second Afghan minister killed since the fall of the Taliban regime.

ABDUL QADIR, GENERAL. Born in 1944 of a Tajik family in Herat Province, he went to military school and attended pilot training and staff college in the Soviet Union. He was a Parchami member of the Peoples Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) and commander of the Air Defense Forces in 1973, when he supported Muhammad Daud in his coup against Zahir Shah. He actively participated in the Saur Revolt and was head of the Revolutionary
Council until a civilian government was formed under Nur Muhammad Taraki. He became minister of defense for three months in May 1978, but in August he was sentenced to death (commuted to 15 years) for plotting against the Khalqi regime. Freed when Babrak Karmal came to power, he was restored to his party positions and served again as minister of defense (September 1982–1985). In November 1985 he resigned from the Politburo for “reasons of health” and in November 1986 was appointed ambassador to Warsaw. Recalled two years later and elected a lowly member of Parliament, he is said to have moved to Bulgaria in 1989 and sought asylum in Europe after the fall of the Marxist regime.

ABDUL QUDDUS. A nephew of Amir Dost Muhammad and general who lived with Amir Abdul Rahman in exile in Bukhara and Samarkand. On their return, he assisted the Amir in extending his power over Afghanistan. He captured Herat from Ayub Khan, son of Amir Shir Ali, in 1881 with a small force of 400 cavalry and 400 infantry soldiers and two machine guns, and in 1890–1893 conquered the Hazarajat (See HAZARA WARS). Amir Habibullah gave him the title Itimad-ud-Daula (Confidence of the State) and appointed him prime minister, in which position he was confirmed by King Amanullah. In the Third Anglo-Afghan War Abdul Quddus commanded the Kandahar front. A British officer characterized him as “A Tory of the most crusted type in politics, and an apostle of Afghanistan for the Afghans.” His descendants, who were prominent in the Afghan government, adopted his title, Etemadi, as their family name.

ABDUL RAHIM. Born about 1886, the son of Abdul Qadir. A Safi from Kuh Daman, north of Kabul, who, from the age of 16, served in various military units and rose from the ranks to become general. At the outbreak of the civil war in 1928 he espoused the cause of Habibullah Kalakani. He captured Maimana and Herat for Habibullah and became governor of Herat. Because Abdul Rahim had a powerful base in Herat, the Afghan king was unable to remove him from his post until 1934. In June 1935 he was appointed minister of public works and subsequently served as deputy prime minister from 1938 to 1940. He was imprisoned from 1946–1948 on suspicion of
plotting against the government of Prime Minister Muhammad Hashim. Abdur Rahim is the maternal uncle and father-in-law of Khalilullah Khalili, the poet laureate.

**ABDUL RAHMAN, AMIR (ABDUR RAHMAN, r. 1880–1901).** Amir of Afghanistan, the oldest son of Amir Muhammad Afzal Khan, who assumed the Kabul throne at the end of the Second Anglo-Afghan War. He fought his uncle Amir Shir Ali in 1864 and was forced to flee to the court of the Amir of Bukhara. Returning to Afghanistan in 1866, he defeated Amir Shir Ali and recognized his father, Afzal Khan, as the new king. Three years later Amir Shir Ali regained the throne and Abdul Rahman was forced into exile, spending some 10 years in Bukhara, Tashkent, and Samarkand. After the death of Amir Shir Ali in February 1879, Abdul Rahman Khan returned to Afghanistan and on his way south gathered a large army. The British occupation force feared a repetition of the debacle of the First Anglo-Afghan War and, on July 22, 1880, grudgingly recognized Abdul Rahman as “Amir of Kabul and its Dependencies,” in spite of the fact that he had come with Russian support. In September 1881 the amir took possession of Kandahar, defeating the forces of Ayub Khan, son of Amir Shir Ali. Herat was taken in August, and Abdul Rahman was undisputed ruler of Afghanistan.

Abdul Rahman concluded an agreement with the British government, in which Britain guaranteed him protection from unprovoked Russian aggression, provided he permitted Britain to conduct his foreign relations. He obtained a subsidy in money and materiel to strengthen the defenses of his country. Abdul Rahman considered this treaty an alliance between equals and, having protected his northern borders, he kept the British at arms length, never allowing them to gain any influence in the country under the aegis of their common defense. He formulated a “buffer-state policy” which aimed at playing off Afghanistan’s imperialist neighbors against each other. This policy served Afghanistan well until the end of World War II, when changed conditions required new approaches in the conduct of Afghan foreign policy. Afghanistan’s northern and eastern boundaries were demarcated during the amir’s tenure, including the Durand Line (1893), which he accepted under “duress” in the Durand Agreement. He built the Jahan Noma Garden in Khulm (see
TASHQURGHAN), the Salam Khana castle in **Mazar-i Sharif**, in Kabul the Masjid-i Idgah, the Arg, the Shahrara tower, and the Bagh-i Bala castle. Abdul Rahman died in 1901 and was buried in Bustan Saray in Kabul. Of his five sons **Habibullah** and **Nasrullah** succeeded to the throne; the latter was amir for only three days. Sir Percy Sykes writes:

> The Great Amir he surely merited the title broke the feudal power of the local chiefs and the fanatical leadership of the mullas, and, by his genius, welded the country into the kingdom of Afghanistan. . . . his justice was grim and cruel . . . But his methods were the only methods that would have secured law and order. (Sykes, II, 198)

See also APPENDIXES 1 and 1A.

**ABDUL RAHMAN, CAMPAIGNS OF.** The future Afghan king learned his trade as a military commander at an early age. His father, **Muhammad Afzal** Khan, was governor of **Balkh** and appointed Abdul Rahman, who was then about 13 years old, sub-governor of Tashqurghan (now called Khulm), a flourishing town and district in **Samangan** Province. He became a pupil of General Shir Muhammad Khan, a Scotsman named **William Campbell** who was captured at the Battle of **Kandahar** and converted to Islam. Abdul Rahman Khan succeeded him as commander of the army of Balkh. He defeated the **Uzbek** chiefs of Qataghan and **Badakhshan** and forced them to renew their loyalty to **Kabul**. He helped to place his father on the Kabul throne in 1866 and supported his uncle **Muhammad Azam**’s accession in 1867. He was the most obstinate rival of Amir **Shir Ali** Khan, defeating the amir’s superior forces in encounters at Sayyidabad (1866), Qalat (1867), and the **Panjshir** Pass (1867) but was eventually forced into exile.

> The amir was an impressive personality, being “of middle height, inclined to be fat, and of sound and masculine face and features. He wore a full beard . . . was hard-working . . . in State affairs he consulted none. . . . He had a curious Afghan humour, and a peculiar fascinating attitude towards all his servants, who dreaded him, yet loved him” (Windham 1914). He had five wives and two concubines.

To capture a fortified position, Abdur Rahman first tried diplomacy, appealing to the defenders to avoid the bloodshed of fellow Muslims and promising leniency. Lured into a trap when the spiritual
leader of the Mirs of Qataghan invited him to dinner, he took his host prisoner and, dividing his cavalry force of some 1,600 sowars (cavalry) and two guns into small units, defeated an enemy of 10,000. When he returned from exile, the troops assembled to prevent his crossing into Afghanistan melted away. He proclaimed that “I inform you that I have come to release the country of Faiza from the hands of the English. If I succeed in doing so peacefully, well and good, otherwise we shall have to fight” (AR, 174). As he moved slowly south his forces continued to grow and Sir Lepel Griffin, the political officer with the British expeditionary forces at Kabul, initiated negotiations which led to Abdul Rahman’s recognition as “Amir of Kabul.” A final challenge to his power was Ayub Khan’s capture of Kandahar in August 1881, when Abdul Rahman took to the field and decisively defeated his rival.

Having eliminated most of his major rivals, Amir Abdul Rahman proceeded to quell local revolts. He defeated Sayyid Mahmud of Kunar in 1881 and took direct control of Maimana in 1883. The Shinwari revolt was suppressed in 1883 and the Ghilzai Rebellion was crushed during 1886–1887. The “Iron Amir’s” last rival, his cousin Muhammad Ishaq Khan, was defeated at the Battle of Ghaznigak in 1888. The government control of the Hazarajat was achieved by 1893 after a long series of wars (see HAZARAWARS), and Kafiristan was the last area integrated into the State of Afghanistan (see KAFIR WAR). When Amir Habibullah ascended the throne in 1901, the entire country was pacified.

**ABDUL RAZZAQ, MULLA.** Minister of interior in the Taliban government and member of the Kabul Shura. He was governor of Herat and commander of the forces that captured Kabul. He was said to have taken ex-President Najibullah from the UN compound and ordered his execution. Captured in the Mazar uprising, he managed later to escape. Abdul Razzaq was a Durrani Popalzai from Kandahar who served as a mujahed in the Hizb-i Islami of Yunus Khales.

**ABDUL WALI.** Commander in chief of the Central Forces until 1973, he was imprisoned as a result of the coup by his cousin Muhammad Daud in 1973. He was born in 1924, the son of Marshal Shah Wali (and cousin of ex-King Zahir), and educated in France and England where he attended Sandhurst as well as the Command and General
Staff College at Camberley. He is married to Princess Bilqis, daughter of the former King Muhammad Zahir, and moved to Italy in 1976, where he acted as a spokesman for the former king. In August 1995 he went to Pakistan where he was received by large crowds. He talked with high-ranking Pakistani officials and conferred with leading Afghans. After the fall of the Taliban government, the Sardar returned to Afghanistan and was involved in promoting a Loya Jirga for the formation of a new government.

ABI. Irrigated land in Afghanistan (from D. āb, water), as distinct from lailmi, land which is “dry-farming” agriculture. Only about 12 percent of Afghanistan’s area of 245,000 square miles is cultivable land.

AB-I ISTADA (32°32' N, 67°57' E). “Standing Water,” a brackish lake of some 17 miles in length, located astride the border of Ghazni and Paktika Provinces, about 65 miles south-southwest of Ghazni and 44 miles northeast of Kalat-i-Ghilzai. It is a shallow lake and reaches a depth of only 12 feet at its center. The banks of the lake are encrusted with salt, and its major feeder is the Ghazni River. The lake is at an altitude of more than 7,000 feet, and the surrounding land is barren with few permanent settlements. In spite of the desolate surroundings the lake supports a multitude of flamingoes and other birds.

AB-I WAKHAN (37°0' N, 72°40' E). A river that rises southwest of the Wakhjir Pass in the eastern Wakhan Corridor and runs in a westerly direction as far as the small town of Ishkashem when its name changes to Ab-i-Panj (or Panja) and forms part of the northeastern boundary with Tajikistan.

ABU HANIFA, AL-NU’MAN B. THABIT B. ZUTA (ca. 700–767). A legal scholar and founder of the Hanafite school, one of the four orthodox schools (madhhab) of Islamic jurisprudence. His grandfather is said to have been taken prisoner in Kabul and transported to Kufa, an early Arab town on the Euphrates River in present Iraq, where Abu Hanifa was born. He studied at Kufa and gradually gained influence as an authority on legal questions, founding a rationalist school which was named after him. Afghan Sunnis adhere to the Hanafite interpretation of Islamic law, which is the largest in number of adherents and the most liberal of the four schools. It permits a certain amount of personal
reasoning and free judgment in arriving at legal decisions. When the Taliban controlled Afghanistan (1996–2001), they tried to enforce the more stringent Hanbali interpretation of Islam.

ACHAKZAI. An important subtribe of the Durrani, located in an area east of Kandahar. The eponymic ancestor of the Achakzai was Achak Khan, a grandson of Barak Khan. Smaller communities of Achakzai are also found in Herat and Farah as well as in Chaman, Pakistan.

ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS. Since the time Timur Shah (r. 1773–1793) made it his capital, Kabul has been the center of the kingdom, and princes ruled more or less autonomously in the provinces. Major provinces headed by princes included Kandahar, Herat, Afghan Turkestan, Qataghan, and Badakhshan. Amir Abdul Rahman (r. 1880–1901) was recognized by Britain as “Amir of Kabul and its Dependencies,” and he saw to it that Herat, Afghan Turkestan, the Hazarajat, Nuristan, and Badakhshan were part of his realm. Under Nadir Shah (r. 1929–1933) Afghanistan was divided into five major and four minor provinces.

As a result of the Constitution of 1964, Afghanistan was divided into 26 provinces (wilayat,) each with a provincial center (markaz) that is graded according to importance into first, second, or third grade; Kabul, Ghazni, Gardez, Jalalabad, Mazar-i Sharif, Herat, and Kandahar are first-grade administrative centers. They are headed by a governor, wali, who is the executive officer, responsible to the ministry of interior in Kabul. In addition, each province has representatives of various departments who report directly to Kabul. There were also a number of subprovinces, loy wuloswalî, that have since been absorbed into provinces. Each province is subdivided into districts, wuloswalî, with an administrator called wuloswal, who is responsible to his supervising governor and may himself be in charge of one or more subdistricts, alaqadarî. The administrator of a subdistrict, alaqadar, resides in a major village and is responsible to all his supervising administrators. Districts are divided into four grades, depending on population. Not counting Sar-i Pul, a Hazara province established in the 1980s, the 26 provinces were divided into six subprovinces, 175 districts, and 118 subdistricts in the 1970s. Villages and rural subdivisions or qarya, are headed by a village headman.
(qaryadar, **malik**, or **arbab**) who acts as a link between the rural population and the district chief. Cities are divided into wards, or nahiya.

In the 1960s the Afghan government estimated the Afghan population at about 16 million and yearly added 2.6 percent to this number, until in the 1970s a demographic survey by a team from New York University arrived at a much lower figure (10,020,600). Hamidullah Amin and Gordon B. Schilz in their *A Geography of Afghanistan* (1976) give an agricultural population of 10,839,870 and 2,500,000 nomads for a total of 13,339,870. The government of **Hafizullah Amin** claimed a population of 15.5 million; Erwin Groetzbach’s estimate (1990) agrees with this figure. In spite of the great losses in human lives during some 20 years of civil war, most authors now accept a population of about 16,500,000. See the following table.

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<th>Province</th>
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</table>

(1) Also called Wardak. (2) Including Kunar. (3) Including Paktika.
AFGANTSY (sing. AFGANETS). Soviet veterans of the Afghan war (1980–1989) who were mostly conscripts in a war that did not enjoy popular support. According to a recent study, about 750,000 served in troop units in Afghanistan from 1979 to 1989. Casualties included about 15,000 dead, 50,000 wounded—of whom about 11,500 remained invalids—330 missing in action, and 18 defectors (Galeotti). They felt neglected and that their needs were ignored. About a quarter of the veterans are organized in the “Afganets movement” with the support of a Council of Soldiers’ Mothers and Widows. Afgantsy in the highest military posts during 1979–1991 included Marshal Sokolov, defense minister, 1984–1987, and first deputy minister, until 1985; Marshal D. Akhromeev, chief of general staff, 1984–1988; General Lobov, chief of general staff and commander in chief of the Warsaw Pact, 1991; Colonel General Grachev, first deputy minister, 1991; General V. Varennikov, commander of ground forces, 1989–1991; and General Yu Maximov, commander of strategic rocket forces, 1985– (Galeotti). Some observers see the Afgantsy as a “new force” of conservative nationalists who may have an impact on the future political life of Russia. See also LIMITED CONTINGENT OF SOVIET FORCES IN AFGHANISTAN.

AFGHAN. A citizen of Afghanistan. Until the early twentieth century only Pashtu speakers were referred to as Afghans, whereas other citizens of Afghanistan were called by their ethnic designations (i.e., Nuristani or Hazara). In the process of nation building, the term gained acceptance as a designation for all citizen of Afghanistan. Some 20 years of war have aggravated relations between ethnic and sectarian communities, and it remains to be seen if this trend can be reversed with the establishment of a broad-based government in Afghanistan.

AFGHAN ACADEMY (PASHTU TOLANA). Founded in 1937 as a national umbrella organization for research in the social sciences and humanities. It was fashioned initially by combining the Literary Society (anjoman-i adabi) of Kabul, founded in 1930, with the Pashtu Society (anjoman-i Pashtu) of Kandahar, founded in 1931. The Literary Society promoted research in the social sciences and humanities and conducted cultural and scientific relations with foreign coun-
tries. In 1932 it began publishing the Kabul Yearbook, which appeared without interruption until 1978 and sporadically thereafter. The Pashtu Society was to promote Pashtu language and literature with the objective of making it the official language of Afghanistan, removing Dari from its preeminent position as the language of the court, the government, and education. The Pashtu Society office was moved to Kabul in 1935, and two years later the two societies were merged into one institution, the Pashtu Tolana. It was headed by Ustad Salahuddin Saljuqi with Sardar Muhammad Naim, a brother of President Muhammad Daud, as the honorary president. The Academy was under the administrative control of the department of press. It subsequently included the institutes of social sciences, natural sciences, languages and literature, the international center for Pashtu studies, and a number of general directorates for press, encyclopedia, and dictionary production. It finally came under the direction of the ministry of education and was headed by leading scholars and writers such as Abdul Rahman Pazhwak, 1941–1995; Abdul Rauf Benawa, 1946–1951; Siddiqullah Rishtin, 1951–1956; Gul Pacha Ulfat, 1956–1977; and Siddiq Ruhi, 1973–1979. After the Saur Revolt the Afghan Academy was renamed the Academy of Sciences. Sulaiman Layeq was appointed president in 1980, and in 1986 it included, in addition to three vice presidents, eight academicians, 32 candidate academicians, and 22 members who were in charge of various journals and research institutes. After the fall of the Marxist regime, the Afghan Academy remained largely dormant.

AFGHAN DYNASTIES. See DURRANI; MUHAMMADZAI.

AFGHAN ENCYCLOPEDIA SOCIETY (ARIANA DA’ERAT AL-MA’AREF). An organization within the Pashtu Tolana (Afghan Academy) whose principal task was the production of an encyclopedia, in Dari and Pashtu, published by the Afghan Government Press. The project was started in 1941 under the sponsorship of Sardar Muhammad Naim; Mia Husain Mujaddidi, a subsequent finance minister, was its first director. The Dari version comprises six volumes: the first volume was published in 1948 and the last in 1970. The project was overly ambitious, the first five volumes (A-F) each numbering 1,000 pages and the sixth covering subjects for the rest of
the alphabet amounted to only 371 pages. Insufficient funding was given as the reason for ending this monumental project. Leading Afghan scholars contributed articles for this work, which was patterned in scope after major Western encyclopedias.

AFGHAN HOUND. A hunting dog, called tazı (swift, running) in Afghanistan, is greatly valued for its speed and keen eyesight. It hunts by sight rather than by scent. It is long legged, has floppy ears and a silky coat, measures about 24–28 inches tall at the shoulders, and weighs 50–60 pounds. It is a much desired and fashionable pet in Afghanistan. The claim that the breed dates back to ancient Egypt is probably not correct. Europe “discovered” the Afghan Hound in the nineteenth century when British officers brought a few animals to England. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the animals were first bred in England and later also in the United States. The Afghan government prohibited the export of the animal, but occasionally gave some as presents to visiting dignitaries.

AFGHANI. Name of the Afghan monetary unit which replaced the Afghan röpiä in 1925–1926. Initially the Afghani was a silver coin subdivided into 100 puls, or two crans, and 5, 10, and 25 nickel coins, but inflation eventually eliminated the use of any change. Paper money was first issued by King Amanullah in 1919, but the notes were withdrawn a year later because traders refused to accept them. New banknotes were prepared shortly before the fall of King Amanullah and issued by Amir Həbibulləh Kələkanə, again with little success.

In November 1935, notes printed in Switzerland in denominations of 5, 10, 20, 50, and 100 Afghanis were issued by the Bank-i Milli (see BANKING) and continued in circulation since then. In December 1958 coins of 2 and 5 Afghanis were put in circulation, as were notes issued by the governments of Zahir Shah, President Muḥammad Daud, and the People’s Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA). In November 1994, notes of afs. 5,000 and 10,000, printed in the Soviet Union, were put in circulation by the Kabul government of Burhanuddin Rabbanī. In January 1996 the U.S. dollar was traded in the Kabul Bazar at afs. 9,500. General Abdul Rashid Dostum issued his own currency, the Junbeshi, and notes of previous regimes were also in circulation. After
the fall of the Taliban regime, currency of two sources, as well as counterfeit, were in circulation. Notes from previous regimes disappeared because inflation made their denomination worthless.

A visiting official to Kabul of the International Monetary Fund suggested stabilizing the Afghani by temporarily replacing it with the dollar. The governor of the central bank quickly rejected this idea. The new transitional government announced the launching of a new currency and, as of October 7, 2002, new bills were exchanged at the rate of one new Afghani for one thousand old ones. International observers as well as area bank managers attended the proceedings at 13 exchange locations. Some 2,000 metric tons of old bills were destroyed, about 66 billion were burned per day. January 6, 2002, was declared to be the date when the old bills were no longer legal.

AFGHAN INTERIM GOVERNMENT (1992). See INTERIM GOVERNMENT; ISLAMIC ALLIANCE FOR THE LIBERATION OF AFGHANISTAN; MUJAHEDIN.

AFGHANIS/ARABS. Radical Islamists popularly called Afghanis, mostly of Arab nationality, but also from other Muslim countries, who gained fighting experience in the 1979–1989 war with the Soviet Union and returned to their countries with the intention of toppling their governments and establishing an “Islamic State.” They are said to include some 5,000 Saudis; 3,000 Yemenis; 2,000 Egyptians; 2,800 Algerians; 400 Tunisians; 370 Iraqis; 200 Libyans; some Jordanians, as well as citizens of other Muslim countries. They are a serious threat to the military regime in Algeria, have started terrorist activities in Egypt, and are fighting as volunteers in regional wars from Bosnia to Kashmir and in the Philippines. Between 1987 and 1993 as many as 3,340 registered Arabs left Pakistan, but some 2,800 were still in Afghanistan and in the North-West Frontier Province of Pakistan. They were a veritable Foreign Legion, praised in the West as “idealistic young men” and “freedom fighters” when they fought the communist regime. They were missionaries, propagating a radical interpretation of Islam, and were supported in preference to secular or moderate groups fighting the Kabul government.

Most of the Afghanis fought in the ranks of Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, Abdul Rasul Sayyaf, and Jamilurrahman. Osama bin Laden,
a wealthy Saudi citizen, financed a number of Islamist groups and set up his own al Qaeda organization. With the establishment of the Taliban regime, thousands of Afghans and new recruits from borderland madrasas entered the country for training and military action in Kashmir, Bosnia, Chechnia, and elsewhere. As a result of the attacks on the World Trade Center in New York and the Pentagon on September 11, 2001, the American government intervened and destroyed the al Qaeda bases and their Taliban supporters. The allies of yesterday became the enemies of today.

AFGHANI, SAYYID JAMALUDDIN. Born in 1838. “Father of the Pan-Islamic movement,” Muslim modernist, and political propagandist who advocated unity of the Islamic world and selective borrowing from the West for the purpose of stemming the tide of Western imperialism. He was the adviser of Muslim rulers in many parts of the Islamic world and a political activist in Iran, Afghanistan, Egypt, and the Ottoman Empire.

Frequently opposed by the ulama (Muslim clergy) and suspected as an intrigant by the temporal powers, he was often on the run. When one of his followers assassinated the Persian ruler Nasruddin Shah (r. 1848–1896), Afghani was placed under house arrest by the Ottoman sultan Abdul Hamid II (r. 1876–1907). Afghani died in Istanbul in 1897. Afghans revere his memory and believe him to be a descendant of a family of Sayyids from Asadabad in Kunar Province of Afghanistan. Western scholars agree on his Iranian origin.

AFGHANISTAN. A quarterly journal published by the Afghan Historical Society from 1946 to the early 1990s, with articles in English and French. It is an important source on Afghan history and culture.

AFGHANISTAN BANK. See BANKING; DA AFGHANISTAN BANK.

AFGHAN MILLAT (AFGHAN NATION). The popular name of the Afghan Social Democratic Party (ASDP) (jam’iyat-i susyal demukrat). It is also the name of the party’s weekly newspaper, first published on April 5, 1966, by Ghulam Muhammad Farhad, with his brother Qudratullah Haddad and Habibullah Rafi’i as editors. Be-
cause of its political activism the newspaper was frequently closed. The newspaper is still published at irregular intervals in Pakistan.

The ASDP was established during a meeting of the 62-member founding congress on March 8, 1966, at the residence of Qiamuddin Khadem. Ghulam Muhammad Farhad (one time mayor of Kabul) was elected chairman and held the position until his death in 1984. During his tenure Afghan Millat was more nationalist than socialist. It advocated the restoration of “Greater Afghanistan,” including the territory of the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan, which now constitute the western provinces of Pakistan. Because of its irredentist policy, the party contributed to the friction existing between Afghanistan and Pakistan. The party did not support Muhammad Daud, even though it agreed with him on the “Pashtunistan” question and on the attempt to make Pashtu the national language. In October 1979 the Hafizullah Amin government accused the party of attempting a coup and arrested a number of its members in Kabul.

In the late 1960s Feda Muhammad Feda’i seceded and formed his own party, called Millat, and after the death of Ghulam Muhammad Farhad in 1984, Dr. Muhammad Amin Wakman, who resides in the United States, was elected chairman of Afghan Millat at a congress in Peshawar on March 8–9, 1990. It was attended by 390 (out of 500) delegates who also elected a 29-member supreme council and chose Stana Gul Sherzad as its secretary general. Shams al-Huda Shams from Kunar Province and a number of his supporters did not participate in the election.

The party opposed the Shahnawaz Tanai-Gulbuddin Hekmatyar alliances against the Najibullah regime and called on its members and sympathizers to continue the struggle to capture political power. The party now emphasizes social democratic policies and, although largely Pashtun in membership, tries to broaden its base to become a national party. The ASDP had a small mujahedin force in the field which was severely mauled by Hekmatyar’s forces. The Pakistan government did not give Afghan Millat official recognition and material support because of its irredentism. A number of its activists were assassinated by unknown gunmen in Pakistan, including Dr. Ceded Shigawal, Zakir Khan, and in September 1991, Taj Muhammad Khan.

On July 27, 1995, the party convened its fourth congress in Peshawar and elected Dr. Anwar al-Haq Ahadi as its new president,
Abdul Hamid Yaqin Yusufzai as vice president, Stana Gul Sherzad as secretary general, and a supreme council of 35 members. The congress also adopted a new platform which emphasizes the independence, territorial integrity, and national sovereignty of Afghanistan and advocates national unity, democracy, Islam, progress, and social justice.

AFGHAN SECURITY SERVICE (AGSA). After the Saur Revolt, the Nur Muhammad Taraki government established a security service, named AGSA (Da Afghanistan da Gatay da Satanay Edara), which was headed by Asadullah Sarwari from May 1978 until October 1979. After his accession to power, Hafizullah Amin renamed the service KAM (Da Kargarano Amniyati Mu’asasa = Workers’ Intelligence Institution). Within a week of their assumption of power on December 27, 1979, the Parchami regime purged the security service of Khalq supporters and renamed it KHAD (Khedamat-i Ettela’at-i Daulati = State Information Service). It was headed by Dr. Najibullah before he succeeded to the position of general secretary of the Peoples Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) in 1986 and president of Afghanistan. Najibullah upgraded KHAD to ministerial status, therefore its acronym WAD (Wezarat-i Ettela’at-i Daulati = Ministry of State Security).

WAD was subsequently headed by General Ghulam Faruq Yaqubi. The organization is said to have controlled from 15,000–30,000 operatives, organized on the KGB model, with its own military units, including a national guard. Its task appeared to be similar to that of the KGB: detecting and eradicating domestic political opposition, subverting armed resistance, penetrating opposition groups abroad, and providing military intelligence to the armed forces. It is said to have been set up with the assistance of Soviet and East German intelligence officers. Yaqubi did not survive the downfall of the Marxist regime. Former Afghan prisoners have accused WAD and its predecessors of torture, intimidation, and murder. Burhanuddin Rabbani started his own security service which was also popularly called KHAD, and so did the Taliban regime.

AFGHAN TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT. See TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT.
AFGHAN WOLUS (AFGHAN NATION). An Afghan weekly newspaper published in 1969 by Qiamuddin Khadem, a poet and onetime vice president of the Afghan Academy. The short-lived paper favored a nationalist, pro-Pashtunistan, policy. Its editors were Muzafar Sadeq and Abdul Qayyum Adramzai.

AFGHAN YEARBOOK. An almanac, or yearbook, published since 1932 by the Afghan Literary Society. It was entitled Salnama-yi Majalla-yi Kabul (Kabul Yearbook), until 1940 when it carried the Pashtu name Da Kabul Kalanai, and finally Da Afghanistan Kalanai. Each volume began with a general introduction, including an article on the king and the royal family, followed by a section with information on members of all branches of government and the diplomatic community and a record of activities during a particular year. Much space was devoted to aspects of Afghan culture and society, as well as to international news. The almanac was richly illustrated, including photos of leading members of the Afghan government and, after elections, of all members of parliament. It is a valuable source for research on Afghanistan. Initially it was written in Dari (Farsi) but gradually became a bilingual Dari/Pashtu publication. Abridged versions of the yearbook have also appeared in English since 1966. After the Saur Revolt (1978) the yearbook was continued, but it is not clear whether it appeared regularly each year, and, after the “victory” of the mujahedin and the ensuing civil war, publication came to a halt.

AFKAR-I NAU (NEW IDEAS). A weekly newspaper published by Nurullah Nurzad in 1971 under the editorship of Zia Haidar. The paper supported middle-class, law-and-order causes and an Islamic policy.

AFRIDI. A Pashtu-speaking tribe that is located in the area of the Khaibar Pass, just beyond the Afghan border. Herodotus, the Greek historian, mentions the “Aprytae,” the tribe of Osman who called himself “God’s Creature” (afrideh-ye khoda), whom some Afghan scholars consider the eponymic ancestor of the Afridis. For centuries, the Afridis saw themselves as the “guardians” of the gate to India, and since ancient times invaders have found it preferable to pay for passage rather than fight their way through the Khaibar. At times Afridis entered the
services of Afghan rulers, primarily as bodyguards and tribal militias, and in conflicts between Afghanistan and British India supported the Afghans; although they could not resist the temptation to loot the Afghan arsenal when the British bombed Jalalabad in 1919.

In the 1960s the Afridis were said to be able to muster an armed force of 50,000 men. A British officer described them as “wiry, shaven-headed, full-bearded, Pashtu-speaking hillmen of uncertain origin” (Ridgway). During the 1980s the Kabul government attempted to enlist Afridis into a militia to attack the supply lines of the mujahedin, and the Afridis accepted their pay but did not perform their assigned functions.

At the end of the Third Anglo-Afghan War, Sir Hamilton Grant, chief commissioner of the North-West Frontier, complained to the viceroy of India that “the constant raiding by Afridi gangs into the Peshawar District is sorely discrediting our administration. It is astounding that such a state of affairs should be possible with the number of troops we have got in the Peshawar Valley and shows how very difficult it would be to make any military operation of transfrontier area really successful.” He added that only subjugation of the Afridis would help, but this would be “a most formidable and undesirable undertaking” (National Archives of India FPS file, June 1919, No. 62).

AGRICULTURE AND ANIMAL HUSBANDRY. Agriculture is the largest sector of the Afghan economy, but because of the mountainous core and arid and semiarid lands only about 8 million out of some 65 million hectares of land are arable and about 30 million hectares are rangeland. Land holdings are mostly small and most cultivation consists of subsistence farming. About 85 percent of the population lived in rural areas until wars forced many to seek the shelter of major cities. Crops include wheat, corn, rice, and cotton, and by 2002 poppy cultivation became the major cash crop, amounting to about 4,500 metric tons of opium.

Afghanistan is one of the most land-mined countries, about half of its system of irrigation is destroyed, banditry and general insecurity have depopulated large rural areas. Meat production was provided by pastoral nomadism and breeding of livestock, which included primarily camels, sheep, cattle, donkeys, horses, buffalo, and mules. War and a severe drought in 2000 is said to have killed some four-fifths of the livestock.
Forests are largely disappearing, only about 3 percent of the land area is forested. The illegal cutting of timber and export to Pakistan, forbidden by the Afghan government since the 1960s, and the use of wood for cooking and heating have rapidly reduced the forested areas. Since the 1980s the Kabul government has been unable to enforce this prohibition.

After the fall of the Taliban government in 2001, the United Nations and various nongovernmental agencies are assisting in reviving Afghanistan’s agriculture.

AHADI, ANWAR AL-HAQ (ANWARULHAQ AHADY). Governor of the Afghan central bank in the new government, established after the fall of the Taliban regime in 2002. During his tenure the central bank successfully issued a new currency at the rate of one new Afghani for one thousand old ones. Ahadi draws on his experience as a banker in the United States, but then assumed a position as professor of political science at Providence College in Providence, Rhode Island. He was active in the resistance against the Marxist regime and was elected in July 1995 president of the Afghan Social Democratic Party (Afghan Millat). A Pashtun, he was born on April 6, 1950, in the town of Jagdalak, in Kabul Province. He was educated at Kabul University and the American University of Beirut, where he graduated with B.A. and M.A. degrees. He continued his studies in the United States and obtained the M.B.A. and Ph.D. degrees from Northwestern University.

AHANG, MUHAMMAD KAZIM. Member of the commission for selecting a Loya Jirga of the Afghan transitional government and dean of the department of journalism at Kabul University. He was professor of journalism and became editor in chief of the Kabul Times, May 1978. A native of Herat, he graduated from Kabul Teachers Training School, and the faculty of letters at Kabul University. Ahang studied in the United States and, upon his return in the 1950s, taught journalism. He is the author of a book in Dari on the history of journalism in Afghanistan.

AHMAD JAN, MAULAWI. Minister of mines in the Taliban government. A Pashtun from Ghazni Province, he was affiliated with Muhammad Nabi Muhammadi. He headed a major madrasa in
the Mardan refugee camp in the Northwest-Frontier Province of Pakistan.

AHMAD SHAH. Member of the Ittihad-i Islami of Abdul Rasul Sayyaf and, in 1988, prime minister of an interim cabinet founded by the Ittihad-i Islami-yi Mujahedin-i Afghanistan, an umbrella group of seven mujahedin parties headquartered in Pakistan. He was born in 1943 in a village in the Bagrami district of Kabul and educated at Ibn Sina School, Kabul Polytechnic Institute, and Kabul University, where he obtained an engineering degree in 1958 and started work with the department of agriculture and irrigation. He came to the United States in 1972 and obtained an M.A. degree in engineering from Colorado State University in 1974. In 1975 he started a teaching career at King Faisal University in Saudi Arabia but came to Peshawar after the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. He joined the Sayyaf group and became president (rā‘īs) of the committee for education and later the committee of finance. When Gulbuddin Hekmatyar joined the Burhanuddin Rabbani government in May 1996, Ahmad Shah became minister of education. He was forced to flee when the Taliban captured Kabul. He was married to an African American lady whom he subsequently divorced.

AHMAD SHAH, ABDALI DURRANI. King of Afghanistan, 1747–1773, and founder of the Sadozai dynasty of the Abdali (Durrani) tribe. He was born in 1722 in Herat, the son of Muhammad Zaman Khan, who was governor of Herat. After capturing Kandahar, Nadir Shah Afshar of Iran (r. 1736–1747) exiled Ahmad Khan to Mazandaran in northern Iran and subsequently appointed him governor of that province. At the death of Nadir Shah, Ahmad Khan was commander of an Afghan contingent of the Persian army at Kandahar. He was able to capture a caravan with booty from India which assured his election as king (shah) of Afghanistan in October 1747 by an assembly of Pashtun chiefs. The Pashtun tribesmen rallied to his banner, and Ahmad Shah led them on nine campaigns into India in search of booty and territorial conquest. He added Kashmir, Sind, and the Western Panjab to his domains and founded an empire which extended from eastern Persia to northern India and from the Amu Daria to the Indian Ocean. Ahmad Shah appointed his son Timur as
his successor and died of natural causes two months later on April 14, 1772. He was buried in Kandahar, which became the capital of Afghanistan until Timur Shah (r. 1773–1793) established his capital at Kabul. Sir Percy Sykes in his History of Afghanistan called Ahmad Shah “a monarch whose high descent and warlike qualities made him peculiarly acceptable to his aristocratic and virile Chiefs, as well as to his warlike subjects in general. In short, he possessed all the qualities that enabled him successfully to found the kingdom of Afghanistan.” (Sykes, I, 367)

AHMADULLAH, QARI. Minister of national security. A Pashtun of the Andar tribe and native of Ghazni Province. He was affiliated with Maulawi Muhammad Nabi Muhammadi during the war. He is a hafiz, having memorized the Koran. Born about 1960, he only had an elementary mosque education but strictly enforced Taliban decrees. He was killed in U.S. air strikes in December 2001.

AHMADZAI. A section of the Sulaiman Khel division of the Ghilzai tribe. They are settled in a “triangle” formed by a line drawn from Kabul to Jalalabad and Gardez. They are generally wealthy and often employed as traders, while some have held high positions in the Afghan government and have intermarried with the Durranis. Amir Abdul Rahman settled a number of Ahmadzai families in northern Afghanistan to weaken their power and have them serve as Pashtun colonists among the Turkic population. Only a small number of Ahmadzai is nomadic.

AIBAK (36°16' N, 68°1' E). A town, also called Haibak, located at an altitude of 3,000 feet in Samangan Province. The town is famous for its pre-Islamic archaeological sites. Most important is Takht-i Rustam (the Throne of Rustam), a large stupa hewn into solid rock, which is unique for its size, type, and construction. Nearby, at Daraye Gaz is a complex of 10 Buddhist temples, called by the Chinese pilgrim Hsuan-Tsang (seventh century A.D.) “Kie Tehe.” The town has about 90,000 inhabitants and is located on the main route from Kabul to Mazar-i Sharif. It has a small bazaar, a park in the center of town, and a mosque and administrative center. It was for centuries a major commercial center. Little is known about how the
present war has affected the town, but many artifacts were plundered or destroyed during the Taliban regime.

**AI KHANUM (MOON LADY, 37º8' N, 69º27' E).** A small town at the confluence of the Kokcha and Amu Daria Rivers. In November 1964 French archaeologists, headed by Daniel Schlumberger and Paul Bernard, discovered the site of a large Greek town (second to first century B.C.) with an abundance of Greek architecture, ceramics, and inscriptions.

**AIMAQ.** The name of an ethnic group of some 800,000 Sunni Muslims who speak Dari (Afghan Persian) with some Turkic admixture. The word either means “nomad” (in Turkic) or “administrative district” (in Mongol). They are also called Chahar Aimaq and include the Jamshidis, Firuzkuhis, Taimanis, and the Sunni Hazaras of Qala-i Nau. They were at times independent or allied with a Durrani prince ruling in Herat. Amir Abdul Rahman severely curbed the power of the Aimaq chiefs and put them under the control of the governor of Herat. The tribes are seminomadic and dwell in conical felt yurts. They raise sheep and cattle and are concentrated primarily in Herat, Ghor, and Badghis Provinces.

**AIR FORCE.** The Afghan government took the first steps toward creating an air force during the reign of King Amanullah. The importance of aerial warfare became apparent during the Third Anglo-Afghan War when British planes bombed Jalalabad and the king’s palace and ammunition factory at Kabul. Therefore, in 1921 Amanullah acquired a British fighter plane (which made a forced landing in Katawaz—the Afghans returned the pilot and kept the plane) and subsequently purchased a number of additional planes from Britain and the Soviet Union. By the end of the 1920s Afghanistan’s air force consisted of 22 machines (Bristol Fighters, D.H. 9s, Caproni Scouts, and a Junkers monoplane) which were operated by 25 officers, three of them Afghans, four Germans, and the rest Russians. The Soviet Union donated a number of aircraft on condition that they be operated by Soviet nationals. Young Afghans were sent for training to the Soviet Union, Italy, India, and other countries to create a small cadre of pilots and aircraft mechanics. Amanullah used his aircraft with considerable effect during the Khost Rebellion (1924–1925) and
subsequent tribal revolts. But the conditions for maintaining an effective air force did not yet exist: Afghanistan depended on foreign supplies of spare parts and most of its aircraft were not in proper operating condition when King Amanullah was deposed in the 1929 civil war.

During the reign of Nadir Shah (1929–1933) the Russian personnel was gradually eliminated, and in the mid-1930s, Zahir Shah’s prime minister negotiated with Britain for the purchase of 24 aircraft and the training of 10 pilots, six officers, and 30 mechanics. When the British government wanted assurances that the Afghan government would build up its air force from primarily British sources, negotiations came to a halt.

In the mid-1930s landing strips existed in Herat, Kandahar, Kabul, and Jalalabad, but only Kabul had ground organization and hangar accommodation for 16 aircraft. Aviation fuel had to be imported from India and supplies never exceeded 10,000 gallons. To carry 15,000 gallons required more than 500 camels. Wind, excessive heat, and snow made flying conditions good only in October and November (Handbook, 1933). Because of the war in Europe, development of the air force was limited until the Soviet Union became the major factor in the creation of modern armed forces.

In the mid-1950s, Ariana Afghan Airlines was established with technical support provided by Pan American Airways, and the airports of Kabul and Kandahar were modernized for international flights. The Kandahar airport, built with American aid, became one of the military regional headquarters after the Soviet intervention. By 1960 the country’s air force included four helicopters and about 100 Soviet combat aircraft, and in 1979 some 140–170 fighters and 45–60 helicopters were organized into a tactical force of seven air regiments, including a strength of 7,000–8,000 men that remained relatively intact throughout the 1980s.

After the downfall of the Marxist regime, Afghanistan had 230 aircraft, mostly in control of General Abdul Rashid Dostum and then President Burhanuddin Rabbani. The American intervention in October 2001, resulted in the destruction of what remained of the Afghan air force. See also ARMY.

AKBARI, USTAD MUHAMMAD. A Qizilbash with the title Hujjat a-Islam. He was head of the Shi’A Hizb-i Wahdat (Unity Party) political
committee who lost in a power struggle with Abdul Ali Mazari and joined Burhanuddin Rabbani’s Jam’iat-i Islami. Faced with the superior power of the Taliban, Akbari surrendered in November 1998 and made his peace with the new rulers until their demise in 2001. He subsequently negotiated for a return to the Abdul Karim Khalili faction of the party.

AKHTAR KHAN, LIEUTENANT GENERAL ABDUL RAHMAN. Director general of the Pakistani military’s Inter-Services Intelligence organization from 1980–1987, who was said to have coordinated with William Casey, director of the CIA, the operations and supply network for the Afghan mujahedin. Brigadier Muhammad Yousaf, Akhtar’s deputy and head of the Afghan Bureau, controlled the flow of thousands of tons of arms into the hands of the mujahedin and directed every aspect of military activities from training of Afghan guerrillas and logistics support to the planning of ambushes, assassinations, and raids and rocket attacks against the Soviet/Kabul forces. Akhtar was promoted to chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee and replaced by General Hamid Gul when mujahedin started carrying attacks into Soviet Central Asia. Akhtar perished in a plane crash on August 17, 1988, together with Pakistani President Zia-ul-Haq, American Ambassador Arnold Raphael, Brigadier-General Herbert Wassom, the U.S. defense attaché in Islamabad, and eight Pakistani generals. American sources attributed the crash to engine failure, but most Pakistanis believe it was a result of sabotage, variously blaming the KGB, CIA, or Wezarat-i Ittila‘at-i Daulati (WAD).

AKHTAR MUHAMMAD, AKHUND. Minister of aviation in the Taliban government. He is an Achakzai Pashtun from Maiwand district and a commander affiliated with Maulawi Muhammad Nabi Muhammadi. He is a graduate of Sara Nan Madrasa in Quetta.

AKHUND. In Afghan use, a religious instructor (Persian, Dari, and Pashtu); a descendant of an Akhund is called Akhundzada. The term was first used in Timurid times as an honorific for a great scholar, but later denoted a teacher of pupils with a slightly pejorative connotation.

ALAQADARI. Smallest administrative division, a subdistrict of a province (welayat) in Afghanistan. It is headed by an alaqadar, an ad-
ministrator appointed by the Kabul government or the governor of a province. He is responsible to a woluswal, head of a district, or the Wali, governor of a province. See ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS.

ALI AHMAD. Known as Wali (governor) of Kabul under King Amanullah and proclaimed “king” by Afghan tribes in Nangarhar after the abdication of Amanullah in January 1919. Born in 1883, the son of Loinab Khushdil Khan, he was educated in India and served as chamberlain, shahghasi mulki, of Amir Habibullah. He was president of the Afghan Peace Delegation at Rawalpindi for the Anglo-Afghan Peace Treaty of 1919 and successful as a commander in the Khost Rebellion (1924) and the Shinwari rebellion (1928). He fought Habibullah Kalakani and was defeated; brought to Kabul in chains, he defiantly kissed the cannon by which he was executed in July 1929.

ALIM. See ULAMA.

ALLAHDAD, MAULAWI. Minister of public works in the Taliban government. A Pashtun of the Barizai tribe from Zabul Province, he was a commander affiliated with Maulawi Muhammad Nabi Muhammadi.

ALLAHDAD, MAULAWI AKHUND. Minister of communications in the Taliban government and a member of the executive committee. A Pashtun of the Hotakis tribe, he was a commander affiliated with Yunus Khales during the war against the Marxist government.

AL-NASR. See NASR, SAZMAN-I.

AL QAEDA (THE BASE). A terrorist organization, founded by Osama bin Laden and Muhammad Atif in 1989. Its purpose is to achieve the withdrawal of American troops from Saudi Arabia and win independence for the Palestinian people. The organization established its headquarters in Khartum, Sudan, and in response to American threats, removed it to Afghanistan. Al Qaeda set up training camps in bases, established partly with American support, and provided considerable military assistance to the Taliban regime. Young Muslims from many parts of the Islamic world were trained in
Afghanistan for military action in Kashmir, Chechnya, Bosnia, and other regions of conflict. The United States government held al Qaeda responsible for the 1998 bombings of its embassies in Kenya and Tanzania as well as the 2000 attack on the USS Cole in the Yemeni port of Aden. The suicide attacks on the New York World Trade Center and the Pentagon resulted in war and the destruction of the al Qaeda network in Afghanistan. At the time of this writing, American military actions continue.

AMAN-I AFGHAN (AFGHAN PEACE). A weekly newspaper founded on April 12, 1919 as the semiofficial organ of the Amanullah era (1919–1929). Its motto was to “discuss every kind of scientific and political question and things of interest to the Government and the Nation.” The newspaper, named after King Amanullah (aman Allah = peace, or protection of God), continued the journalistic tradition began by the Seraj al-Akhbar Afghaniya. In order to provide economic support, government officials and courtiers were expected to subscribe. During the first year of its existence there were frequent changes of editors, beginning with Abdul Hadi Dawai who was succeeded by Muhammad Ismail, Kateb Faiz Muhammad, and subsequently by Ghulam Nabi. The newspaper was printed on excellent paper and was handsomely illustrated; it represents one of the most important examples of early twentieth-century Afghan journalism.

AMANULLAH, KING (AMAN ALLAH). Called Ghazi, King of Afghanistan, 1919–1929. Born in 1892, he was the son of Amir Habibullah and Sarwar Sultanah, the Ulya Hazrat (queen). When Amir Habibullah was assassinated in Kala Gosh on February 20, 1919, Amanullah Khan was governor of Kabul and in possession of the arsenal and the treasury. He was crowned in Kabul over the prior claims of his uncle Nasrullah, whom he denounced as a usurper and an accomplice in the murder of his father. King Amanullah (he assumed the title of king in 1926) was an ardent reformer and contemporary of like-minded rulers Muhammad Reza in Iran and Kemal Ataturk in Turkey. He demanded a revision of the Anglo-Afghan agreements concluded by Amir Abdul Rahman that left Britain in charge of Afghanistan’s foreign relations in exchange for protection from unprovoked Russian aggression and a subsidy in money and military materiel (see FOREIGN RELATIONS). British reluctance to
accept a change in the status quo led to Afghan armed attacks, culminating in the start of the **Third Anglo-Afghan War** on May 4, 1919. Britain was war weary and in no condition to wage war on the Indian frontier and, after lengthy negotiations in Rawalpindi, Mussoorie, and Kabul, peace was restored, leaving Afghanistan free and independent from British control (see ANGLO-AFGHAN TREATY 1919; and 1921). A national hero, King Amanullah turned his attention to reforming and modernizing his country. He established diplomatic and commercial relations with major European and Asian states, founded schools in which French, German, and English were the major languages of education, and promulgated a constitution which guaranteed the personal freedom and equal rights of all Afghans.

He built a new capital, named **Darulaman** (Dar al-Aman = Abode of Peace), which included a monumental parliament and other government buildings as well as villas of prominent Afghans. Social reforms included a new dress code that permitted women in Kabul to go unveiled and encouraged officials to wear Western dress. Modernization proved costly for Afghanistan and was resented by the traditional elements of Afghan society. The **Khost Rebellion**, a tribal revolt in 1924, was suppressed, and Amanullah felt secure enough to travel to Europe in December 1927. Upon his return he faced increasing opposition and, in 1928, an uprising of **Shinwari** tribesmen, followed by attacks of the Kohdamani and Kuhistani forces of **Habibullah Kalakani**, forced the reformer king into exile. After an unsuccessful attempt at regaining the throne, he crossed the Indian border on May 23, 1929, and settled in Italy and Switzerland until his death on April 26, 1960. He was buried in **Jalalabad** at the side of the tomb of Amir Habibullah.

**AMBALA CONFERENCE.** A meeting in March 1869 between amir **Shir Ali** and Lord Mayo, the viceroy of India, in which the amir sought an alliance with Britain. Shir Ali had recaptured the **Kabul** throne and had consolidated his power to the extent that he felt secure enough to accept an invitation by Lord Mayo’s predecessor to visit the viceroy at Ambala, a town about 200 miles north of Delhi. Shir Ali was alarmed by the fact that Russian influence had reached Afghanistan’s northern boundaries when the Amirate of Buchara became a tsarist protectorate. The Afghan ruler wanted a promise of British help in case of Russian aggression, as well as support against
domestic rivals and British recognition of his dynasty and his son, Abdullah Jan, as his immediate successor. Mayo assured the Afghan ruler of his government’s sympathies but refused to give any specific promises. As a sign of its friendship, the Indian government presented the amir with 600,000 rupees, 6,500 muskets, four 18-pounder siege guns, two 8-inch howitzers, and a mountain battery of six 3-pounder guns. But when an uninvited Russian mission under General Stolietoff managed to reach Kabul in the summer of 1878, a British army invaded Afghanistan on November 21, 1878, starting the Second Anglo-Afghan War.

AMIN, HAFIZULLAH. Born 1929 in Paghman, Kabul Province. President of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan from September 1979 until his assassination on December 27, 1979. He was of the Kharoti (Ghilzai Pashtun) tribe whose family came to Paghman in the nineteenth century. Educated in Afghanistan and the United States, where he was known as a Pashtun nationalist, he became a teacher and later principal of Ibn Sina and Teachers Training schools in Kabul. His conversion to Marxism is said to have occurred in 1964. He was elected to the 13th session of Parliament (1969) as a representative from Paghman. During the republican period (1973–1978) he successfully recruited followers in the army in competition with Parchami efforts. After the Saur Revolt he was appointed vice premier and minister of foreign affairs. In April 1979 he became prime minister and, after he ousted Nur Muhammad Taraki, he became president on September 16, 1979. He was at odds with Alexandr Puzanov, the Soviet ambassador to Kabul, and successfully demanded his recall. Some observers called him the Afghan “Tito” because of his independence and nationalistic inclinations. He was accused of responsibility in the assassination of thousands. Soviet special forces attacked him in a bloody battle with his troops in Darulaman and assassinated him on December 27, 1979. He was replaced by Babrak Karmal of the Parchami faction of the Peoples Democratic Party of Afghanistan. See also APPENDIX 2.

AMIR (EMIR). Commander, also nobleman, prince, ruler, chief (from A., amara, to command). Caliph Omar (r. 634–644) first assumed the title Amīr al-Muʾminīn (Commander of the Believers). In Afghanistan the Sadozai rulers carried the title “king” (shah), but the Muham-
madzai rulers from 1826 assumed the title “amir” until Amanullah Khan adopted the title of “king” in 1926. After the Taliban conquest, Mulla Muhammad Omar adopted the title “amir” and changed the name of the country to the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan.

AMU DARIA (DARYA, 34°40' N, 59°1' E). A river, called Oxus by the ancient Greeks, which forms for about 280 miles the boundary between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan (formerly the Soviet Union) and Afghanistan. Its easternmost sources are the Ab-i Wakhan and the Ab-i Pamir, which rise in the Little Pamir Mountains and run into the Ab-i Panj near the village of Qal’a-ye Panjeh. It is fed by the Kukcha and further west the Kunduz Rivers, at which point it is called the Amu Daria. It then flows in a northwesterly direction to run into the Aral Sea. It is navigable only in parts, although its length from the farthest source to the mouth of the Aral Sea extends some 1,500 miles. A bridge near Hairatan, completed in 1982, links the Afghan highway from Mazar-i-Sharif with the Uzbekistan (formerly Soviet) rail terminal at Termez. Another bridge was constructed at Sherkhan/Qal’a Kutarma in Kunduz Province. The bridges were vital links for the supply of Soviet and Afghan forces during the 1980s. After the defeat of the Taliban regime in northern Afghanistan in late 2001, the bridge was reopened to bring in humanitarian and military aid.

ANDKHUI (36°56' N, 65°8' E). A town in Fariab Province with about 15,000 inhabitants, located some 45 miles northwest of Shiberghan. In Timurid times (late fifteenth century) and again from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries Andkhui was an important commercial center. It shared the fate of Maimana and Balkh in being part of Uzbek khanates under Afghan or Bukharan suzereignty until Amir Abdul Rahman took direct control of Afghan Turkestan in the 1880s. It now has a mixed, but largely Uzbek, population and is a marketplace for Turkoman rugs, qaraqul skins, sheep, and cattle. Among its important shrines is the tomb of Baba Wali (a Sufi Pir), which is widely known as a place of pilgrimage. Industrial development, limited to the establishment of a tannery that employs 250 workers, has been difficult due to a scarcity of water and the war in Afghanistan.

ANGAR, FAIZ MUHAMMAD. A Kandahar businessman and member of the Wish Zalmayan (P., Awakening Youth), a Pashtun
political club. He published the Persian/Pashtu biweekly Angar (1951), which was critical of the Afghan government and therefore banned after a few months of existence. Nur Muhammad Taraki claimed to have contributed an article, “What Do We Want?” that was censored and led to the demise of the paper. Angar died in the 1970s in Kandahar.

**ANGLO-AFGHAN RELATIONS.** Until 1919 Afghan diplomatic relations were primarily with Britain and British India. See also FOREIGN RELATIONS.

**ANGLO-AFGHAN TREATY OF 1809.** See ELPHINSTONE, MOUNTSTUART.

**ANGLO-AFGHAN TREATY OF 1905.** Renewal in the form of a treaty of agreements signed between Amir Abdul Rahman and Sir Lepel Griffin, chief political officer in Afghanistan, in June and July 1880. At the death of Amir Abdul Rahman on October 3, 1901, the British Indian government insisted that the agreements with the amir were personal and therefore subject to renegotiation with his successor. The government of India sought modifications and concessions including a more “liberal commercial policy” on the part of Afghanistan, delimitation of the Mohmand border (between Afghanistan and India), and noninterference of Afghanistan in the politics of the transborder (Indian) tribes. Britain exerted great pressure, stopping subsidy payments and prohibiting Afghan imports of arms, but Amir Habibullah did not yield. He invited Louis W. Dane, the Indian foreign secretary, to Kabul and after three months of negotiations the “Independent King of Afghanistan and its Dependencies” and Louis W. Dane, “Foreign Secretary of the Mighty Government of India” signed the treaty at Kabul on March 21, 1905. For Amir Habibullah this was a great victory: none of the British objectives was won, the arrears in subsidy were paid, and Britain affirmed that it would not interfere in the internal affairs of Afghanistan. This treaty remained in force until repudiated by Amir Amanullah in 1919.

**ANGLO-AFGHAN TREATY OF 1919.** Peace treaty between the British and the Afghan governments after the Third Anglo-Afghan War. It was negotiated at Rawalpindi and signed on August 8, 1919,
by A. H. Grant, foreign secretary of the government of India, and Ali Ahmad Khan, Afghan commissary for home affairs and president of the Afghan Peace Delegation. The treaty made a return to the “old friendship” between the two states contingent on negotiations started after a six-month waiting period. In the meantime Britain would not permit Afghanistan to import arms and ammunition through India, the payment of a subsidy would be ended, and the arrears in payments would be confiscated. Finally, undefined portions of the Khaibar were to be demarcated by a British commission, and Afghanistan was to accept the Indo-Afghan frontier as marked. An annex stated that “the said Treaty and this letter leave Afghanistan officially free and independent in its internal and external affairs.” British hopes that a contrite amir would again conclude an exclusive alliance were soon seen to be unrealistic. Amir Amanullah sent a mission to the Soviet Union, Europe, and the United States and acted on his right to establish diplomatic relations with foreign powers. The Pashtun tribes on the Indian side of the frontier were made to believe that the treaty represented only a cease-fire, after which war was to be resumed if Britain did not agree to various Afghan demands. Indeed, it was only after a fruitless, three-month conference at Mussoorie (April 17–July 18, 1920) and at Kabul (January 20–December 2, 1921), that normal neighborly relations between Britain and Afghanistan were established.

ANGLO-AFGHAN TREATY OF 1921. Also called the “Treaty of Kabul” because it was negotiated and signed at Kabul by Sir Henry Dobbs, the British envoy, and Mahmud Tarzi, chief of the Afghan delegation, after arduous, 11-month negotiations. The treaty restored “friendly and commercial relations” between the two governments after the Third Anglo-Afghan War and negotiations at Mussoorie and Rawalpindi. The negotiations proceeded in four phases. During the first session, January 20 to April 9, 1921, the Afghan amir unsuccessfully demanded territorial concessions, while Britain wanted the exclusion of Russian consular offices from southeastern Afghanistan. In the second phase, from April 9 to mid-July 1921, Britain asked Afghanistan to break the newly established diplomatic relations with Russia in exchange for a subsidy of four million rupees and weapons, as well as guarantees against unprovoked Russian aggression. When in the third stage, from mid-July to September 18, the British foreign
office informed the Italian government that it was about to conclude an agreement which would “admit the superior and predominant political influence of Britain” in Afghanistan, the Afghans refused to accept an “alliance.” An exclusive treaty was impossible after Afghanistan announced ratification of the Russo-Afghan treaty of 1921 (see RUSSIAN-AFGHAN RELATIONS). In the fourth and final stage of negotiations, from September 18 to December 8, 1921, the British mission twice made preparations to return to India, when finally an agreement was signed at Kabul on November 22, 1921. Ratifications were exchanged on February 6, 1922.

In the treaty, the governments “mutually certify and respect each with regard to the other all rights of internal and external independence.” Afghanistan reaffirmed its acceptance of the boundary west of the Khaibar, subject to minor “realignment.” Legations were to be opened in London and Kabul, consulates established in various Indian and Afghan towns, and Afghanistan was permitted to import arms and munitions through India. No customs duties were to be charged for goods in transit to Afghanistan, and each party agreed to inform the other of major military operations in the frontier belt. Representatives of both states were to meet in the near future to discuss conclusion of a trade convention, which eventually was signed in June 1923.

ANGLO-AFGHAN WARS. See FIRST ANGLO-AFGHAN WAR; SECOND ANGLO-AFGHAN WAR; THIRD ANGLO-AFGHAN WAR.

ANGLO-RUSSIAN CONVENTION OF 1907. An agreement between Great Britain and Russia concluded on August 31, 1907, that was to “ensure perfect security on their respective frontiers in Central Asia and to maintain in these regions a solid and lasting peace.” It divided Iran into spheres of influence between the two powers, permitted Russia to have direct relations of a nonpolitical nature with local Afghan officials in northern Afghanistan, and provided for equal access to “commercial opportunity.” Tibet was to be under Chinese sovereignty, but the British were free to deal with Tibetans in commercial matters while Russian Buddhists could deal with the Dalai Lama on religious matters. Although Britain was to continue its treaty obligation of 1905 to protect Afghanistan from unprovoked Russian aggression, and Russia declared Afghanistan outside her sphere of influence,
Amir **Habibullah** saw this agreement as an attempt to solve the “Afghanistan Question” over his head. Amir Habibullah was on a state visit to India in January 1907 when Britain and Russia negotiated the treaty, but he was not informed of the Convention until September 10, 1907. He was shocked and felt betrayed by the British and, when he was requested to agree to the Convention, he took a year with his reply, refusing to ratify the agreement. Russia never obtained the expected commercial and political benefits, and the Bolshevik government repudiated the Convention in 1918 in an attempt to win the goodwill of its Asian neighbors. As far as Afghanistan was concerned the Convention was a “dead letter” from the beginning.

**ANIS, GHULAM MUHYIUDDIN.** A supporter of King Amanullah and, in 1927, founder of a private newspaper, named Ānis after him. During the civil war period (1929), he temporarily edited Habib ul-Islam (“Beloved of Islam”), the newspaper of Amir **Habibullah Kalakani**. In 1931 Ānis came under government control and, with the exception of the republican period (1973–1975), existed as a national, daily newspaper until the 1980s. A Tajik, Anis was born in Herat and educated in Egypt. Arrested after Muhammad Nadir Shah ascended the throne, he remained in prison until his death in 1938. He is the author of Crisis and Salvation (Buhran wa Nejat), which describes Nadir’s defeat of Habibullah Kalakani.

**ANJOMAN-I ADABI (LITERARY SOCIETY).** A literary circle founded by Muhammad Nadir Shah in 1930. Early members included Qari Abdullah the poet laureate, Mir Ghulam Muhammad Ghobar, Muhammad Sarwar Joya, Muhammad Karim Nazihi, Sarwar Goya Etemadi, and others. They edited and published the periodical Kabul and from 1932 the Salnamah, Kabul Annual. The Literary Society and the Historical Society later became part of the Afghan Academy.

**ANSARI, KHWAJA ABDULLAH (1006–1089).** Also called Pir-i Heart (Sufi Master of Herat). Brilliant as a youth, he studied in Nishapur under Shafi’ite teachers but later adopted the more severe Hanbali school of jurisprudence. He was born in Herat and spent most of his life in that city. A much celebrated Sufi poet and philosopher and “mystic of love,” he became a “mystic of tauhid (Unity).” He wrote both in Arabic and Persian. His Arabic collection is said to
contain more than 6,000 couplets, and his Persian poetry is said to amount to about 14,000 verses. His tomb is in Gazargah, near Herat, amid ruins from the Timurid period.

AQCHA (36º56' N, 66º11' E). A town with about 10,000 inhabitants in Jozjan Province. It is on the road from Shiberghan to Mazar-i Sharif, about 30 miles from the former and 42 miles from the latter. It was an Uzbek Khanate until annexed by Amir Dost Muhammad. The population is still largely Uzbek. Major enterprises include a carpet industry, tanneries, and the production of vegetable oil. Aqcha is known for its bazaar of silver jewelry.

ARAB. There are some 4,000 Arabs who still speak Arabic (according to Rawan Farhadi, although T. J. Barfield in The Central Asian Arabs of Afghanistan has not found any) living in four villages in Jozjan and Balkh Provinces. In addition, there are said to be about 100,000 others who no longer speak Arabic scattered all over northern Afghanistan and Herat Province. They are Sunni Muslims and claim to be the descendants of the Muslim Arab conquerors of Khorasan. More likely, they are the descendants of Arabs from Damascus who were settled in Samarkand by Timur-i Lang in the fifteenth century.

ARG (ARK). A citadel within a walled city, traditionally the residence of a ruler. After the Bala Hisar was destroyed by British forces in 1879, Amir Abdul Rahman built the new Arg, located in the center of Kabul. It took five years to build and in addition to the amir and his court, it housed the major government offices. It was surrounded by a moat and a 50-foot wall. Later additions and modification radically changed the original plan when modern buildings replaced the early residences. In the Salam Khana (Audience Hall) the affairs of government were conducted. The Del Kusha (Heart’s Delight) Palace was added by Amir Habibullah and the Gul Khana Palace was built to be the royal office of King Amanullah. After the coup by Muhammad Daud in July 1973, the president’s office was established in the Arg. During the Khalqi period (1978–1979) Nur Muhammad Taraki moved in, and the Arg was renamed the “House of the People” (Khana-yi Khalq). In December 1979 Hafizullah Amin left the Arg and established himself in the Tapa Taj Beg Palace in Darulaman, where he was assassinated by
Soviet troops. After the capture of Kabul in April 1992, the Arg became the residence of President Burhanuddin Rabbani, and upon their capture of Kabul, the seat of the Taliban governor. After the conquest of Kabul by the Northern Alliance in November 2001, Rabbani reoccupied the Arg, but he had to yield to Hamid Karzai and the ex-king.

ARGHANDAB (31º27' N, 64º23' E). A major Afghan river that has its source in the Kuh-i Safi (mountain) northwest of Ghazni. It flows in a southwesterly direction north of Kandahar and, after a course of about 350 miles, runs into the Helmand River. Only the upper part of the stream is perennial. In June 1950 Morrison Knudsen, an American engineering firm, began construction of the 145-foot-high Arghandab Dam located about 18 miles above Kandahar; it was finished in 1952 and greatly increased the land under irrigation in the Kandahar basin. There are also two districts (woluswali) named Arghandab: one in Kandahar Province with an area of 214 square miles and a population of 43,000; the other in Zabul Province with an area of 808 square miles and a population of 18,000 (estimates are for 1978).

ARGHASTAN (31º23' N, 65º46' E). A river which is part of the Helmand-Arghandab system. It is a continuation of the Lori River and runs in a west-southwesterly direction into the Dori, about 25 miles south of Kandahar, and into the Helmand River south of Lashkargah. Arghastan is also the name of a district (woluswali) with an area of 1,663 square miles and 166 villages, including Arghastan village, the administrative center.

ARIANA (ARYANA). Name of the first territory of the Arians, as mentioned in the Avesta, around 1500 B.C. Afghan historians point with pride to the illustrious roots of the Afghan state, suggesting a direct link between the ancient Arians and the modern Afghans. The name “Ariana” is frequently used to draw attention to Afghanistan’s ancient history (for example, Ariana Afghan Airlines, and Ariana, the name of a journal published monthly since 1942 and quarterly from 1973 by the Afghan Historical Society).

ARIANA AFGHAN AIRLINES. The Afghan airline which was started on a small scale in 1955 by Peter Baldwin, an American businessman.
At first, flights connected major Afghan towns, transported pilgrims to Saudi Arabia, and ran charters to Beirut and Tehran. Baldwin owned 49 percent of the stock and in 1957 sold out to Pan American Airways for $400,000 when the airline adopted the name Ariana Afghan Airlines. Subsequently, Pan Am played a key role in operating the airline, training personnel, and maintaining regular service on three routes: Kabul-Tehran-Beirut-Istanbul-Frankfurt-London; Kabul-Tashkent-Moscow; and Kabul-Delhi. During the republican period (1973–1978) the company acquired a DC-10, a wide-body aircraft that was delivered after the Saur Revolt and operated for a number of years. The company eventually lost landing rights in Western Europe but provided regular services to East Bloc countries. It was subsequently merged with the domestic air service and called Bakhtar Afghan Airlines. In 1988 the company again adopted the former name. In the 1980s the company acquired several Antonov AN-26 turboprops for domestic routes and two Turpolev TU-154s for international flights.

In the 1990s a number of private airlines were established, including Balkh Airways, under General Abdul Rashid Dostum’s control, connecting Mazar-i Sharif with Peshawar, Mashhad, and Dubai. Khaibar Airlines connected Jalalabad with neighboring countries. It was controlled by the Jalalabad Shura until the city was captured by the Taliban in September 1996. Prior to their conquest of Kabul, the Taliban had an airline headquartered in Kandahar, and Pamir Airlines, apparently controlled by Jam‘iat-i Islami, was centered in northeastern Afghanistan. As a result of American intervention in Afghanistan, Ariana lost six of its eight remaining aircraft and the new interim government began service with only two aircraft and about 1,000 Afghan employees. See also AVIATION.

**ARMS BAZAARS.** Afghanistan depended on foreign imports, smuggled and captured arms, and to a limited extent on local manufacture for its weapons supply. Since most had to enter Afghanistan by way of India, Britain had a monopoly on the sale of weapons and tried to control the supply and quality. Amir Abdul Rahman founded the mashin-khana factory where guns and ammunition were produced. In addition, numerous workshops existed on the Afghan frontier where guns of all types were manufactured. Because of a lack of electricity, machinery was operated by human or animal power. The tradition of
arms manufacture and sales in specialized communities exists to this day. One major weapons bazaar exists in Darra on the Pakistani side of the border that is probably the largest open arms market in the world. In some hundred shops one can buy anything from rifles to mortars; the price of an AK-47 was $1,500 in 1980, which in 1987 was reduced to $750 (Yousaf and Adkin, 135) and in 1994 to $100 in Kabul. The influx of captured Soviet weapons and arms provided by the supporters of the mujahedin produced quite a glut on the market. Even Stinger missiles, supplied by the United States to the mujahedins, were sold to the highest bidder. See also BAZAAR.

**ARMY.** Afghanistan’s army evolved from its traditional beginnings under Ahmad Shah in a process of gradual modernization throughout the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century. First efforts at modernization began during the reigns of Amirs Dost Muhammad (r. 1826–1838 and 1842–1863) who mustered a standing army of 15,000 and 45 guns. Shir Ali Khan (r. 1863–1879), after visiting India in 1869, adopted Indian titles: briget (brigadier), karnel (colonel), kaptan (captain), subedar, havildar, etc. Both lacked the type of modern weapons being employed by Afghanistan’s neighbors and the nucleus of a modern officers corps. Officers were appointed on the basis of loyalty rather than skill and any Afghan who could ride a horse or carry a gun was considered fit, regardless of age. Military skills were passed on from father to son, and one cannoneer of advanced age had to be carried along on a stretcher to perform his functions. Western military technology came to Afghanistan by means of prisoners of war or foreign mercenaries. One such person, William Campbell, alias Shir Muhammad Khan, became commander in chief of the Turkestan army. In the 1830s the composition of the Afghan army was described as “Pathan, Hindus, Kuzzelbashes,” and a few deserters from the Sikh army. Muslims from neighboring countries joined the Afghan forces, including Indian officers of the “Great Sepoy Mutiny” of 1857–1858.

The reorganized army included a cavalry force of about 15,000 men, divided into two divisions headed by the Amir Dost Muhammad’s sons. A specially trained infantry force of about 2,000 men was armed with large muskets and an artillery branch disposed of 50 to 60 serviceable guns. European-type uniforms were first used (Gregorian, 76). Military pay was partially in cash and partially in kind, but usually
Recruitment was often by forcible seizure of able-bodied men, a practice not exclusive to Afghanistan at the time. In addition to the regular army there existed a militia of jezailchis (riflemen) and feudal irregular forces. A British military mission headed by Major H. B. Lumsden is said to have contributed advice toward the modernization of the Afghan army. Amir Shir Ali continued the modernization process. He obtained a number of artillery pieces and some 5,000 Snider rifles in 1875. But the ensuing civil war in Afghanistan postponed major military reforms to the time of Amir Abdul Rahman. The “Iron Amir” spent most of his subsidy from the British Indian government on the purchase of arms and expanded the local production of weapons (see also INTRODUCTION).

The first attempt to create a modern officers corps was made in 1904 when Amir Habibullah (r. 1901–1919) founded the Royal Military College. By 1910 it enrolled 80 cadets, mostly the sons of Durrani chiefs, who studied in addition to Islamic topics arithmetic, geometry, and military logistics and underwent a rigorous physical training and drill. In 1907 a Turkish officer, Mahmud Sami, was put in charge of the college, marking the beginning of Turkish influence in the Afghan army.

King Amanullah (r. 1919–1929) neglected the army at the cost of his throne. He saw his an “era of the pen, not of the sword,” and devoted his resources to the modernization of his country. Turkish advisers were still prominent in the army, including Jamal Pasha, one of the triumvirate rulers of the Ottoman war government. Germans, the teachers of the Turks, were also employed, as were members of various other nationalities. The nucleus of an Afghan air force was created in the 1920s with the participation of experts from the Soviet Union.

King Amanullah’s army was about 50,000 strong, comprising an infantry of about 38,000 men divided into 78 battalions armed with Martini-Henri and Snider rifles; a cavalry of about 8,000 sabres divided into 21 units; and about 4,000 artillerymen employing some 260 breach-loading guns, mainly German Krupp 75mm and 7-pounders. (O’Ballance, 55) An arsenal at Kabul held 15,000 small-bore rifles and 400,000 Martinis and a few old machine guns. Telegraph communications had still not replaced heliography.

Nadir Khan, as commander in chief, established six army corps headquartered at Kabul, Jalalabad, Matun, Herat, and Mazar-i-Sharif. Kandahar was added, and all were headquarters of principal
formation. In practice many corps were severely undermanned. **Muhammad Nadir Shah** took power with tribesmen and reconstituted the army in 1930. He faced many insurrections: the Koh Daman revolt (November 29–June 30); the *Shinwari* Rebellion (February 1930); the operations against **Ibrahim Bey** (November 1930–April 1931); the *Ghilzai* threat 1931; the Darre Khel revolt November 1932; and the *Khost* disturbances.

Schools for cavalry, artillery, and infantry were established. German, Italian, and Turkish officers were employed. Pay was increased and clothing and accommodation were improved by 1933. A striking improvement occurred in 1936 when the army was about 60,000 strong. It played an important role in internal security, and although regularly paid and housed in better barracks, it was still inferior to British Indian standards. “During peacetime the army was organized into two corps (Kabul two, Southern Province three divisions); one division household troops (Guards division); one artillery division; and two independent mixed divisions for a total of 13 divisions and one artillery division” (MR).

**Muhammad Zahir Shah** (r. 1933–1973) realized that for domestic stability and defense against foreign aggression he needed a strong, modern army. His uncle, **Shah Mahmud Ghazi**, minister of war and commander in chief of the army until 1946, embarked on a project of military reorganization. He purchased weapons from Germany, Britain, Italy, and Czechoslovakia as well as airplanes and tanks and created the first mechanized forces. Additional officers’ schools were established in *Maimana*, Mazar-i Sharif, and those in Kabul and Herat were expanded. Afghan officers were sent abroad for additional training, and Turkish officers replaced foreign advisers at the advent of World War II. A combination of compulsory and voluntary enlistment increased the Afghan army from 70,000 men in 1934 to 80,000 in 1936. About 50 percent of Afghanistan’s revenue of 150 million Afghanis was devoted to military expenditures (Gregorian, 371).

After World War II the Afghan army had reached its traditional size of about 90,000 men, but its weapons and equipment were largely obsolete. Afghan Prime Minister Shah Mahmud envisaged a “small but well-trained internal security force,” reducing the size of the army by half and expanding a central police force to 20,000 men (Bradsher, 18). Formal requests for arms purchases from the **United States** were repeatedly
rebuffed; therefore in early 1955 Prime Minister Muhammad Daud turned to the Soviet Union for help. The Pashtunistan dispute with Pakistan, a member of the Baghdad Pact and unofficial ally of the United States, was one of the reasons for the growing influence of the Soviet Union in Afghanistan’s army. In July 1956 the Soviet Union granted a loan of $32.4 million in military assistance that greatly helped to modernize the Afghan army. But Afghanistan became dependent on Soviet expertise and supplies, and some 3,725 Afghan military personnel went to the Soviet Union for training. On the eve of the Marxist coup in 1978, the Afghan army included all branches of infantry divisions, mechanized, paratroop, commando, and artillery brigades. Equipment included a sizable tank force and an air force of some 140 to 170 fighter planes and 45 to 60 helicopters. After the Soviet intervention a Status of Armed Forces Agreement was signed in April 1980 legalizing the presence of the “Limited Contingent of Soviet Forces in Afghanistan.”

After the fall of the Marxist regime in April 1992, the army broke into factions that supported various mujahedin forces. The Taliban reformed the army with Pakistani assistance and utilized thousands of students from border madrasas, as well as members of al Qaeda and volunteers from the Islamic world. The American intervention led to the elimination of what was left of the Afghan army, restoring the system of warlords, holding their own regional forces. A number of countries are assisting the transitional government to create a new Afghan army. It is a slow process, as some of the armed groups do not like to see the creation of a force which would rival their power.

ARMY OF THE INDUS. The British Indian army and Shah Shuja’s forces that invaded Afghanistan during the First Anglo-Afghan War (1839-1892) totalled some 39,000 men. It was composed of three sources, the Bengal army, the Bombay army, and the army of Shah Shuja, most of whose men were transfers from the British East India Company’s troops. The Bengal army consisted of the British 16th Dragoons (Lancers), the 13th Foot (Light Infantry), one regiment of Bengal European infantry, two of Light Cavalry, two of Local Horse, and seven Native Infantry. They were complemented with one troop of all-European horse artillery and two all-Indian companies of sappers and miners. From the Bombay army came the 4th Light
Dragoons and the 4th and 17th Regiments of Foot (all from British service), one regiment of Light Cavalry and one of Local Horse, two troops of horse, two companies of foot artillery (all European), four regiments of Native Infantry and one company of sappers and miners.

Shah Shuja’s forces included two regiments of cavalry, four regiments of infantry, and a troop of horse artillery. Two additional infantry regiments were recruited later. Altogether his forces comprised some 6,000 men. Shah Shuja’s son Timur commanded a force of 6,000 Sikhs and 4,000 of Shah Shuja’s men that invaded Afghanistan from Peshawar.

Because of the lack of roads fit for wheeled traffic, the Army of the Indus depended on animal transport. Some 60,000 Indian and several thousand Afghan camels were employed, as well as hundreds of bullock carts and a number of baggage elephants. The invasion proceeded without great difficulty. The British forces reached the Kandahar area on April 14, 1839, and on April 25, Shah Shuja entered the city to popular acclaim. Sir John Keane, the commander in chief, departed from Kandahar on June 27, 1839, and moved against Ghazni, and on July 23 he succeeded in capturing the city after blowing in the Kabul Gate. The British army took Kabul in the face of little opposition and on August 7 Shah Shuja formally entered the city. In September the Bombay division returned to India, and a month later parts of the Bengal division left. Most of the remaining troops and camp followers did not survive the invasion. See also DEATH MARCH.

ARSALA, HEDAYAT AMIN. Vice president in the transitional government and head of the national census commission. He was minister of finance in the interim government of December 22, 2001, and minister of foreign affairs in Sebghatullah Mujaddidi’s Afghan Jihad Council of 1992. A former World Bank official, he was a member of Sayyid Ahmad Gailani’s Mahaz-i Milli. He resigned his post when Burhanuddin Rabbani became president. He led a team to confer with the ex-king in Rome about the convening of a Loya Jirga. Arsala is a cousin of Haji Abdul Qadir. He is married to an American lady.

ASHARI, MUHAMMAD MUSA. Member of the 2002 Constitutional Drafting Committee. Ashari was a member of the Constitutional Drafting Commission of 1964 and onetime member of the supreme
court. A Tajik, born about 1940, he obtained a degree in Islamic law from al-Azhar University. He lived in the United States until he returned to Afghanistan in 2001 to serve with the Hamid Karzai government.

**ASHRAF GHANI.** See GHANI, ASHRAF.

**ASOKA (269–232 B.C.).** Indian ruler over an empire that extended from southern India into Afghanistan. Tired of the bloodshed he had wreaked, he repented and dedicated himself to propagating Buddhism. He set up rock edicts (Pillars of Morality) throughout his empire, several of which in Greek and Aramaic were found in the area of Kandahar and Laghman. His edicts advocated humanity in government, the abandonment of aggressive wars, and the sanctity of animal life and constitute the “oldest surviving Indian written documents of any historical significance” (Basham, The Wonder That Was India).

**ATA, MUHAMMAD USTAD (ATTA).** A Tajik, member of the Jam’iat-i Islami party and major rival of the Uzbek General Abdul Rashid Dostum after the defeat of the Taliban in northern Afghanistan. Together they captured Mazar-i Sharif, and although both are members of the Northern Alliance, they were vying for territory in northern Kunduz Province and have continuously clashed.

**ATAN.** A Pashtun tribal dance performed on festive occasions and as a physical exercise in the army. It is performed to the ever-faster rhythm of drums, the tribesmen’s long hair whipping in unison, and is often continued to exhaustion. In some respects it resembles the dance of the “whirling dervishes” of the Ottoman Empire. Although Pashtun in origin, it has also been adopted by other ethnic groups as the Afghan national dance.

**AUCKLAND, LORD GEORGE EDEN.** Governor-General of India (1836–1842), who in defiance of the Court of Directors of the British East India Company started the disastrous First Anglo-Afghan War to replace Amir Dost Muhammad with Shah Shuja. He wrote to the Court of Directors that

the increase of Russian and Persian influence in Afghanistan, and the impression of the certain fall of Herat to the Persian army, have
induced the Ameer Dost Mahomed Khan to avow and to insist upon pretensions for the cession to him, by Maharajah Runjeet Singh, of the Peshawur territory, and to take other steps which are tantamount to the rejection of the friendship and good offices of the British Government; and have in consequence led to the retirement of Captain Burnes from the territories of Cabool . . . The emergency of affairs may compel me to act without awaiting any intimation of your views upon the events which have recently occurred in Persia and Afghanistan. (Auckland to Secret Committee of the Court of Directors of the East India Company, Simla, May 22, 1838)

The Simla Manifesto, issued by Auckland on October 1, 1838, was the declaration of war.

Initially it was decided to give a major role in the task of restoring Shah Shuja to the Kabul throne to Ranjit Singh and his army, but the Sikh ruler was not eager; and Auckland subsequently felt that he could not be trusted to successfully carry it out. Therefore, the British Army of the Indus was to do the job. Early successes in the war led to one-step promotion toward peerage in 1839. Following the debacle he was denounced and recalled.

AVIATION. Aviation in Afghanistan began in 1921 when King Amanullah acquired a British fighter plane. Additional planes were purchased or acquired as gifts from Britain and the Soviet Union; the latter donated a number of aircraft on condition that they be operated and serviced by Soviet nationals.

By the end of the 1920s Afghanistan’s air force consisted of 22 machines (Bristol Fighters, D.H. 9s, Caprioni Scouts, and a Junkers monoplane) operated by some 25 officers, three of them Afghans, four Germans, and the rest Russians. Young Afghans were sent to Italy, the Soviet Union, India, and other countries for training as pilots and aircraft mechanics.

The air service was largely devoted to transporting the mail, foreign diplomats, and members of the Afghan government. In 1926 average flying times were: Kabul to Kandahar, three hours; Kabul to Jalalabad, 50 minutes; Kabul to Termez (on the Soviet side of the Amu Daria), two hours and 40 minutes; and Jalalabad to Kandahar, three-and-a-half hours. The flight from Kabul to Moscow took five days, crossing the Hindu Kush at 5,000 meters.
Although half the fleet was out of operation, control of the airspace proved important in suppressing the Khost Rebellion and other tribal revolts. After the ouster of King Amanullah, Mohammed Nadir Shah did not renew the Soviet concession, but Soviet planes continued at an irregular schedule to transport diplomatic personnel to the Soviet Union. In 1937 Lufthansa Airlines established regular air service from Berlin to Kabul, but this was discontinued with the outbreak of World War II. As a result of the division of Afghanistan into hostile territories, regional airlines came into existence to connect Mazar-i Sharif, Kandahar, and Jalalabad with neighboring countries. The Taliban regime maintained air service until a UN boycott reduced its links with the world, and with the establishment of the Afghan interim government in December 2002, air service to foreign destinations was gradually restored. See also AIR FORCE; ARIANA AFGHAN AIRLINES.

**AVICENNA.** See IBN SINA’.

**AYUB, MUHAMMAD (AYYUB).** Son of Amir Shir Ali and full brother of Yaqub Khan. At the death of his father Yaqub Khan was crowned King at Kabul, and Ayub took over the governorship of Herat. When he learned of the British occupation of Kabul, he called on the Afghan sardars (chiefs) to rise and expel the invaders. In June 1880 the ulama at Herat proclaimed him amir, and he had coins struck in his name as a sign of his sovereignty. He then marched his army against Kandahar and on July 27, 1880, he met General G. R. S. Burrows at Maiwand and virtually wiped out Burrows’s forces (see MAIWAND, BATTLE OF). Ayub then proceeded to Kandahar and laid siege to the city, but General Frederick Roberts came to the rescue and he was forced to retreat to his base at Herat. He again moved on Kandahar in June 1881, at a time when Britain had recognized Abdul Rahman as Amir of Kabul. The “Iron Amir” easily defeated Ayub’s forces at Kandahar in September 1881 and at the same time dispatched his general Abdul Quuddus Khan to capture the lightly garrisoned city of Herat. Being deprived of his base, Ayub was forced to flee to Iran and after a number of years accepted asylum in India for himself and his retinue of 814 individuals.

**AZAN (ADHAN).** The call to prayer, five times a day, by the muezzin from the door or a minaret of a mosque. The muezzin chants the fol-
The following formula with some repetitions: “Allah is most great. I testify that there is no god but Allah. I testify that Muhammad is the apostle of Allah. Come to prayer. Come to salvation. Allah is most great. There is no god but Allah.” At the morning prayer the words “prayer is better than sleep” are added. The Shi‘as add the words “come to the best work!” And also “I testify that Ali is the wāli (protected friend) of God.”

AZHAR, ABDUL SAMAD. A member of the Parcham faction of the Peoples Democratic Party of Afghanistan who was appointed ambassador to Belgrade in 1989 and defected in 1990. He is a Pashtun from Laghman Province who was trained as a police officer in Kabul and Egypt. A member of President Muhammad Daud’s investigation team of the Maiwandwal “affair” in 1973, he is believed to have been the assassin of the former prime minister. He was arrested in May 1979 by the Khalqi government of Hafizullah Amin and held until January 1980. The Babrak Karmal government appointed him commander of police (Sarandoy) in January 1980 and alternate member of the central committee; he became a full member in 1986. He served as ambassador to Cuba, 1983–1986 and India, 1986–1989 and now lives in exile.

AZIMI, ABDUL SALAM. Member of the Constitutional Drafting Committee of October 2002. He was dean of the faculty of Islamic law, 1972; appointed president of the legislative department, ministry of justice in September 1979; and assistant vice chancellor of Kabul University. He left Afghanistan in 1982. An ethnic Pashtun from Farah Province, Azimi obtained the M.A. degree in Islamic law from al-Azhar University, Egypt. He served as ex-chancellor of Kabul University, and was working on revising curricula funded by the University of Nebraska. Azimi turned down President Hamid Karzai’s offer to be ambassador to Pakistan because he apparently wanted to focus on academic issues.

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BABA JAN, LIEUTENANT GENERAL ABDUL WAHED. Major military commander of Burhanuddin Rabbani’s party after the fall
of the Marxist regime in 1992. He defected with Abdul Rashid Dostum from the Kabul regime and thus contributed to the downfall of the Najibullah government. He was a member of the Parcham faction of the Peoples Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) and chief of General Staff of the Armed Forces, January 1980–January 1984. For a short time he was caretaker at the ministry of national defense. He was elected an alternate member of the PDPA central committee and served as head of the Kabul military academy and as ambassador to Berlin (1985–1988). He was educated in military schools in Kabul, Turkey, and the USSR. He is a recipient of the “Order of the Golden Star.”

BABUR, ZAHIR AL-DIN MUHAMMAD (1483–1530). Founder of the Moghul Empire, the “greatest soldier of his age,” and a talented writer and great poet (Sykes, 1940). He was a Barlas Turk who descended on the maternal side from Genghis Khan and on the paternal side from Tamerlane (Timur-i Lang). He was ousted from his native Ferghana, the Turkic lands north of the Amu Daria, and when he could not retake his homeland he settled in Kabul in 1504. Probing expeditions into India led to territorial conquests that became the foundation of the Moghul Empire. He loved Kabul and wrote fondly about the town and wanted to be buried in the Bagh-i Babur, a garden he had planted on the western slope of Sher Darwaza Mountain. He died in Agra on December 26, 1530, and his body was transported to Kabul where his rather modest tomb is still located.

BACHA-I SAQQAU. See HABIBULLAH KALAKANI.

BACHA KHAN ZADRAN. See PACHA KHAN ZADRAN.

BACTRIA. Name of an ancient kingdom, home of Zoroaster, north of the Hindu Kush and south of the Oxus with the capital at Bactra, near the present Balkh. Bactria was part of the Achaemenid Empire, first conquered by Cyrus the Great (r. 559–530 B.C.), and it later became a Greek colony of Alexander (331 B.C.) and his successors. Excavations have revealed numerous examples of Greek sculpture, architecture, and inscriptions from the third to first centuries B.C. The area came under Turkish control in the sixth century and was invaded
by the Muslim Arabs a century later. Afghan nationalists seek the historical roots of the present state of Afghanistan in this ancient kingdom. See also ARIANA.

BADAKHSHAN (36°45' N, 72°0' E). A province in northeastern Afghanistan, comprising an area of 15,786 square miles and a population of about 484,000 (estimates vary up to 615,000). The province includes the Wakhan Corridor, a narrow valley which extends to the Chinese border and separates Tajikistan from the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent. The province is divided into five districts (woluswali) and seven subdistricts (alaqadari) with Faizabad as the administrative capital. The province is mountainous, with a number of high valleys and peaks reaching a height of 16,000 feet. It is rich in mineral resources including silver, copper, lead, precious stones, and virtually all the lapis lazuli mined in Afghanistan. Famed for its Marco Polo sheep, ibex, and snow leopards, Badakhshan was becoming an important hunting preserve for wealthy foreigners before the war in Afghanistan interrupted further development. The yak is still used in the Wakhan as a beast of burden. The population is Tajik, with Uzbek communities in the west and Wakhis and Qirghiz in the Wakhan Corridor (most of the latter fled as a result of Soviet occupation).

Much of Badakhshan was ruled by autonomous khans until in 1850 Dost Muhammad took it under the direct control of the Kabul government. By the time of Amir Abdul Rahman (1880–1901), it had become an integral part of the Afghan state. In 1893 a mission under Sir Mortimer Durand demarcated Afghanistan’s northern border and allocated the Wakhan Corridor to Afghanistan. Amir Abdul Rahman was reluctant to accept this “arm that could easily be cut by an enemy” but agreed to accept the Wakhan as a buffer between the Russian and British empires when Britain offered to increase his subsidy by 650,000 Indian rupees for his cost of the administration and defense. During the civil war, following the fall of the Marxist regime, Badakhshan remained under the control of the Jam’iat-i Islami of Burhanuddin Rabbani.

BADAKHSHI, TAHIR. With Babrak Karmal and Nur Muhammad Taraki, one of the founders of the Peoples Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) and member of the central committee in 1965.
In 1967 he sided with Parcham in the factional dispute but left the party to found the Setam-i Milli (National Oppression), a Marxist, anti-Pashtun faction, about 1968. He was born in Faizabad, Badakhshan, and educated in Kabul at Habibia School and at the faculty of economics of Kabul University. Married to Jamila, a sister of Sultan Ali Keshtmand, he was imprisoned in Pul-i Charkhi jail in summer 1978 and executed during the rule of Hafizullah Amin on September 17, 1979.

BADAL. An aspect of the Pashtun tribal code of honor which requires retaliation for insults and the shedding of blood. It serves as a deterrent to reckless lawlessness but often results in long periods of hostilities between individuals, groups, and entire tribes, causing great suffering for all. Afghan governments have tried to extend Kabul’s jurisdiction into the tribal area, but have been unable to eliminate the practice. See also PASHTUN WALI.

BADALZAI. See BARECHI.

BADEZAI. See ACHAKZAI.

BADGHIS (35º0’ N, 63º45’ E). Badghis is a province in northwestern Afghanistan and was part of Herat Province prior to 1964. The province has an area of 8,438 square miles and an estimated population of about 250,000. Major districts include Jowand, Ghormach, Qades, Murghab, Qal’a-i Nau, and Kushk-i Kohna. The province borders on Turkmenistan (formerly the Soviet Union) in the north and Herat in the west. Badghis is a country of beautiful grassy hills but virtually without trees or even bushes in spite of an abundance of good water near the hills. The climate is, as in most parts of Afghanistan, cold in the winter and hot in summer. Barley and wheat are the major crops, and pistachio nuts are harvested in considerable quantities. The area was densely populated until it was devastated by Mongol invaders (thirteenth and fifteenth centuries) and again by the Safavids under Shah Abbas II (r. 1642–1666). Subsequently, it was inhabited only by nomadic tribes because of the danger of Turkoman raids from the north. The present population includes Pashtuns, Jamshiis, Hazaras, and small communities of other ethnic groups.
BADINZAI. See ACHAKZAI.

BADSHAH KHAN ZADRAN. See PACHAKHAN ZADRAN.

BAGH-I BALA. A garden in Kabul, near the present Intercontinental Hotel, where Amir Abdul Rahman’s palace is located. After his death, the garden and building were closed and fell into neglect. Because of its strategic location on top of a hill overlooking the city, it became an important command post during wars. Habibullah Kalakani made it his base in the 1929 civil war; it was a government post during the Soviet intervention and a valued outpost during the civil war between the mujahedin groups. During times of peace, the structure was used as a restaurant and as a location for marriages and other celebrations.

BAGHLAN (36º11’ N, 68º44’ E). A province in northeastern Afghanistan with an area of 6,627 square miles and a population of about 486,000 (est. up to 630,000). Baghlan is also the name of the administrative capital of the province, having approximately 39,000 inhabitants. The province includes the northern slopes of the Hindu Kush Range that are crossed by the Robatak, Barabi, Khawak, and Salang Passes. The northern part is largely agricultural, with irrigation from the Baghlan, Qara Batur, Chunghar, and Mar Khana Rivers. Sugar beets and cotton are the major crops, and pomegranates, grapes, and pistachio nuts are important items of export. Qaraqul sheep are raised in the northern part of the province. Sugar production, started in 1940 with Czech assistance, has become the most important industry. Coal is extracted in the Karkar Valley near Pul-i Khumri. A silk industry was started in 1951. Not much is known about the effect of the war on the area.

BAGRAM (BEGRAM, 34º58’ N, 69º17’ E). Site of an ancient city with an abundance of Buddhist, Graeco-Roman, and Phoenician artifacts. According to some sources, it is the site of Alexandria ad Caucasum (Alexandria by the Caucasus, built by Alexander the Great in the period 330–329 B.C.), which flourished for centuries until it was destroyed by the hordes of Genghis Khan in the thirteenth century. The town is north of Kabul near the confluence of the Panjshir and
Ghorband Rivers, about five miles west of Charikar. Bagram is now a small town, the center of the district of the same name in Parwan Province. It is the location of an air base built with Soviet assistance in the 1950s. On July 7, 1979, the first Soviet paratroop battalion deployed there, apparently in preparation for its occupation in December 1979, when one regiment of the 105th Guards Airborne Division landed. Bagram became a primary regional center for independent air regiments as a base for the protection of Kabul and the Salang Pass. Although well-fortified, Bagram air base was frequently attacked. On June 3, 1985, mujahedin forces under Commander Abdul Karim led an attack in which he allegedly destroyed 60 to 70 aircraft and killed scores of Soviet soldiers. After the mujahedin capture of Kabul, Bagram became an important base of Burhanuddin Rabbani’s government until it was conquered by the Taliban. After the fall of the Taliban, the base was used by British forces to protect the channeling of humanitarian assistance to Kabul and to bring in units of the UN peace force. It then became a base in control of U.S. forces.

BAHES, BAHRUDDIN (BAES). A native of Darwaz, Badakhshan, he was educated in Islamic studies and law at Kabul University. He became an opponent of the Muhammad Daud government and the subsequent Marxist regime. Said to have been a sympathizer of Se-tam-i Milli and possibly also a member of SAMA (see KALAKANI, ABDUL MAJID), he was arrested after the Saur Revolt in 1978 and was secretly executed during the Nur Muhammad Taraki period. According to unconfirmed reports, the kidnappers of the American ambassador Adolph Dubs wanted to gain Bahes’s freedom in exchange for Dubs.

BAHSUD (BEHSUD). See HAZARA.

BAIANZAI. See ACHAKZAI.

BAIHAQI, ABU’L FAZL (995–1077). Secretary to the Ghaznavid court and historian of the dynasty. Of his monumental work, the 30-volume Mujalladat, the extant portion covers the period of Mas’ud (1030–1041), called Tarikh-i Mas’ud (History of Masud) also called History of Baihaqi and Tarikh-i Naseri. Baihaqi was born in 995 in
Baihaq, the present Sabzawar in Farah Province of Afghanistan. He studied in Nishapur and became one of the most gifted and graceful writers of Persian prose. He was imprisoned briefly for failure of paying a dowry to a former wife. For 19 years he worked under Abu Nasr Mushkan and was head of the Ghaznavid secretariat for a brief time.

BAIQARA, SULTAN HUSAIN (1469–1506). Timurid ruler at Herat and major patron of the arts. At his court were gathered Kamaluddin Behzad, the master calligrapher and miniature painter; Mulla Nuruddin Abdul Rahman Jami, mystic, scholar, and one of the great classical Persian poets; and others. Sultan Husain’s Wazir Amir Shir Ali Nawa’i was a great statesman who wrote poetry in Turkish.

BAKHTAR AFGHAN AIRLINES. See ARIANA AFGHAN AIRLINES; AVIATION.

BALA HISAR. A citadel within a walled town, usually on the crest of a mountain or hill, serving as the residence of an Afghan ruler or governor. The Bala Hisar of Kabul is a huge complex built southwest of the ancient wall on Sher Darwaza Mountain. Until the nineteenth century its high stone walls surrounded a strong citadel that was the residence of the Kabul ruler and his court. Babur Shah and Timur-i Lang are said to have resided in it. High military and civilian officials were quartered within the outer walls. In the First Anglo-Afghan War the British forces built their defenses around a rectangular cantonment in the valley below instead of seeking the security of the Bala Hisar. This turned out to be a fatal mistake. The six-century-old fortress was destroyed on order of the British General Frederick Roberts after an explosion in the arsenal on October 16, 1879 killed a British officer and a number of soldiers of his Gurka unit. The fortress lay in ruins until Nadir Shah started the process of reconstruction in the early 1930s. It served as a military college and garrison since 1939. On August 5, 1979, an army regiment at the Bala Hisar revolted against the Khalqi regime, and it took a four-hour battle in which MI-24 gun ships and considerable heavy artillery were employed before the revolt was suppressed. Subsequently, the fortress was able to withstand mujahedin attacks and fell into their
hands only with the capture of Kabul. In the recent civil war the Bala Hisar of Kabul was occupied by the Uzbek forces of Abdul Rashid Dostum, later by Burhanuddin Rabbani, who was in turn expelled by the Taliban. Aerial warfare and modern weapons technology have made fortresses of this type obsolete.

BALKH (36°46' N, 66°54' E). A province in northcentral Afghanistan with an area of about 4,633 square miles and a population of about 570,000 (1991 est. up to 717,000). The administrative capital of the province is Mazar-i Sharif, with about 103,000 inhabitants in 1978, and the location of a shrine Afghans believe to be the burial place of the Caliph Ali (d. 640). The town of Balkh, located on the Balkhab River about 14 miles west of Mazar-i Sharif, derives its name from the ancient city of Bactria amidst the ruins of which it is located. According to local tradition Balkh was founded by Balkh ibn Balakh ibn Saman ibn Salam ibn Ham ibn Nuh (Noah). Zoroastrian tradition holds that it was the birthplace of Zoroaster and was built by the Aryan ruler Bakhdi (or Keiomarz) who founded the Pishdadian dynasty. The city was captured by Alexander the Great (320s B.C.) and became the capital of the Greek satrapy of Bactria. In the second century B.C., Bactria was invaded by Turkic nomads who renamed the area Tukharestan. Subsequently the Kushans (see KUSHANID KINGDOM) ruled over the area, followed by other dynasties. The ancestor of the famous Barmakid family of Abbasid wazirs (r. 781–803), Barmak (priest), was a native of Balkh. Genghis Khan (r. 1206–1226) destroyed the city, but it was rebuilt during the Timurid period (fifteenth century). In 1480 the tomb of the Caliph Ali was believed to be discovered where Mazar-i Sharif is now located, and Balkh lost its significance. Because of its antiquity, the town is known as “Mother of Cities.”

BALKHI, JALALUDDIN RUMI (1207–1273). Known as Jalaluddin Rumi (from A., Rum, Asia Minor), where he spent the greater part of his life. He is acclaimed as the most eminent Sufi poet in Persian, famous for his mystical mathnawis (a poetic form in rhyming distichs) which “rank among the great poems of all time” (E. G. Brown, A Literary History of Persia). Jalaluddin was the founder of the maulawiyya order of “whirling dervishes,” whose dance was part of
their ritual. He was born in 1207 in Balkh and is therefore claimed as a native son by the Afghans and called by the appellation Balkhi (the one from Balkh).

**BALKHI, RABI’A.** Famous poetess in Dari and a contemporary of Rudaki (the first great poet in Persian after the advent of Islam, d. 940 A.D.). She was born in Balkh in the tenth century and therefore called Balkhi by Afghans. Some of her ghazals are extant. Legend has it that she fell in love with a Turkish slave, named Baktash, and had to pay for this illicit love with her life.

**BALUCH.** One of Afghanistan’s ethnic minorities located primarily in Nimruz and scattered in small numbers over Helmand, Farah, Herat, Fariab, Jozjan, Kunduz, and Badakhshan Provinces. Their numbers were estimated in the 1970s between 100,000 and 200,000. Virtually all are Sunnis and speakers of the Baluchi language (except for the Dari-speaking Qataghan Baluch). The Baluch are no longer organized into specific tribes and are largely sedentary; their “heartland” lies in the Baluchistan Provinces of Iran and Pakistan, where they are said to number about five million. Small numbers also exist in the Soviet Union. Since the mid-1970s some 2,500 Baluch guerrillas, fighting for autonomy in Pakistan, have found shelter in southern Afghanistan. After the Saur Revolt, the Nur Muhammad Taraki government issued Decree No. 4 for the “evolution of literature, education and publication in mother tongues of tribes and nationalities” and declared Baluchi a “national” language whose use was permitted on Afghan media. The Brahui who speak a Dravidian language have now largely assimilated with the Baluch.

**BAMIAN (BAMYAN, 34º50' N, 67º50' E).** A province in central Afghanistan with an area of about 6,757 square miles and a population of about 285,000 (1991 est. up to 332,000) and a town of the same name that is the administrative center of the province. The town lies at an altitude of about 8,200 feet above sea level, about 205 miles by road north of Kabul. Bamian is part of the Hazarajat, the mountainous country of central Afghanistan, that is inhabited primarily by Hazaras. The province is famous for its two Buddha statues, respectively 120 and 175 feet in height, dating from the fifth and third centuries.
A.D. The statues were hewn into solid rock and overlaid with stucco, and, although they suffered from the ravages of time and destruction by man, some of the stucco works and wall paintings were still preserved. The walls of the 300-foot-high cliffs are honeycombed with caves that served as living quarters of Buddhist monks and are still inhabited today. The sculptures and paintings are an eclectic hybrid mixing Indian, Central Asian, Iranian, and classical European art styles and ideas. On February 26, 2001, Mulla Muhammad Omar, head of the Taliban regime, ordered the destructions of the statues, and, in spite of worldwide pleas for its protection, destruction began on March 1 and was completed within 10 days. According to some claims, Pakistani and Saudi nationals provided technical advice. In 2002 the Hamid Karzai government announced that the statues would be restored in tribute to Afghanistan’s ancient culture.

**BAND-I AMIR (34°50' N, 67°12' E).** A series of five clear, blue lakes on the north side of the Koh-i Baba in Bamian Province. The lakes are formed by the flow of water over a succession of natural dams, running from the higher to the next one below. According to local tradition the dams were the creation of Caliph Ali, and the word “amir” (commander) refers to the Caliph, not to any Afghan ruler.

Band-i Amir is also the name of a river which rises in the Band-i Amir lakes and runs through the Yakowlang Valley in a southwesterly direction until it turns northeast, at which point it is known as the Balkhab; finally it turns north and dissipates in the Turkestan plains. The country on its upper course, especially the Yakowlang Valley, is inhabited by Dai Zangi Hazaras (see HAZARA).

**BAND-I BABA (34°37' N, 62°40' E).** A range of hills north of the Hari Rud Valley, called by the Turkomans Barkhudung Dagh and known in European sources as the Paropamisus. The Koh-i Baba mountain range forks into three branches: the Band-i Turkestan in the north; the Band-i Baian in the south; and the central range of the Band-i Baba, which extends east and rises to a height of some 5,000 feet above the Herat Valley.

**BAND-I TURKESTAN (35°30' N, 64°0' E).** The northern branch of the Koh-i Baba mountain range that runs in a northwestern direction,
circling the basin of the upper Murghab River and dividing it from Band-i Amir River. It extends from an area about 45 miles southwest of Maimana and runs for about 125 miles in a generally east-west direction, its northern slopes giving rise to the Sar-i Pul, Maimana, and Kaisar Rivers. The highest peak in the range is the Zangilak, which reaches an altitude of about 11,600 feet.

BANK-I MILLI. See BANKING.

BANKING. Until the early 1930s there were no banks in Afghanistan, and the banking business was conducted by private individuals and moneylenders. In addition to the Afghan ṭūpiā, minted in Kabul, silver and gold coins from neighboring countries were also in circulation. It was at times necessary to send caravans of gold and silver bullion to the interior of the country to meet the demand for financial transactions, a risky practice in times of unrest. In 1932 Abdul Majid Zabuli, a pioneering Afghan entrepreneur, founded the Ashami Company, a stock company that was chartered as a commercial bank in 1934. Incorporated with a capital of 35 million Afghani (£745,500), it was authorized to issue banknotes, import sugar and petroleum products, transact all government purchases and sales, and hold sole option on the exploitation of all mines and the establishment of all industrial institutions in Afghanistan. It became a vital factor in the process of industrialization of Afghanistan and the establishment of a textile industry in the Kunduz and Pul-i Khumri areas.

Its monopoly was ended in 1938 with the establishment of the Da Afghanistan Bank, which performed the functions of a central bank. Its task was to issue currency notes and control the exchange rate of the currency. In 1955 the Afghan Commercial Bank (Pashtanai Tejarati Bank) was established as a joint-stock company for the purpose of developing the commerce of the country. A bank of construction and mortgages existed since 1948 to assist the construction of low-cost houses for government employees as well as hotels and various public buildings. All banks were nationalized during the Muhammad Daud regime, a policy that was continued after the Saur Revolt of 1978. In the 1990s the Bank-i Milli had seven branches in Kabul and 10 in the provinces, as well as offices in London, New York, Hamburg, and Karachi.
The war in Afghanistan and the occupation of rural areas by mujahedin forces has severely restricted banking activities. In the ensuing civil war after the fall of the Marxist regime, the Kabul government of Burhanuddin Rabbani had a monopoly in issuing money, which was printed in Russia under a previous contract. Because of inflation, banknotes in denominations of 5,000 and 10,000 Afghanis were issued in 1996. Eventually, six different printings of Afghanis, including fakes, were used by different warlords, and after the fall of the Taliban regime, the Afghani reached an exchange rate of one dollar to 76,000. The Taliban government kept virtually no records and did not issue any annual reports, leaving the newly established interim government with almost no resources and no usable banks. On October 7, 2002, the new transitional government started a currency reform, issuing new Afghanis at the rate of one for 1,000 old ones.

BARAKATULLAH, MAULAWI. An Indian revolutionary and “prime minister” in 1919 in the “Provisional Government of India in Exile” in which Mahendra Pratap was president and Maulawi Obaidullah home minister. He met Sardar Nasrullah in England during the latter’s visit in 1895 and became a news writer (political reporter) for him thereafter, and in 1915 he came to Kabul as a member of the Hentig-Niedermayer expedition. Subsequently he is said to have represented Mahmud Tarzi as editor of the Seraj al-Akhbar Afghaniya while Tarzi was in Europe. In 1927 Barakatullah accompanied Mahendra Pratap to the United States and died shortly thereafter in San Francisco.

BARAKI. A tribe of Tajiks, intermarried with Ghilzais, and settled in the Logar and Butkhak areas south and east of Kabul by Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni in the eleventh century. The Barakis accompanied the Ghaznavid ruler on his invasions of India and were rewarded for their services with a perpetual grant of the lands of Kaniguram in Waziristan. They are divided into the Barakis of Rajan who speak Persian and the Barakis of Barak who speak an idiom of their own.

BARAKZAI. An important section of the Zirak branch of the Durrani to which the Barakzai/Muhammadzai ruling family belongs. In numbers, economic, and political strength they were the paramount
tribe of Afghanistan. Their heartland is in the area south of Kandahar, the valley of the Arghastan River, the banks of the Helmand, and the plains bounded by the Helmand River. They were soldiers in the service of Nadir Shah, founder of the short-lived Afsharid dynasty in Iran, and were settled on land seized from the Ghilzai. They continued to hold jagirs, fiefs, in exchange for their military services to Ahmad Shah Durrani. When Painda Khan, leader of the Barakzais, was assassinated, the Barakzai chiefs under Dost Muhammad ousted and replaced the Sadozai dynasty. The Barakzai continue to possess large areas of agricultural land and extensive flocks in the area between Herat and Kandahar.

BARECHI. A tribe of Afghans inhabiting the Shorawak region, south of Kandahar. They are divided into the Mandozai, Zakozai, Badalzai, and Shirani, the first three of whom are said to descend from Barech, son of Sharaf-ud-Din and grandson of Saraban, the son of Qais, the putative ancestor of all the Pashtuns. The Barechis are cultivators, irrigating their lands from the Lora, which is the lifeline of the Shorawak Valley. They are also known as camel breeders and export their wool to Kandahar. They have been described as peaceful and “fine men . . . and excellent swordsmen.” They intermarry with their Brahui neighbors and, like them, are of the Sunni school of Islam.

BAREQ-SHAFI’I, MUHAMMAD HASAN. A leading Afghan poet, writer, and high-ranking member of the Peoples Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA). He is a Pashtun, born in 1932 in Kabul and educated at Ghazi High School and the theological college in Kabul. He was editor of a number of newspapers and journals, including Nendari (Theater), Zhuandun (Life), Pashtun Zhagh (Pashtun Voice), and director of Payam-i Imruz (Message of the Day). Member of the Parchami faction of the PDPA from the beginning, he became editor of Khalq in 1966. After the Saur Revolt he became minister of information and culture in 1978 and minister of transport in 1979. During the Khalqi period he was forced to denounce Babrak Karmal and, after the latter succeeded to power, Bareq-Shafi’i was demoted to the status of alternate member of the central committee. He was appointed first vice president of the central council of the National Fatherland Front in 1982 and subsequently became governor of Herat.
Province. In 1985 he was appointed second secretary of the Afghan embassy in Libya, and in May 1987 he was appointed editor-in-chief of *Haqiqat-i Inqilab-i Saur* (The True Saur Revolution), the party organ during the presidency of Babrak Karmal, and of *Payam*, its successor, in 1989. He was chairman of the union of journalists but then was unemployed. His daughter is married to Nur Ahmad Nur. Bareq-Shafi’i is said to have sought asylum in Europe.

**BARYALAI, MAHMUD.** Appointed by Najibullah as first deputy prime minister in May 1990 and member of the executive board of the central council of the Hizb-i Watan. Born in 1944 in Kabul and educated at Habibia School, Kabul University, and the Soviet Union, he is a half brother of Babrak Karmal and son-in-law of Anahita Ratebzad. A charter member of the Peoples Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA), he was imprisoned from 1965–1966 for his political activities. He went to the Soviet Union and received an M.A. degree in political economics. After the Saur Revolt he was appointed Afghan ambassador to Pakistan in July 1978 and recalled and purged in October by the Khalqi regime but did not return to Kabul. After the ouster of Hafizullah Amin, he became head of the international relations department of the PDPA. In 1980 he also became editor of the party organ, *Haqiqat-i Inqilab-i Saur*. He was expelled from the party in July 1991, shortly before the return of Babrak Karmal to Afghanistan. After the fall of the Marxist regime, he lived for a brief time in Microrayon, where he was elected head of the Communist party. Later he moved into the area controlled by General Abdul Rashid Dostum and is said to have sought asylum abroad.

**BASHGAL (LANDAI SIND, 35º20' N, 71º32' E).** Meaning “Short River,” it rises on the southern slopes of the Hindu Kush near the Mandal Pass (15,300 feet) in Kunar Province and, running in a south-southwesterly direction, flows into the Kunar River. The river is also known by its Pashtu name, Landai Sind, and the name Arnawai. The Bashgal Valley of Nuristan is inhabited by the Katir, Madugal, Kashtan, and Kam peoples. They were converted to Islam in 1897.

**BASMACHIS.** An irregular force, called Basmachis (T., bandits) by the Soviet government, that fought the Bolshevik army in the mountains
of Tajikistan and Ferghana in Soviet Central Asia from 1919 until the 1930s. Their leaders included Muhammad Amin Beg, Ibrahim Beg, and Enver Pasha, the minister of war and leader of the Ottoman war government who fled Turkey after the war. For a time the Basmachis enjoyed a measure of support from King Amanullah, who was not averse to becoming the king of a Central Asian confederation.

When the Bolshevik government succeeded in consolidating its power in Central Asia, Ibrahim Beg was forced to use Afghanistan as a sanctuary. After a hot pursuit into Afghan territory by the Red Army, Sardar Shah Mahmud expelled Ibrahim Beg, who was captured by Soviet forces and executed in April 1931. See also RUSSIAN-AFGHAN RELATIONS.

BAZAAR. A traditional marketplace varying in size from a few temporary stalls in a village lane with a minimum of goods for a rural population to a major marketplace in a large town. The bazaar is often adjacent to the mosque, and in towns and cities it was frequently covered. Shops are usually segregated according to crafts and the types of goods sold. The bazaar is usually in the old town, whereas Western-type shops exist in the “new town” (D., Shahr-i Nau). See also ARMS BAZAAR.

BEHESHTI, SAYYID ALI. President of the Revolutionary Council of the Islamic Union of Afghanistan (Shura-yi Inqilab-i-yi Ittifaq-i Islami-yi Afghanistan), which until 1982 controlled large portions of the Hazarajat. He is a native of Bamian and was educated in Saudi Arabia and Iraq, where he was a contemporary of Ayatollah Khomeini. He opened a madrasa in Waras to spread his revivalist ideas among Hazaras and was speaker in the Takkia Khana at Kabul until the Saur Revolt. In September 1979 he was elected president of the Shura by a council of elders and mirs. He formed a traditional Islamic resistance group, commanded by Sayyid Muhammad Hasan “J agran” (major), with headquarters in Waras in Ghor Province and became a major force in the Hazarajat until the Shura lost ground to the Islamist forces of Sazman-i Nasr. The Shura recruited its fighters from the Hazara peasantry, officered by sayyids. Beheshti appointed governors and mayors of towns, disarmed the population, and created a state apparatus along traditional lines. Torn by factional fighting and pressed by radical Islamists, his domains were greatly
reduced. He joined Burhanuddin Rabbani but was driven from Kabul by the Taliban.

**BEHZAD, KAMALUDDIN (1450?–1535).** Master calligrapher and miniature painter who founded the Herati school of miniature painting. He did the illustrations in the Bustan manuscripts of Sa’di that are at the National Library of Egypt at Cairo. Orphaned as a youth, he was reared and trained by Amir Ruhulla Mirak Naqqash. He became a protege of Shir Ali Nawa’i, Sultan Husain Baiqara’s prime minister. After the Safavid ruler Shah Ismail captured Herat in 1510, he took Behzad to Tabriz. Behzad became director of the royal library there and continued the miniature tradition until he died in Tabriz.

**BENAWA, ABDUL RAUF.** A writer, Pashtun activist, and diplomat. He was born in 1913 in Kandahar and educated in that city. He published the newspaper Tulu-i Afghan (Afghan Sunrise), a number of articles, and a book entitled Pashtana Likwal (Writers of Pashtu). He became president of the Pashtu Academy (see AFGHAN ACADEMY) and later director of Radio Kabul (see RADIO AFGHANISTAN). Benawa served as press attaché in New Delhi (1954–1955) and Cairo (1964–1966) and became minister of information and culture in 1967. He was ambassador to Libya, 1980–1984; then came to the United States for medical treatment and died there in 1984.

**BIN LADEN.** See LADEN, OSAMA BIN.

**BIRUNI, ABU RAYHAN AL-. (973–1048).** Chronicler, astrologer, and scholar at the court of Mahmud of Ghazni. He accompanied the Ghaznavid ruler on his campaigns to India and studied Sanskrit and Indian philosophy there. He was one of the most profound and original scholars of medieval Islam. Born about 973 A.D near Khiva, he was first at the court of the Khwarizm Shahs in Transcaspia and was later called to the court of Mahmud of Ghazni. He was a prolific scholar, said to have 180 works to his name, and as tradition has it his works have “exceeded a camel-load.”

**BISMIL, MUHAMMAD ANWAR.** Poet and director of the Afghan Literary Society (see AFGHAN ACADEMY) in the early 1930s.
Born in 1908 in Kabul and educated at Habibia School, he was imprisoned in 1932 for membership in the secret “Young Afghan Society” (Jawanan-i Afghanistan), a reformist social and political movement. In the 1960s he was appointed a member of the senate. His mother tongue is Dari.

BITAB, SUFI ABDUL. Poet laureate (Malik al-Shu’ara) of Afghanistan who attained the status of master (Khālīfa) of the Naqshbandi Sufi fraternity. He was born in 1892 in Qasab Kocha in Kabul city and educated under the supervision of his uncle Mulla Abdul Ghafur, after which he embarked on a career of teaching at Habibia School and Kabul University. He was awarded the title of poet laureate in 1951 but was also respected as a commentator of hadith and author of numerous publications in a variety of fields. He died in 1958.

BONN CONFERENCE. A conference convened at the palacial Petersburg Hotel in Königswinter near Bonn from November 27 until December 5, 2001. It was held under the auspices of the United Nations to bring the Afghan representatives to agree on formation of an interim government that was to prepare the way for creating a broad-based Afghan government.

Lakhdar Brahimi, the special UN envoy to Afghanistan, urged the assembled members “not to repeat the past mistakes . . . and choose compromise over conflict.” The groups consisted of representatives of the Northern Alliance, which was in control of the capital Kabul, the Rome delegation of the ex-king’s supporters, the Cyprus group of independent exiles, and the Peshawar group of Sayyid Ahmad Gailani supporters. German Foreign Minister Joschka Fischer stressed the importance of the meeting, saying: “they [groups] shouldered a historic responsibility to bring peace to Afghanistan after years of war.” After arduous negotiations the representatives agreed to set up an interim government, headed by Hamid Karzai, in which the Northern Alliance secured the ministries of defense, interior, and foreign affairs. Abdul Qadir, a Pashtun, withdrew, protesting that Pashtuns were underrepresented in the new government.

The Bonn Agreement completed its task, selecting a transitional government, approved by a Loya Jirga, in which the Northern Alliance continued its dominant position.
BOST. See LASHKARGAH.

BRAHIMI, LAKHDAR. Appointed on October 3, 2001, special representative for Afghanistan with authority for the humanitarian, human rights, and political endeavors of the United Nations in Afghanistan. He attended the Bonn Conference (November 27–December 5) where he succeeded in winning an agreement by four major groups for the establishment of a six-month interim government, which prepared the way for convening a Loya Jirga and establishment of a two-year transitional government. Brahimi served previously (July 1997 until October 1999) as special envoy to Afghanistan, but failed to bring the warring parties to agreement on a peaceful solution. Great international pressure and the promise of considerable developmental aid made his second effort successful. Brahimi was born on January 1, 1934, and educated in Algeria and France. He served as ambassador to Britain and Egypt and was minister of foreign affairs of Algeria from 1991 to 1993. In addition to his activities in Afghanistan, Brahimi served as special representative of the United Nations in Haiti and South Africa. See also APPENDICES 3, 4, and 5A.

BRAHUI. A small ethnic community that speaks a Dravidian language and is located in the southern parts of Nimruz and Kandahar Provinces. They are tenant farmers and hired herders and number about 20,000 (although numbers as high as 200,000 are given). Most Brahui also speak Pashtu and Baluchi and consider themselves akin to the Baluch. The majority of Brahui live in the Pakistan province of Baluchistan, where they are divided into two major branches: the Sarawan tribe, claimed to be of Afghan descent, in the area north of Kalat, and the Jhalawan to the south. The leading, but by no means largest, section among the Sarawan is the Raisani, whose chief is the sardar of all the Sarawan. Among the Jhalawan the Muhammad Hasanis, or Mamasanis, are the most numerous. They are Sunni Muslims of the Hanafi school.

BRESHNA, ABDUL GHAFUR. Most prominent of Afghan painters, as well as an expert musician, composer, and playwright. He succeeded Ghulam Muhammad Musawwer Maimanagi as director of
the Kabul School of Fine Arts in 1933 and later became president of all Afghan fine arts schools. He wrote plays for Radio Kabul (see RADIO AFGHANISTAN) and was a master cartoonist for the Anis newspaper. He composed the national anthem of the Republic of Afghanistan, established in 1973 by Muhammad Daud. Born in 1907 of a Muhammadzai family, he was educated at Habibia School and in Germany. He died on January 4, 1974.

BRITAIN. See FOREIGN RELATIONS.

BRITISH EAST INDIA COMPANY. See EAST INDIA COMPANY, BRITISH.

BURNES, ALEXANDER (1805–1841). A captain in the Indian Army who was sent by Lord George Eden Auckland, governor-general of the British East India Company, to the court of Amir Dost Mohammad in September 1837 for the purpose of concluding an alliance with Britain and establishing peace between the Afghan ruler and Ranjit Singh, who had captured Kashmir and occupied Peshawar. Burnes was well received at Kabul, and it appeared that an agreement with the amir was possible; but in spite of Burnes’s recommendations Lord Auckland was not willing to make any promises. He recommended that Dost Mohammad waive his claims on Peshawar and make peace with the Sikh ruler. The Afghan amir’s correspondence with Russia and the presence of a purported Russian emissary at Kabul, named Iwan Vitkevich, was India’s reason for starting the First Anglo-Afghan War. Burnes returned to Kabul with the invading forces to serve as deputy and presumed successor of Sir William Macnaghten, the envoy and minister of the British government at Kabul. A revolt in Kabul resulted in the assassination of Sir Alexander (he had been knighted shortly before) on November 2, 1841, and the British debacle in the war (See also FOREIGN RELATIONS).

BURQA. See CHADARI.

BUZKASHI. An Afghan national game originating in Central Asia and played primarily by Uzbeks, Turkoman, and Tajiks of northern Afghanistan. Buzkashi means “goat-pulling” and is played on
horseback by two opposing teams who use the carcass of a calf (a goat was used in former days) as their object of competition. The purpose is to lift up the carcass from the center of a circle, carry it around a point some distance away, and put it again in its original place. All this has to be done on horseback and the chapandaz, expert player, must try to keep possession of the headless carcass. Cash prizes are given to the player who scores a goal and to the winning team. Champion teams used to perform each year on major holidays and the king’s birthday in Kabul. The tradition of Buzkashi continued even in exile in Pakistan.

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CALENDAR. Afghanistan reckons time according to the Islamic era that begins with the emigration (ḥijrā) of the Prophet Muhammad from Mecca to Medina in 622 A.D. Afghans use two dates, one for Islamic festivities based on the Arabic lunar (qāmārī) year, the other for administrative purposes based on the solar (shāmī) year. The lunar year is 11 days shorter than the solar calendar, therefore the months do not correspond to the seasons. One of King Amanullah’s lasting innovation was the introduction of the solar calendar. The Afghan solar year begins on March 21, which is nauruz, New Year’s day, and in 1990 corresponded to the solar year 1369, or the lunar year 1410. Newspapers in Afghanistan usually carried all three dates. The months are named after the signs of the Zodiac as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pashtu</th>
<th>Zodiac</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hammal</td>
<td>Wray Aries (Ram)</td>
<td>March 21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saur</td>
<td>Ghwayai Taurus (Bull)</td>
<td>April 21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jauza</td>
<td>Gargholai Gemini (Twins)</td>
<td>May 22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saratan</td>
<td>Chungash Cancer (Crab)</td>
<td>June 22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asad</td>
<td>Zmarai Leo (Lion)</td>
<td>July 23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sonbola</td>
<td>Wazhay Virgo (Virgin)</td>
<td>August 23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mizan</td>
<td>Talah Libra (Scales)</td>
<td>September 23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aqrab</td>
<td>Larum Scorpio (Scorpion)</td>
<td>October 23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qaus</td>
<td>Lindah Sagittarius ( Archer)</td>
<td>November 22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jadi</td>
<td>Merghumai Capricornus (Goat)</td>
<td>December 22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dalw</td>
<td>Salwagah Aquarius (Water Carrier)</td>
<td>January 21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hut</td>
<td>Kab Pisces (Fish)</td>
<td>February 20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The first six months have 31 days, the next five months have 30 days each, and the last (Hut) has 29 days and 30 days in a leap year. The week ends on Friday, Jum’a, which is the day of rest. The four seasons are bahar (spring), tabestan (summer), khazan (fall), and zemestan (winter).

According to one author (Poladi, 1989), the Chagatai (12-year cycle), still exists in the Hazarajat. The years are named after animals as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Animal</th>
<th>Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mush</td>
<td>Mouse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palang</td>
<td>Leopard</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nahang</td>
<td>Dragon *</td>
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<tr>
<td>Faras</td>
<td>Hare *</td>
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<tr>
<td>Shadi</td>
<td>Ape</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kalb</td>
<td>Dog</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Baqar</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Khargush</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mar</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Gusfand</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Murgh</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Khuk</td>
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<td>Ox</td>
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<td>Rabbit</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Snake</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sheep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pig</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The winter season, lasting much longer in most parts of Afghanistan, is divided into 11 Toghal (countings). The Taliban returned exclusively to reckoning according to the lunar calendar.

* Translation dubious, LWA.

**CALIPH.** The word is derived from the Arabic khalifâ, meaning “successor,” and was adopted as a title by the leader of the Muslim community after the death of the Prophet Muhammad. The office was first held by the companions of the Prophet, the four Rightly Guided Caliphs (r. 632–750), then by the Abbasids (r. 750–1258) until the Mongol conquest of Baghdad. The rise of military rulers, sultans, ended the importance of the caliphate until Ottoman rulers claimed both the sultanate and the caliphate in an effort to legitimize their rule over the entire Islamic world. Afghanistan and India recognized the legitimacy of the Ottoman claim, but were unable to heed the caliph’s call for war (jihad) against the Allies in World War I. After the defeat of the Ottoman Empire, Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, the founder of modern Turkey, abolished the office of the caliphate in March 1924. Attempts to nominate King Amanullah for the position did not succeed.

**CAMPBELL, WILLIAM.** A Scotsman, officer in the British East India Company service, who fought in the army of Ranjit Singh and during the Second Anglo-Afghan War in the service of Shah Shuja.
He was wounded and captured by forces of Dost Muhammad and became military adviser and artillery instructor in the Afghan army. He eventually converted to Islam, assuming the name Shir Muhammad Khan, and rose to the rank of general and commander in chief of the Turkistan army at Balkh. As a youth, Amir Abdul Rahman learned his military sciences from Campbell and succeeded him in 1866 as commander in chief of the Turkistan army.

CAPITULATION, TREATY OF. On December 11, 1841, the British forces negotiated a surrender with Afghan chiefs, after it was clear that they were unable to defend themselves from increasing Afghan attacks. The treaty was signed by Eldred Pottinger, the political agent at Kabul, Major-General William Elphinstone, commander of the British forces in Afghanistan, and by Afghan notables including Sardar Muhammad Akbar. It demanded that the British troops speedily quit the territories of Afghanistan and march to India and not return. Two sardars were to accompany the army to Afghanistan’s border “so that no one should offer molestation on the road.” Six English gentlemen were to remain “as our guests [and] shall be treated with courtesy.” They would be permitted to leave when Amir Dost Muhammad had returned. The British force at Jalalabad was to proceed to Peshawar before the Kabul army arrived, and the troops at Kandahar and other parts of Afghanistan were to depart. All property belonging to Sardar Dost Muhammad Khan was to be returned. If the Afghans needed assistance against foreign invasion, the British government should help; and all detained Englishmen, including the sick and wounded at Kabul, would be permitted to leave. “All muskets and ordnance stores in the magazine shall, as a token of friendship, be made over to our agents.” Affixed to the treaty were the seals of 18 chiefs, including Muhammad Akbar Khan, son of Amir Dost Muhammad. (The text of the treaty differs to some extent from the version given by Lady Florentia Sale in her Journal of the Disasters in Afghanistan, 1841-1842. This may be due to the fact that the treaty was several times amended before the final version was signed.) The treaty was never implemented, as none of the parties trusted the other. Sir William Macnaghten was killed by Sardar Akbar Khan after he tried to make a deal with the sardar’s enemies, and the British refused to surrender all their weapons. The British army started its evacuation of Kabul on January 6, 1842, and was routed on its way to the bor-
CAVAGNARI, SIR PIERRE LOUIS. A man of mixed British and French ancestry described variously as having “great charm and ability” and being a man “of overbearing temper, consumed by the thirst for personal distinction.” He was signatory for the British government of the Treaty of Gandomak (1879) with Amir Yaqub Khan. As commissioner of Peshawar, he crossed the Afghan border on September 21, 1878, with a small party to prepare the way for the British mission of Sir Neville Chamberlain to proceed to Kabul. The party was stopped at Ali Masjid by the Afghan General Faiz Muhammad, and the British government made this a casus belli. On November 21 an Indian army invaded Afghanistan. Cavagnari was appointed British envoy to the amir’s court at Kabul after the conclusion of the Second Anglo-Afghan War. He arrived in Kabul in July 1879, but on September 3, mutinous soldiers, joined by Kabuli citizens, attacked the British residence and killed Cavagnari and his staff. The British government feared a debacle similar to the First Anglo-Afghan War and extricated its forces from Afghanistan by recognizing Abdul Rahman as the new amir. It was not until 1922 that a British envoy was again appointed to Kabul.

CAVAGNARI, SIR PIERRE LOUIS, RECEPTION OF. A Kabul telegram of July 26, 1879, reported that the “Embassy entered city this morning, and received a most brilliant reception. Four miles from city Sirdars Abdullah Khan, Herati, and Mullah Shah Mahomed, the foreign minister, with some cavalry and two elephants, met us. We proceeded on the elephants with a large escort of cavalry . . . Large crowd assembled, and was most orderly and respectful.” Cavagnari had an audience with the amir, and a news writer reported “that the general opinion in Kabul is that now that the British Envoy has arrived, the arrears of pay due to the troops will be paid; that compulsory enlistment will be discontinued; and that oppressive taxes on the peasantry and on the trading classes will be considerably reduced.” But on August 3, it was reported that the amir contemplated a reduction of the allowance hitherto paid to the Muhammadzai sardars. Three days later it was reported that the “Herati troops move around town in a most disorderly manner, and creating some excitement
amongst the rabble of the place.” To appease them two Herati regiments were paid, and two regiments were deprived of their ammunition. Eventually all were paid, and their ammunition was taken, but on September 4 the embassy was attacked and all members killed.

A letter dated September 6, from the Amir Yaqub to the British government lamented: “Troops, city, and surrounding country have thrown off yoke of allegiance . . . Workshop and magazines totally gutted: in fact, my kingdom is ruined. After God I look to the Government for aid and advice.” (PP)

CHADOR (D., BURQA, TENT). A tent-like garment, or veil, worn by women in Afghanistan. It consists of a headpiece with an embroidered eye patch through which a woman can see without revealing her face. The headpiece is attached to a pleated cloak which envelops the entire body. This garment was obligatory for all except nomad and peasant women at work. In the final year of his reign King Amanullah encouraged women to discard the veil, and many did, but the civil war of 1929 brought an end to this innovation. It was not until 1959 that Prime Minister Muhammad Daud again permitted women to appear in public without the veil, and by the late 1970s women of all walks of life had abandoned the chador and participated in the economic life of the country. After their conquest of Kabul, the Taliban again enforced the wearing of chadors. After the fall of the Taliban regime, women only gradually began to discard the veil, although many continued to wear them for security reasons.

CHAGHCHARAN (34°31' N, 65°15' E). A small town built near a fort (qasr) in the early 1960s as the administrative center of Ghor Province. It is located on the Hari Rud River at an altitude of about 7,000 feet, the cause of its severely cold winters. Agriculture, facilitated by irrigation from the Hari Rud and Murghab Rivers, and livestock breeding are the major occupations of the inhabitants who are primarily Taimanis. Chaghcharan was the heartland of the Ghorid sultanate, which flourished from the eleventh to thirteenth centuries and ruled over an empire that extended from eastern Iran to Delhi in India and from Marv south to the Persian Gulf.

CHAHAR AIMAQ. See AIMAQ.
CHAI KHANA. The institution of the “teahouse,” a traditional resting place where travelers stop to eat, listen to bazaar gossip, and find shelter for the night. Chai khana (D., chai = tea, khana = house) exist in every village and along roads leading to towns, but motorized travel on major highways has greatly reduced the traveler’s need for the service offered by the teahouse.

CHAKHANSUR (31º10’ N, 62º4’ E). A small town with a population of about 25,000 inhabitants, located amid the ruins of the ancient capital of Sistan and an administrative district in Nimruz (until 1968 Chakhansur) Province in the extreme southwest of Afghanistan. The district lies on a high plateau that is seasonally irrigated by the Khashrud River and bordered by desert. The inhabitants of the area are listed in order of numerical strength: Baluch, Brahui, Tajik or Farsiwan, and Pashtuns—most of them Sunni Muslims.

CHAMBERLAIN, SIR NEVILLE BOWLES (1820–1902). Commander in chief of the Madras army, selected by Lord Lytton for “his striking presence and address” to lead a mission to Kabul in September 1878. He was refused passage at Ali Masjid by the Afghan General Faiz Muhammad. This “insult” was taken as the casus belli for the British invasion of Afghanistan. Chamberlain served with General William Nott’s force during the First Anglo-Afghan War at Kandahar, Ghazni, Kabul, and Istalif and was several times wounded.

CHAMKANI (TSAMKANI, 33º48’ N, 69º49’ E). A district in the north of Paktia Province with an area of 102 square miles. The area is inhabited by people who claim to be Sulaiman Khel Ghilzais and subsequently adopted the name of the district as their tribal designation. (The Pashtu pronunciation is Tsamkani.) Haji Muhammad Chamkani, a member of this tribe, was appointed vice president and adviser to President Najibullah and chairman of the nationalities and tribal council, established in May 1988.

CHANDAWOL. See QIZILBASH.

CHAPAN. A traditional coat for men popular among the Turkic population of northern Afghanistan but also worn by other Afghans. It is a
CHAPANDAZ. A “master” horseman in the Buzkashi competition.

CHARIKAR (35º1' N, 69º11' E). A town with about 22,500 inhabitants located at the mouth of the Ghorband about 40 miles north of Kabul and an administrative district with an area of 73 square miles in Parwan Province. At the turn of the century the town was inhabited by Tajiks, Uzbeks, Qizilbashs, Hazaras, and some Hindus (all of the latter traders and shopkeepers). The position of Charikar is of great importance, as the roads over the Hindu Kush unite in its neighborhood. In 1839 Charikar was a major British military outpost that was virtually wiped out by Kuhistani forces who had joined in the general uprising against the British occupation forces.

CHARKHI. A family from Charkh, a village and administrative district in Logar Province. Prominent members of this family were three brothers: Ghulam Siddiq, Ghulam Nabi, and Ghulam Jilani (the sons of Amir Abdul Rahman’s famous General Ghulam Haidar). They were supporters of King Amanullah and hostile to the new dynasty established by Muhammad Nadir.

CHEHEL ZINA. An archaeological site on the western outskirts of Kandahar. Chehel Zina (D., forty steps) refers to steps hewn into solid rock, leading up to a vaulted chamber with inscriptions describing the conquests of the Moghul Emperor Babur (r. 1483–1530) and some subsequent rulers.

CHISHT (34º21' N, 63º44' E). A village and subdistrict in Herat Province about 26 miles east of Obeh. It is called Chisht-i Sharif because of the location of Sufi shrines in the village. It is inhabited by a section of Taimanis who claim descent from the ancient inhabitants of Ghor and assumed the name Chishtis. It is the birthplace of Muin ud-Din Muhammad (b. 1142), founder of the Chishti Sufi fraternity.
and is much revered in India. Abu Ishaq, also reputed to be a founder of the Chishti, came from Asia Minor and settled in Chisht. There are a number of other Sufi saints who bore the name (nīsba) Chishti. Members of the local community proclaimed a “Sufi Republic” early in the 1980s. There is little information on the political situation after the fall of the Taliban regime.

**Clarendon-Gortchakoff Agreement.** An agreement concluded in 1872–1873 between Britain and Russia defining part of Afghanistan’s northern frontier. The czar accepted the river Oxus (Amu Daria) down to Khwaja Salar as the northern boundary of Afghanistan, and pledged Russia to consider Afghanistan outside her sphere of influence. The Afghan amir was not consulted. See also Granville-Gortchakoff Agreement.

**Constitutional Development.** Until the late nineteenth century Afghanistan was governed by a tribal aristocracy, first under the Sadozai and later under the Barakzai branch of the Durrani. Power was decentralized, and members of the royal clan ruled autonomously in the provinces, accepting the suzerainty of the king, or amir, in the capital city.

Although various administrative departments had already existed since the time of Ahmad Shah, the king headed all departments and made the influential officers share in the responsibilities of decisions. As his sign of sovereignty his name was mentioned in the Friday sermon (khutba), and coins (silver and copper) were struck in his name. The courts were in the hands of the clergy, ulama, but the death penalty had to be approved by the king or a governor. Ahmad Shah forbade the mutilation of limbs, and he drafted a code which was, however, not enacted. Little was changed until the time of Amir Shir Ali, who was the first Afghan ruler to establish an advisory council to serve as a consultative body.

Amir Abdul Rahman, who increasingly centralized all powers in his hands, took the first steps to institutionalize a consultative body. He relied on advice from a council which was composed of three groups: the sardars—members of the royal clan; loyal tribal chiefs; and the ulama. The “Iron Amir” claimed all temporal and spiritual powers (imarat and imamat), and there existed no restraint on his arbitrary
rule, except the obligation to conform in his actions to the rules of Islamic law. Amir Habibullah, Abdul Rahman’s son, continued the tradition of his father. The first written document detailing the prerogatives of the ruler and the rights of the ruled was the Afghan constitution (nizam-nama-yi tashkilat-i asasiya-yi Afghanistan) promulgated by King Amanullah in October 1923. It consisted of 73 articles that enumerated the rights and prerogatives of the king, presented a “bill of rights” of Afghan citizens, and outlined the duties of ministers and government officials. It authorized the establishment of an advisory committee and provincial councils, half of whose members were to be elected by the people, and established a supreme court (divan-i ali). Financial affairs and the activities of provincial departments were defined.

King Amanullah was the chief executive, commander in chief, and last court of appeals. He appointed the ministers and presided over cabinet meetings, unless he delegated this task to the prime minister. He was the “Defender of the Faith,” having the sole right to issue currency and have his name invoked in the Friday sermons (khutba) during noon prayers. His power was absolute, but he established the institutions that could have evolved into representative government and a constitutional monarchy. The constitution promised civil rights to all, abolished slavery, granted non-Muslims religious freedom (but missionary activity was forbidden), and declared the homes of citizens immune from forcible entry. A number of later statutory enactments (nizam-nama) further defined the powers and composition of Parliament, which was housed in a new building just completed in Darulaman. Social reforms, such as the emancipation of women and free compulsory education, were decreed. King Amanullah’s constitution was never completely implemented, and his reforms were abandoned in a wave of reaction under a coalition of forces led by Habibullah Kalakani. Amir Habibullah Kalakani abrogated all constitutional reforms and attempted to rule in the tradition of Amir Abdul Rahman.

A new attempt at constitutional government was made in October 1931 by Nadir Shah (r. 1929–1933). His fundamental law (usul-i asasi-yi daulat-i Afghanistan) was similar to Amanullah’s constitution. It included 16 sections with 110 articles that outlined general principles and enumerated the rights of the king, the rights of the peo-
ple, and the duties of a national council (Shura-yi Milli) and provincial advisory committees. Like his predecessor, Nadir Shah enjoyed emergency and veto powers. Non-Muslims had equal rights and were not required to pay a poll tax or be obligated to wear a distinctive type of dress. No legislation was to be contrary to Islamic law, but a distinction was made between civil and religious courts. Torture and confiscation of property were prohibited, and publications, including newspapers, and free commercial activity were permitted. As a concession to the religious establishment, two members of the Mujaddidi family held the position of minister of justice until 1935. The important position of prime minister was held by members of the royal family until 1963.

A new, liberal era began with the promulgation of the 1964 constitution (qanun-i asasi-yi Afghanistan) on October 1, which limited the participation of members of the royal family in government. Members of the royal family could serve in the foreign service, be advisers (mushawer), and hold low-level positions in government departments, but not the positions of prime minister, supreme court justice, or member of Parliament. This was directed against Sardar Muhammad Daud, the king’s cousin, a strong prime minister (1953–1963) whose Pashtunistan policy had been a disaster in Afghan foreign relations. While Zahir Shah (r. 1933–1973) continued to hold supreme powers, he permitted an unprecedented degree of democratic government. His constitution, the result of a constitutional drafting committee, included a preamble and 11 titles, comprising 128 articles. Primogeniture was introduced with a provision that “the Throne shall pass to his [Zahir’s] eldest son.” Freedom of thought, possession of property, unarmed assembly, and education were guaranteed. Afghan citizens were given the right to a free press and to form political parties, subject to the provisions of certain ordinances, provided that no actions were in violation of traditional norms and Islamic law. The provision on formation of political parties was never ratified by the king.

From the time of King Amanullah, constitutional development represented a process of modernization and the gradual introduction of concepts of the division of powers and individual rights. It also brought into being a process where the symbols of democratic government were beginning to gain concrete reality. But socioeconomic
factors prevented the rapid implementation of political reforms. Universal education, envisioned by the constitution, remained an aim rather than a reality, and Afghanistan has remained largely illiterate. The introduction of secular schools, in addition to the traditional mosque/madrasa system, produced two essentially hostile elites. Afghanistan is still predominantly agricultural, and a great division exists between the urban and rural population. Sectarian and ethnic differences have prevented the forging of a heterogeneous population into a nation. When Sardar Muhammad Daud staged his coup in 1973, the experiment with democracy came to a halt.

Daud wanted one-party government and “democracy based on social justice.” His constitution (qanun-i asasi-yi daulat-i jumhuri-yi Afghanistan), promulgated on February 14, 1977, aimed at the “exercise of power” by the majority, the “farmers, workers, and enlightened people and the youth.” In 13 chapters and 136 articles, the republican government presented its aspirations. It called for the “elimination of exploitation in all its forms,” nationalized the mineral resources of the state, large industries, communications, banks, and “important food procurement establishments.” Land reforms were to be carried out and cooperatives were to be encouraged. Women were to enjoy equal rights and obligations and every Afghan 18 years or older was to have the right to vote. President Daud enjoyed absolute powers: he could convene and dismiss the national assembly (Milli Jirga), whose members were nominated by his party (see NATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY PARTY), and could veto any law. He felt he had to be strong to fight the evils of “hunger, ignorance, and disease”; but his one-man rule proved to be fatal. His leftist supporters in the army did not permit Daud’s shift to the right, and before he could eliminate them from positions of power they staged the Saur Revolt of April 27, 1978.

The new regime wanted to establish a government of workers and peasants, with the Peoples Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) as a vanguard to implement its revolutionary objectives. Decrees demanded the emancipation of women, land reforms, and the introduction of far-reaching social changes. But the provisions of the “Fundamental Principles of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan” could never be implemented. Armed resistance emerged within a few months, turning into a war of liberation after the Soviet intervention.

The government of Dr. Najibullah virtually eliminated the trappings of Marxist government in its Constitution of 1987, and the
Afghan Interim Government (see ISLAMIC ALLIANCE FOR THE LIBERATION OF AFGHANISTAN) of the seven mujahedin groups in Peshawar published the outlines of a constitution that favored the establishment of an Islamic state. The traditional groups, represented by Sayyid Ahmad Gailani, Sebghatullah Mujaddidi, and Muhammad Nabi Muhammadi, favored the establishment of a democratic Islamic government, not excluding the possibility of a constitutional monarchy; whereas the Islamist groups headed by Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, Abdul Rasul Sayyaf, Yunus Khales, and Burhanuddin Rabbani tended with some variations to favor an “Islamic state” on a more authoritarian model. They would limit the sphere of activity of women in public life and manifestations of Westernization. The Shi’a groups appear to favor a federated state in which the interests of the minorities are protected. Some, like the Pasdaran (Guardians) and perhaps Nasr (Victory) look to Iran as a model of the Islamic state, whereas the Shura (Council) appears to prefer a traditional political system. The Shi’as claim to constitute a fifth of the Afghan population and want this to be reflected in parliamentary representation. As long as their claimed popular strength was not reflected in an Afghan Interim Government, they refused to participate.

The civil war, following the demise of the Marxist regime, resulted in the division of Afghanistan into various camps until the Taliban were able to impose its theocratic regime over most of the country. The interim government, which replaced the Taliban regime, reintroduced the Constitution of 1964, but as of this writing it is not clear how successful the process is going to be. A conflict between conservatives and modernists became apparent when Fazl Hadi Shinwari, the Rabbani-appointed chief justice, remarked that he will not accept the secular provisions of the Constitution of 1964.

CONSTITUTIONAL DRAFTING COMMITTEE. On October 5, 2002, the transitional government announced the establishment of a committee for the purpose of drafting a new constitution for Afghanistan. The nine-member committee (later expanded to 35) is to prepare a draft, subject to approval by a full commission, that remains to be appointed. The ex-king, Muhammad Zahir Shah, will preside and, upon completion, the constitution will be submitted for approval by a constitutional Loya jirga. The members of the committee include the following: Neamatullah Shahrani, Vice President and Chair; Abdul
CONVENTION OF 1907. See ANGLO-RUSSIAN CONVENTION OF 1907.

COURTS. See ISLAMIC LAW.

CURRENCY. See AFGHANI; BANKING.

CUSTOMARY LAW. See ISLAMIC LAW.

DA AFGHANISTAN BANK. Afghanistan’s central and major commercial bank, founded by the government in 1939 as a result of the success of the Bank-i Milli. It had sole rights to issue currency and control foreign exchange. The bank had branches in major Afghan towns, but its impact and operations were confined largely to urban areas. Subsequently, a number of specialized banks were established, but all banks were nationalized with the establishment of President Muhammad Daud’s republican government. In the 1980s the Da Afghanistan Bank began to be governed by a supreme council, and its director held cabinet rank. The formal banking system is still poorly developed in Afghanistan, and its functions are augmented by the informal money bazaar. Therefore, the traditional system of money-lending has survived all regimes, and foreign exchange dealings have remained a major activity of the bazaar. In the anarchy following the fall of the Marxist regime, the Burhanuddin Rabbani government issued banknotes as did its rival General Abdul Rashid Dostum in the north. As a result of inflation, the dollar was traded in January 1997 at afs. 9,500 in Kabul and afs. 27,000 in the north. After the fall of the Taliban regime, the first attempts began to restore the bankrupt system of banking in Afghanistan. Anwar al-Haq Ahadi became governor of the central bank and new banknotes were issued in October 2002. See also AFGHANI.

DAI KUNDI HAZARAS. See HAZARA.
DAI ZANGI HAZARAS. See HAZARA.

DANISH, MUHAMMAD SARWAR. Member of the Constitutional Drafting Committee of October 2002. Born about 1963, a Hazara from Oruzgan Province, he obtained a law degree in Iran. He is the author of a number of publications on constitutions, including Afghanistan’s constitutions. He is the son-in-law of M. Erfani, one of the leaders of a Hezb-i Wahdat faction.

DAR AL-ULUM HAQANIYYA. Called the Taliban’s “warrior academy” in Akhora Khattak, Pakistan. It was a school of some 2,500 boys who received religious education and military training for jihad in Afghanistan, Kashmir, and other places. Maulawi Sami al-Haq, the 65-year-old chancellor of the madrasa, is also secretary-general of the Jamiat-i Ulema, a religio-political party in Pakistan. The madrasa survived the Taliban regime but is no longer permitted to be militarily active. Sami al-Haq is said to be a friend of Osama bin Laden, whom he defends as not responsible for terrorist acts against the United States.

DARI. The name of the Farsi spoken in Afghanistan and with Pashtu one of the two “official” languages. The name derives from darbar, meaning “royal court,” because it was the language of the Central Asian and Moghul Indian courts. Other etymologies suggested are darrā, “valley,” or “the language of Darius” (522–486 B.C.), the Achaemenid emperor. Afghan scholars claim Dari was the language of Khorasan in which some of the oldest Persian poetry was written. In its written form Dari differs very little from the Farsi of Iran, except that it employs a greater amount of Arabic vocabulary and some archaic words no longer used in Farsi. Of the spoken Dari variants, the Herati comes closest to Farsi, followed by the educated Kabuli idiom. Hazaragi, spoken by the Hazara and Tajiki are other major Farsi dialects. All are mutually intelligible. Afghan governments have attempted to make Pashtu the national language and have expended considerable resources to Pashtunize Afghan society, but Dari is still the major language of higher education and serves as a lingua franca for all linguistic groups. Even the Taliban regime, which was composed primarily of Pashtu speakers, has not been able to displace Dari from its dominant position. See also LANGUAGE GROUPS.
DARULAMAN (DAR AL-AMAN, 34º28' N, 69º0' E). Meaning “Abode of Peace,” the administrative capital of Afghanistan under King Amanullah who, in the early 1920s, constructed a number of government buildings, including a monumental parliament building and a municipality building. Members of the court and high government officials built villas in the new capital, and a narrow-gauged railroad led to the center of Kabul some six miles away. It is a monument to Amanullah’s 10-year reign and ceased being the capital after his downfall. The town was renamed Dar al-Habib (Abode of Habib) after Habibullah Kalakani and Dar al-Funun (Abode of the Arts) in 1930, until in 1947 it was again given its original name. The municipality building was subsequently converted into the famous Kabul Museum, now largely looted, which housed valuable archaeological and ethnographic collections from the Hellenistic, Greco-Buddhist, and Ghaznavid periods. Train service was ended, and the major administrative offices were again located in the old city. The parliament building was gutted by fire in 1969 and restored to house the ministry of defense. It was completely destroyed as a result of Shahnawaz Tanai’s coup of March 1990 and the ensuing civil war between the mujahedin forces.

DAR UL-ISLAM (DAR AL-ISLAM). The “Abode of Islam,” or a country in which the ordinances of Islam are established under the rule of a Muslim sovereign. The Shari’a, Islamic law, prevails in this area, leaving non-Muslims subject to their own religious and customary laws, but without the possibility of full citizenship. Hindus and Jews of Afghan citizenship enjoyed equal rights but at certain times had to pay a special poll tax and were exempt from military service. In 1920 the Indian Hijrat (or Khilafat) Movement led to a mass emigration of Muslims from British India, the dar ul-harb (abode of war), to Afghanistan, the dar ul-islam. After the Taliban established themselves in Kabul, they imposed a radical interpretation of Islam, extending Islamic law to also include non-Muslims and forcing Hindus to wear yellow identity tags. International reaction induced them to discontinue this practice.

DAR UL-MU’ALLEMIN (DAR AL-MU’ALLEMIN). A teachers’ training college founded in 1914 at Kabul. Initially students entered the school for three years of study after completing six years of primary education. During the reign of King Amanullah it was upgraded, and
students were required to complete nine grades of education before being admitted. The college was established to train teachers for the newly established secular school system. Eventually teachers’ training colleges were also established in the major provincial centers.

**DARWAZ (38°26' N, 70°47' E).** The name of an administrative center in the district of the same name in northern Badakhshan Province. It was part of an independent khanate (headed by a khan, chief) on both sides of the Amu Daria, but became part of Afghanistan as a result of the settlement of the Russo-Afghan boundary in 1895, when Darwaz became Afghan territory and Shighnan, situated across the Amu Daria, was ceded to Russia.

**DASHT-I MARGO (30°45' N, 63°10' E).** A large desert lying between the Helmand and Khashrud Rivers, about 150 miles in length and some 85 miles wide. It extends from the eastern Nimruz Province to the western Helmand Province. The highway from Khandahar to Herat passes to the north of it. It is a plateau, about 2,000 feet above sea level, windswept and barren, visited by Baluch herdsmen who alone know the paths leading to occasional water holes. It formed a natural boundary between Afghanistan and British India.

**DAUD, MUHAMMAD.** See MUHAMMAD DAUD.

**DAWAI, ABDUL HADI (PARESHAN).** A Kakar Pashtun, famous poet, diplomat, and government official who published under the pen name Pareshan (distressed). He was elected senator and became president of the senate from 1966 to 1973. Born in 1894 in Kabul, he was a graduate of the first class of Habibia School in 1912. In the same year he became assistant editor of the famous Seraj al-Akhbar Afghaniya and in 1920 of the Aman-i Afghan. He entered the foreign service, participating in the Rawalpindi (see ANGLO-AFGHAN TREATY OF 1919) and Mussoorie peace conferences. He was appointed Afghan minister in London in 1922, served as minister of commerce from 1925 until his resignation in 1928, and as Afghan minister in Berlin from December 1929–1931. From 1933 until 1946 he was imprisoned as an Amanullah supporter. In 1950 he was elected to Parliament and became speaker of the House. He served as
secretary of King Muhammad Zahir and tutor of the crown prince. He was appointed ambassador to Cairo (1952–1954) and to Jakarta (1954–1958). He retired from political life and died in 1982 in Kabul.

**DEATH MARCH.** After signing a treaty of virtual capitulation with Afghan chiefs in December 1841 (see CAPITULATION, TREATY OF; FIRST ANGLO-AFGHAN WAR), the British forces of occupation and camp followers, amounting to about 16,500 persons (690 British fighting men, 2,840 Indian infantry, 970 cavalry, and over 12,000 camp followers—servants and merchants in charge of non-weapons logistics and a large number of women and children), embarked on a march toward the Indian border, which few survived. The retreat began on January 6, 1842, and only six miles were covered on the first day. The march quickly turned into a rout as traffic jams impeded crossing the Logar River, and much of the baggage was abandoned. On the second day only five miles were covered to the well-fortified Khurd Kabul Pass. A number of people froze to death and Amir Shah Shuja’s cavalry escort deserted. On the next day the British rear guard was attacked. British officers tried unsuccessfully to separate their troops from the camp followers. Ghilzai ghazis attacked the retreating forces, killing some 500 troops and 2,500 camp followers. British women and children, as well as their husbands and a number of officers, were surrendered as hostages to Sardar Akbar Khan and managed to survive. Eldred Pottinger claims that Akbar Khan treacherously shouted “spare them” in Persian and “kill them in Pashtu” (George Pottinger, 163). On the fifth day a last stand was made at Jagdalak, by which time about 12,000 of the retreating force had perished. Sardar Akbar Khan offered to pay 200,000 rupees to the Ghilzai chiefs if they would stop their attacks, but the Ghilzai were out for revenge. By the eighth day two British officers and seven or eight wounded men were taken prisoners, and only one man, Dr. Brydon, managed to reach safety at Jalalabad (Dupree Retreat). This gave rise to the legend that Akbar Khan had predicted he would wipe out the British army and leave only one man to tell the tale.

**DEHGAN.** A small tribe settled in the Kunar Valley which speaks the Laghmani or Kohistani language. The tribe is divided into the Dumeh, Chaguni, Kuli, Buzurg, Debazai, and Malikzai sections, the last four of which are found chiefly in the Kunar and Safi Valleys.
DEMO CRATIC REPUBLIC OF AFGHANISTAN (DRA). Name of the Afghan State after the Saur Revolt in 1978. In the latter part of the Marxist regime, the name was changed to Republic of Afghanistan (ROA).

DEOBAND. A town near Delhi, India, and the location of an Islamic university (madrasa, dar al-ulum) founded by Abdul Qasim Nanawtawi in 1867 (some sources credit Muhammad Subbed Essay). Deoband adopted Shah Waliullah (1703–1762) as its spiritual head and was greatly influenced by the teachings of Ibn Taymiyyah (1263–1328), which also inspired Abdul Wahhab (1703–1792) the founder of “Wahhabism” current in Saudi Arabia. The institution has traditionally supported pan-Islamic, anti-British, and fundamentalist causes and was opposed to the teachings of the modernist Muslim University of Aligarh. Graduates of Deoband established numerous madrasas, including some in the tribal belt bordering Afghanistan. They also found teaching positions in Afghanistan, where a madrasa of international reputation did not exist. Amir Abdul Rahman and King Amanullah at times forbade Deobandis from teaching in Afghanistan. Yunus Khales, amir of the Islamist Hizb-i Islami, is a graduate of Deoband.

It was reported that Mulla Muhammad Omar and Osama bin Ladin first met in Deobandi mosques in the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan and may have forged an alliance at that time. The largest of these institutions is the Dar al-Ulum Haqaniyya, the “Harvard” of the Taliban movement. The students of these schools, many of them orphans, were provided free education, food, shelter, and military training during the war against the communist government of Afghanistan in the 1980s. These students later became the core of the Taliban forces which ruled most of Afghanistan until their defeat in December 2001.

DHIMMI (ZIMMI). Also called ahl al-dhimma, “people of the covenant or obligation,” they are non-Muslim monotheists who under Islamic law enjoy freedom of life, liberty, and property provided they are loyal citizens. The dhimmis include Christians, Jews, and in Afghanistan, Hindus, even though they are not considered monotheists. At various times a special tax (jizya) was levied on adult male dhimmis, and Hindus were obligated to wear a dress distinctive from Muslims but were exempt from serving in the armed forces. Each
community was culturally autonomous. As part of the nation building process in the twentieth century, King Amanullah proclaimed all Afghans equal and abolished the separate legal status of dhimmis. The Taliban, during their short-lived regime, tried to restore discriminatory restrictions.

**DIN (A., RELIGION).** Also a name. Din-i Islam, the religion of Islam.

**DIN MUHAMMAD, MUSHK-I ALAM (1790-1886).** Considered a national hero by Afghans because of his implacable hostility to the British. A frontier mulla whose grandfather came from India and settled among the Andar Ghilzai near Ghazni, he studied with various ulama and was given the name Mushk-i Alam, “Scent (or Musk) of the World,” by one of his teachers because of his excellent mind. Din Muhammad was a militant mulla who opened a madrasa for the training of mullahs and gained considerable influence among the Ghilzais. He received an allowance from Amir Shir Ali and preached jihad against the British during the Second Anglo-Afghan War. When Amir Abdul Rahman tried to restrict his activity he incited the Mangal and Ghilzais to rebellion. After his death in 1886, his son, Mulla Abdul Karim, led a Ghilzai uprising against Amir Abdul Rahman that was suppressed only with great difficulty.

**DOBBS, SIR HENRY.** British envoy and chief of the British mission to Kabul that negotiated the Anglo-Afghan Treaty of 1921 and established “neighborly” relations after the end of the Third Anglo-Afghan War. Before that he also headed the British contingent at the Mussoorie Conference (April 17–July 18, 1920) that failed to normalize Anglo-Afghan relations. He first came to Afghanistan in 1903, when as a political officer he directed a small British contingent whose task was to restore or repair boundary pillars along the Russo-Afghan border. See also FOREIGN RELATIONS.

**DORAH PASS (36°0' N, 71°15' E).** A pass over the eastern Hindu Kush Range, lying at an elevation of 14,800 feet and crossed by a route leading from Zibak to Chitral in Pakistan. It is located in Zibak district of Badakhshan Province and is so named because two roads (D., do rah) converge from it to Zibak and to Nuristan.
DORI RIVER (31º29' N, 65º12' E). A river formed by the junction of the Kadanai and Kushebai Streams south of Shah Pasand and the Lora Stream, which originates in Pakistan. It is replenished by the Arghastan, Tarnak, and Arghandab Rivers and numerous streams and finally runs into the Helmand River.

DOST MUHAMMAD, AMIR (r. 1826–1838 and 1842–1863). Afghan ruler, known as the “Great Amir” (Amir-i Kabir), who was ousted by the British in the First Anglo-Afghan War but was able to regain the Afghan throne after four years in Indian exile. He was born in 1792 in Kandahar, the son of Painda Khan, who was killed by Shah Zaman when Dost Muhammad was only eight years old. He became acting governor of Ghazni and, after the death of Muhammad Azam in 1824, established himself as ruler of Kabul. He next defeated his rival Shah Shuja at Kandahar and gradually extended his control over the rest of Afghanistan. He defeated the Sikhs at the Battle of Jamrud (1837) and assumed the title Amir-ul-Mu’minin (Commander of the Faithful). The British Indian government turned against him when Dost Muhammad made overtures to Russia and Persia and permitted a Russian agent to come to Kabul. Dost Muhammad wanted to regain territory captured by Ranjit Singh and was willing to ally himself with the British, but the British government decided to support the Sikh ruler and restore Shah Shuja to the Afghan throne. A British army invaded Afghanistan and sacked Kabul on July 23, 1839. On November 2, 1840, after a few skirmishes, Dost Muhammad gave up; he surrendered to the British who took him as a hostage to India. However, the British occupation of Afghanistan became increasingly tenuous as their lines of communication were disrupted and tribal forces slowly expelled garrisons from outlying areas. Eventually, the army in Kabul was forced to negotiate an ignominious retreat in which most of the British army was eliminated (see SECOND ANGLO-AFGHAN WAR). Facing a situation of chaos in Afghanistan, the Indian government permitted Dost Muhammad to return and regain his throne. But it took a number of years to consolidate his power: he took Kandahar in 1855 and Herat in 1863. Dost Muhammad died a few days after he entered Herat. He was described as about six feet tall with a slight stoop “he has large features and a muscular frame . . . the nose is aquiline, high and rather long, and finished with beautiful delicacy; the brow open and pencilled
Of his 27 sons, Muhammad Afzal and Muhammad Azam ruled for short periods, followed by Shir Ali.

**DOSTUM, GENERAL ABDUL RASHID.** Born in 1954 in Khwaja Dokoh, Jozjan Province, of an Uzbek family, he worked for the Oil and Gas Exploration Enterprise of Shiberghan and in 1980 went to the USSR for training. He then joined the ministry of state security and became commander of Unit 374 in Jozjan. During the 1980s, he commanded the Jozjani “Dostum Militia” comprising some 20,000 regular and militia soldiers, most of them Uzbek, and was entrusted with guarding Jozjan, Fariab, and Sar-i Pol provinces for the Kabul government. He was awarded the distinction of “Hero of the Republic of Afghanistan” and was a member of the central council of the Hizb-i Watan (formerly Peoples Democratic Party of Afghanistan) party. He and a number of generals turned against President Najibullah and assisted the mujahedin in the conquest of Kabul. Dostum’s followers are united in a party, called Junbish-i Milli-yi Islami, which controlled most of Balkh, Fariab, Jozjan, and Samangan Provinces until the Taliban conquest of the area. When President Burhanuddin Rabbani was unwilling to legitimize the position of Dostum by giving him a cabinet post, the latter joined forces with Gulbuddin Hekmatyar. In May 1996 Hekmatyar defected and joined the Rabbani government, but both were ejected, Dostum by his Uzbek rival General Abdul Malik and Hekmatyar by the Taliban. Dostum returned in 2001 and supported the American air attacks on Taliban and al Qaeda forces (in exchange for payment of $250,000 a month, according to US News & World Report, February 11, 2002). He was able to regain control of portions of north-central Afghanistan. He served as deputy minister of defense in the interim government, a position he no longer held in the transitional government of Hamid Karzai, December 2001. See also MAZAR-I SHARIF, FALL OF.

**DURAND AGREEMENT.** An agreement signed on November 12, 1893, at Kabul by Sir Mortimer Durand and Amir Abdul Rahman that defined the boundary between Afghanistan and British India, subsequently called the “Durand Line.” This boundary was drawn without regard to the ethnic composition of the population and severed a large
portion of **Pashtu**-speaking Afghans from their brothers in Afghanistan. Amir Abdul Rahman accepted under “duress” a line running from "Chitral and Baroghil Pass up to Peshawar, and thence up to Koh-i Malik Siyah in this way that Wakhan, Kafiristan, Asmar, Mohmand of Lalpura, and one portion of Waziristan” came under his rule. He renounced his claims for “the railway station of New Chaman, Chagai, the rest of Waziri, Biland Khel, Kurram, Afridi, Bajaur, Swat, Buner, Dir, Chilas and Chitral.” The Durand Line was never completely demarcated because of the hostility of the tribes, and the tribes on the Indian side of the border never came under the direct administration of the Indian, or subsequently Pakistani, governments. Abdul Rahman obtained an increase in subsidy of 6,000,000 rupees and a letter with the assurance that Britain would continue to protect Afghanistan from unprovoked Russian aggression, provided that the amir “followed unreservedly the advice of the British Government” in regard to his external relations. The Afghan government subsequently claimed that the agreement was forced on Afghanistan in the form of an ultimatum.

After the death of Amir Abdul Rahman, Britain insisted that the treaties with the late ruler were personal, rather than dynastic and therefore subject to renegotiation, but they excluded the Durand Agreement as not subject to this provision. Article 5 of the **Anglo-Afghan Treaty of 1921** concluded at Rawalpindi on August 8 stated that “The Afghan Government accept the Indo-Afghan frontier accepted by the late Amir [Habibullah],” and the Anglo-Afghan Treaty of 1921 at Kabul carried a similar provision. When the state of Pakistan was created in 1947, the Afghan government demanded the right of the Pashtuns to decide whether they wanted an independent **Pashtunistan**, union with Afghanistan, or union with **Pakistan**. The Kabul government did not accept a plebiscite that allowed only a choice for union with Pakistan or India, and in 1979 the Afghan Parliament repudiated the Durand Agreement. The Pashtunistan question has remained an issue between Afghanistan and Pakistan and has prevented the establishment of cordial relations between the two Muslim countries. The **Taliban**, dependent as they were on Pakistan support, never gave formal assurances that they recognized the Durand Line. See also FOREIGN RELATIONS; APPENDIXES 1 and 1A.

**DURAND, SIR MORTIMER (1850–1924).** Foreign secretary of the government of India (1884–1938), sent to **Kabul** in September 1893
for the purpose of negotiating an agreement defining the Indo-Afghan boundary, subsequently called the Durand Line (see DURAND AGREEMENT). He served in the Northwest provinces 1829–1838 and as political secretary to Frederick Roberts in the Kabul campaign, 1879.

**DURRANI DYNASTY (1747-1973).** The Durrani dynasty was founded in 1747 by Ahmad Shah, the Durr-i Durran (Pearl of Pearls) who ruled Afghanistan until 1978. Ahmad Shah was a direct descendant of Sado, an Abdali chief at the court of the Safavid ruler Shah Abbas the Great (r. 1588–1629). The Durrani are divided into the Sadozai branch (a section of the Popalzai tribe) and the Muhammadzai (a section of the Barakzai tribe). The succession from Ahmad Shah to Muhammad Daud, who established a republican government, is as follows:

**Sadozai Dynasty 1747–1817**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ruler</th>
<th>Reign</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ahmad Shah</td>
<td>1747–1773</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timur Shah (Ahmad’s son)</td>
<td>1773–1793</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zaman Shah (Timur’s son, deposed)</td>
<td>1793–1800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahmud Shah (Zaman’s brother, deposed)</td>
<td>1800–1803</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk (Zaman’s brother, deposed)</td>
<td>1803–1809</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahmud Shah (Zaman’s brother)</td>
<td>1809–1817</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(loses Kabul and Kandahar)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Ruling in Herat 1817–1863**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ruler</th>
<th>Reign</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mahmud Shah (Sadozai, assassinated?)</td>
<td>1817–1829</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kamran (Mahmud’s son, assassinated?)</td>
<td>1829–1841</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yar Muhammad</td>
<td>1841–1851</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Said Muhammad Khan (Yar Muhd’s son)</td>
<td>1851–1855</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muhammad Yusuf Khan (Sadozai, deposed)</td>
<td>1855</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sirtap Isa Khan (Herati)</td>
<td>1855</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Herat conquered by Persians</td>
<td>1856</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sultan Ahmad Khan (Dost Muhammad’s nephew)</td>
<td>1855–1863</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dost Muhammad Khan</td>
<td>1863</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Ruling in Kabul 1817–1863**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ruler</th>
<th>Reign</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Muhammad Azim Khan</td>
<td>1817–1822</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Habibullah Khan (Muhammad Azim’s son, deposed)</td>
<td>1822–1826</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dost Muhammad Khan</td>
<td>1826–1839</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Habibullah Khan’s uncle, deposed)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk (Sadozai) 1839–1841
Zaman Khan (Barakzai) 1841–1842
Fath Jang (Sadozai Contender) 1842?
Dost Muhammad Khan 1842–1863

Ruling in Kandahar 1817–1863
Pur Dil Khan (and brothers Muhdzai) 1817–1839
Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk (deposed) 1839–1841
Kohan Dil Khan (Pur Dil’s brother) 1842–1855
Dost Muhammad Khan 1855–1863

Ruling Afghanistan 1863–1978
Civil war and anarchy 1863–1868
Shir Ali Khan (Dost’s brother, deposed) 1863–1866
Muhammad Afzal Khan 1866–1867
Muhammad Azam Khan (M. Afzal’s brother, deposed) 1867–1868
Shir Ali Khan 1868–1879
Yaqub Khan (Shir Ali’s son, abdicated) 1879
Second Anglo-Afghan War 1879–1880
Abdul Rahman Khan (M. Afzal’s son) 1880–1901
Habibullah Khan (Abdul Rahman’s son, assassinated) 1901–1919
Amanullah Khan (Habibullah’s son, deposed) 1919–1929
Enayatullah Khan (three days, abdicated) 1929
(Habibullah Kalakani, Tajik (January to October) 1929
(Son of a Water Carrier)
Nadir Shah (Musahiban Family, assassinated) 1929–1933
Zahir Shah (deposed) 1933–1973
Muhammad Daud (President, assassinated) 1973–1978

DURRANI, LAND TENURE. Nadir Shah Afshar gave the Durranis the lands of Kandahar as a military fief. The land had previously been held by a mixed peasantry population that paid taxes to the suzereign ruler since Safavid times. The land of Kandahar had been traditionally divided into divisions called qulba, or “plows,” which designated the portion of irrigated land cultivated by one person, operating one oxen and one plow, that gave double space for sowing two kharwar grain (one kharwar, literally a donkey load, amounted to 100 man [maund]—the exact weight varied in different localities), one-half of which was cultivated each year while the other half remained fallow. Nadir Shah’s agents ascertained the productivity of the land in
various areas as a return of 25 kharwar for one kharwar of seed. Each qulba was assessed a land tax (kharaj) of 10 percent. As an innovation, every garden, tree, and vine was assessed one copper pice.

About 3,000 double qulba were distributed to Durrani tribes in tiyul, fiefs, in exchange for providing 6,000 horsemen, one for each qulba. The following table shows the allotment of lands under Ahmad Shah:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Durrani Tribes</th>
<th>No. of Qulabas</th>
<th>Quota of Horses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Popalzai</td>
<td>965¼</td>
<td>806</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alikozai</td>
<td>1,050</td>
<td>851</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barakzai*</td>
<td>1,018½</td>
<td>907</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alizai</td>
<td>661¾</td>
<td>819</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nurzai</td>
<td>868½</td>
<td>1,169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ishaqzai</td>
<td>357½</td>
<td>635</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khugiani**</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>423</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maku</td>
<td>121½</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>5,206</td>
<td>5,710</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*These numbers probably include the Achakzai (LWA)
** Spelled Khakwani in some older sources

The Durranis were estimated at 100,000 families at the time. Six non-Durrani tribes held 110 qulbas but had to provide a much larger contingent of 2,890 horsemen.

Ahmad Shah greatly increased the land in control of Durrani chiefs, who were paid from 100 to 1,000 tomans (one toman was 20 Kandahar rupees) annually. During military service a horseman was paid 25 tomans either in money from the royal treasury or in barat (written assignment).

**DUTANI (DOTANI).** A tribe of powindahs, nomad merchants who used to travel seasonally between India and Afghanistan, selling silk, carpets, and hashish (chars). They are also called Lohani and are now settled on the Indian side of the border.

**DZADRAN.** See JADRAN.

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**EAST INDIA COMPANY, BRITISH.** The British East India Company was started in 1600 with a capital of £30,000 and a charter from
Queen Elizabeth for 15 years to have a monopoly of trade “together with limited authority to make laws and punish interlopers.” The charter was periodically renewed, and by the middle of the eighteenth century the Company was the de facto ruler of Bengal. Its Board of Control appointed a governor-general as executive who conducted the government for the Company until 1858, when the Crown ended the charter and appointed a viceroy, subject to the control of the London government. The Company concluded treaties with local chiefs and waged wars in its attempt to become the paramount power in India. It bore the responsibility for the debacle of the First Anglo-Afghan War. Three presidencies in Bengal, Bombay, and Madras furnished the Company’s armies, which included both British and Indian branches of cavalry, artillery, and infantry. Vassals and mercenaries were also employed. See also ARMY OF THE INDUS.

**ECONOMY.** Afghanistan’s economy, like that of other less-developed countries, consists of a large agricultural sector and a small government-controlled public sector of mining, generation of electricity, airlines, and other industries. In 1977 the government of President Muhammad Daud took control of all major industries and banking. At that time about 40 percent of cultivable land was owned by large landowners who made up only 2 percent of the agricultural population, whereas 80 percent of farmers each owned less than 11 acres (*Area Handbook for Afghanistan*). About 90 percent of the population is engaged in agriculture and animal husbandry. In the prewar years about 85 percent of Afghan agricultural exports consisted of fresh and dried fruit. Qaraqul skins and the Afghan carpet industry (which comprises more than 50 percent of the handicraft industries) were other important hard-currency earners. The Soviet Union was the major trading partner and the only market for Afghan natural gas.

Prime Minister Muhammad Daud (r. 1953–1963) began a program of development and modernization. Two five-year plans (1956–1961 and 1962–1967) were to provide the infrastructure of communications while the third (1967–1972), initiated by a subsequent government, aimed at agricultural self-sufficiency. About $1.2 billion in foreign aid was expended by the early 1970s, of which the Soviet Union provided 50 percent and the United States 40 percent.
Prewar figures given by The Afghan Statistical Yearbook (July 1976) show the following values in rounded U.S. dollars of Afghan exports in 1975:

- Qaraqul skins: $10 million
- Fresh fruit: $27 million
- Dried fruit: $50 million
- Carpets and kelims: $17 million
- Natural gas: $41 million

Exports in barter-trade with neighboring countries:

- Soviet Union: $81 million
- India: $29 million
- Pakistan: $33 million

Exports and imports with major trading partners:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Exports</th>
<th>Imports</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>$10 million</td>
<td>$5 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>$15 million</td>
<td>$8 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>$21 million</td>
<td>$10 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>$60 million</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

President Daud projected a seven-year plan (1976–1983) that emphasized industrial development over the agricultural sector and nationalized large industries. Aid from the Gulf countries (the Shah of Iran had promised $2 billion) permitted a survey for construction of a railroad, which was to link Iran with the Indian subcontinent. A sudden fall in the price of oil and the downfall of the Iranian and Afghan rulers in the late 1970s ended these ambitious plans.

Afghanistan still cannot produce most manufactured goods and processed raw materials. One of the first measures of the Marxist regime was to decree land reforms and to abolish the traditional *bazaar* system of agricultural financing, but without providing alternate sources of funds. Since it soon lost control over much of the countryside, the *Kabul* government could never implement its reforms; nevertheless, in 1983, the Kabul government claimed that it
had redistributed about one-fourth of cultivable land. The war in Afghanistan has wreaked enormous damage that cannot be assessed at this time. An agricultural survey conducted under the auspices of the Swedish Committee for Afghanistan examined the decline in agricultural production in Afghanistan between 1978 and 1987 and gave the following statistics:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Crop</th>
<th>Percent growers</th>
<th>Av. area per farmer in jeribs</th>
<th>Av. yield per seer/jerib</th>
<th>Production per farmer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Irrigated wheat</td>
<td>+7</td>
<td>-23</td>
<td>-26</td>
<td>-45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rainfed wheat</td>
<td>-22</td>
<td>-33</td>
<td>-29</td>
<td>-52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maize</td>
<td>-14</td>
<td>-9</td>
<td>-27</td>
<td>-49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rice</td>
<td>-14</td>
<td>-20</td>
<td>-19</td>
<td>-40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barley</td>
<td>-14</td>
<td>-21</td>
<td>-18</td>
<td>-35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alfalfa</td>
<td>-11</td>
<td>-5</td>
<td>-16</td>
<td>-54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clover</td>
<td>-25</td>
<td>-5</td>
<td>+3</td>
<td>-58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bean</td>
<td>-20</td>
<td>-22</td>
<td>-21</td>
<td>-50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mung Bean</td>
<td>-44</td>
<td>-26</td>
<td>-12</td>
<td>-51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cotton</td>
<td>-43</td>
<td>-23</td>
<td>-29</td>
<td>-58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linseed</td>
<td>-8</td>
<td>+30</td>
<td>-39</td>
<td>-14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Melon</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-31</td>
<td>-37</td>
<td>-69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Potato</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-5</td>
<td>-28</td>
<td>-47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sesame</td>
<td>-20</td>
<td>-51</td>
<td>-19</td>
<td>-70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugar beet</td>
<td>-60</td>
<td>-63</td>
<td>-60</td>
<td>-85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grape</td>
<td>-4</td>
<td>-3</td>
<td>-21</td>
<td>-36</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Decline is in percentages. One hundred jerib is 20 hectares, and one seer is 7,066 grams.

One cash crop which had been eminently successful in 1996 was opium poppies, making Afghanistan the major exporters with 70 percent of world opiate production and supplying 90 percent of European heroin. As a result of world pressure, the Taliban government eventually prohibited the planting of poppies in 2001, but planting was resumed after the fall of the Taliban regime.

Afghanistan is rich in natural resources: coal, copper, chromite, talc, barites, sulphur, lead, zinc, iron ore, salt, and precious and semi-precious stones can be extracted, the latter primarily in the northeast of the country. Natural gas fields exist in Shiberghan and nearby Jarquq, Khwaja Gugerdak, Yatimtaq and to the west in Juma. A pipeline leads north to Hayratan from where it was exported to the Soviet Union. According to Soviet estimate there were natural gas reserves of up to 5 trillion cubic feet. Major oil resources are in the Sar-i Pul
area, which was largely exported to the Soviet Union. Wars and insecurity have caused considerable disruption in exploration. Most of the mineral deposits are in inaccessible areas and a considerable effort and foreign funding will be needed to make extraction profitable. With international support, the Afghan government of Hamid Karzai hopes to spur construction of gas and oil pipelines from Turkmenistan through Afghanistan to Pakistan and the Arabian Sea. This could stabilize the country and bring peace and a measure of prosperity to the country.

EDUCATION. The modern system of education in Afghanistan dates from the early twentieth century, although attempts at educational reforms were first made under Amir Shir Ali (r. 1863–1879). In 1868 he opened two schools, a military school, located in the Sherpur district of Kabul and a civil, or royal, school in the Bala Hisar. Both schools were directed by Qazi Abdul Qadir, Shir Ali’s secretary of the army and publisher of the Shams al-Nahar. Education was free and food and lodging were provided for the students. The schools were for princes and the sons of notables, and the system was adapted from Muslim India and the Ottoman Empire. Because of the Second Anglo-Afghan War, the experiment was not continued.

Amir Abdul Rahman (r. 1880–1901) claimed, with some exaggeration, that he could fill only three clerical positions after advertising all over Afghanistan for 30 positions for literate Afghans. This prompted him to open “various schools for the education of members of my family, my personal attendants, and page boys; for prisoners of war; for the army, and for the children of my officials and other subjects” (Sultan Mahomed Khan, 1901).

The traditional system of education in Afghanistan was the domain of the ulama (clergy). It consisted of elementary schools, maktab, usually attached to a mosque, where mullas would teach reading, writing, and arithmetic, recitation of the Koran, and the Islamic duties and prohibitions. There was no uniformity in curriculum, and often students would confine their activities to recitation and memorization of the Koran. The well-to-do would hire tutors for their children.

The secondary system of education was the madrasa, in which the mudares (teacher), or alem (pl. ulama), would teach Persian and Arabic literature, poetry, calligraphy, and the Islamic sciences of tafsir
(exegesis), ulum-i illac (Islamic theology), fiqh (jurisprudence), and akhlqiat (ethics) as well as the “foreign” sciences of logic, philosophy, medicine, mathematics, astronomy, and astrology. The madrasa trained the kazi (judges), mufti (legal experts), and ulama (doctors of Islamic sciences) (see ISLAMIC LAW). Most madrasas were not state institutions, but private enterprises of individual Islamic scholars who would certify completion of a student’s course of study. In the late nineteenth century the most important college of this type was the Madrasa-yi Shahi (royal college) at Kabul.

A modern system of education evolved from the time of Amir Habibullah. He founded Habibia School in 1904, first as a madrasa, which later adopted the curriculum of British Indian secular schools. He appointed his son, Sardar Enayatullah as his head of education and allocated an annual budget of 100,000 rupees. Conditions were spartan: the teacher sat on a chair and the students on mats on the floor. In winter open charcoal braziers provided some warmth. In addition to a few Afghan teachers, Indian Muslims were contracted, including the principal, Dr. Abdul Ghani.

A school for the children of notables (maktab-i malikzadaha) was founded next and eventually developed into the Royal Military College (madrasa-yi harbi-yi sirajiya). Its principal was a Turkish officer, Mahmud Sami, who operated under the direction of Sardar Enayatullah, eldest son of Amir Habibullah. The curriculum included Islamic and military sciences as well as gymnastics and drill.

In 1907 an Office of Textbooks (dar al-ta’lif) was founded to produce texts for the new secular schools. In 1914 a Teachers’ Training School (dar al-mu’allemin) was founded, and a year later the primary school system was expanded. Education and textbooks were provided free of charge, and students received a small stipend for living expenses. Primary schools (e’teda’iya) included four years of religious education, reading and writing, arithmetic, and geography. Graduates could then enter the military school, continue at Habibia School, or end their education to become lower-level civil servants. Middle schools (rushdiya) conducted a three-year program in Persian and Arabic literature and a foreign language. Graduates prepared for government jobs or continued their education in the next cycle of higher education, (e’dadiya). Education at this level was in English.

King Amanullah further expanded the system of education by founding primary schools in major towns and district centers and, in
1922, the French-language Amania School, which was subsequently renamed by Nadir Shah Istiqlal (Independence) with a French curriculum and several French teachers. Amani School (renamed Najat by Nadir Shah, and again Amani during the Marxist regime) was founded in 1923 as a German-language school. The top graduates from these schools were sent abroad for higher education. A ministry of education was established in 1919, and Sardar Abdul Rahman was appointed as its first minister. Schools were next opened in the provinces. The Ghazi School (Victor, named after Amanullah’s title) was founded in 1927, and administrative schools (maktab-i hukkam and maktab-i usul-i daf-tāri), were opened to train accountants and administrators.

During the reign of Zahir Shah (1933–1973) the Afghan system of education was further expanded and extended to the provinces. Kabul University was formally established on a separate campus in 1947, but before that the faculty of medicine was founded in 1932, followed by the faculty of law and political science in 1938. Faculties of science and letters were added in 1942 and 1943. In the 1950s theology, agriculture, and economics departments were founded, and in the 1960s departments of home economics, education, engineering, pharmacy, and a polytechnic institute were established. Some departments were affiliated with foreign universities, mostly German, French, and American. The Soviet Union built and directed the operations of the Polytechnic Institute from 1967, and the Teachers College of Columbia University reorganized the faculty of education. By 1950, expenditures on education amounted to 40 percent of the Afghan budget.

Women’s education was first sponsored under King Amanullah with the establishment in 1921 of a school in the building of the present Zarghuna High School in Kabul. Afghan and some foreign ladies taught the same curriculum as the boys’ schools, as well as cooking, sewing, child care, and readings of the biographies of famous women of the world. Coeducation began in 1928 for the first and second grades at Istiqqlal school at Kabul, and some female students were sent to Turkey to continue their education. Coeducation and girls’ schools were discontinued for several years after the ouster of King Amanullah. In 1931, under Nadir Shah, women were permitted to take courses at Masturat Hospital in Kabul, and under Zahir Shah girls’ schools were reopened in 1939. Two high schools opened in 1947, and a women’s faculty of education was added in 1948. Coed-
ucation was resumed again in the early 1960s at Kabul University. A Women’s Institute (mu’asasa-yi niswan) was started in 1946 in Kabul under the sponsorship of Queen Humaira, wife of Zahir Shah, which gave classes in handicrafts and became the largest supplier of needlework of various types.

In the years 1936–1937 the Afghan government decided to replace Dari with Pashtu as the language of instruction in public schools, but in 1946 this policy was abandoned in favor of Dari/Pashtu bilingualism. Pashtu-speaking provinces and a few “tribal” schools, like Rahman Baba at Kabul, used Pashtu. In 1963 Nangarhar University was founded in Jalalabad in which Pashtu was the language of instruction, and seven professional and technical schools existed since 1964 that also use Pashtu for instruction.

By 1970 secondary schools existed in every province except Zabul, and vocational and teachers’ training schools, as well as commercial, agricultural, and technical schools, existed in Kabul and a number of provincial centers. The existence of a dual system of education, the traditional system under the ulama and the newly established secular system, created two elites who competed for government positions. The graduates of the secular system tended to benefit from the process of national development and had little difficulty in finding employment. The state eventually also integrated the madrasa system in the faculty of theology of Kabul University, but an independent, private system of madrasas continued to exist. Thus the ulama had lost its monopoly over education and felt threatened in its position of leadership.

The Marxist government emphasized adult education and literacy programs and printed texts in the newly recognized “national languages” of Baluch, Turkmani, Uzbek, and Nuristani (Kati) as well as in Dari and Pashtu. Universities were established in Balkh and Herat, and primary education was permitted in regional languages. The Afghan ministry of education was responsible for curriculum and educational policy at all levels. War and destruction closed virtually all provincial schools, except for a few maktab, operated by mujahedin groups and local communities. In Marxist-controlled areas, purges of faculty, the drafting of graduates, and changes in curriculum to conform to Soviet models led to a drastic reduction of students.

The “new education policy” initiated by President Najibullah dispensed with most of the Marxist innovations, and, after the victory of the mujahedin in 1992, the campus of Kabul University became a
battleground of one party or another. Local rulers reopened universities in Mazar-i Sharif, Bamian, and Herat, but the ongoing civil war and a lack of resources prevented the establishment of viable institutions. The most drastic changes occurred during the Taliban regime, which closed schools for girls after they captured Kabul in September 1996. The Hamid Karzai government started educational reforms, including the construction, or repair, of schools, the training of some 70,000 teachers, and the supply of educational materials.

**ELPHINSTONE, MOUNTSTUART (1779–1859).** British envoy to the court of Shah Shuja in 1808–1809 who negotiated an alliance of “eternal friendship” with the Afghan ruler and called for joint action in case of Franco-Persian aggression. He left Delhi on October 13, 1808, with an escort of 400 Anglo-Indian troops and reached Peshawar on February 25, 1809, where he presented Britain’s proposals to the Afghan ruler. This was the first contact between a British official and an Afghan ruler. Elphinstone used the opportunity to learn as much as he could about the “Forbidden Kingdom,” and later published a book on Afghanistan, entitled An Account of the Kingdom of Caubul (1815), which is one of the first comprehensive accounts of Afghan society. He was rewarded for his services with appointment as governor of Bombay. Elphinstone College in Bombay was named after him. Remarking on the proposed war, Elphinstone said:

> If you send 27,000 men up the Bolan Pass to Candahar (as we hear is intended), and can feed them, I have no doubt you will take Candahar and Caubul and set up Soojah [Shuja]; but for maintaining him in a poor, cold, strong, and remote country, among a turbulent people like the Afghans, I own it seems to me hopeless. (Macrory, 94–95)

See also FOREIGN RELATIONS; FIRST ANGLO-AFGHAN WAR.

**ELPHINSTONE, MAJOR-GENERAL WILLIAM (1782–1842).** Commander of the British army in Afghanistan in 1841 and the person held responsible by British historians for the debacle in the First Anglo-Afghan War. General Elphinstone was 60 years old and infirm when he accepted the army command. Forbes describes Elphinstone as:
Wrecked in body and impaired in mind by physical ailments and infirmities, he had lost all faculty of energy, and such mind as remained to him was swayed by the opinion of the person with whom he had last spoken. (64)

Elphinstone did not take “decisive” action when Alexander Burnes, the assistant to the British envoy at Kabul, was assassinated with members of his mission. He quartered his troops in the vulnerable cantonment, which was commanded from the nearby hills, instead of moving them to the protection of the Bala Hisar fortress. Surrounded by Afghan tribal armies, the British had to negotiate a retreat that turned into a rout in which most of the 16,000 troops and camp followers were massacred or died of the freezing cold weather. Elphinstone did not survive the disaster; on April 23, 1842, he died in captivity of exhaustion and various maladies. See FOREIGN RELATIONS; AKBAR, SARDAR MUHAMMAD; CAPITULATION, TREATY OF; DEATH MARCH.

ENAYATULLAH, SARDAR. King of Afghanistan, after King Amanullah’s abdication on January 14, 1929, and forced to abdicate three days later, when Habibullah Kalakani ascended the throne. He was born on October 20, 1888, the eldest son of Amir Habibullah. His father gave him the title “Supporter of the State” (muin al-sultanat) and appointed him “Marshal” (sardar-i salar) in 1905 and minister of education in 1916. He and Sardar Nasrullah were on friendly terms with the members of the Hentig-Niedermayer Expedition in Kabul. At that time he was believed to be in favor of Afghan intervention in the war against Britain. He married a daughter of Sardar Mahmud Tarzi, editor of the Seraj al-Akhbar Afghaniya and later foreign minister. After the assassination of Amir Habibullah in Kala Gosh, Sardar Nasrullah went through the form of offering him the throne in the presence of Nadir Khan and other prominent officials. Enayatullah, however, declined and recognized Nasrullah as the king. But the army revolted and Sardar Amanullah, who was in Kabul, won recognition as the new king. Enayatullah Khan was in virtual retirement during the reign of his brother. On December 14, 1928, when King Amanullah was forced to resign, he appointed Enayatullah Khan his successor; three days later Enayatullah was forced to surrender to Habibullah Kalakani. On January 18, 1929, he and his immediate family were evacuated to Peshawar, India, in an aircraft of
the British air force. He lived in Tehran as a guest of the Iranian king until his death on August 12, 1946.

**ENGERT, CORNELIUS VAN.** American minister plenipotentiary resident at Kabul (1942–1943). He first visited Afghanistan unofficially in 1922 and favored early establishment of diplomatic relations with Afghanistan. American diplomats in Tehran or Delhi were accredited to the Kabul government until 1942, when a permanent legation was opened. Van Engert was of Dutch descent born in Austria. See UNITED STATES-AFGHAN RELATIONS.

**ENJOINING THE GOOD AND FORBIDDING EVIL.** One of the obligations of every Muslim, based on the Koran (22:41, al-amr bi ‘l-ma’ruf wa an’n-nahy ‘an al-munkar), which became institutionalized in offices like the Muhtasib. In Afghanistan the police was responsible for law and order until the Taliban instituted the “religious police” to enforce attendance at prayers, moral behavior, and restrictions on women who were not permitted to participate in the economic life and venture abroad without the all-encompassing veil or without the company of a related male. Teams of Islamic guards would patrol the cities, especially Kabul, and beat citizens for minor infractions. The ministry also reintroduced such punishments as mutilation for theft and stoning for adultery. Since the establishment of the interim government of President Hamid Karzai, the police again resumed the enforcement of law and order, without the more radical innovations of the Taliban regime. See also ISLAM; ISLAMIC LAW.

**ENVER PASHA (ANWAR).** Minister of war and, with Jamal Pasha and Talat Pasha, member of the ruling triumvirate in the Ottoman war government (1913–1918). Sentenced to death in 1919, he escaped to Germany after the war and from there to the Soviet Union. He failed to gain Soviet support in replacing Kemal Ataturk as the head of the Turkish government and moved to Central Asia. He apparently intended to seek a safe haven in Afghanistan, where Jamal Pasha had already preceded him and was active as an adviser to King Amanul-lah. He was arrested by Basmachi counterrevolutionaries but convinced them of his sympathies and became one of their leaders. He fought on their side against the Red Army until he was killed in a skirmish on August 4, 1922.
ERSHAD-UL-NISWAN (IRSHAD AL-NISWAN). Women’s weekly magazine first published in Afghanistan in March 1921 by Asma Samia, known as “Bibi Arabi,” the wife of Mahmud Tarzi. Editor in chief was Ruhafza, known as “Munshia” (secretary), wife of Muhammad Zaman Khan and sister of Habibullah Tarzi. The magazine carried domestic and foreign news of interest to women as well as advice on cooking and needlework and touched on problems facing women in society. It was discontinued after the fall of King Amanullah.

ESHAQ. See MUHAMMAD ISHAQ.

ETEHAD. See ITTIHAD.

ETEMADI, NUR AHMAD (I’TIMADI). A diplomat and government official who served as ambassador to Karachi (1964), prime minister and minister of foreign affairs from 1967 to 1971, and subsequently as ambassador to Rome (1971), Moscow (1973), and Islamabad (1976–1978). President Muhammad Daud summoned him to Kabul for consultation on April 24, 1978, three days before the Saur Revolt. According to some claims, the Soviet government wanted Etemadi to head a “national front” government, which convinced the Nur Muhammad Taraki government to have him secretly executed in August 1979. He was born in 1921 in Kandahar and educated at Kabul. He was a grandson of Abdul Quddus (Etemad ud-Daula).

ETEMADI, SARWAR GOYA. Scholar, historian, and bibliographer who played an important role in cultural relations with Iran. Born in 1909 and privately educated, he became an adviser to the ministry of education. He published documents on the Timurid period of Herat.

ETEMAD UD-DAULA (I’TIMAD AL-DAULA). See ABDUL QUDDUS.

ETHNIC GROUPS. The Afghan population is heterogeneous with numerous ethnic groups, speaking various dialects or mutually unintelligible languages. The largest ethnic group is the Pashtuns, followed
by the **Tajiks**, **Uzbeks**, and **Hazara**. Orywal (18, 1986) lists the following ethnic groups in Afghanistan:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pashtun</th>
<th>Tajik</th>
<th>Uzbek</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hazara</td>
<td>Turkoman</td>
<td>Aimaq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taimani</td>
<td>Tahiri</td>
<td>Baluch</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mauri</td>
<td>Brahui</td>
<td>Arab</td>
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<tr>
<td>Qirghiz</td>
<td>Moghol</td>
<td>Gujar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qipchaq</td>
<td>Eshkashimi</td>
<td>Munjani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rushani</td>
<td>Sanglichi</td>
<td>Shighnani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vakhi</td>
<td>Farsiwan</td>
<td>Qarliq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nuristani</td>
<td>Pashai</td>
<td>Firuzkuhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamshidi</td>
<td>Timuri</td>
<td>Zuri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maliki</td>
<td>Mishmast</td>
<td>Jat</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jalali</td>
<td>Ghorbat</td>
<td>Pikragh</td>
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<tr>
<td>Shadibaz</td>
<td>Vangavala</td>
<td>Qazaq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qizilbash</td>
<td>Tatar</td>
<td>Parachi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tirahi</td>
<td>Gavarbati</td>
<td>Ormuri</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jogi</td>
<td>Shaikh Muhammadi</td>
<td>Kutana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jews (Yahudi)</td>
<td>Sikh</td>
<td>Hinduki</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Estimated population figures in millions (Groetzbach, 1990) are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Group</th>
<th>Population (Millions)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pashtun</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tajik &amp; Farsiwan</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uzbek</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hazara</td>
<td>1.0*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aimaq</td>
<td>.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkoman</td>
<td>.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baluch &amp; Brahui</td>
<td>.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arab</td>
<td>.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nuristani</td>
<td>.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pashai</td>
<td>.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tatar</td>
<td>.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qizilbash</td>
<td>.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindu &amp; Sikh</td>
<td>.035</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qirghiz &amp; Moghol</td>
<td>.11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* According to Hazara claims, they number as many as two million people in Afghanistan and another two million in Iran and Pakistan.
Virtually all the Jews left Afghanistan in the 1970s (of some 600 families, only two individuals remained in Kabul in late 2001).

The introduction of state-sponsored education dictated the use of Dari as the language of instruction. Dari has been the language of royal courts since Ghaznavid times and was widely used also by the Turkic rulers of Central Asia and the Moghuls of India.

Since the early twentieth century Afghan governments have promoted Pashtu as the national language, but any attempts to replace Dari in education have failed. One of the first decrees (No. 4) issued by the Marxist government was to recognize and permit the use of Turkmani, Uzbeki, Baluchi, and Nuristani as “national languages” to ensure the “essential conditions for evolution of the literature, education, and publication in mother tongues of the tribes and nationalities resident in Afghanistan.” It ordered the respective ministries to start broadcasting on radio and television and publishing newspapers in these languages. This was an adoption of the Soviet nationalities policy and was seen by some as an attempt to divide and rule. (For information on major ethnic groups, see individual entries.)

Caution on population statistics is in order: In the 1960s the government estimated the Afghan population at about 16 million and yearly added 2.6 percent to this number, until in the 1970s a demographic survey by a team from New York University conducted a sample census and arrived at a much lower figure (10,020,600). Hamidullah Amin and Gordon B. Schilz in their A Geography of Afghanistan (1976) give an agricultural population of 10,839,870 and 2,500,000 nomads for a total of 13,339,870. The government of Hafizullah Amin claimed a population of 15.5 million; Groetzbach’s estimate (1990) agrees with this figure. Some contemporary writers claim the loss of life of some two million Afghans as a result of 23 years of war and accept a population in 2001 of about 26 million. To get realistic numbers we will have to wait for the results of the work of the new national census commission.

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FAHIM, GENERAL MUHAMMAD QASIM. First vice president, marshal, and commander of the Afghan army (essentially the Panchshiri forces), and minister of defense of Afghanistan. A friend and deputy of Ahmad Shah Masud, he succeeded him after Masud’s
assassination on September 9, 2001. A Tajik, born about 1960 in the Panjshir Valley, he became the leader of the largest force of the Northern Alliance. After the conquest of Kabul, he served as minister of defense of the interim and transitional governments. Control of Kabul in contravention of the Interim Agreement, makes him the most powerful person in the country. See also APPENDIX 3.

FAIZABAD (37°6' N, 70°34' E). Capital of Badakhshan, with about 12,000 inhabitants, the central commercial market of the province, situated on the Kokcha River at an altitude of 3,300 feet. Until the late seventeenth century the town was called Jauz Gun, or Jauzun, because of the abundance of nuts (jāūz) in the area. The name of the town was changed to Faizabad (abode of divine bounty, blessing, and charity), when in 1691 Mir Yar Beg brought what was believed to be the Blessed Robe (khirqa-yi mubarak) of the Prophet Muhammad to the town. (Ahmad Shah Durrani later brought the khirqa to Kandahar where it still is today.) In 1821 Murad Beg, the ruler of Kunduz, destroyed the town, but a few years later it again reached a population of 8,000. Many mosques and historical shrines now exist in the area. In 1937 Faizabad became the terminal of a road, connected to the northern highway between Baghlan and Kunduz, which was later extended east toward the Wakhan Corridor. The natives speak a number of Badakhshi languages in addition to Dari.

FAIZANI, MUHAMMAD ATAUULLAH. A Sufi pir and early Islamist activist from Herat, who established Sufi centers in Pul-i Khumri and Kabul that attracted Sunnis and Shi’as. He was one of the founders of the short-lived Hizb-i Tauhid and a comrade of Abdul Rasul Sayyaf and Ghulam Muhammad Niazi. Frequently arrested and opposed also by the ulama, who resented his unorthodox preachings, Faizani was involved in an abortive coup during the Muhammad Daud regime. He was arrested with Sayyaf and Niazi in 1975 and executed in 1978 during the Khalqi regime. Faizani, a Pashtun, was born in 1924 in Herat and educated there and at the Teachers Training College in Kabul.

FAIZ MUHAMMAD, GENERAL. Governor of the Eastern Province who stopped the mission under Sir Neville Chamberlain
from entering Afghanistan on the eve of the Second Anglo-Afghan War. Louis Cavagnari crossed the border on September 21, 1878, and met Faiz Muhammad at Ali Masjid. He asked whether the Afghan governor would permit Chamberlain to pass and Faiz Muhammad said no, adding “You may take as kindness, and because I remember friendship, that I do not fire upon you for what you have already done” [Crossing the border without permission]. The British chose this “insult” as the casus belli for starting the Second Anglo-Afghan War.

FAIZ MUHAMMAD, KATEB. Member of Amir Abdul Rahman’s secretariat and court secretary (kateb) under Amir Habibullah. He was a member on the staff of the Seraj al-Akbar Afghaniya and held positions in the ministries of education and foreign affairs. He is the author of a number of publications, including the three-volume Seraj al-Tawarikh (Torch of Histories), a valuable historical text in Dari. He was born in 1881, the son of Sayyid Muhammad Moghol, a Hazara, and studied Islamic sciences in India and Iran. In 1893 he entered the services of Sardar Habibullah, son of Amir Abdul Rahman, and began work on his monumental three-volume history. A fourth volume is said to exist in manuscript form, extant in the National Archives of Afghanistan in Kabul. Faiz Muhammad died in 1931, purportedly from the complications of a severe beating by Habibullah Kalakani who had sent him to bring a document of submission from the Hazarajat.

FAIZ MUHAMMAD, ZIKRIA (ZAKARIA). Diplomat and high government official, as well as a poet and writer with the pen name “Faizi Kabuli.” Born in 1892 and educated at Habibia School he entered the foreign service in 1921. He accompanied the Afghan mission under Wali Muhammad to Europe and the United States to conclude agreements for establishing diplomatic relations. He became King Amanullah’s minister of education in 1925 and subsequently served as a member of Habibullah Kalakani’s “Council for the Maintenance of Order.” Appointed foreign minister by Nadir Shah in 1929, he served until 1938 and served as ambassador to Turkey (1938–1948), Great Britain (1948–1950), and Saudi Arabia (1955–1960). He retired in 1960 and lived in the United States where he died in 1979. He is buried in Peshawar.
FAMILY. Although great variations exist between and even within groups, the family among most Afghan ethnic groups is patrilineal, patrilocal, and characterized by a low incidence of polygyny, a low divorce rate, and a high birthrate. The extended family is the major economic and social unit. Marriages are arranged by the families of the prospective groom and bride (or an intermediary), and a bride price is paid by the family of the groom. Cousin marriages are preferred. Afghan rulers since Amir Abdul Rahman have tried to limit the bride price (mahr) and costly festivities and have forbidden such practices as “child marriage” (contracted by their parents), but these customs still prevail, except among the urban upper classes. While in theory divorce is easy for men (a man can divorce his wife simply by saying “I divorce thee” three times), economic factors and the fact that marriages are often concluded within the clan or are alliances between families make it difficult to divorce. The same factors limit polygyny, in spite of the fact that Islamic law permits a man to have four wives.

The extended family consists of the patriarch, his wife (or wives), and his married sons. Authority descends in the male line, and the Islamic law of inheritance (that allocated a set portion to women) is often ignored in favor of the male members. Afghan law required the registration of marriages, but this was enforced only in the larger urban areas. The Marxist regime of Nur Muhammad Taraki tried to limit the bride price to a token amount of 300 Afghanis (then six dollars), demanded freedom of choice of the partners, and set a minimum age for marriage at 16 for women and 18 for men. Like previous Afghan rulers, the Marxist government was not able to enforce its marriage laws and eventually rescinded them as well as other unpopular innovations. The victory of the mujahedin ended all government attempts of control in family affairs, until the Taliban imposed their radical innovations. See TALIBAN COMMANDMENTS.

FAQIR OF IPI, HAJI MIRZA ALI KHAN. A frontier mulla residing with the Waziri tribe on the Indian side of the Durand Line. He was an implacable foe of the British and incited the tribes to wage jihad against India. He collaborated with the Axis powers during World War II and was in touch with their legations in Kabul. The Germans gave him the code name Feuerfresser (fire-eater) and supported his efforts by paying him a regular subsidy. The Faqir’s activities compelled Britain to keep large forces on the Frontier that could have
been deployed elsewhere. At one time an army of 40,000 troops was searching for him; he always found shelter among the Waziris and often was forced to hide in a cave. After the creation of Pakistan, the Faqir demanded independence for Pashtunistan; he was elected “president” of Pashtunistan by a tribal council and continued his fight against the new state. He received financial support from the Afghan government until his death in 1960.

FARAH (32º22' N, 62º7' E). A province in western Afghanistan with an area of 21,666 square miles; it is the second largest Afghan province, with a population of about 356,000 (estimates are as high as 404,000). The province is divided into the districts of Farah, Anardara, Bala Boluk, Purchaman, Bakwa, Shindand, Kala-i-Kah, Gulistan, Khak-i-Safid, and Farsi. The capital of the province is the town of Farah with about 18,800 inhabitants. The province is traversed by the Farah Rud, the Khashrud, and the Harut Rud Rivers; major mountain ranges include the Khak-i-Safid, Siyah Kuh, Malmand, Kuh-i-Afghan, and the Reg-i-Rawan. The economy of the province depends primarily on agriculture and livestock breeding; barley, cotton, and wheat are the major crops, and livestock includes sheep, Qaraqul sheep, goats, cattle, camels, and donkeys. An important junction in Indo-Persian trade in the seventeenth century, Farah was destroyed in 1837 and remained a small walled town until the early twentieth century when a new town was gradually developed, with a population of about 6,000 in 1934. The town gradually declined when the new Kandahar-Herat Highway, completed in 1965, bypassed the town. In 1972 floods destroyed much of the town, and the provincial administration moved for two years to Farah Rud. The population is largely Pashtun, but Tajik and other ethnic communities are also represented in Farah.

FARAH RUD (31º29' N, 61º24' E). A river which rises in Ghor Province and flows in a southwesterly direction and runs into the Hamun-i-Saberi, a shallow, brackish lake in Nimruz Province, which extends across the Iranian border.

FARANGI (FRANGI). The Dari word is a corruption of “Franks” or French, a name originally applied throughout the Middle East to Italians and Frenchmen, but was later extended to designate all European Christians.
FARHAD, GHULAM MUHAMMAD. Afghan nationalist and founder of the Afghan Social Democrat Party (jam’iyat-i susyal demukrat), popularly called Afghan Millat (Afghan Nation). Educated in Kabul and Germany, where he obtained an engineering degree, he was president of the Afghan Electric Company (1939–1966) and mayor of Kabul (1948–1954). He built the Jada-yi Maiwand (Maiwand Street), the first major avenue through the old town of Kabul, relocating displaced residents, and changed the traffic from the British Indian system to right-hand driving, which was subsequently adopted throughout Afghanistan. He demanded the restoration of “Greater Afghanistan” with the inclusion of Pakistan’s North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan. He published Afghan Millat, 1966–1967, a weekly newspaper, which subsequently also became the name of the party. In 1968 he was elected to Parliament but resigned his seat in 1970. In 1978 he was arrested by the Khalqi regime, and his party was accused of attempting a coup. He was freed in 1980 in the general amnesty of Babrak Karmal and died in 1984 in Kabul. He was a Pashtun and an ardent supporter of the Pashtunistan cause.

FARHADI, ABDUL GHAFUR RAWAN. Afghan diplomat and scholar who became director general for political affairs in the foreign ministry in 1964, secretary to the cabinet (1966–1971), and deputy minister for political affairs (1970–1973). Born in 1929 in Kabul, he was educated at Istiqlal Lycée and in France where he obtained a Ph.D. degree in Indo-Iranian philology in 1955. He entered service in the foreign ministry in 1955 and was appointed first secretary at the Afghan embassy in Karachi (1958), counselor at Washington, D.C. (1962), and ambassador at Paris (1973) but was recalled by the republican government of Muhammad Daud. He was arrested during the Khalqi regime, freed in 1980, and employed as an adviser of the ministry of foreign affairs until he left for France and the United States. Farhadi was appointed by the Burhanuddin Rabbani government permanent representative of Afghanistan to the United Nations in New York and was confirmed in this position in the Afghan interim and transitional governments. His mother tongue is Dari.

FARHANG, MUHAMMAD AMIN. Appointed minister of reconstruction in the interim government of December 2001. Born in
1938 in Kabul, the son of Mir Muhammad Siddiq Farhang, he attended Istiqlal Lycée, 1945–1947, and studied economics at Kabul University, 1958–1962. He went to Germany in 1958 where he obtained a Ph.D. degree in economics in 1974. From 1974 to 1978 he taught at Kabul University and in 1981 he went to Germany where he was affiliated with the Ruhr-University of Bochum. He is married with Zuhra (a half-sister of Queen Humaira) and has two daughters, Bilqis and Laila.

**FARIAB (36º0' N, 65º0' E).** A province in north central Afghanistan with an area of 8,226 square miles and a population of about 547,000 (estimates are as high as 674,000). The province borders on Turkmenistan in the north, on Badghis Province in the south, and Jozjan in the east. The capital of the province is the town of Maimana with about 38,000 inhabitants. Fariab is famous for horse breeding and its Buzkashi games. Melons, nuts, cereals, and cotton are the major agricultural products. Qaraqul sheep are bred for the export of skins, and carpet weaving is an important industry.

**FARSIWAN.** An ethnic group of some 600,000 Farsi-speaking Shi’a Muslims living near the Iranian border, in Herat, Kandahar, Ghazni, and scattered over southern and western Afghan towns. They are of Mediterranean stock and are mostly engaged in agriculture. Pashtu-speakers refer to all Dari-speakers as Farsiwan.

**FATEH KHAN (FATH).** Oldest son of Painda Khan (head of the Muhammadzai branch of the Barakzai tribe), born in 1777 in Kandahar. He was a skillful politician and soldier and helped Shah Mahmud (r. 1800–1803 and 1809–1818) gain the Afghan throne, capturing Farah and Kandahar from the forces of Zaman Shah. He was given the position of grand wazir and established law and order and conducted the government for Mahmud with great skill. When Shah Shuja (r. 1803–1809 and 1839–1841) succeeded to the Kabul throne, Fateh Khan was again appointed grand wazir, but he remained loyal to Mahmud and helped restore him to power. Fateh Khan consolidated Afghan control over Kashmir and established order in Herat. Kamran, son of Shah Mahmud, was jealous of Fateh Khan’s power and had him blinded and, in 1818, killed. The Barakzai
chiefs rebelled, and the ensuing conflict led to the overthrow of the Sadozai dynasty and the assumption of power by the Barakzai/Muhammadzai branch of the Durrani.

FATWA. A formal legal opinion by a mufti, or Sunni canon lawyer, in answer to a question by a judge or private individual. Laws in Afghanistan had to conform to Islamic law, as certified by the fatwa of a council of ulama.

FAYEZ, MUHAMMAD SHARIF. Minister of higher education in the transitional government of June 2002. Born 1946 in Herat, the son of Ghulam Nabi, he graduated from Kabul Teachers College and Kabul University in 1963. He continued his education in the United States and obtained the Ph.D. degree in Literature at the University of Arizona in 1978. He served as assistant professor at the University of Mashhad, 1979–1982, and then moved to the United States until his return to Afghanistan after the fall of the Taliban regime.

FAZL AHMAD, MUJADDIDI. See MUJADDIDI.

FAZL OMAR. See MUJADDIDI.

FAZLI, MUHAMMAD QASIM. Member of the Constitutional Drafting Committee and minister adviser for legal affairs. A Qizilbash from Kabul, he was educated in Kabul and obtained the Ph.D. degree in law in France.

FESTIVALS. Islamic festivals in Afghanistan include the Breaking of the Fast (‘id al fitr) after the end of the month of Ramadhan. It is followed by three days of celebrations and congregational prayers. Families exchange presents and give gifts to servants and the needy. The Feast of Sacrifice (‘id al-adha) marks the end of the month of hajj at which Muslims slaughter a sheep, a camel, or donate meat as a sacrifice to feed the poor. The Prophet’s Birthday (‘id al-milad [maulid] al-nabi) is celebrated in Afghanistan and other parts of the Islamic world. An important holiday is the observance of ‘Ashura’, the 10th of the month of Muharram, when Shi’ites (Shi’a) mourn the martyrdom of Imam Husayn, son of Ali, at Karbala in 680. For Sunnis it is a day of voluntary fasting. See also CALENDAR; HOLIDAYS.
FEUDS. See PASHTUNWALI.

FIKRI, ABDUL RAUF SALJUQI. See SALJUQI, FIKRI ABDUL RAUF.

FIQH. The science of law, or jurisprudence, in Islamic law.

FIRDAUSI, ABU’L QASIM MANSUR (934?–1020?). Author of the great national epic, the Shahnama (Book of Kings), which contains all the legends and history of Persia and ancient Afghanistan known to him. Born in Tus, Khorasan, he began work on the Shahnama there and at age 71 presented it to Mahmud of Ghazni (r. 988–1030), at whose court he had completed the work. His work is the most voluminous collection of early Persian poetry and therefore an important source for linguistics and literary studies. He felt not properly rewarded and was forced to flee Mahmud’s domain after he made his discontent known.

FIRST ANGLO-AFGHAN WAR (1838–1842). In the nineteenth century, European rivalry for commerce and empire quickly extended into the Middle East. In 1798 the Napoleonic invasion of Egypt temporarily established a French foothold in this strategic area, and Britain feared it as an important step in a move against India. Russia moved into Central Asia, and by the end of the nineteenth century the Czar’s influence extended to the Amu Daria. Britain was moving into the Panjab in search of a “scientific” frontier to make sure that her possessions in India were safe.

In Kabul, internecine warfare led to the ouster of Shah Shuja, the last of the Sadozai rulers, and Dost Muhammad, first of the Muhammadzai rulers, ascended the throne in 1826. He wanted an alliance with India and hoped to regain Peshawar, which had been lost in 1818 to the emerging Sikh nation under Ranjit Singh. Lord George Eden Auckland, the British governor-general of India, chose an alliance with the Sikh ruler instead and decided to restore Shah Shuja to the Afghan throne. The presence of a purported Russian agent at Kabul (see IVAN VITKEVICH) and Dost Muhammad’s hostility to the Sikh ruler were the reasons given for the declaration of war (see SIMLA MANIFESTO). A Tripartite Agreement was signed in July 1838 between Shah Shuja, Ranjit Singh, and Lord
Auckland, and the **Army of the Indus** invaded Afghanistan. The invaders met with little resistance, they captured **Ghazni** on July 23, and occupied **Kabul** on August 7. Shah Shuja was put on the Kabul throne and Dost Muhammad was forced into Indian exile. The major part of the British army left Kabul on September 18.

But it was soon apparent that the Sadozai ruler needed British protection to maintain himself in power, and the army became a force of occupation. The families of British officers came to Kabul, and thousands of Indian camp followers engaged in the lucrative business of importing from India the necessities of colonial life. But all was not well. On November 2, 1841, a Kabuli crowd stormed the British mission and killed its members, including **Alexander Burnes**, its head. The Afghans captured some £17,000 from the treasury in an adjacent house and plundered the commissariat stores located in a number of forts outside the cantonment. **Muhammad Akbar**, a son of Dost Muhammad, together with a number of chiefs, now rallied his forces and increasingly threatened the occupiers. Major General **William Elphinstone** ordered the army to withdraw to the cantonment that was commanded from nearby hills, making it vulnerable to attacks. Elphinstone’s forces consisted of seven regiments of horse and foot, with guns and sappers, English and Indian, and he decided to recall General **Robert H. Sale** from **Gandomak** and **William Nott** from **Kandahar**. But the roads were blocked by the onset of winter and by strong contingents of tribal **lashkars**, preventing a strengthening of the Kabul garrison. A raiding party sent out to silence Afghan guns was badly decimated and had to return, leaving their wounded behind. On December 11, 1841, the British were forced to negotiate a retreat that only few of the 16,000 troops and camp followers survived. (See **CAPITULATION, TREATY OF; DEATH MARCH**.)

Britain felt it necessary to have its martial reputation restored, and in September 1842 General **George Pollock** wreaked vengeance on Kabul, laying torch to the covered **bazaar** and permitting plunder that destroyed much of the rest of the city. The British forces left, and Amir Dost Muhammad returned in December 1842 to rule Afghanistan until he died a natural death 20 years later. The war cost Britain £20 million and some 15,000 lives of all ranks and camp followers.

**FIRST ANGLO-AFGHAN WAR, CAUSES OF.** During the siege of **Herat** in 1838, **Lord George Eden Auckland** determined to re-
store Shah Shuja to the throne of Kabul in the hope of establishing a friendly power in Afghanistan that was to form the first line of defense against a possible advance of Russia on India. Auckland forged the Tripartite Agreement with a reluctant Ranjit Singh and Shah Shuja in July 1838. The former did not want to send his troops into Afghanistan, and the latter did not want to resign his claim on the Panjab. Lord Auckland informed the directors of the British East India Company that

the increase of Russian and Persian influence in Afghanistan, and the impression of the certain fall of Herat to the Persian army, have induced the Ameer Dost Mahomed Khan to avow and to insist upon pretensions for the cession to him, by Maharaja Runjeet Sing, of the Peshawur territory, and to take other steps which are tantamount to the rejection of the friendship and good offices of the British Government; and have in consequence led to the retirement of Captain Burnes from the territories of Cabool.

The Persian siege of Herat was ended, but Auckland was determined to make war. The resulting disaster was subsequently termed “Auckland’s Folly.”

FIRUZ KUH (34º30' N, 63º30' E). A mountain range, also called Safid Kuh (White Mountain), extending in a westerly direction from the area of Chaghcharan into eastern Herat Province.

FIRUZKUHI. One of the Sunni Chahar Aimaq tribes, located in eastern Badghis and northern Ghor Provinces. They number about 100,000 and are Farsi speakers. Their name, according to one version, comes from Firuz Kuh, a mountain near Semnan in Iran, where they lived until the fourteenth century when Timur-i Lang transferred them to Herat and from where they subsequently migrated further east. According to another version their name derives from an eponymic ancestor, Firuz, who was one of the sons (or slaves?) of Sanzar (progenitor also of Taiman, the eponymic ancestor of the Taimanis). The descendants of Firuz were at first small chiefs under Taimani Khans until they took over most of the Taimani territory southeast of Herat. Major subdivisions are the Mahmudis, including the Zai Murad and the Zai Hakim clans, and the Darazis, all of which are subdivided into a number of sections.
FIVE PILLARS OF ISLAM (ARKAN AL-DIN). The belief and actions required of a Muslim can be summarized as follows: profession of faith, performance of ritual prayers, almsgiving, fasting, and pilgrimage. The profession of faith (shahada), consists in testifying that “there is no god but Allah and that Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah.” To become a Muslim, six conditions must be fulfilled: The shahada must be repeated aloud, it must be perfectly understood, it must be believed in the heart, it must be professed until death, it must be recited correctly, and it must be declared without any hesitation.

The ritual prayer (salat) is performed five times during a day: at dawn before sunrise, after the sun passes the zenith, in the late afternoon, immediately after sunset, and between sunset and midnight. Prayers can be performed anywhere, but on Fridays preferably in a mosque. The person turns in the direction of Mecca (qibla), and performs the bowings (ruku’) on a mat or carpet. Women pray at home or in a separate area of a mosque.

Fasting (sawm) during the day is obligatory in the month of Ramadhan. It begins on the eve of Ramadhan, i.e., on the 29th of the month of Sha’ban and ends at sunset on the last day of Ramadhan. Believers are to avoid all sins, abstain from eating, drinking, or having sexual intercourse.

Almsgiving (zakat) is enjoined to help the poor, destitute, for those in debt, travelers, those who are fighting in the cause of Islam, slaves to buy their freedom, and for those who perform a public service. It is a tax on savings, not on income. In many countries it has become a voluntary tax.

Pilgrimage (hajj) is an obligation only for those who can afford the expense. It can also be performed for a person by a substitute.

Some consider holy war (jihad), as the sixth pillar of Islam, which is satisfied if a “sufficient number” of Muslims perform it, but most schools now justify it only as a war of defense against aggression.

FLAG. Afghanistan’s first national flag was the Abdali banner, depicting a cluster of wheat, a sword, and stars on a background of red and green. Important chiefs and princes had their own flags. Amir Shir Ali’s standard was triangular in shape, red and green, with Koranic inscriptions. Abdul Rahman preferred a black banner (Abu Muslim’s Abbasid standard) on which was drawn in white a mihrab (prayer niche), minbar (pulpit), sword, and gun. Amir Habibullah’s
“national flag” (bayraq-i daulāti) was similar, except that it omitted the sword and gun. King Amanullah introduced the tricolor flag in 1928 with broad horizontal stripes of black, red, and green and an emblem showing the rising sun over snow-capped mountains clothed in wheat. The name “Allah” was inscribed in the upper left corner.

Muhammad Nadir Shah continued the tricolor, but with vertical stripes and an emblem depicting a mosque with pulpit and mihrab. The mosque was flanked by two banners, and the emblem was framed by a wreath of wheat. A scroll carried the inscription “Afghanistan” above which was the date 1348 (lunar year, corresponding to 1929), the year in which Nadir Shah assumed the throne. The emblem was in the red center portion of the flag.

President Muhammad Daud designed the republican flag in May 1974, retaining the tricolor in horizontal lines. An emblem in the upper left corner consisted of a stylized eagle, mihrab, and minbar, surrounded by a wreath and a scroll with the inscription Da Afghanistan Jumhuriāt (Republic of Afghanistan) and the date 26th of Saratan (July 17, 1973), the day he staged his coup. Black was on the top, followed by red, each one-fourth of the width of the flag; the lower half was green.

In October 1978 the Nur Muhammad Taraki regime introduced the red flag with an emblem in gold in the upper right corner. It consisted of the traditional wreath with the name “Khalq” (People) in the center, a five-cornered star above it, and a scroll with the Pashto inscription Da Afghanistan Da Demukratik Jumhuriāt (Democratic Republic of Afghanistan). It carried the date of the Saur Revolt, 7 Saur 1357 (April 27, 1978). The Khalqi flag strongly resembled the USSR flag and those of the Soviet Republics and therefore aroused the ire of many Afghans. When Babrak Karmal replaced Hafizullah Amin he restored the tricolor but kept the red flag as the banner of the party. After the fall of the Marxist regime, the first mujahedīn government designed a new tricolor of red, white, and black with the inscription of the Muslim creed. The Taliban adopted a white flag with the same inscription. Soon after the downfall of the Taliban regime, the Afghan interim government again adopted the tricolor flag of the monarchy.

FOREIGN RELATIONS. Historically, Afghanistan’s relations with her neighbors were always influenced by the fact that the territory inhabited
by the Afghans was the “gateway” to the Indian subcontinent. The power that controlled the tribes and the passes leading south and east would not encounter any great physical obstacles in the conquest of the subcontinent and its fabulous riches. **Mahmud of Ghazni** (r. 988–1030), Tamerlane (**Timur-I Lang**, r. 1370–1405), and **Nadir Shah Afshar** (r. 1736–1747) crossed the Afghan passes for the propagation of Islam, glory, and booty. It is therefore not surprising that **Ahmad Shah Durrani** (r. 1747–1773), the founder of the state of Afghanistan, considered it his manifest destiny to create an empire that included a large portion of northern India. He invaded India nine times and defeated the powerful Maratha confederation at the **Battle of Panipat**, north of Delhi, in 1761. But by the turn of the century, the gradual northwest expansion of British influence resulted in a confrontation between Britain and Afghanistan that was to continue into the twentieth century.

Afghanistan’s foreign relations can be divided into six major periods: first, the expansionist period, which lasted from 1747 to 1800; second, the period of foreign conflict, from 1800 to 1880, which involved Afghanistan in hostilities with Persia and the rising Sikh nation in the **Panjāb** as well as with Britain and Russia; third, the period of defensive isolationism and “buffer-state” politics, initiated by **Amir Abdul Rahman** (r. 1880–1901) and continued by **Amir Habibullah** (r. 1901–1919) until his death; fourth, the period of defensive neutralism, which opened Afghanistan to foreign influences and lasted until after World War II when Britain’s departure from India ushered in a new, fifth, era of peaceful coexistence that, nevertheless, ended with the Marxist coup in 1978 and the Soviet intervention. A sixth era began under the **Taliban**. When the Taliban conquered most of Afghanistan in the late 1990s, diplomatic relations were maintained only with **Pakistan**, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates. Since the American intervention in October 2001, no strong central government exists.

During the expansionist period, Afghan rulers conquered territories north of the **Hindu Kush** and east of the Indus River, but internecine fighting among the **Durrani sardars** (princes and chiefs) and the emergence of new players in the “**Great Game**” in Central Asia made the Afghan empire a short-lived enterprise. When in 1798 **Zaman Shah** invited the Marquess Wellesley, governor of Bengal
(1798–1805), to join him in a campaign against the Maratha confederacy of northwestern India, Wellesley sought Persian assistance “to keep Zaman Shah in perpetual check.” The period of foreign conflict saw the emergence of the Sikh nation under Ranjit Singh who wrested the Panjab from the Afghans. Britain feared the appearance of a French mission in Tehran in 1807 and considered the Russian territorial gains in the Caucasus a serious threat to India. Therefore, in 1808 the British governor-general, Lord Minto, sent Mountstuart Elphinstone to Peshawar to conclude a treaty of friendship and common defense against Franco-Persian attacks. Shah Shuja, who had ascended the Kabul throne, agreed to prohibit Frenchmen from entering his realm in exchange for military support. This treaty, as well as others concluded between Britain and Fath Ali Shah, the ruler of Persia, were “inoperative” almost as soon as they were ratified. Shah Shuja was ousted in 1810 and, after an interval of internecine fighting, the Muhammadzai branch of the Durranis replaced the Sadozai rulers.

Dost Muhammad, a capable ruler, succeeded to the throne in 1826. He wanted British friendship but also wanted to regain Peshawar from Ranjit Singh, whose forces had conquered Multan in 1810, Kashmir in 1819, and Peshawar in 1823. But Lord Auckland, governor-general of the British East India Company (1836–1842), favored a forward policy; he concluded the Tripartite Agreement of July 1838 with Ranjit Singh and Shah Shuja to restore the shah to the Kabul throne. Dost Muhammad’s negotiations with a purported Russian envoy and the amir’s hostility to the Sikh ruler were the casus belli, and the Simla Manifesto of 1838, issued by the British Indian government, constituted the declaration of war. The Army of the Indus, as it was proudly called, invaded Afghanistan in what came to be known as the First Anglo-Afghan War. Once installed on the Kabul throne, Shah Shuja was unable to consolidate his power even with British support. Afghan tribal forces attacked isolated outposts, and on November 2, 1841, the British Political Officer Alexander Burnes and his staff were assassinated. The British forces were compelled to negotiate an ignominious retreat that resulted in the virtual annihilation of the British-Indian forces. See CAPITULATION, TREATY OF; DEATH MARCH.

This extraordinary setback for Britain led to the restoration of Dost Muhammad (r. 1842–1863). Like Shah Shuja, he had been in Indian
exile, and his return to Kabul began the rule of the Muhammadzai dynasty, a collateral branch of the Sadozai, which lasted until 1973. The British-Indian government resigned itself to a period of “masterly inactivity,” which left Afghanistan to revert to civil war following the succession of Amir Shir Ali in 1863. But the search for a “scientific” frontier and the desire to fill a “power vacuum” in Afghanistan led to a return to a forward policy. Baluchistan came under British control in 1879, and the Indian government had to decide where its boundary with Afghanistan should be: the crest of the Hindu Kush, the Amu Daria, or the tribal belt of the northwestern frontier? Lacking any direct control over Afghanistan, Britain wanted envoys stationed at Herat and Kabul who could guard Indian interests in those vital areas. Amir Shir Ali was willing to forge an alliance with Britain, but he wanted protection from Russian aggression, a subsidy in weapons and funds, and British recognition of his son, Abdullah Jan, as his successor (see AMBALA CONFERENCE). When he could not obtain a clear commitment from Britain, he listened to the overtures of General Constantin Kaufman, the Russian governor general of Turkestan Province, and permitted a mission under Major-General Stolietoff to proceed to Kabul. The Russians gave the not quite ironclad promise “that if any foreign enemy attacks Afghanistan and the Amir is unable to drive him out . . . The Russian Government will repel the enemy either by means of advice or by such other means as it may seem proper.”

The British government now insisted that the amir receive a mission, headed by General Neville Chamberlain. Shir Ali asked for a postponement of the mission, but it proceeded in spite of the wishes of the amir. When it was stopped at the Afghan frontier, Britain presented an ultimatum; on January 8, 1879, British troops occupied Kandahar in the start of the Second Anglo-Afghan War. The promised Russian support was in the form of “advice,” namely that the amir should make his peace with the British. Shir Ali felt betrayed; he was forced to flee and died two months later near Mazar-i Sharif.

His son Yaqub Khan succeeded to the throne at the cost of ceding territory to British India in the Treaty of Gandomak and permitting Sir Pierre Louis Cavagnari to come to Kabul to head a permanent British mission. History repeated itself when Cavagnari and his staff were massacred in Kabul. General Frederick Roberts, son of Sir
Abraham Roberts, the commander of Shah Shuja’s forces during the First Anglo-Afghan War, occupied Kabul. In the meantime other contenders for the Kabul throne came to the fore. Ayub Khan, another son of Amir Shir Ali, wiped out General G. R. S. Burrows’ forces in the Battle of Maiwand (1880), and Abdul Rahman Khan, a grandson of Amir Dost Muhammad, entered Afghanistan after 12 years in Central Asian exile. To avoid disaster and to extricate their forces from Afghanistan, the British found it advisable to recognize Abdul Rahman as amir of “Kabul and its Dependencies.” Amir Abdul Rahman (r. 1880–1901) was quick to eliminate all rivals to his power. He united the country, initiated domestic reforms, and formulated a foreign policy that served Afghanistan well until World War I. He fashioned a cautious alliance with Britain that obligated Britain to defend Afghanistan from unprovoked Russian aggression and strengthened his power with aid in money and arms. Abdul Rahman agreed to conduct his relations with foreign powers through the intermediary of the British government. Having protected himself from the danger in the north, the amir formulated a policy that was to prevent Britain from gaining influence within his domains under the aegis of their common defense. This policy rested on the following triad: militant assertion of independence, defensive isolationism, and a balancing of the pressures by the two imperialist neighbors.

The “Iron Amir” considered his agreement with Britain an alliance between equals in which the two partners contributed to their common defense. He permitted the establishment in Kabul of a British agency, headed by an Indian Muslim whose sphere of activity was strictly limited, but refused to accept British military advisers and declined an offer of British help in extending the Indian rail system into Afghanistan. Although in 1893 he accepted under “duress” the Durand Line (see APPENDIXES 1 and 1A), which cut large portions of Pashtun territory from the Afghan state, he did not assist in the complete demarcation of the border and continued to lay claim to the free “unadministered” tribal belt, which he saw as a buffer between Afghanistan and India. When Britain made punitive expeditions into this area, the Afghan ruler supported the tribes with shipments of arms and granted fugitives from India shelter in his domains. Amir Abdul Rahman was on a state visit in India in 1885 when Russian troops moved into the Panjdeh oasis (see PANJDEH INCIDENT).
The fact that Britain did not assist him against Russian aggression convinced him that he could only rely on himself.

Amir Habibullah (r. 1901–1919) continued the policy of his father. He resisted British demands for modifications of the agreements concluded with Amir Abdul Rahman and succeeded in 1905 in obtaining a treaty that confirmed all the existing provisions (see ANGLO-AFGHAN TREATY OF 1905). Two years later, Amir Habibullah visited India for talks with the governor-general, Lord Minto, unaware of the fact that at the same time Russia and Britain had concluded the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907. The amir never permitted Russia and Britain the commercial privileges expected under the Convention and made sure that his imperialist neighbors would not solve the “Afghanistan Question” at the cost of his independence. The situation was drastically changed during World War I when both the Central Powers and the Allies vied for the support of the Afghan ruler. The Hentig-Niedermayer Expedition (August 1915–May 1916) was able to conclude a treaty with the amir but Germany could not provide any tangible support in funds and weapons. Therefore Habibullah remained neutral, hoping to win rich rewards and complete independence from Britain; when these expectations were not realized he paid for the failure of his policy with his life. Amir Habibullah was assassinated on the night of February 20, 1919, at Kala Gosh in Laghman Province. Amanullah Khan ascended the throne over the rival claims of his uncle, Nasrullah Khan, and his brother, Enayatullah Khan.

King Amanullah (r. 1919–1929, he adopted the title of king in 1926) demanded a new treaty from British India that would recognize Afghanistan’s absolute independence. When the Indian government was reluctant to comply, he started military action that resulted in the Third Anglo-Afghan War of 1919. With India in semi-revolt and British forces demobilized after the European war, the British government did not find this an opportune time to wage war and agreed to a peace treaty at Rawalpindi (August 8, 1919, see ANGLO-AFGHAN TREATY OF 1919). It took another three months of negotiations at Mussoorie (Mussoorie Conference, April 17 to July 18, 1920) and almost one year of talks at Kabul, from January 1, 1921 to December 2, 1921 before normal, neighborly relations were established (see ANGLO-AFGHAN TREATY OF 1921). By that time
Amanullah had established diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union, Turkey, Persia, and Italy and had modified Abdul Rahman’s policy to end the isolation of his country. A contemporary of Reza Shah of Iran and Kemal Ataturk of the young Turkish republic, Amanullah initiated such drastic social reforms that he was ousted in a wave of reaction after a 10-year period of tenuous rule. Next followed the chaotic 10-month rule of a “lowly” Tajik, Habibullah Kalakani (January 18–November 3, 1929), called “The Son of a Water Carrier” (Bacha-i Saqqau) by his friends and “Amir Habibullah Ghazi, Servant of the Religion of the Messenger of God” (Khadem-i Din Rasul Allah), by his followers after his coronation.

The new dynasty of Nadir Shah (r. 1929–1933) and his son Muhammad Zahir Shah (r. 1933–1973) continued Afghanistan’s traditional policy of foreign relations, but now tried to enlist Germany as a “third power” in obtaining the technical and political support that the Afghan rulers did not dare to accept from their neighbors. Economic and cultural collaboration between Afghanistan and Germany was greatly expanded, and Germans were soon the largest European community in the country. But the deterioration of the political situation in Europe and the outbreak of World War II ended any possibility that the economic cooperation might evolve into political collaboration. Afghanistan remained neutral during the war.

The end of the war created an entirely new situation: the Soviet Union, although severely battered, acquired nuclear technology and emerged as a superpower, and Britain, in spite of her victory, was forced to relinquish her hold on India in 1947. During the short reign of King Amanullah in the 1920s, Afghanistan’s border with the Soviet Union was open to commercial relations, and regular air service to Tashkent existed, but his successors maintained a closed-border policy. Keeping Afghanistan’s border to the north closed was criticized in Moscow as inconsistent with friendly “neighborly” relations. Soviet demands for a “normalization” of relations could not be ignored, but it was hoped in Kabul that the United States would fill the vacuum left by the British and serve as a balancing force against the Soviet Union.

The United States formally recognized Afghanistan in August 1934 but did not have an accredited representative in Kabul until 1942, when it appeared possible that the German advance into the
Caucasus might make it impossible to maintain a link to the Soviet Union through western Iran. In spite of its status as an independent state, Washington considered Afghanistan within the British sphere of influence and not very important in terms of international trade. With the onset of the Cold War during the Harry Truman administration and the policy of containment of Communism under John Foster Dulles, secretary of state under President Dwight D. Eisenhower, the Afghan government might have entered into an alliance with the United States if it would have been given explicit guarantees of protection from Soviet attack.

The United States government had never been willing to give that kind of guarantee; a possible Soviet advance was to be stopped at the Khaibar Pass, not north of the Hindu Kush. The Baghdad Pact in 1955 (subsequently renamed in 1959 Central Treaty Organization, CENTO) united Turkey, Iraq, Iran, and Pakistan with Britain as the representative of the West and the United States as the sponsor and “paymaster.” The alliance inherited the legacy of regional disputes between Middle Eastern neighbors and upset the balance of powers.

A turning point occurred in December 1955, when Nikita Khrushchev and Nikolai Bulganin came to Kabul. The Soviets supported Afghanistan in the Pashtunistan dispute and offered massive aid that the United States was unwilling to match. The government of Prime Minister Muhammad Daud, in spite of its misgivings, turned to the Soviet Union for the weapons it could not obtain from the West.

The weapons arrived with Soviet advisers and experts, and thousands of Afghans went to the Soviet Union for military training. Graduates from Afghan institutes of higher education won fellowships to foreign universities, including those in the USSR, and there emerged a growing cadre of military officers, students, and technocrats with leftist and republican, if not pro-Russian, sympathies. When Sardar Muhammad Daud staged a coup against his cousin, the king, on July 17, 1973, he counted the Left (and Parchamis) among his supporters. Five years later a Marxist coup ended the “aristocratic” republic and established the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. Its alliance with the Soviet Union and the subsequent war, which Soviet intervention in 1979 turned into a war of Afghan liberation, resulted in the eventual Soviet withdrawal in 1989 and a “simmering” civil war that was temporarily ended when the Taliban extended their control over much of the country. Under the Taliban, Afghanistan became a radical Islamic state which had
increasingly bad relations with the West. It was, however, on good terms with Pakistan, whose Inter-Services Intelligence had been arming and training the mujahedin. The Taliban government gave shelter to al-Qaeda and permitted the establishment of bases for the training of Islamist revolutionaries elsewhere. American intervention in Afghanistan resulted in the defeat of the Taliban regime and destruction of al-Qaeda. A new era began with the establishment of a transitional government and the process of creating a broad-based, democratic government. See also FRANCO-AFGHAN RELATIONS; RUSSIAN-AFGHAN RELATIONS; UNITED NATIONS AND AFGHANISTAN.

FOREIGN TRADE. See ECONOMY.

FORWARD POLICY. See FOREIGN RELATIONS.

FRANCO-AFGHAN RELATIONS. Unlike Afghanistan’s relations with the Soviet Union/Russia, Britain, Germany, and the United States, Franco-Afghan relations were primarily cultural. French was still the language of diplomacy, and Afghanistan needed a cadre of future diplomats conversant in that language. Wali Muhammad Khan’s mission traveled to Europe and America to establish diplomatic relations with the West, reaching Paris on June 9, 1921. Four months later, a group of 34 young Afghans of the Muhammadzai clan was sent to France to enter the Lycée Michelet at Vanves. Relations between the two countries were finally established in 1923 with the exchange of ambassadors, Maurice Foucher at Kabul and Mahmud Tarzi at Paris. The Afghan government granted a 30-year monopoly to French archaeologists so that it could refuse concessions to citizens of neighboring powers. But the Afghan government reserved the right of “granting to savants of foreign nations permission to excavate in places where the learned French representatives are not carrying out their operations, and do not intend to start work within a period not exceeding five years,” (Adamec, 1974, 76); it refused the Englishman Sir Auriel Stein permission to work in Afghanistan. A similar request in January 1923 from the Soviet legation in Kabul was not granted.

The French-language Amania School, later renamed Istiqlal Lycée, was opened on February 3, 1923. By the end of King Amanullah’s
reign some 450 students were enrolled and the French colony in Kabul amounted to 23 persons. The archaeologist Alfred Foucher was soon joined by other French archaeologists, and in the beginning of Muhammad Nadir Shah’s reign the Afghan baccalaureat was recognized as the equivalent of the French exam. The first three graduates went to France for advanced study in June 1932. A lycée for girls was started in 1939 and Malalai Lycée in 1942. During the war period, a cadre of Afghan teachers took over, and in 1946–1947 the first four students obtained their baccalaureat from Malalai High School. A department of French was opened at Kabul University in 1964, and professors participated in the development of medical and nursing studies.

Afghan Kings Amanullah and Zahir Shah visited France in 1928 and 1965 respectively, and Prime Minister Georges Pompidou came to Kabul in May 1968. Although smaller than the Russian, German, American, and British colonies in Afghanistan, the French were a major factor in education and cultural activities in Afghanistan. After the Saur Revolt in 1978, cooperation with France, as with other Western countries, was gradually limited, but during the ensuing war in Afghanistan, French Médecins Sans Frontières provided much needed medical aid in the Afghan countryside. After the fall of the Taliban government, France helped to rebuild Istiqlal Lycée and provided assistance for a number of development projects.

FUNDAMENTALISM. Fundamentalism was a term originally applied to a conservative Protestant movement in the United States. It has subsequently been applied to any major religion with tendencies like authoritarianism, messianic spirit, subordination of secular politics to religious beliefs, belief in the infallibility of holy scripture, charismatic leadership, and enforced moralism. During the Taliban regime a “religious police” enforced public conformance with the Taliban Commandments. The designation “fundamentalist” has been applied to puritanical Islamic revivalist movements such as those promoted by Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab (1703–1792), Hassan al-Banna (1906–1949), Sayyid Abu’l A’la Mawdudi (1903–1979), Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini (1900–1989), and Mulla Muhammad Omar (b. about 1960) of Afghanistan. See also ENJOINING THE GOOD AND FORBIDDING EVIL.
GAHIZ, MINHAJJ AL-DIN. Member of the Islamist, anticommunist movement and publisher of the Jarīda-yi Gahiz (Newspaper of Gahiz [Dawn in Pashtu]). He was born in 1922 of a Pashtun family in Koh Daman and educated at the teachers’ training high school in Kabul, becoming a teacher at Ghazi High School. His newspaper carried articles on Islamic topics and political attacks on the emerging Marxist movements. He is said to have been killed in 1971 by communist agents who had entered his home as “visitors.”

GAILANI, FATANA. Head of the Afghan Women’s Council (AWC) in Peshawar, an active women’s support organization, which published a newspaper, entitled Zan-i Afghan (The Afghan Woman). She founded the Mother and Child Health Clinic in 1986, a school, and a research center for educational workshops for refugee women. Fatana was born and educated in Kabul, she is married to Ishaq Gailani, a mujahedin commander and nephew of Sayyid Ahmad Gailani.

GAILANI, SAYYID AHMAD (AFANDI SAHIB, GILANI). Descendant of the Muslim Pir Abd al-Qadir al-Jailani (1077–1166) and hereditary head of the Qadiria Sufi fraternity. He succeeded to his position upon the death of his older brother, Sayyid Ali Gailani, in 1964. Born in 1932 in Kabul, the son of Sayyid Hasan Gailani, he was educated at Abu Hanifa College and the faculty of theology of Kabul University. He left Afghanistan after the Saur Revolt in 1978 and founded Mahaz-i Milli-yi Afghanistan (National Islamic Front of Afghanistan) in Peshawar. His movement was part of the seven-member alliance that formed the “Afghan Interim Government” in 1989 (see ISLAMIC ALLIANCE FOR THE LIBERATION OF AFGHANISTAN). Although Sayyid Gailani did not want any position in the interim government, he later accepted the post of supreme justice (Qadhi al-Qudhat). After the fall of the Taliban regime, Gailani returned to Kabul as a supporter of the Loya Jirga process. Gailani is married to Adela (daughter of Sardar Abdul Baqi and Aziza, a daughter of Amir Habibullah) and has three daughters and two sons: Fatima, Mariam, Hamed, Muhammad, and Zahra.
GAILANI, SAYYID ALI (GILANI). Born in 1923 in Kabul, the son of Sayyid Hasan Gailani and leader of the Qadiria Sufi brotherhood. He died in 1964 and was succeeded by his younger brother Sayyid Ahmad Gailani. His son Ishaq Gailani has been a commander of moderate mujahedin groups.

GAILANI, SAYYID HASAN (GILANI). Born about 1862 in Baghdad. Sayyid Hasan Gailani is the father of Sayyid Ali Gailani, the son of Sayyid Salman Gailani, descendant of al-Imam Hasan, son of Caliph Ali, son of Abu Taleb. Member of the family of the Naqib al-Ashraf of Baghdad, Sayyid Hasan Gailani came to Afghanistan in 1905. He was welcomed warmly by the king and the qadirites of Afghanistan. Amir Habibullah paid him an allowance of Rs. 3,500 per month and built him a winter residence at Chaharbagh, near Jalalabad. Thus he became known as the Naqib Sahib of Charharbagh, as well as the Pir Naqib of Baghdad, the place where his ancestor’s tomb is located. His reason for leaving Baghdad and coming to Afghanistan was primarily a disagreement with his older brother, Sayyid Abdul Rahman Gailani, who was the oldest in the family and was Naqib al-Ashraf of Baghdad. He wanted to get married in spite of the wishes of his brother, and Sayyid Hasan Gailani—wherever he would have gone—would have been sent back because of the influence of his brother. So he went to Afghanistan, which was not a part of the Ottoman Empire. Furthermore, Afghanistan is a Hanafite Islamic country, having many Qadir followers.

Those Afghans who were visiting the Mausoleum of Shaikh Abdul Qadir Gailani in Baghdad had told Sayyid Hasan Gailani about “the Afghans’ firm beliefs, their purity of soul and character” and had also familiarized him with their language. And his faithful companion Mahmud Tokhi (an Afghan subject) had told Gailani about the goodwill of the Afghans toward him. Therefore, he decided to make a journey to Afghanistan. “The faith of the people and the insistence of the King induced him to accept Afghan citizenship and to stay in Afghanistan.” Sayyid Hasan was respected by the Afghans who took him as an example of the Qadiria life. He was treated with the utmost respect by Amir Habibullah Khan and Sardar Nasrullah Khan. He issued a farman in support of King Muhammad Nadir Shah in 1931. Sayyid Hasan Gailani had a daughter, Fatima, from his first wife and
two sons, Sayyid Ali Gailani and Sayyid Ahmad Gailani, from his fourth wife. In 1941 he died of a brain hemorrhage and was buried in his Chaharbagh garden in Jalalabad.

**GANDHARA.** A state in the Peshawar Valley, with its capital at Taxila (or Charsada), that flourished from the late first to the mid-fifth century A.D. It is famous for the fusion of Hellenistic and Buddhist civilization and art styles. The Kabul Museum held numerous specimens of that art.

**GANDOMAK (34º18' N, 70º2' E).** A village on the Gandomak Stream, a tributary of the Surkhab River, about 29 miles southwest of Jalalabad. The area was the scene of a number of battles between British and Afghan forces including the massacre of the last remnants of the British army in 1842. It was also the scene of a treaty concluded between Major Louis Cavagnari and Amir Yaqub Khan signed on May 26, 1879. See GANDOMAK, TREATY OF.

**GANDOMAK, TREATY OF.** A treaty concluded between the British government and Amir Yaqub Khan, signed by the amir and Major Louis Cavagnari on May 26, 1879, and ratified by Lord Robert Lytton, viceroy of India, on May 30, 1879. The treaty was to establish “eternal peace and friendship” between the two countries upon conclusion of the Second Anglo-Afghan War (Article 1). It provided for amnesty for Afghan collaborators with the British occupation forces (Article 2) and obligated the amir to “conduct his relations with Foreign States, in accordance with the advice and wishes of the British Government.” In exchange Britain would support the amir “against any foreign aggression with money, arms, or troops” (Article 3). A British representative was to be stationed at Kabul “with a suitable escort in a place of residence appropriate to his rank and dignity,” and an Afghan agent was to be at the court of the viceroy of India (Article 4). A separate commercial agreement was to be signed (Article 7), and a telegraph line from Kurram to Kabul was to be constructed (Article 8). The Khaibar and Michni Passes were to be controlled by Britain (Article 9), Kandahar and Jalalabad were to be “restored” to the amir with the exception of Kurram, Pishin, and Sibi, which were to be under British control but were not
“considered as permanently severed from the limits of the Afghan kingdom.” Afghan historians consider the treaty a sellout to Britain and a treasonable act by Amir Yaqub Khan.

**GARDEZ (33°37’ N, 69°7’ E).** Gardez is a town with about 20,000 inhabitants and a district in Paktia Province, located at an altitude of 7,620 feet. The town is inhabited largely by Ghilzai Pashtuns and some Dari-speakers. Most of the surrounding villages have been destroyed during the Afghan civil war. Gardez is a strategically important town because it controls the route north over the Altamur Pass (9,600 feet) to Kabul. It is an ancient town, with a strong citadel and fortress, which for a short time was the seat of the Kushanid rulers of Kabul. It was a center of Buddhist culture and, in the early Islamic period, a base of the Kharijite (Khawarij = The Seceders) sect of Islam. After the fall of the Taliban regime, American forces continued to be involved in fighting with purported Taliban/al Qaeda forces in the Gardez area.

**GARMSIR.** A low-lying, hot country (garm = warm), in contrast with sardsïr (sard = cold), a cold place, and therefore summer habitation in high grounds. Nomads would seasonally move from one to the other. Garmsir (or Garmsel) is also the name of a district in Helmand Province.

**GAZARGAH (34°22’ N, 62°14’ E).** The name of a range of low hills to the north of Herat and the location of the tomb of Khwaja Abdullah Ansari, a celebrated eleventh-century philosopher and Sufi poet. The shrine is the residence of the Mir of Gazargah, a man widely revered as the guardian of Ansari’s mausoleum.

**GENEVA ACCORDS.** The result of “proximity talks” between Afghanistan and Pakistan in Geneva, initiated on June 16, 1982, by Diego Cordovez under the auspices of the United Nations and concluded on April 14, 1988. The Accords consisted of four documents and an annex: three between the Republic of Afghanistan and the Islamic Republic of Pakistan; one between the Soviet Union and the United States, promising to “refrain from any form of interference and intervention”; and an annex with a memorandum of understanding, as-
sisting the United Nations in the implementation of the agreements. The United States and the Soviet Union were the guarantors of the accords. The talks aimed at ending the “external interference” in the war in Afghanistan with a view to establishing peace. The accords resulted in the withdrawal of Soviet troops in mid-February 1989 but failed to end foreign interference or to bring the warring parties closer to peace.

One reason for the failure was that the mujahedin were not a party to the accords; another was that Washington, and virtually everyone else, expected the Marxist government to disintegrate promptly. When the Soviets departed, they left a considerable amount of war materiel and promised to supply more under the treaty of friendship of December 1978. The United States was obligated to cease military support of the mujahedin. The result was a haggling over “symmetry” and “negative symmetry” of arms supplies, not part of the formal agreements. Eventually the Soviets and the Americans informally agreed on “positive symmetry,” that is to say, they reserved themselves the right to send arms in response to shipments by the other. The result was that both powers continued to support their “clients,” and Pakistan continued to permit the passage of weapons through its territory. The war continued, and the superpower guarantees of non-interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan were ignored. In April 1992 the Marxist government fell and the mujahedin began a civil war for control of the Afghan government. See also FOREIGN RELATIONS.

GERMAN-AFGHAN RELATIONS. German-Afghan relations date from the time of World War I when the Hentig-Niedermayer Expedition in August 1915 first established official contact with an Afghan ruler (the claim by one Afghan writer that a secret German mission was sent to the court of Amir Shir Ali cannot be substantiated on the basis of British or German archival sources). The first German known to reside in Kabul was Gottlieb Fleischer, an employee of Krupp Steelworks of Essen, Germany, who was contracted by Amir Abdul Rahman in 1898 to start manufacture of ammunitions and arms in the newly constructed factory (mashinkhana) at Kabul (he was killed in November 1904 near the border while traveling to India). Afghanistan existed in self-imposed isolation and the British Indian government refused to permit passage to Afghanistan to other than
their own nationals. It was not until World War I that Germans again appeared in Kabul. A number of Austrian and German prisoners of war, held in Russian Central Asia, escaped and made their way to Kabul, where they were “interned” but enjoyed freedom of movement and contributed their skills to various public works projects.

The first official contact was the Hentig-Niedermayer mission that included also Turkish and Indian members and was charged with establishing diplomatic relations between the Central Powers and Afghanistan. The Germans hoped that Amir Habibullah would heed the caliph’s call to holy war and, together with the Pashtun Frontier tribes, attack India. The mission caused considerable anxiety in India, but although Amir Habibullah wanted to rid himself of British control, he was not to be drawn into a conflict whose outcome seemed at best dubious (see FOREIGN RELATIONS). Nevertheless, the mission was not a complete failure, as it forced Britain to maintain troops on its northwest frontier, which could have been used in the European theater of war. Habibullah appeared to be willing to act, but demanded assistance in funds and arms that only a victorious Germany could have provided. When it became apparent that no such victory was in sight, he informed Britain that he would remain neutral in the war in exchange for a financial reward and British recognition of Afghanistan’s independence.

Germany rendered Afghanistan a potentially important service by insisting on Russian recognition of Afghan independence in Article VII of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk (March 3, 1918), which ended Russian participation in World War I.

German influence became solidly established during the reign of King Amanullah (r. 1919–1929). The “Reformer King” won the independence of his country in a short, undeclared war (see THIRD ANGLO-AFGHAN WAR) and quickly established relations with the major powers of the world.

In 1923 Fritz Grobba, the German minister plenipotentiary, joined the diplomatic representatives of the Soviet Union, Persia, Britain, Turkey, and Italy in Kabul, and it was soon clear that there existed a community of interest between Germany and Afghanistan. King Amanullah needed Western expertise for his modernization projects and felt that nationals from states, other than his powerful neighbors, should be engaged. The United States was reluctant to
move into an area that it considered within the British sphere of influence; Italy was willing to assist, but the execution of an Italian who killed an Afghan policeman soured relations between the two countries. France was seen as a colonial power that had acquired large portions of the Ottoman Empire, whose ruling sultan/caliph Afghans recognized as the spiritual head of the Islamic world (see FRANCO-AFGHAN RELATIONS). Germany had been an ally of the Ottomans and offered Afghanistan industrial hardware and skilled technicians at competitive rates. A consortium of German enterprises formed the Deutsch-Afghanische Company (DACOM), which established an office in Kabul. In 1923 King Amanullah founded the German-language high school, Amani (called Najat under Muhammad Nadir Shah), in addition to French- and English-language secondary schools, and German influence was growing. By 1926 the German colony was second only to the Russians and soon became the largest of all groups.

Relations developed to the extent that major incidents that might have had a serious impact on German-Afghan relations were amicably resolved. In November 1926 a German national killed an Afghan nomad, and in June 1933 an Afghan student and supporter of the deposed King Amanullah, shot Sardar Muhammad Aziz, a half brother of Nadir Shah and his minister at Berlin. In September 1933, Muhammad Azim, a teacher at the German high school, wanted to provoke an international incident by shooting the British minister at Kabul (he killed an Englishman, an Afghan, and an Indian employee instead). The last two incidents were seen as the manifestation of a power struggle between the followers of King Amanullah and the new ruling family, and there existed some worries in Kabul that Germany was supporting the ex-king. These incidents had no lasting effect on German-Afghan relations.

In October 1936 the two countries agreed in a “confidential protocol” on the delivery of 15 million marks worth of war materiel on credit to be repaid in half with Afghan products. By that time Germany had become an important economic and political factor in Kabul, and the way seemed clear for even closer cooperation. In 1937 Lufthansa Airlines established regular service from Berlin to Kabul with the intention of eventually extending service to China. And in summer 1939, shortly before the outbreak of World War II, a German
commercial delegation arrived in Kabul to expand German-Afghan trade; but the political situation precluded any desire of the Kabul government to tie itself even closer to Nazi Germany. German annexation of Austria in March 1938 and the annexation of Czechoslovakia a year later, and above all the conclusion of a nonaggression pact between Germany and the Soviet Union in August 1939, made it appear likely that Europe would be engulfed in war. Germany could no longer be a “third force” in Afghanistan’s attempt to balance the influences of her powerful neighbors.

On the outbreak of World War II, Zahir Shah proclaimed Afghanistan’s neutrality and was determined to stay out of the war. For Germany, Afghanistan’s strategic location gained a priority over commercial considerations. The German foreign ministry and its political counterpart, the Aussenpolitische Amt, toyed with the idea of supporting a pro-Amanullah coup to establish a friendly government in Kabul. It sent Peter Kleist, a German diplomat, and Ghulam Siddiq Charkhi, a former Afghan ambassador and supporter of King Amanullah, to Moscow to query Vyacheslav Molotov, the Soviet foreign minister, as to whether the Soviets would support such a move. The Soviets were noncommittal and nothing came of the project. When Germany invaded the Soviet Union in June 1941, Afghanistan’s neighbors were allied for the second time since the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907, and they were soon to take a common stand in Kabul: in separate diplomatic notes of October 9 and 11, 1941, the Soviet Union and Britain demanded the evacuation of all Axis nationals from Afghanistan. Prime Minister Muhammad Hashim was forced to comply, even though the Afghan government considered it an infringement of its sovereign rights. A Loya Jirga, national council, convened on November 5 and 6 and approved the decision after the Axis nationals had left for India and traveled under a promise of free passage to a neutral country. Axis diplomats were permitted to stay, and their contacts with Pashtun tribes on the Indian side of the border did not achieve any tangible results. In spite of sympathies for the enemy of Afghanistan’s traditional enemies, there was no question of armed cooperation with Germany.

After its defeat in World War II, the German “phoenix” rose from its ashes again, and soon German expertise once more found a ready demand in Kabul. Although Germany was unable for a while to de-
liver industrial products, her nationals would again be a major factor in Afghanistan’s development projects. A dam and hydroelectric power station at Sarobi became one of the first major German projects after the war. American funds and German contractors built the new campus of Kabul University. German teachers served on the faculties of science and economics of Kabul University, and by the 1970s, German economic aid ranked third after Soviet and American assistance.

Najat School became a model institution, rivaling the French’s supported Istiqlal Lycée, and the English-language schools in Kabul. The Deutsche Entwicklungsdienst (German Development Service), a volunteer organization, brought Germans with attractive skills to Afghanistan. The Goethe Institute for the promotion of German language and culture was opened in Kabul, and a consortium of German universities offered Afghans opportunities to study in Germany. East Germany, not recognized by the Afghans, eventually also appeared on the scene, vying with its Western “brothers” to win friends and influence people. West German influence lasted long after the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, although East Germans gradually replaced Germans from the West. Because of its long and fruitful association with Afghanistan, its nationals have enjoyed a good reputation in Kabul and may well continue to have an important cultural and economic role in Afghanistan. In July 1996, Norbert Holl, a German, replaced Mahmud Mestiri as special United Nations envoy to Afghanistan, to continue the futile task of bringing peace to Afghanistan. After the fall of the Taliban government, Germany agreed to provide troops for the UN peacekeeping force, and its sponsorship of the Bonn Agreement was an important factor in establishing a new government for Afghanistan. On February 10, 2003, Germany and the Netherlands assumed command of the International Security Force for Afghanistan in Kabul.

GHAFFAR KHAN. See KHAN, KHAN ABDUL GHAFFAR.

GHANI, ASHRAF. Minister of finance in the 2002 transitional government. A former World Bank official, he became director of the administration’s Afghan Assistance Coordination Authority, established after the fall of the Taliban regime. Born in Logar Province in 1949,
the son of Kokaba Lodin Ahmadzai and Shahjan Ghani Ahmadzai. He graduated from Habibia School in 1967 and the American University of Beirut, where he received the B.A. and M.A. degrees. He attended Columbia University and received a Ph. D. degree in anthropology in 1982. He taught at Kabul University, 1973–1977, and at the University of Arhus, Denmark, 1977; the University of California at Berkeley, 1983; and John Hopkins University, 1983, before assuming a position with the World Bank in 1991. He was actively involved in Afghanistan affairs and moved to Kabul after the fall of the Taliban regime.

GHAUS, MULLA MUHAMMAD. One-eyed foreign minister of the Taliban government. He led a Taliban delegation to Houston, Texas, to negotiate a pipeline contract with Unocal oil company in 1997. Ghaus was captured by Northern Alliance forces during the 1997 Hazara uprising in Mazar-i Sharif, but was able to escape from captivity. A native of Oruzgan Province (some sources say Khushab, Kandahar) and a Nurzai Durrani, he fought as a mujahed under the Hizb-i Islami of Yunus Khales.

GHAUSUDDIN KHAN, GENERAL. Commander of Afghan forces during the Panjdeh Incident in March 1885. He confronted General Alikhanov, commander of the Russian forces, but was defeated by the superior power of the Russians. A British officer called him “a very superior Afghan... he selected his position at Ak Teppe with a great deal of judgement. He... has shown much tact in his dealings with the Sarikhs [a Turkoman tribe], among whom he is as popular as an Afghan [Pashtun] can be.” He is buried in Caliph Ali’s Mausoleum in Mazar-i Sharif.

GHATZI. Originally the designation for Arab beduin raiders who would strike from their desert refuge (ghazw), seeking booty in enemy territory. (The European term razzia for a predatory raid or police raid is a corruption of ghazw.) After the advent of Islam, a ghazi was a holy warrior fighting against a non-Muslim enemy, synonymous to the term mujahed (pl. mujahedin) used by the Afghan resistance in the 1980s. Ghazis during the First, Second, and Third Anglo-Afghan Wars were irregular fighters who took vows to die in battle against the unbelievers and staged suicidal attacks against superior
forces, for Paradise was assured to the martyr. They were often poorly armed, but their reckless bravery made them a dangerous enemy. A British military historian said:

A true ghazi counts no odds too great to face, no danger too menacing to be braved; the certainty of death only adds to his exaltation . . . If every Afghan were a ghazi . . . our defenses would have been carried, and enormous slaughter would have followed on both sides. (Hensman, 333 34)

The term became a title given to a victorious commander. Mahmud of Ghazni, King Amanullah, Habibullah Kalakani, Nadir Shah, and others claimed this title. The sons of Sardar Shah Mahmud adopted his title as a family name.

GHAZI HIGH SCHOOL. Founded at Kabul in 1928 by King Amanullah. It received its name from the king’s title Ghazi, “Victor” in the Third Anglo-Afghan War. Like Habibia School, it is a 12-grade English-language preparatory school, most of whose graduates continued their higher education at Kabul or abroad.

GHAZI, SHAH MAHMUD. War minister and commander in chief from 1929 until 1946, when he became prime minister until 1953. Born in 1886, the youngest son of Muhammad Yusuf, he embarked on a military career. He served as military commander and governor in various provinces and was appointed deputy interior minister in 1928. He assisted his brother Nadir Khan in defeating Habibullah Kalakani and served Muhammad Nadir Shah and his successor Zahir Shah as prime minister until 1953, when he resigned in favor of Sardar Muhammad Daud. Shah Mahmud allowed substantial freedom of speech and of the press but reverted to more authoritarian measures when the political liberalization led to increasing attacks on his government. He died in December 1959.

GHAZNAVID DYNASTY (977–1186). A dynasty of Turkic origin founded by Nasir al-Daula Sebuktegin (r. 977–997) with its administrative capital in the city of Ghazni. During the reign of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni (r. 998–1030) the Ghaznavid Empire extended from the Tigris to the Ganges River and from the Indian Ocean to the Amu Daria. The city of Ghazni experienced a period of enormous wealth, most of it amassed by Mahmud during some 17 campaigns
into the Indian subcontinent. He attracted some 400 scholars and poets to his capital, including Abu’l Qasim Firdausi and Abu Rayhan al-Biruni. Although the dynasty counted 19 rulers over a period of two centuries, the empire began to disintegrate after Mahmud’s death. Under Mahmud’s son, Mas’ud, the Seljuks took possession of Khorasan, and during the reign of Bahram Shah (1117–1157) Ghazni was sacked by Ala-ud-Din of Ghor. Ogadai, son of Genghis Khan, seized the city in 1221, and it became part of the Ilkhanid Empire.

**GHAZNI (33º33' N, 68º26' E).** The name of a province, population 646,000 (according to some estimates as high as 780,000), and a town in eastern Afghanistan. The town had about 32,000 inhabitants in 1978 (now estimated at 74,000) and is located at an elevation of some 7,000 feet on the road from Kabul to Kandahar, about 80 miles southeast of Kabul. The old town on the left bank of the Ghazni River is walled and guarded by a citadel that was garrisoned by Afghan army units. Ghazni derives its fame from the fact that it was the capital of the Ghaznavid dynasty (977–1186). It is strategically located and was the scene of severe fighting between Afghan and British forces during the first two Afghan wars. A British garrison stationed in the town during the First Anglo-Afghan War was wiped out in December 1841. The population of the town is largely Tajik with some Ghilzais, Durranis, Hazaras, and a few Hindu shopkeepers.

**GHIASUDDIN, SAYYID.** Minister of education in the Taliban government. An Uzbek from Fariab Province, he was affiliated with the party of Maulawi Muhammad Nabi Muhammadi. He is said to have only an elementary education.

**GHILZAI.** A major Pashtu-speaking tribe inhabiting an area roughly bounded by Qalat in the south, the Gul Kuh Range in the west, the Sulaiman Range in the east, and the Kabul River on the north. The Ghilzai call themselves Ghaljai (pl. Ghalji) and count themselves the descendants of Ghalzoe, son of Shah Husain, said to have been a Tajik or Turk, and of Bibi Mato, who descended from Shaikh Baitan (the second son of Qais, progenitor of Afghan nationality). The origin of the name Ghilzai comes either from ghal zoe (thief’s son), Khilji the Turkic word for swordsman, or the name of Khilji Turks.
who came into the area in the tenth century. From Ghalzoe the tribe divided into the Turan and Burhan Ibrahim divisions.

The **Sulaiman Khel** are the most important of all, and the Ali Khel are the most important of the Burhan. In the nineteenth century they were said to number about 100,000 families with 30,000 to 50,000 fighters. They were largely nomadic and called **Powindahs** in India and often traveled far into India, making a living as merchant nomads.

The **Hotaki** Ghilzais achieved their fame in Afghan history as the liberators of **Kandahar** from Safavid control and the leading tribe in the invasion of Iran and the destruction of the Persian Empire in 1722. **Mir Wais**, a descendant of Malakhi and a leading chief at **Kandahar**, was taken by the Safavid governor to Isfahan but was later permitted to return. He raised a revolt against the Kandahar governor and ruled over the province for some years (1709–1715). His son Mahmud raised an army and invaded Persia, defeating the Safavid armies at the **Battle of Gulnabad** in 1722. However, Mahmud was unable to hold on to his conquest. Nadir Khan, founder of the short-lived Afsharite dynasty, re-united the Persian Empire and in turn invaded Afghan lands.

After the death of Nadir Shah, the Ghilzai were weakened to such an extent that they could not prevent the emergence of the **Durrani** dynasty. The Ghilzai fought the British when they invaded Afghanistan and subsequently became the major rivals of the Durranis. They rebelled repeatedly against **Muhammadzai** rule and were suppressed only with difficulty in 1801, 1883, 1886, and 1937. Urban Ghilzai have since intermarried with Muhammadzai. The Ghilzai were well represented in the Marxist leadership (**Nur Muhammad Taraki**, **Najibullah Amin**, **Muhammad Aslam Watanjar**, **Sulaiman Layeq**, Muhammad Rafi’i and many others) but also among the resistance (**Gulbuddin Hekmatyar** and **Abdul Rasul Sayyaf**), which prompted one expert to remark that for the first time power has passed from the Durrani to the Ghilzai. See also ABDUL KARIM.

**GHOBAR, MIR GHULAM MUHAMMAD.** A historian, writer, and poet who was widely known for his critical analyses of Afghan history in his book *Afghanistan dar Masir-i Tarikh* (Afghanistan in the Path of History), published in 1967. A sequel was published posthumously by his son. Born in 1897 in **Kabul** of a **Sayyid** family, he entered the services of King **Amanullah**. He was editor of *Sitare-yi-Afghan,*

**GHOR (GHUR, 34º0' N, 65º0' E).** A west-central province of Afghanistan with an area of 13,808 square miles and a population of about 341,000 (or as high as 418,000) The capital of the province is the town of Chaghcharan with a population of about 106,000. The province is mountainous with some wheat and barley cultivation in the upper regions of the Farah, Hari Rud, and Murghab Valleys. Major mountain ranges include the Firuzkuh (Safidkuh), Siyahkoh, and Band-i Bayan. The population is primarily of Taimani (Chahar Aimaq) origin. See also GHORID DYNASTY.

**GHORID DYNASTY (1150–1217).** The Ghorid dynasty derived its name from Ghor, its capital near the present Qala-i-Ghor (Taiwara). At the height of their power, the Ghorids ruled over an area from eastern Iran to Bengal in India. In the early eleventh century, Ghor was conquered by Mahmud of Ghazni and forced to pay tribute to the Ghaznavids, but in 1151 the Ghorid Ala ud-Din in turn sacked and destroyed Ghazni. In 1176 the Ghorids, under Ghias ud-Din, took Herat, in 1198 Balkh, in 1200 Nishapur, Merv, Sarakhs, and Tus and moved far into India. The empire quickly disintegrated after the death of Ghias ud-Din in 1202, and subsequent invasions by the hordes of Genghis Khan and Timur-i Lang ended the brief glory of Ghor. In 1958 a French archaeologist discovered a minaret from the time of Ghias ud-Din.

**GHULAM HAIDAR CHARKHI.** Commander in chief of the Afghan army in the Second Anglo-Afghan War and an implacable foe of the British. When General Sir Frederick Roberts proclaimed a general amnesty on December 20, 1880, he was one of four Afghan sar-
dars excluded. He served Amir Abdul Rahman, subduing the tribes in the Eastern province and in 1882 was again appointed commander in chief. In 1888 the amir gave him the title wāzīr (minister). He died in 1898.

GHULAM HUSAIN. Professor of music, teaching the kōrs-i musiqi at Kabul Radio (see RADIO AFGHANISTAN), 1946–1952, where Laland, Khiyal, Shafita, and others were his students. His classical Indian music was adapted to Afghanistan’s musical tradition. Born about 1890 of Indian origin, he lived in the Qarabagh area near the Bala Hisar. He was a noted singer at the time of King Amanullah (1919–1929).

GHULAM JILANI CHARKHI. Major general of Amir Habibullah, he led successful campaigns against rebellious tribes. He was born in 1886, the son of Ghulam Haidar. In 1912 he was appointed superintendent of the military college at Kabul. He served King Amanullah as governor and commander of troops in various provinces and was appointed minister at Ankara in 1925. Recalled to Kandahar by King Amanullah in April 1929, he was unable to defeat the forces of Habibullah Kalakani and fled to India with the king and accompanied him to Rome. He returned to Afghanistan in August 1930 but was arrested and executed in 1933.

GHULAM NABI CHARKHI. A general in the service of Amir Habibullah. A native of Charkh and son of Ghulam Haidar. King Amanullah appointed him minister to Moscow, 1922–1924, and later deputy minister of foreign affairs. He continued to direct pacification campaigns and served in the Logar Valley during the Mangal Rebellion, 1924–1925. Toward the end of King Amanullah’s reign he served short assignments as minister at Paris and Moscow. In 1929 he led an army officered by Afghan cadets who had been studying in Turkey in an attempt to return Amanullah to power. But he was unable to defeat the forces of Habibullah Kalakani and was forced to withdraw to the Soviet Union. In 1932 he returned to Afghanistan under a pardon, but was executed because of “subversive activities” against Muhammad Nadir Shah.

GHULAM SIDDIQ CHARKHI. A diplomat and high government official of King Amanullah who with his brothers. Ghulam Jilani
and Ghulam Nabi, was a foe of the Yahya Khel dynasty. Born in 1894, the son of Ghulam Haidar, he entered the service of King Amanullah. Ghulam Siddiq was second counselor to the Afghan mission of Wali Muhammad Khan, which visited European capitals and the United States for the purpose of establishing diplomatic relations after the end of the Third Anglo-Afghan War. He was Afghan minister at Berlin, 1922–1926, first private secretary to King Amanullah and minister of court, 1927, and foreign minister in 1928. He left Afghanistan with King Amanullah and served shortly as minister at Berlin, but was dismissed as a supporter of the deposed king. He married a sister of Queen Suraya and remained in Berlin until the end of World War II. He died in 1962 and is buried in Afghanistan.

GHURID. See GHORID DYNASTY.

GILANI. See GAILANI.

GIRISHK (31º48' N, 64º34' E). A town on the Helmand River in Helmand (formerly Girishk) Province. It lies on the road from Kandahar to Herat, about 78 miles from Kandahar. The town, located at a strategic position and protected by a strong citadel and high walls, was destroyed by Nadir Shah Afshar, and rebuilt by Sardar Kohan Dil. In 1839 General Sir Robert Sale captured the town but Afghan forces besieged it during the entire war until it was abandoned by the British. A British officer visited Girishk in 1879 and described the town as “a fort with half a dozen small villages scattered round it, and a bazaar outside the gate” (Gaz, 2). He said the fort was almost useless, but the position of great strategic importance. Reconstruction of the area was begun in 1937, and the Helmand project produced some growth; but in 1957 the provincial capital was transferred from Girishk to Lashkargah (Bost) and the town lost some of its earlier importance.

GOD-I ZIRREH (GOWD, GAUD, 30º5' N, 61º45' E). A large depression or hamun in southwestern Afghanistan, extending close to the Iran/Pakistan border. About once every decade water from the Hamun-i Helmand overflows and runs down the Shelag channel,
creating a shallow lake. The water has a high salt content, and when dry the God-i Zirreh is covered with a thick deposit of salt.

**GOLDSMID AWARD.** This was the result of the Sistan boundary arbitration in 1872 made by General Sir Frederic Goldsmid in which the boundary between Iran and Afghanistan was drawn. Persian forces had occupied portions of Sistan claimed by Afghanistan, and the British government offered its good offices to resolve the dispute. General Sir Goldsmid made the following award: “That Sistan proper, by which is meant the tract of country which the Hamun on three of its sides and the Helmand on the fourth cause to resemble an island, should be included by a special boundary line within the limits of Persia; that Persia should not possess land in the right of the Helmand.” It was also stipulated that no works should be carried out to interfere with the supply of water from the Helmand. Neither Iran nor Afghanistan was satisfied with the award, and the question of the distribution of the Helmand waters remained a potential conflict. It was not until 1973 that the Helmand Water Treaty was concluded; it was ratified by the Afghan government in 1977. A general water shortage has continued to make this a matter of dispute to this day.

**GORTCHAKOFF.** See GRANVILLE-GORTCHAKOFF AGREEMENT.

**GOVERNORS-GENERAL AND VICEROYS OF INDIA.**

Governors-General:

- Hastings, Warren 1774–1785
- Lord Cornwallis 1786–1793
- Sir John Shore 1793–1798
- Lord Wellesley 1798–1805
- Cornwallis, Charles C 1805
- Lord Minto 1807–1813
- Lord Hastings 1813–1823
- Lord Amherst 1823–1828
- Lord Bentinck 1828–1835
- Lord Auckland 1836–1842
GRANVILLE-GORTCHAKOFF AGREEMENT. An Anglo-Russian agreement based on assurances given in the years 1868–1869 (actively signed in 1873) and confirmed several times later in an exchange of letters between the foreign ministers, Lord George Granville and Prince Gortchakoff, which stipulated that “Badakhshan with its dependent district of Wakhan from Sar-i Kol on the east to the junction of the Kokcha River with the Oxus (or Panja) forming the northern boundary of this Afghan Province throughout its entire length.” Further west, however, the border was not clearly defined, eventually enabling Russia to annex Panjdeh.
Russia agreed that Afghanistan was outside its sphere of influence and, except for the territorial changes of Shighnan and Roshan and the Panjdeh oasis, the Afghan border has remained as it is today. See also CLARENTHON-GORTCHAKOFF AGREEMENT.

GREAT GAME. A term attributed to Rudyard Kipling describing the competition between Russia and Great Britain in the conquest of the territories lying between their colonial possessions. Russia was aiming at gaining access to the warm water ports of the Persian Gulf, if not to the riches of India, and Britain wanted to prevent it. Afghanistan was a major player and desired by both as an ally. Afghan rulers realized that Russia needed to take Afghanistan to gain its objectives and therefore concluded a cautious alliance with Britain. Twice during the nineteenth century British armies invaded Afghanistan but when direct control failed, Britain resigned itself to concluding an alliance with the Afghan ruler and to support him against the eventuality of Russian aggression. When Britain left India in 1947, the “Great Game” seemed to be over, because the United States was unwilling to guarantee Afghanistan’s territorial integrity from Soviet aggression. Therefore, the Soviet Union seemed to have won the game when in 1978 it intervened militarily in support of the Marxist government of Afghanistan. As during previous invasions, the Afghan people eventually prevailed. See also ANGLO-AFGHAN RELATIONS.

GRiffin, Sir LePel (1840-?). Chief political officer at Kabul during the Second Anglo-Afghan War whose negotiations with Sardar Abdul Rahman led to the recognition of the latter as amir of Afghanistan. At the death of Amir Shir Ali and the abdication of Yaqub Khan, Sardar Abdul Rahman entered Afghanistan with the intention of driving the British from his country. Realizing their untenable position, the British government recognized Abdul Rahman to insure an orderly withdrawal of its army to India.

GROBBA, Fritz. First German minister in Afghanistan, who came to Kabul in December 1923 and left the country under a cloud of suspicion in summer 1926. The incident which clouded the hitherto cordial German-Afghan relations was an attempt by Grobba to smuggle a
German, Gustav Stratil-Sauer, out of the country. Stratil-Sauer, who came to Afghanistan on a motorcycle, got into a scuffle with a tribesman when crossing the Lataband Pass. He shot the man, purportedly in self-defense, and fled to Kabul where he sought the protection of the German legation. Stratil-Sauer was sentenced to four years imprisonment but was pardoned in August 1926 by King Amanullah. An Italian engineer, named Piperno, was hanged in 1925 in a similar case. Grobba was replaced and Germany upgraded its legation to the level of embassy. Grobba later published his memoirs, Männer und Mächte im Orient, avoiding any discussion of this incident.

**GROMOV, LIEUTENANT GENERAL BORIS V.** Commander of the 40th Army, comprising the Limited Contingent of Soviet Forces in Afghanistan, who spent three tours in Afghanistan. The 45-year-old general led a combined Soviet/Afghan force of some 10,000 troops from Gardez against Khost, temporarily lifting the siege of this strategic town in January 1988. It was the last major Soviet operation facing considerable mujahedin opposition, and the type of action not originally considered his task. Gromov stated that Soviet forces were intended to establish garrisons, stabilize the situation, and refrain from significant combat operations, leaving counterinsurgency to the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan (DRA) forces (McMichael, 10). Eventually, only about 30 to 35 percent Soviet forces were devoted to security and defense of fixed sites, and it was inevitable that defense also required counterinsurgency operations. McMichael quotes Gromov as saying, “The war in Afghanistan demonstrated a large rupture between theory and practice.” Gromov felt it was unavoidable. He was assigned the task of evacuating the last contingent of 450 armored vehicles and about 1,400 Soviet troops from Afghanistan. On February 14, 1989, he was the last Soviet soldier to cross the “Friendship Bridge” into Soviet territory. He announced to the assembled reporters that “We have fulfilled our international duty to the end” (O’Ballance, 196). He became minister of interior in 1990 and commander of all Russian ground troops in 1992.

**GUERRILLA WARFARE.** Military operations conducted by irregular forces during foreign invasion or civil war, mainly of the hit-and-run type, against a superior enemy. It was the typical warfare of the
Ghazis and mujahedin against British and Soviet forces. Temporary coalitions of forces go on the offensive and quickly disperse, before countermeasures can be taken. Counterinsurgency measures, therefore, included the destruction of entire villages, crops, fruit trees, livestock, channels of irrigation (karez), and other sources to deprive the guerrillas of their support. Although the Afghan Ghazis, or mujahedin, fought under the banner of Islam, tribalism, and nationalism, as well as sectarian allegiance, may in fact have been the dominant motivation.

GUL AGHA SHERZAI. Governor of Kandahar until ousted by the Taliban regime in 1994 and restored to his position during the new Hamid Karzai government. He lived seven years in exile in Pakistan and returned after the United States intervention in December 2001. He led Pashtun tribal forces against the Taliban. Provided with American weapons and funds, Gula Agha organized an army of some 1,500 men and, with U.S. Special Forces aerial support, was able to capture Kandahar from Taliban forces. His father, Haji Abdul Latif, a major commander during the war with the Marxist government, was poisoned by a cook in 1989—a murder which Gul Agha was able to avenge.

GULBAHAR (35º9' N, 69º17' E). A town on the west bank of the Panjshir River and the site of an important industrial center. In 1960 a textile industry was established with German financial assistance, eventually employing some 5,000 people. A new town was built apart from the old village to house the employees of the new industrial enterprise.

GULNABAD, BATTLE OF. An important victory of Afghan forces under Mahmud, son of the Ghilzai chief Mir Wais, which marked the end of the Safavid Empire of Iran. On March 8, 1722, Mahmud met and decisively defeated a superior Iranian army and then besieged Isfahan for six months before taking the capital of the empire. The Ghilzais proved to be better soldiers than empire-builders; they were forced to yield power to Nadir Shah Afshar and withdrew to their Afghan homeland where they were superseded by the Durranis.

GUMAL (GOMAL, 31º56' N, 70º22' E). A river in southeastern Afghanistan that rises in the Sulaiman Range and runs into the Zhob.
HABIB, ASADULLAH. A poet and writer who joined the Peoples Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) and was president of the writers’ union in 1980 and rector of Kabul University, 1982–1988. In 1986 he was elected a candidate academician of the Academy of Sciences (see AFGHAN ACADEMY) and member of the central committee of the PDPA. He was born in 1941 in Maimana of an Uzbek family and educated in Maimana, Kabul, the United States, and the Soviet Union, where he obtained a Ph.D. degree.

HABIBI, ABDUL HAI. Educator, historian, and representative of Kandahar in Parliament. Self-educated, he started as a teacher and became editor of the Pashtu daily Tulu-ye-Afghan (Afghan Sunrise) in 1931. He was a Pashtun nationalist and a member of Wish Zalmayan (Awakened Youth). In 1940 he was appointed president of the Afghan Academy and in 1941 dean of the faculty of literature of Kabul University. He was forced to live in exile because of his opposition to the government of Shah Mahmud and in Pakistan published Azad Afghanistan (Free Afghanistan), a political journal in which he advocated the replacement of the monarchy by a republic.

In 1961 he was permitted to return to Afghanistan and became professor on the faculty of letters of Kabul University. He was appointed president of the Historical Society of Afghanistan in 1966 and published a number of books on Afghan history as well as a purported Pashtu record of early poetry, the Pata Khazana (Hidden Treasure). An adviser to the ministry of information and culture during the Muhammad Daud and Marxist periods, and a member of the Academy of Sciences, he refused to join the “Fatherland Front.” Shortly before he died in Kabul in 1984, he published a book on the constitutionalist movement in Afghanistan (junbesh-i mashrutiyyat dar Afghanistan), which described the movement as nationalist, rather than socialist.

HABIBIA SCHOOL (COLLEGE). A preparatory school of higher education, established in 1904 and named after its founder Amir Habibullah. It started as a madrasa but was gradually transformed into a school with a British Indian curriculum. The language of in-
struction was English, and the most successful students would win scholarships for study abroad. The school eventually adopted a modified American curriculum.

HABIB-UL ISLAM (HABIB AL-ISLAM). Meaning “Beloved of Islam,” a weekly newspaper published during the short-lived reign of Habibullah Kalakani to legitimize the government of the “outlaw turned king” and to propagate a return to “orthodox” Islamic principles. It was founded in January 1929 and edited by Ghulam Muhyi ud-Din (succeeded by Sayyid Muhammad Husain and Burhanuddin Kushkaki).

HABIBULLAH, AKHUND. Minister of transport and tourism and member of the executive committee in the Taliban government. An Achakzai Pashtun from Kandahar Province, he served as commander affiliated with Yunus Khales during the war against the Marxist regime. He is a graduate of Shah Faisal Madrasa from Saddar, Peshawar.

HABIBULLAH, AMIR (r. 1901–1919). Amir of Afghanistan who kept his state neutral in World War I, but wanted to end Britain’s quasi protectorate over his country. He was born in Samarkand on April 21, 1871, the son of Amir Abdul Rahman and an Uzbek lady from Badakhshan. During his father’s life he took an active part in the administration and was generally popular. He succeeded to the throne on October 3, 1901, and assumed the title of Siraj al-Millat wa’d-Dīn (Torch of the Nation and Religion). He increased the pay of the army, permitted exiles to return, including many sardars (nobles) and their families, released prisoners, and promised reforms.

The British government was not satisfied with some of the provisions of the agreements concluded with Amir Abdul Rahman and therefore wanted to force certain changes before it recognized the new amir. London maintained that the agreements were with the person of the amir, not the State of Afghanistan, and therefore had to be renegotiated with his successor (but it excluded the Durand Agreement from this provision). In spite of severe pressures, Habibullah did not yield. Two years later, he finally agreed to meet in Kabul with Louis W. Dane, foreign secretary of the government of India (India was ruled by
a viceroy who was responsible to the British government in London). The result was a complete victory for Habibullah when Britain was forced to renew the agreements concluded with Amir Abdul Rahman in the form of a treaty that recognized Habibullah’s title as “Independent King of the State of Afghanistan and its Dependencies.”

Amir Habibullah showed great interest in Western technology, and he embarked on a process of modernization. He imported automobiles and built roads, founded Habibia School in 1904, the first modern school in Afghanistan, and brought electricity to Kabul. In January 1907 Amir Habibullah traveled to India and was cordially received by the viceroy, Lord Minto. A crisis in relations with British India occurred when Habibullah learned that Afghanistan’s powerful neighbors had concluded the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907. This agreement divided Afghanistan (and Iran and Tibet) into spheres of influence with provisions for “equality of commercial opportunity” in Afghanistan for Russian and British traders and the appointment of commercial agents in Kabul. The amir was invited to ratify the agreement, but he refused, and the Convention was never implemented.

The outbreak of World War I posed another crisis in foreign relations: in spite of warnings not to do so from the viceroy of India, Amir Habibullah received a German mission at Kabul. He met with members of the Hentig-Niedermayer Expedition (that included a Turk and several Indians) and initialed the draft of a secret treaty of friendship and military assistance with Germany to provide for the eventuality of an Allied defeat. Germany could not deliver, and Britain promised a handsome reward for Afghan neutrality; therefore a realistic appraisal of the situation prompted the Afghan ruler to stay out of the war.

Britain showed itself miserly and, once the crisis was over, wanted to reestablish its exclusive control over Afghanistan. The “war party” at his court felt that the amir had failed to take advantage of a unique opportunity of winning independence from Britain, and his enemies conspired to depose him. He was assassinated on February 20, 1919, while he was on a hunting trip at Kala Gosh in Laghman.

Amir Habibullah was about five feet four inches in height and very powerfully built. He had a speech impediment, a slight stammer that he was, however, able to control. He was the father of Sardar Amanullah, who succeeded him to the throne.
HABIBULLAH KALAKANI, AMIR (r. January 18–October 1929). A Tajik of humble origins who was a leader of the antireformist reaction that swept King Amanullah from power and him to the throne. He was known as Bacha-i-Saqqaq (son of a water carrier), the occupation of his father, Aminullah, a Tajik from the village of Kalakan in the Koh Daman district north of Kabul. With the support of a loose coalition of Kohistani forces, he took advantage of a tribal revolt by the Shinwari, Sulaiman Khel, and other Pashtun tribes in the east to capture Kabul and have himself proclaimed Amir Habibullah, Ghazi (Victor). Following the custom of Afghan rulers, Habibullah adopted the title “Servant of the Religion of the Messenger of God,” (Khadem-i Din-i Rasulullah) and set about to consolidate his power.

Two factors militated against his royal aspirations: he was of Tajik rather than the dominant Pashtun ethnic background; and he was known as a brigand, albeit of a Robin Hood nature, as seen from the perspective of his Kohistani brothers. British archival sources provide the following composite regarding Habibullah’s background:

Born about 1890 at Kala Kan village near Sarai Khwaja in Kohdaman, the son of Aminullah, a water carrier (saqqao). He was said to have held various menial positions, including work as a servant of an Afghan official (Muhammad Wali), until he joined Jamal Pasha’s (a head of the Ottoman war government) regiment (the Qita Namuna) in Kabul in 1919. He deserted with his rifle because of sympathy with the Mangals in the rebellion of 1924. He later fled to Peshawar where he worked for some time as a tea seller, after which he went to Parachinar, where he was sentenced to 11 months’ imprisonment for housebreaking. After the Khost Rebellion he became a highwayman and “showed considerable generosity to the poor, but was merciless to Afghan officials and wealthy travelers.”

Habibullah was a natural leader and charismatic personality, but his assumption of the throne was challenged from the beginning. A British officer reported from Peshawar that “Bacha-i-Saqqaq’s accession has come as a profound shock to the tribes on both sides of the Durand Line” (Adamec, 1974). Even the Shinwaris, whose revolt started the civil war, were not willing to submit to the new king. The fact that Habibullah had found some 750,000 British pounds at the conquest of the Arg (royal palace) permitted him to pay his troops and win some tribal support.
The Habib al-Islam (his newspaper) depicted Habibullah as a pious Muslim, a brave fighter, and a wise ruler. He issued a proclamation that all sectors of Afghan society had recognized his rule, including the Shinwaris, Khugianis, Ghilzais, and Amanullah’s own Durranis.

Attempts by forces loyal to King Amanullah were unable to recapture the throne, but Muhammad Nadir and his brothers succeeded. Shah Wali Khan, brother of Nadir and brother-in-law of King Amanullah, captured the Arg in October 1929, and Habibullah was forced to surrender. On November 1, Habibullah, his brother Hamidullah, and Sayyid Husain, together with nine leaders of their turbulent regime, were executed. Habibullah’s purported autobiography, My Life: From Brigand to King, describes his career as bandit and king, and a recent book in Persian, entitled A Hero from Khurasan, by Khalilullah Khalili also a Kohistani and poet laureate, depicts him as a mujahed, a holy warrior, against an infidel king. Khalili’s maternal uncle was Abdul Rahim, the general who contributed to Kalakani’s conquests and served as his governor at Herat.

HABIBURRAHMAN, ENG (HABIB AL-RAHMAN). One of the four leaders of the Muslim Youth Organization (Sazman-i Jawanan-i Musulman), called Ikhwanis by their opponents, who was secretary of the council (Shura) until 1975 when he was replaced by Gulbudin Hekmatyar. He recruited Ahmad Shah Mas’ud, the Jam’iati Islami commander, as his deputy. He was arrested in 1973 and executed during the Muhammad Daud regime. See also ISLAMIST MOVEMENT.

HADDA (34°22' N, 70°29' E). A village in the Chapriar (Chaparhar) district about six miles south of Jalalabad, inhabited largely by Mohmands. In the fourth century Hadda was a great center of Buddhism and the location of numerous shrines. The name Hadda means “bone” and refers to the belief that Buddha’s head was enshrined there. The village is famous for the archaeological excavations nearby that yielded an abundance of stupas, Buddhas, and various statuary. The village is also known for the “Hadda Mulla,” one Najmud-Din, who preached jihad against the British and was a leader of numerous hostile actions against British India. At present there is an
important madrasa in this village called Najm al-Madaraes (Star of Madrasas). The stupas discovered at Hadda were partially destroyed in military operations and looted during the civil war, following the fall of the Marxist regime.

HADITH. The practice of the Prophet Muhammad, his model behavior, that serve as examples of emulation and matters of jurisprudence not stipulated in the Koran. It is one of the bases of Islamic law.

HAFIZ. Title of honor given to one who has memorized the Koran in its entirety. It is also a name.

HAIBAK. See AIBAK.

HAIDARZAD, AMANULLAH. A noted Afghan sculptor who won a number of international prizes, including a gold metal from the Italian government. He returned from American exile in 2002 with the intentions of working on the reconstruction of the Buddhas in Bamian. Haidarzad graduated from high school in Kabul and proceeded to Italy (1959–1964) and the United States for further education in fine arts and sculpture. He was said to have started his career in Kabul, sculpturing a bust with such primitive tools as a hammer and a few nails.

HAJ. See HAJJ.

HAJIGAK (34º40' N, 68º6' E). A village located near the pass of the same name in Bamian Province. (The name comes from the Hazara ajā-qāk, meaning “dear grandmother.”) Foreign experts from a number of countries have found high-grade iron ore in the area, with estimated reserves amounting to almost two billion tons. The area is inaccessible and the development of infrastructure and construction of a furnace complex, planned under President Muhammad Daud’s seven-year plan (1976–1983), was never begun.

HAJJ. Pilgrimage to Mecca. A legal obligation of every adult Muslim of either sex to travel at least once in a lifetime to Mecca, provided the person is economically able to do so. Thousand of Afghans perform
this obligation each year, and special Ariana Afghan Airlines flights are chartered for this purpose. Few could make this arduous trip in the past, but the development of modern transportation enables more than two million pilgrims to perform the hajj each year.

HAJJI. Title of honor of a person who has performed the pilgrimage to Mecca.

HAJJI MIRZA ALI KHAN. See FAQIR OF IPI.

HAKIM. A wise man, philosopher, doctor, or practitioner of traditional “Greek medicine,” tebb-i-yunanoi (pronounced “hakeem”). Pronounced “haakem,” it means a governor of a sub-province or a commander.

HAMUN. A term used for a shallow depression or morass, usually of high salt content in southern and western Afghanistan. The hamuns are seasonally filled with water and become shallow lakes. The Hamun-i Sabari in Nimruz Province extends into Iran, and the Hamun-i Lora in Kandahar Province extends across the border into Baluchistan Province of Pakistan. The God-i Zirreh, another large hamun in Nimruz Province, is located near the Pakistan border. Four years of drought and the destruction of irrigation systems and dams as a result of war caused the hamuns to virtually dry out. Waterfowl and other species, abundant at one time, are seriously depleted. The Taliban regime cut the water supply, which aggravated frictions with Iran. As a result of several years of drought, the hamuns have almost dried up in 2002.

HANAFI SCHOOL. See ISLAM.

HANIF, QARI DIN MUHAMMAD. Minister of planning in the Taliban government. A Tajik from Yaftal district of Badakhshan Province, he was previously affiliated with Jami’at-i Islami party. He is a qari (reader of the Koran) with no other education.

HAQANI, MAULAWI JALALUDDIN (JALAL AL-DIN HAQQANI). Minister of frontier affairs in the Taliban government in 1998 and minister of justice in the Mujaddidi government of
1992. He was deputy chief of Hizb-i Islami and joined Muhammad Yunus Khales after the break with Gulbuddin Hekmatyar’s faction in 1979. Born in 1930, a Jadran (Zadran) from Paktia Province, he was educated at a private madrasa. He was a major commander who controlled large areas of Urgun in Paktia Province. He and his brothers Abdul Haq and Abdul Qadir were major leaders in the Jalalabad Shura that ruled Nangarhar Province until the capture of Jalalabad by the Taliban when they joined the new rulers.

**HARAKAT-I INQILAB-I ISLAMI.** The Islamic Revolutionary Movement, Harakat, is one of the earliest mujahedin movements, which rose from the merger of Islamist factions of the 1960s, represented in the Jam’iati Islami, Hizb-i Islami, and others. It was headed by Maulawi Muhammad Nabi Muhammadi. In the early 1980s it was the largest mujahedin movement, but lost some of its influence when the Islamists under Burhanuddin Rabbani and Gulbuddin Hekmatyar seceded and formed their own parties. Harakat is based on a network of clergy and madrasa students with some Pashtun tribal support in the south. The movement is traditional in outlook and was among the moderate forces represented in the Mahaz of Sayyid Ahmad Gailani and Jabha of Sebghatullah Mujaddidi; but in March 1995 Muhammadi joined the radical Islamist Taliban, many of whom were his students.

**HARAKAT-I ISLAMI-YI AFGHANISTAN.** A Shi’a mujahedin group headed by Ayatollah Muhammad Asef Muhsini which is not a member of the Shi’a Unity Party, Hizb-i Wahdat. It allied itself with the Kabul government of Burhanuddin Rabbani and was represented in Gulbuddin Hekmatyar’s cabinet by Sayyid Husain Anwari who held the portfolio of minister of works and social affairs.

**HARI RUD (37º24’ N, 60º38’ E).** A river in western Afghanistan that is formed by the confluence of the Sar-i Jangal and Lal streams. It runs in a westerly direction past the city of Herat and then turns north, forming the boundary between Iran and Afghanistan, and crosses into Turkmenistan at Zulfiqar and dissipates in the desert.
HARUT RUD (31°35' N, 61°18' E). A river, also called Adraskan in its northern portion, which rises southeast of Herat and runs in a south-western direction, eventually turning south and running into the Hamun-i Sabari.

HASAN, MULLA MUHAMMAD. One-legged Taliban governor of Kandahar and foreign minister from 1997. He was first deputy of the Council of Ministers and an important follower of Muhammad Omar. A Ghilzai Pashtun, native of Oruzgan, Hasan attended a madrasa in Quetta. During the war against the communist regime, Hasan served in the Hizb-i Islami of Yunus Khales and was repeatedly wounded. He is said to be a relative of Muhammad Omar.

HASHIM KHAN, MUHAMMAD. Prime minister of Afghanistan from 1929 to 1946 and de facto regent of Zahir Shah. Born in 1886, the son of Sardar Yusuf Khan (and half-uncle of ex-King Zahir), he was described as “austere and tough in his dealings with the people.” He underwent military training and became commander of Amir Habibullah’s bodyguard. He served as governor of the Eastern Province and officiated as minister of war in 1922. He served as minister in Moscow, 1924–1926, and there acquired a considerable dislike of the Soviet government. He took a fatherly attitude to the young king and was the de facto ruler during his tenure. He was never married and seemed to have groomed his nephews Muhammad Daud and Muhammad Naim as his successors. He died on October 26, 1953.

HASHT-NAFARI. A system of recruitment imposed on the frontier tribes by which they were to provide one able-bodied man out of eight (D., hasht = eight, nafar = persons). Amir Abdul Rahman introduced this system in 1896; similar to previous feudal levies, the notables and chiefs of tribes had to make the selection and provide the enlistee with all his needs. The tribes were willing to perform military service but wanted to do so only during emergencies; therefore there were occasional rebellions protesting the hasht-nafari recruitment during peacetime. Discontinued, and reintroduced in 1922 on advice of Jamal Pasha, the hasht-nafari system contributed to the growing opposition to King Amanullah.
HAYATULLAH KHAN. Born in 1888, the second son of Amir Habibullah Khan. He served as governor of Kataghan (now Kunduz Province) in 1905 and after the death of his father became minister of education (1923) and minister of justice (1925). Although a brother of King Amanullah and a minister, he did not take a very active part in public life. Arrested in January 1929 by Habibullah Kalakani and accused of planning a coup, he was executed on October 17, 1929.

HAZARA. Hazaras are a people with predominantly Mongoloid features, mostly imami Shi’ā. Small numbers are Isma’īlis, and those in the Darra-yi Hazara in Panjshir are Sunnis. Their number has been estimated at about one million, but Hazaras claim a population of about two million with up to two million more in neighboring countries. All the Hazaras were originally Sunni Muslims until the sixteenth century when they were converted to Shi’ism under the Safavid dynasty of Iran (1501–1786). Their heartland is the Hazarajat, but they are also found in the major cities of Afghanistan where they are employed as day laborers or seasonal workers. They speak a Farsi dialect, called Hazaragi, which also includes some Turkic and Mongol vocabulary. A dictionary of the Hazara dialect, Qamus-i Lahja-yi Dari-yi Hazaragi, by Ali Akbar Shahrestani, published in 1982 in Kabul lists some 1,200 words, which according to Dr. Ravan Farhadi are 90 percent of eastern Turkic origin, rather than Mongol.

The Hazara are no longer organized along tribal lines and are largely sedentary. They are divided into groups as follows: Dai Kundi, Dai Zangi, Behsud, Dai Mirdad, Ghazni Hazara, Jaghuri, Polada, Oruzgani, Shaikh Ali, Walang (Olang), and Kala Nau Hazara.

Kala Nau Hazaras (formerly also Dai Zangi and Dai Kundi) are mostly Sunnis and inhabit an area of about 2,300 square miles. They claim descent from the hordes of Genghis Khan that settled in Kala Nau (now Badghis Province) and were moved into the area under the Persian ruler Nadir Shah Afshar. Their first chief was Mir Kush Sultan whose son, Aghai Sultan, was the founder of Kala Nau. The tribe was involved in the struggle for control of Herat Province, collaborating with the rulers of Herat. Yar Muhammad, Shah Kamran’s wāżir, destroyed the power of the Hazaras in 1847. When in 1856 the Persians besieged and took Herat, they removed the tribe to Khorasan. Most of
them returned 14 years later, but about 2,000 families remained in the Isfarayin area, south of Bujnurd in present Iran. They supported the governor of Herat against Amir Dost Muhammad and were in constant conflict with the Jamshidis and Firuzkuhis.

The Dai Mirdad Hazaras inhabit the area of Dara-i Suf (now Samangan Province) and at the turn of the century amounted to about 1,000 families. They resemble Pashtuns more than Hazaras and dress like Tajiks or Uzbeks.

The Dai Kundi and Dai Zangi are two different groups but have been closely connected in regards to location and administration.

The Ghazni Hazaras comprise the Jaghatu, Muhammad Khwaja, and the Chahar Dasta Hazaras.

Since the founding of modern Afghanistan in 1747, the Hazaras came increasingly under the jurisdiction of the Kabul government, paying taxes but living under the independent or autonomous control of their mirs (chiefs). Yazdan-Bakhsh was undisputed chief of the Hazaras in the mid-nineteenth century but was eventually assassinated. Amir Abdul Rahman fought the Hazaras piecemeal, and his general Sardar Abdul Quddus completed the conquest of the Hazarajat in a war that lasted from 1890 to 1893. The war caused considerable destruction in the Hazarajat, annexation of territory by Pashtun tribes, and the flight and enslavement of many. Amir Habibullah proclaimed an amnesty and asked the Hazara refugees to return to Afghanistan; but many remained in India and a large community now exists in Quetta, Pakistan. King Amanullah abolished slavery and won Hazara support in his fight with Habibullah Kalakani in 1929.

From 1979 to the end of the Marxist regime, the Hazarajat enjoyed virtual independence, at first under an elected Shura (council) headed by Sayyid Ali Beheshti, who took over all the functions of the prewar Afghan government. He levied taxes, recruited men into his mujahedin forces, and set up his own bureaucratic establishment. But his authority was soon challenged by a combined force of Nasr and Pasdaran Islamists who conquered most of the Hazarajat. In spring 1988 the Kabul government created the Hazara Province of Sar-i Pul by adding the districts of Shulgara, Charkent, and Keshende from Balkh Province, combining it with the districts of Sar-i-Pul, Balkhab, Sozma Kala, and Kohestanat from Jozjan Province. This appears to have been a political move to appeal to Hazara nationalism.
The Taliban regime was able to contain the Hazarajat, after occupying the major towns, at the cost of several thousand Hazara lives, but following the United States intervention in late 2001, the area was again autonomous under the leadership of Abdul Karim Khalili, head of the Hizb-i Wahdat.

HAZARAJAT (33º45' N, 66º0' E). The name of a mountainous area in central Afghanistan in which the Hazara people predominate. Its heartland includes Ghor, Oruzgan, and Bamian Provinces, and portions of the adjoining provinces.

The Hazarajat is dominated by the Koh-i Baba range and its branches whose peaks are at altitudes from 9,000 to 16,500 feet. The mountain ranges are crossed by passes at altitudes of 8,000 to some 10,000 feet. Few roads for motorized transportation exist and the modern highway from Kabul to Herat skirts the Hazarajat. The central route from Kabul to Bamian and east to Chaghcharan can be taken with great difficulty by four-wheel drive vehicles during the few summer months. Because of the high altitude, the climate of the Hazarajat is characterized by long and cold winters, lasting from late September to April. Heavy snowfall from December until spring provides the reservoir that feeds the major rivers that originate in the Hazarajat and irrigate the rest of the country. July and August are hot and dry. The area is rich in mineral deposits, most of which are too inaccessible to be profitably mined.

HAZARA WARS. When in July 1880 Britain recognized Amir Abdul Rahman as “Amir of Kabul and its Dependencies,” it was not certain what the “dependencies” would be. Britain had toyed with the idea of severing Herat and Kandahar from Kabul control, and Russia coveted Turkestan territory, finally annexing a section of northwestern Afghanistan in 1885 in the Panjdeh Incident. Afghanistan’s boundaries were not clearly defined, and the “Iron Amir” found it necessary to extend his authority to every corner of his realm lest his powerful neighbors continue their forward policies. In a series of wars he eliminated rivals to his power and gained control of Kandahar, Herat, Afghan Turkistan, the Hazarajat, and Kafiristan (now Nuristan).

This extraordinary achievement of nation building proved to be a calamity for the Hazara community. Amir Abdul Rahman stated his reasons for the war, saying:
The Hazara people had been for centuries past the terror of the rulers of Kabul, even the great Nadir who conquered Afghanistan, India, and Persia being unable to subdue the turbulent Hazaras; the Hazaras were always molesting travelers in the south, north, and western provinces of Afghanistan; they were always ready to join the first foreign aggressor who attacked Afghanistan. (AR, I, 276)

And, indeed, the Hazaras shared the inclination for raiding with other ethnic communities. As a religious minority they were willing to collaborate with the enemies of the Kabul regime.

Initially, Amir Abdul Rahman embarked on a gradual process of reconquest. After three campaigns in 1881, 1882, and 1883 and attempts at peaceful penetration, the Shaikh Ali Hazaras northwest of Bamian were the first to be pacified in 1886. Shortly thereafter all Hazara tribes with the exception of those of Pas-i Koh in Oruzgan Province were forced to pay taxes on land and livestock. In 1890 Abdul Rahman appointed Sardar Abdul Quddus governor of Bamian and ordered him to win the submission of the Oruzgan Hazaras. The latter accepted a deal in which they were to retain their internal autonomy and pay no taxes for a number of years.

When a year later Abdul Quddus again entered Hazara territory with a 10,000-man force, he claimed to have met armed resistance and began to disarm Hazara communities and collect taxes from them. Thereupon the Sultan Muhammad Hazaras, headed by Mir Husain Beg, rose in rebellion and defeated the forces of Abdul Quddus as well as a relief force under Faiz Muhammad sent by the amir. Their success encouraged other Hazara sections to join the general revolt, and the amir realized that the situation required a large-scale campaign to suppress the rebellion.

Amir Abdul Rahman felt that an all-out effort including psychological warfare was needed. The amir claimed that Iranian publications in the possession of Afghan Shi’as had insulted the Sunni caliphs as usurpers and urged the Shi’a community to rise against Sunni control. The amir’s chief mufti (canon lawyer) issued a legal opinion (fatwa) declaring Shi’as infidels and proclaiming holy war on the Hazara. A council of Hazaras countered that instead of obeying a temporal ruler they relied on their spiritual ruler “the Master of the sword of Zulfikar” (Hazrat Ali, the Shi’a imam and fourth of the Sunni caliphs).
In addition to regular forces, tribal levies were called up with great success as there was considerable promise of booty. Mullahs accompanied the troops to keep passions high and incite them to heroic feats of bravery. Pashtuns flocked to the colors in considerable numbers and according to a British observer “the Ghilzays . . . showed more zeal than the Durranis.” In spite of the holy war fatwa, levies of Hazaras of the Dai Kundi, Behsud, and Jaghori sections were enlisted, but most of those who survived defected during the war.

In spring 1891 Amir Abdul Rahman ordered a concerted attack by Sardar Abdul Quddus from Bamian, Shir Muhammad from Kabul, and Brigadier Zabardast from Herat that led to the occupation of Oruzgan. Hazara chiefs were brought to Kabul in an attempt to win their submission. But in spring 1892 the Hazara chiefs Muhammad Azim and Muhammad Husain, supported by their chief mujtahid (legal expert) Kazi Asghar, turned against Amir Abdul Rahman. Rebellion rose with new fury, and it was only when concerted attacks from Turkestan, Kabul, Ghazni, Herat, and Kandahar were renewed that the Hazara uprising was quelled. It was not until September 1893 that all Hazara sections were subdued. The amir had given permission that “everybody would be allowed to go and help in the punishment of the rebels,” and punishment was indeed severe. Forts were demolished and governors, judges, and muftis were appointed in every district. About 16,000 Durrani and Ahmadzai Ghilzai tribesmen were ordered to settle in Oruzgan Province, and large numbers of Hazaras emigrated to Mashhad (Iran) and Quetta (India—now Pakistan) where they are still living today. In accordance with an old tradition, conquest by force (‘an-watān) permitted the enslavement of prisoners, and thousands of Hazaras were taken to Kabul.

HAZRAT OF SHOR BAZAAR. A title given the head of the family of Sirhind spiritual leaders who adopted the family name of Mujaddidi. They were among the most important and influential religious leaders in Afghanistan in the years following King Amanullah’s accession. Their residence was in the area of Shor Bazaar in Kabul, hence the head’s designation “Excellency” (Hāzrat) of Shor Bazaar. For members of the family, see MUJADDIDI.
HEKMATYAR, GULBUDDIN. Amir (chief) of the Hizb-i Islami-yi Afghanistan (Islamic Party of Afghanistan), one of the seven mujahedin groups formed in Peshawar. His party is radical Islamist and fights for the establishment of an Islamic republic, to be governed according to its interpretation of Islamic law. Born in 1947 in Imam Sahib, Kunduz, a Ghilzai Pashtun, Hekmatyar attended the school of engineering at Kabul University for two years and became involved in campus politics. He joined the Muslim Youth movement in 1970 and was elected to its executive council (Shura). He was imprisoned in Dehmazang jail in Kabul, 1972–1973, and after the Muhammad Daud coup of 1973, fled to Pakistan. In 1975 Hekmatyar became leader of the Hizb-i Islami and began armed attacks from bases in Pakistan with clandestine support from the Zulfikar Ali Bhutto government. Isolated raids developed into modern guerrilla warfare after the Saur Revolt of April 1978. The party adopted from the Muslim Brotherhood such features as a centralized command structure, secrecy of membership, organization in cells, infiltration of government and social institutions, and the concept of the party as an Islamist “vanguard” in Afghan society.

Being Islamist rather than nationalist, the party enjoyed considerable support from like-minded groups in Pakistan and the Gulf. His party received most of its armed support from the West and Gulf sources and apparently was able to hoard a vast amount of weapons that served Hekmatyar well in the subsequent battle for Kabul. He surprised friends and foes alike when he allied himself with General Shahnawaz Tanai, a radical Khalqi, in a coup against the Kabul government of Dr. Najibullah. After the downfall of the Marxist regime, many of the Khalqi military officers joined Hekmatyar’s forces, as did General Abdul Rashid Dostum, a former Parchami, who controlled large portions of northern Afghanistan. The Hizb-i Islami of Gulbuddin Hekmatyar and the Jam’iat-i Islami of Burhanuddin Rabbani were the major protagonists in the war for the conquest of Kabul until a new force, the Taliban, expelled Hekmatyar from his headquarters in Charasia and portions of Kabul. Hekmatyar fled to Sarobi where his party had another base.

In May 1996 he concluded an alliance with Rabbani and assumed the position of prime minister in Kabul. One of his first measures was
to prohibit the broadcast of music from Radio Kabul (see RADIO AFGHANISTAN) and television and ordered women to wear “Islamic” dress. He and Rabbani were expelled from Kabul by the Taliban and Hekmatyar went to Iran, where he remained until March 2002. He returned to Afghanistan and is probably sheltered in tribal territory in the southeast of the country from where he declared war on the United States.

HELMAND (31°0’ N, 64°0’ E). A province in southwestern Afghanistan with a population of about 570,000 (1991 estimates as high as 640,000) and an area of 23,058 square miles—the largest of Afghan provinces. The capital of the province (Girishk until 1957) is Lashkargah (Bost) with about 21,600 (1991 estimates as high as 69,000) inhabitants. The population is largely Pashtun with some Hazara in the north and Baluch in the south. The economy of the province is based primarily on agriculture: barley, cotton, wheat, and a great variety of fruit (during Taliban rule, the province became a major producer of opium). Livestock raised include sheep, goats, cattle, camels, horses, and donkeys. The province is irrigated by the Helmand River, which also provides hydroelectric power. The river rises near the Unai Pass and with its five tributaries—the Kaj Rud, Tirin, Arghandab, Tarnak, and Arghastan—drains all of southwestern Afghanistan. After running in a southwestern direction as far as Khwaja Ali, the Helmand runs due west to Band-i-Kamal Khan and then north to the Lash Juwain hamuns. The river formed part of the border with Iran, and when it changed channels the Goldsmid boundary arbitration was again called into question. See also HELMAND VALLEY AUTHORITY.

HELMAND VALLEY AUTHORITY. An Afghan organization that was created to oversee an irrigation and electrification project in the Helmand Valley. It was fashioned after the American Tennessee Valley Authority to implement work in cooperation with the Morrison-Knudsen Afghanistan construction company of Boise, Idaho. From 1946 to 1959 the American firm built the Arghandab and Kajakai Dams and a network of canals to bring additional land in the Helmand Valley under cultivation. The project soon
drained the hard currency resources of the country to the extent that the Afghan government was forced to apply for loans to the U.S. Import-Export Bank ($21 million in 1951 and $18 million in 1953) and for Point Four assistance (an assistance program which predates the U.S. Agency for International Development). When the project was finished in 1959 some $100 million (40 percent of the state budget) had been expended for rather modest gains. The failure of the United States government (or the American company) to conduct adequate soil studies was responsible for waterlogging in some areas and excessive salination in others. Cultural factors, such as the inclinations and interests of the people in the area, were ignored and many of the 1,300 nomad and peasant families settled in the Nad-i-Ali area eventually left their lands. When high expectations turned into disappointment, U.S. prestige suffered. Remedial measures were eventually taken with American financial support.

**HENTIG-NIEDERMAYER EXPEDITION.** An expedition conceived in August 1914 by the German general staff for the purpose of “revolutionizing India, inducing Afghanistan to attack India, and securing Iran as a bridge from the Ottoman empire to Afghanistan.” The leading members were Werner Otto von Hentig, a young German diplomat who had served in Iran, and Oskar von Niedermayer, a captain in the German army. They were accompanied by Kazim Bey, a Turkish officer, Maulawi Barakatullah and Mahendra Pratap, two Indian revolutionaries, and a number of Afridi Pashtuns who had been taken from a prisoner of war camp. Hentig carried an unsigned letter purported to be from the German kaiser and a message from von Bethmann-Hollweg, the chancellor, for Amir Habibullah. He was to establish diplomatic relations and conclude a treaty of friendship or, if possible, an alliance, with Afghanistan. Niedermayer was to discuss matters of a military nature, and the Indians were to appeal to Amir Habibullah for support in the fight against the British in India. Kazim Bey was to convey special messages from the sultan-caliph and the leaders of the Ottoman war government. The expedition crossed Iran and entered Afghanistan in August 1915 and five weeks later reached Kabul.
Amir Habibullah was well aware of the power of Britain and, although his heart and ultimate loyalty was with the Ottoman sultan-caliph, he was not willing to rush into a risky adventure. He initialed the draft of a treaty which was so extravagant in its demands, that only a victorious Germany could have provided the financial and military support requested. The expedition disbanded in May 1916, and Hentig returned to Germany by way of the Wakhan Corridor to China and from there to the United States. Niedermayer went through Russian Central Asia to Iran and the Ottoman Empire. The expedition was the first diplomatic contact with Germany and marked the beginning of the end of the British monopoly over the conduct of Afghan foreign relations. In 1970 von Hentig visited Afghanistan as guest of Zahir Shah. Hentig published a book entitled Mein Leben eine Dienstreise.

HERAT (34º20’ N, 62º12’ E). Herat is a province in northwestern Afghanistan with an area of 16,107 square miles and a population of about 685,000 in 1979 and as many as 870,000 in 1991. The capital of the province is the city of Herat, with about 140,000 (in 1991 as many as 173,000) inhabitants, the third largest city in Afghanistan.

The economy of Herat is based primarily on agriculture, the planting of cotton, rice, and wheat. Pistachios are an important item of export. Also important is livestock breeding, including the Qaraqul sheep. Local industries produce cement, edible oil, and textiles. Home industries produce carpets, silk materials, pustins (fur jackets and coats), and products of camel hair.

The province is drained by the Murghab, Harirud, Farah Rud, and Adraskan Rivers, permitting extensive irrigation. Kariz, subterranean water channels, are also widely used to bring water from the foothills to villages and fields.

The city of Herat, located at an altitude of 2,600 feet, is the major commercial center of western Afghanistan. The old town was surrounded by a wall built in 1885 and mostly destroyed in the 1950s. It is crossed by two streets that divide the old town into four sections, named the Bazar-i Kushk in the east, the Bazar-i Iraq in the west, the Bazar-i Malik in the north, and the Bazar-i Kandahar in the south. The new town (shahr-i nau), was largely constructed in the period after World War II and has been considerably expanded since.
Herat is of great strategic importance and has therefore been the site of fortified towns since antiquity. It is an ancient city, first mentioned in the Avesta (the holy book of Zoroastrianism) as Hairava, which Afghan historians conjecture to be derived from Aria, or Ariana, the first “Afghan” kingdom flourishing about 1500 B.C. The town was on the route of the Achaemenid armies of Cyrus and Darius and two centuries later of Alexander the Great, who in 330 B.C. built Alexandria Ariorum on the site of Herat. In the eleventh century Herat became a famous urban center in Islamic Khorasan, where scholars like Khwaja Abdullah Ansari and others flourished. The city had been destroyed numerous times—by Turkomans in the twelfth century and a century later by the hordes of Genghis Khan, when most of the population was massacred. In the fourteenth century Timur-i Lang’s forces devastated the city. Rebuilt by Timur’s son Shah Rukh the city experienced a period of glory. Again in the early sixteenth century, Sultan Husain Baiqara made Herat “the most renowned center of literature, culture, and art in all Central and Western Asia.” The city and its vicinity has numerous archaeological remains. The principal buildings are the Jum’a Masjid, built under the Ghorids in about 1200 A.D., which measured 465 feet in length by 275 feet width and had 408 cupolas, 130 windows, 444 pillars, 1,300 arches, and six entrances. Minarets of the Timurid theological colleges, the Mosalla, and the shrine of the Sufi poet Abdullah Ansari are located near the city. The tomb of Amir Dost Muhammad is located nearby. A building of more recent date is the Arg-i Nau, the citadel.

In 1509 the city came under Safavid rule until the Abdalis took control of the city around 1715. In 1730 it was captured by Nadir Shah Afshar and in 1750 by Ahmad Shah Durrani. Next Herat was ruled by various princes whose internecine fighting invited Persian attack. In December 1837 the Safavid ruler, Muhammad Shah, besieged the city, but the endurance of the Heratis and British intervention in the Persian Gulf forced him to give up after a nine-month effort. Amir Abdul Rahman ended Herat’s semi-independence. In the early 1920s the city was still confined to the walled town and had about 20,000 inhabitants. In 1925 King Amanullah began the construction of the new town, shahr-i nau, which quickly grew in population to about 73,000 by 1970 and to 140,000 by 1980. The war in Afghanistan has led to considerable destruction, which began with a popular revolt.
against the Kabul government in March 1979. The Kabul government regained the city, but the mujahedin controlled much of the countryside. In April 1988 some 3,000 government forces defected to the mujahedin when they were offered an amnesty. After the fall of the Najibullah government, Isma’il Khan became the paramount chief of Herat Province until dislodged in September 1995 by the newly emerging forces of the Taliban. As a result of the United States intervention, Isma’il Khan was able to restore his control over much of the area.

HERAT, SIEGE OF. Persia, encouraged by Russia, laid siege to Herat in 1833 and 1835–1838, but was unable to capture the city. A British officer, Eldred Pottinger, claimed an important role in the defense of the city. When Britain could not induce the Shah to desist, Indian troops landed on June 19, 1838, on the island of Kharak in the Persian Gulf. It was only then that Persia lifted the siege and withdrew in September 1838.

HERAT UPRISING. On March 21, 1979, demonstrators against the Marxist regime seized control of the city of Herat and liberated political prisoners. They proceeded to attack government officials and killed many of the Soviet advisers and their families, carrying the heads of some through the city on pikes. When the Marxist government sent troops to quell the uprising, the entire Afghan 17th Division mutinied, and a powerful resistance organization was born, headed by Captain Isma’il Khan. The Kabul government brought in air strikes that eventually broke the resistance at the cost of thousands of deaths.

HEZB. See HIZB.

HIJRAT MOVEMENT. “Emigration Movement,” also called Khilafat movement (of 1920), which originated in the North-West Frontier Province of India in protest of the destruction of the Ottoman Empire by Britain and her allies. Indian Muslims recognized the Ottoman claims to the caliphate and spiritual leadership of the (Sunni) Islamic world. Muhammad Ali and other leaders of the movement proclaimed it the “Islamic duty” of Indian Muslims “to abandon a country ruled by a sacrilegious government,” the dar al-harb (Abode of War), and
migrate to the **dar ul-Islam** (Abode of Islam). Encouraged by King **Amanullah**, who had just won the independence of his country, some 18,000 Muslims came to Afghanistan. The Afghan king hoped to attract professional and skilled manpower, but most of the immigrants (muḥājirūn) were unskilled and poor and could not adapt to the new environment. Some **Pashtuns** from Peshawar were settled in the area of **Kunduz** and some Sindhis in the area of **Balkh**, and a few went on to the Soviet Union and Europe, but most of the muḥājirūn eventually returned to India.

**HINDUS (HINDKI).** Hindus living in Afghanistan who speak a Panjabi dialect (except for those in **Kandahar** who speak Sindhi and Riasti) and numbered about 15,000. They are scattered all over Afghanistan, but are primarily in **Kabul**, Kandahar, **Kunduz**, **Nangarhar**, and **Paktia** Provinces, where they are occupied in trade. They once transacted most of the **banking** business in the country. As non-Muslims they were at times subjected to the **jīzā**, poll tax, and were restricted in their religious observances to the privacy of their homes. Since the days of Amir **Habibullah**, the Hindus have gradually gained full citizen status. One Hindu, **Naranjan Das**, received the title of civil colonel in 1906 and was appointed chief revenue officer and finally civil brigadier under King **Amanullah**. This gained the Afghan ruler a positive image in India. There were also about 7,000 **Sikhs** in Afghanistan, all of them Panjabi-speakers. Most Hindus fled during the 1980s and 1990s as a result of the civil war and those who remained were forced to wear yellow distinguishing marks until international protests made the **Taliban** relent and cancel the policy.

**HINDU KUSH.** The major mountain massif that originates in the southwestern corner of the **Pamirs** and with its extension, the **Koh-i Baba**, runs the entire length of central Afghanistan, constituting a formidable barrier to north-south communication. Its general elevation is between 14,500 and 17,000 feet, the highest peak Nowshak is at an altitude of some 24,000 feet (7,458 meters). Several passes leading across the massif lie at altitudes above 12,000 feet.

The name Hindu Kush is of uncertain origin and is not used generally by Afghans, who have local names for the range in their area. In the West the name has been interpreted as “Killer of Hindus”; but
the name may be derived, according to some sources, from Hindu Kuh, marking the most northern extent of pre-Muslim Hindu control. The range is divided into three major sections: the eastern, from the Pamirs to the Dorah Pass; the central, from the Dorah to the Khawak passes; and the western, from the Khawak Pass to the termination of the range near the Shibar Pass.

During the winter months, the mountain range seals off northern Afghanistan from the rest of the country, and the rugged terrain has allowed small populations to survive in remote, economically marginal valleys. Poor lines of communication fostered a measure of autonomy and extensive linguistic and cultural diversity. The construction of the Salang Tunnel and an all-weather road in 1964 has contributed to the strengthening of central control over the northern part of the state. In the 1980s the Salang Highway became an important artery for supplying the Kabul government with Soviet material and therefore was a frequent target of attacks by mujahedin forces, especially those of Commander Ahmad Shah Mas'ud. Frequently made impassable, the Salang Tunnel was reopened in early 2002, after the destruction of the Taliban regime.

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF AFGHANISTAN (ANJOMAN-I TARIKH-I AFGHANISTAN). Founded in 1941 at the suggestion of Zahir Shah for the purpose of research and study of Afghanistan’s historical heritage. It was part of the Afghan Literary Society since 1933 and under the administrative control of the department of press and later the ministry of education and developed into a research and translation institute. It produced numerous publications, including the journals Aryana (1942) and Afghanistan (1945). Ahmad Ali Kohzad held the position of president of the Historical Society for many years. During the 1980s it was part of the Afghan Academy of Sciences. See also AFGHAN ACADEMY.

HIZB. The word hizb (A) means “party.” For parties see individual entries.

HIZB-I INQILAB-I MILLI. Party of President Muhammad Daud; see NATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY PARTY.
HIZB-I ISLAMI (HEKMATYAR). The larger of two Islamist mujahedin movements with the same name, headed by Gulbuddin Hekmatyar. It has its origin in the Muslim Youth movement of the 1960s that opposed the secularization of Afghan society and the emergence of Marxist groups on the campus of Kabul University. The movement was forced underground during the republican government of President Muhammad Daud (r. 1973–1978). Hekmatyar fled to Pakistan and from there carried out raids into Afghanistan. Isolated raids developed into modern guerrilla warfare after the Saur Revolt in April 1978. The movement partly adopted from the Muslim Brotherhood (or Leninist model) such features as a centralized command structure, secrecy of membership, organization in cells, infiltration of government and social institutions, and the concept of the party as an Islamist “vanguard” in Afghan society.

The party is said to have three degrees of membership: those who were members before 1975; those who joined between 1975 and 1978; and those who joined after the Marxist coup. Only those in the first category are said to have the right to vote. Three-fourths of the members are Pashtuns, and Hekmatyar’s “Army of Sacrifice” was recruited from schools established by Hizb-i Islami.

Being Islamist rather than nationalist, the party enjoyed considerable support from the Pakistan government and from likeminded groups in Pakistan and the Gulf. Specifics regarding the type of government desired by the Hizb are not clear. Hekmatyar has at times rejected such traditional Afghan bodies as the Loya Jirga (national council), claiming that its decisions may be subject to manipulation by his opponents. He accepts a Shura, council of Islamic legal experts (ahl-i hal wa-aqd), that is to advise the amir, leader of the community of Muslims (umma). The amir is elected by the Shura which delegates considerable powers to its leader. How the Shura is to be chosen is not clear. The people swear loyalty (bay'a) to the chosen amir and, by definition, are bound in obedience to him. The incumbent may nominate his successor.

The Hizb favors the establishment of an Islamic state in which the Shari’a (Islamic law) prevails and Islamic obligations are enforced. The participation of women in public life is to be restricted; the consumption of alcohol prohibited; and innovations adopted from the West eliminated. In May 1996 Hekmatyar made peace with the
Kabul government of Burhanuddin Rabbani and assumed the position of prime minister. But in September the Kabul government was ousted by the Taliban, and he was forced to flee to Iran.

HIZB-I ISLAMI (KHALES). An Islamist party, headed by the mujahedin leader Yunus Khales, that split from the group headed by Gulbuddin Hekmatyar in 1979. It is represented primarily in Pashhtun regions, especially in Nangarhar, Kabul (Commander Abdul Haq), and Paktia (Commander Maulavi Jalaluddin Haqani) provinces. His group enjoys some tribal support, especially among Khales’ own Khugiani and Jadran tribes.

Ideologically, the party of Khales differs little from the other Islamist groups but, unlike Hekmatyar’s, favors cooperation with all mujahedin parties. After the fall of the Marxist regime in April 1992, Khales and his commanders became the dominant power in a Shura, which ruled Jalalabad and most of Nangarhar Province, until Jalalabad fell to the Taliban in September 1996.

HIZB-I WAHDAT. A coalition of Hazara parties founded in 1990 in an effort to unite six Shi’a groups, including the Sazman-i Nasr, Harakat-i Islami, Pasdaran-i Jihad-i Islami, Jabha-i Mutahid-i Inqilab-i Islami, Sazman-i Nuhzad-i Islami, and Sazman-i Niru-i Islami. It was led by Abdul Ali Mazari and centered in the area of Bamian and Wardak. It forged an alliance with Gulbuddin Hekmatyar’s Hizb-i Islami in August 1993 and controlled parts of Kabul west of the Darulaman road and south of Sarak-i Sewwum-i Aqrab, as well as parts of Kabul University and all of the Kabul Polytechnic compound. Mazari prevailed in a power struggle with Ustad Muhammad Akbari, who was head of the Wahdat’s political committee. (Akbari was forced to flee and joined the forces of Burhanuddin Rabbani.) In January 1995 Hizb-i Wahdat was fighting for turf with the Shi’a Harakat-i Islami of Ayatollah Muhsini. When Hekmatyar’s forces were driven from Kabul in February 1995, Jam’iat-i Islami captured the territory of the weakened Wahdat, and Mazari joined, or surrendered, to the Taliban. He was killed while in captivity on March 13, 1995. He was succeeded by Abdul Karim Khalili, who allied himself with Burhanuddin Rabbani and Abdul Rashid Dostum, but eventually joined the Taliban. After the United
States intervention in winter 2001, Khalili reestablished control over the Hazarajat, whereas his deputy, Muhammad Muhaqeq, shares control of Northern Afghanistan with General Dostum and Ustad Muhammad Ata.

**HIZB-I WAHDAT, ORGANIZATION OF.** Essentially a Hazara party, it is headed by Abdul Karim Khalili and organized into a seven-member Supreme Supervisory Council (shura-i ‘ali nuzrat), and a six-member Central Committee (shura-i markazi), which is subdivided into political, military, cultural, intelligence, medical services, financial, public services, judiciary, public relations, archeology and heritage, and a women’s committee. The Supreme Supervisory Council includes the religious scholars, the chairman Ayatollah Sadiqqi Parwani, Ayatollahy Qurban Ali Muhammad Muhaqeq, and Ayatollah Salih Mudaris; two intellectuals, Sayyid Abbas Hakimi and Sayyid Ghulam Husain Musawi; and two technocrats, Sayyid Amin Sajjadi and Dr. Sultani. The 80-member Central Committee includes 10 women. It was headed by the secretary general, Abdul Karim Khalili, a vice president of the transitional government of President Hamid Karzai and Qurban Ali Muhaqeq as planning minister.

**HIZBULLAH (HIZB ALLAH).** The “Party of Allah,” headed by one Shaikh Ali Wusuki, was a small Shi’a group of mujahedin in Herat and a few scattered areas with ties to the Iranian Pasdaran (Guardians of the Revolution). In 1990 the Kabul government gave permission for the formation of political parties, one of which carries the name Hizbullah. It is headed by Shaikh Yusufi of Ghazni, but no details are known regarding the program or members of this Shi’a group.

**HOLIDAYS.** In addition to religious holidays, there are a number of secular holidays. An important festival, which goes back to pre-Islamic times, is nauruz (new year), the first day of the solar calender which falls on March 21. Because of its secular origin, the Taliban regime tried to prevent its observance. Independence Day (ruz-i istiqlal) on August 19, celebrates the Afghan victory in the Third Anglo-Afghan War that ended British hegemony over Afghanistan. The anniversary of the
defeat of the Marxist regime in Afghanistan is observed on April 28. 
Pashtuns celebrated Pashtunistan Day in support of the Afghan tribes of the North-West Frontier Province of Pakistan. During the monarchy, the government celebrated the king’s birthday and the mujahedin observed the “Victory of the Muslim Nation” to commemorate the defeat of the Marxist regime. According to the ideological persuasion of various regimes, the government promoted, sporadically, other days of celebration. Local festivals include the Pashtun Naranj Gul Mela (Orange Festival) in Nangarhar, the Mela Gul-i Surkh (Red Rose Festival) of Mazar-i Sharif, and others. See also FESTIVALS.

HOTAKIS (OHTAKS). A main division of the Ghilzai tribe located in the Khashrud and Tarnak Valleys. The Hotakis numbered about 7,000 families at the turn of the century. The Hotaki Ghilzais made their mark in Afghan history when they liberated Kandahar from Persian control and then proceeded to invade Iran, thus ending the reign of the Safavid dynasty. Hotaki rulers include the following:

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Ruler</th>
<th>Period</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mir Wais Khan</td>
<td>in Kandahar</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1709–1715</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mir Abdul Aziz</td>
<td>in Kandahar</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1715–1716</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mir Mahmud</td>
<td>in Persia</td>
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<td>1716–1725</td>
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<td>Mir Ashram</td>
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<td>1725–1730</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mir Husain</td>
<td>in Kandahar</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1730–1738</td>
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HUMAN RIGHTS COMMITTEE. An institution established to help secure individual rights for Afghan citizens in the transitional government of 2002. Its members include the following: Dr. Sima Samar (Mrs.), Chair; Ahmad Fahim Hakim, Vice Chair, Human Rights Education; Humaira Niamati (Mrs.), Human Rights Education; Abdul Raziq Samadi, Human Rights Education; Abdul Salam Rahimi, Spokesperson, Monitoring/Investigations; Zia Lanfari, Monitoring/Investigation; Amina Safia Afzali (Mrs.), Human Rights of Women; Suraya Ahmadyar (Ms.), Human Rights of Women; Hangama Anwari (Ms.), Transitional Justice; Ali Ahmad Fakur, Transitional Justice; Farid Ahmand Hamidi, member.

HUQUQMAL, MAHBUBA. Minister of women’s affairs in the transitional government of Hamid Karzai and deputy chair of
the commission for convening a **Loya Jirga**. Born in **Kabul** and educated at Malalai School, she graduated in 1965 from the faculty of law and political science at **Kabul University** where she earned a law degree. She taught at Kabul University until the **Taliban** captured Kabul, when she moved to Peshawar and taught at the Afghan University.

**HUSAIN KHAN.** Ruler of **Maimana**.

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**IBN SINA, ABU ALI (AVICENNA).** The great philosopher-physician, "Prince of Physicians," known as Avicenna in the West, was born near Bukhara (now Uzbekistan) in 980 A.D. and died in Hamadan (or Isfahan), Iran, in 1037. He wrote in Arabic and Persian and continued the traditions of Aristotle in philosophy and Hippocrates and Galen in medicine and was dominant in both fields. His *Kitab al-Qanun fi Tibb* (Book of Medicine) and *Kitab al-Shifa* (Book of Healing) were valued in Europe until the seventeenth century. Afghans claim him as a native son because his father was a native of **Balkh**. A hospital and a high school in **Kabul** are named after him.

**IBRAHIM BEG.** An **Uzbek Basmachi** leader who fought the Bolshevik government in Central Asia, at times using Afghan territory as a safe haven. He visited **Kabul** in 1926 and was entertained as a state guest by King **Amanullah**, who was not averse to the idea of becoming ruler of a Central Asian confederation of Muslim states. In May 1929 Ibrahim Beg supported **Habibullah Kalakani** and fought King Amanullah’s general, **Ghulam Nabi Charkhi**, taking a prominent part in the capture of **Mazar-i Sharif**. In 1930, after repeated representations by the Soviet Union, the government of **Muhammad Nadir Shah** took steps to prevent Ibrahim Beg from raiding across the border, with the consequence that he started raiding in Afghanistan as well. He was finally driven from Afghan territory and captured by Soviet troops. The battles between Afghan troops and Ibrahim Beg’s supporters are called by Afghans **Jang-i Laqay** (War of the Laqai), an Uzbek tribe. He was executed in April 1931.
‘ID AL-ADHA (ID-I QURBAN). The Feast of Sacrifice on the 10th of the month of Dhul-Hijja of the Islamic calendar. It is an Islamic holiday in Muslim countries, also called the Great Bairam in Turkey (or ‘Id al-Kabir or Bakr-i ‘Id), which marks the end of the month of pilgrimage. Pilgrims and Muslims throughout the world slaughter a sheep, or camel, or purchase meat to give to the poor. Large quantities of meat are shipped every year from Saudi Arabia to Afghanistan and other countries for distribution to the poor. It goes back to the Tradition of Abraham attempting to sacrifice his son at the command of God.

‘ID AL-FITR (ID-I RAMAZAN). The Feast of Breaking the Fast, celebrated on the first of the month of Shawwal, the day following the fast month of Ramadhan. The celebration begins with the appearance of the new moon, and the following day people pay their poor tax, zakat al-fitr, before attending prayer at a Friday mosque. It is a joyful celebration as it marks the end of the hardships of fasting for an entire month. New clothing is traditionally purchased on this occasion for family and servants, making it an occasion of gift-giving. The holiday is also called ‘Id al-Saghir (or Lesser Bayram) “the Minor Feast,” or ‘Id al-Sadaqah, “the Feast of Alms.”

IKHWAN AL-MUSLIMIN. See MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD.

IMAMI SHI’AS. See SHI’ISM.

INAYATULLAH KHAN. See ENAYATULLAH, SARDAR.

INTERIM GOVERNMENT (INTERIM AUTHORITY). After the fall of the Taliban regime in 2001, representatives of four Afghan groups met in Bonn, Germany, to establish an Afghan interim authority. It was to rule for a period of six months, starting on December 22, 2001, and prepare the way for a Loya Jirga which, in turn, was to elect a transitional government. This government was to have a tenure of two years, during which time it was to draft a constitution and prepare the country for elections. The talks began on November 27, 2001, and after nine days of gruelling discussion, the representatives selected Hamid Karzai as interim leader and ex-king Zahir Shah to preside at the Loya Jirga. The four groups consisted of
the Rome delegation of supporters of the king; the Cyprus representatives of notables in exile; the Peshawar delegation, composed largely of Pashtuns located in Peshawar; and the Northern Alliance. The latter gained the ministries of defense, foreign affairs, and interior (later given to a Pashtun). Haji Abdul Qadir walked out, protesting the fact that Pashtuns were underrepresented. To Lakhdar Brahimi, UN special envoy to Afghanistan, goes the credit for convincing the delegates to arrive at a decision. Some 30 ministerial positions, including two women, were announced. The major loser was Burhanuddin Rabbani who had already taken residence in the palace. To provide peace and stability in Kabul, the International Security Force for Afghanistan, a multinational force, was set up. As scheduled, the interim government prepared the way for establishment of the transitional government. See also APPENDIXES 3 and 3A.

INTERNATIONAL SECURITY FORCE FOR AFGHANISTAN (ISFA). The United Nations Security Council authorized as part of the Bonn Agreement of December 2001, the establishment of a force of some 22 states to assist the Afghan government to maintain security in Kabul and surrounding areas. It was initially for a period of six months, later extended, and first headed by Major General McColl of the United Kingdom. On June 22, 2002, the Turkish Major General Hilmi Akim Zorlu was appointed, who was on February 10, 2003, succeeded by General Norbert van Heyst, who headed a German/Netherland force. It was to replace Afghan military personnel from the capital city, but General Muhammad Qasim Fahim of the Northern Alliance did not withdraw his troops. The force was independent of the American Operation Enduring Freedom, although the United States Central Command reserved itself authority to guarantee that there are no conflicts in the activities of the two forces. Member states were to contribute personnel, equipment, and other resources at their own cost. In addition to securing the peace in the capital, the ISFA disposed of munitions and land mines and trained the first battalion of the new Afghan National Guard. The ISFA has been successful in providing a measure of security for the capital, but requests for extending its control over other major towns have not been accepted. See APPENDIX 4.
INTER-SERVICES INTELLIGENCE (ISI). A Pakistani military intelligence organization, headed by General Abdul Rahman Akhtar from 1979 to 1987, and subsequently by General Hamid Gul, that was heavily involved in the war against Soviet/Kabul government forces in Afghanistan. Brigadier Muhammad Yousaf, head of the Afghan Bureau of the ISI, claims the credit for coordinating the logistics, recruitment, training, and assignment of missions, including raids into the Soviet Union. The ISI distributed the weapons and funds provided by friendly countries, while the government of Pakistan maintained an increasingly “implausible deniability” of involvement in the war. Muhammad Yousaf detailed ISI activities in a book entitled The Bear Trap: Afghanistan’s Untold Story, edited by the military historian Mark Adkin.

ISFA. See INTERNATIONAL SECURITY FORCE FOR AFGHANISTAN (ISFA).

ISHAQ KHAN, MUHAMMAD. See MUHAMMAD ISHAQ.

ISHAQZAI. A section of the Durrani tribe. The majority of the Ishaqzai inhabit the Pusht-i Rud area, where they amounted to about 7,000 families at the turn of the century. Smaller groups of Ishaqzai are established near Sar-i Pol in Jozjan Province.

ISI. See INTER-SERVICES INTELLIGENCE.

ISLAH (RECONSTRUCTION). A national Dari newspaper, first published in 1923 under the editorship of Muhammad Bashir in Khanabad, Badakhshan, when Nadir Khan, the subsequent king, visited the province. In 1929 Nadir Khan founded another Dari-Pashtu newspaper with this name as part of his campaign against Habibullah Kalakani. It continued as a daily Kabul newspaper until 1973, when Sardar Muhammad Daud took power and proclaimed the republic. Among the first editors were Burhanuddin Kushkaki, Abdul Rahman Pazhwak, and Qiamuddin Khadem.

ISLAM. A monotheistic religion which continues the prophetic Judeo-Christian tradition and recognizes Muhammad as the last of the
prophets. It is the religion of virtually all Afghans. The word is Arabic and means “submission,” the obligation to “submit” to the commands of Allah, the omniscient and omnipotent God. Islam can be summarized under a code of rituals called the “Five Pillars of Islam,” as follows:

1. Shahadat, the profession of faith. A Muslim says: “I testify that there is no god but Allah and I testify that Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah.” Anyone who sincerely testifies to that fact is a Muslim.

2. Salat, prayer, which is to be performed five times a day, facing the qibla, prayer direction, the location of the Ka’ba, a cube-like building in Mecca (built by Abraham, according to the Koran). Prayers include recitation of the Arabic text accompanied by rhythmical bowings, rak’ah, and can be performed in public or private. A ritual washing, wudhu, is required before prayer. If there is a congregation, one person is the leader, imam, and the rest perform their prayers in unison. The muezzin, mu’adhdhin, sounds the azan, call to prayer, often from the top of a minaret. The Friday sermon, khutbah, may have political significance because the name of the ruler is invoked, indicating the political loyalty of the congregation.

3. Zakat, almsgiving, is the requirement to give either a percentage of one’s wealth or of one’s yearly income to the poor. This obligation is not uniformly enforced in the Islamic world.

4. Sawm, fasting (ruza in Dari), is enjoined during the Muslim month of Ramazan (Ramadhan), “the month during which the Koran was sent down.” From sunrise to sundown the believer is to abstain from food or drink, which poses considerable hardship when Ramazan occurs during the long, hot, summer months. Children, the ill, pregnant mothers, travelers, and soldiers in war are exempt, but those prevented must make up this obligation at a later time.

5. Hajj, pilgrimage, is a legal obligation of every adult Muslim of either sex to travel at least once in a lifetime to Mecca, provided he or she is economically able to do so. Thousands of Afghans now travel yearly in special flights to Saudi Arabia, and one who has performed pilgrimage carries the honorific title of hajji.

Minor differences exist in the performance of these obligations within the four orthodox Sunni schools. In Afghanistan the Hanifi
school, named after Abu Hanifa (d. 767) is the prevalent one; it is the most liberal in the interpretation of Islamic law, Shari'a.

In addition to acts of devotion and rituals (ibadat), Islam also involves a creed of beliefs (iman): Muslims believe in one God, Allah, who is the Creator, Supreme Power, Judge, and Avenger but is also the Compassionate and Merciful One. Angels are Allah’s messengers and, like humans, his creatures and servants. They record men’s actions and bear witness against them on the Day of Judgment. The Angel Gabriel is God’s chief messenger. There are also jinn, spirits, who are good or evil like men. The fallen or evil jinn are called shaitans, devils, whose leader is the Shaitan or Iblis (Satan). He is given “authority over those who should be seduced by him.” God sends his prophets to bring his message. The major messengers include Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, and Jesus, but Muhammad is the last of the prophets, and the Koran is the last message, superseding the Torah of Moses, the Zabur (Psalms) of David, and the Injil (Gospel) of Jesus. Muslims believe in a Day of Judgment, when the good will enter Paradise, and the evil will be condemned to eternal hellfire. Personal responsibility before God is important in Islam, and there is no belief in atonement.

Jihad, “Striving in the Way of God,” is not one of the Five Pillars of Islam. Jihad is a war in defense of Islam, securing immediate salvation and heaven for the fallen martyr; but jihad is any effort in a good cause.

Duties to one’s fellow men (mu’amalat) and right-doing (Ihsan) demand private and public morality, the avoidance of actions, which are forbidden, haram, or objectionable, makruh. Sunni Islam does not recognize a central church with power to make decisions on dogma, nor are its practitioners a clergy that stands between humankind and God. They are members of the ulama, a body of scholars of the Islamic sciences who constitute the teachers, judges, muftis, and jurists of the Islamic world. They find the law on the basis of the four Schools of Law but do not legislate.

The Shi’ite school of jurisprudence is based on the Ja’farite school, named after the Sixth Shi’ite Imam, Ja’far al-Sadiq (699–765). For differences from Sunnism, see SHI’A and ISAM’ILIS.

ISLAMABAD ACCORD. Signed by eight mujahedin leaders on March 7, 1993, in Islamabad, Pakistan, as an attempt to restore peace in the ongoing civil war. It provided for a government headed
by President Burhanuddin Rabbani and Prime Minister Gulbuddin Hekmatyar for the subsequent 18 months. It called for formation of an election commission and a constitutional assembly for the drafting of a constitution. A defense council comprising two members of each party was to work on formation of a national army and establishment of security. Another committee was to supervise control of the monetary system. A cease-fire was to assure permanent cessation of hostilities. An annex enumerated the powers and duties of the president and prime minister. The agreement was reached with great pressure from Pakistan and Saudi Arabia and, like the Peshawar Accord, it did not succeed in bringing peace to Afghanistan. As before, Hekmatyar was the spoiler, and when he was finally invited to Kabul to assume his ministerial post, the newly emerging Taliban forces were able to capture the capital on September 27, 1996. A new attempt at forming a broad-based government started after the fall of the Taliban regime in December 2001. See BONN CONFERENCE; INTERIM GOVERNMENT; TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT.

ISLAMIC ALLIANCE FOR THE LIBERATION OF AFGHANISTAN. A loose coalition founded on January 27, 1980, by five mujahedin groups with headquarters in Pakistan. It was headed by Abdul Rasul Sayyaf, who at that time did not have a force of his own. The sixth group, Gulbuddin Hekmatyar’s Hizb-i Islami, did not participate because it was not given preeminent status. The Alliance was formed for the purpose of gaining recognition as a government in exile and to secure support from the Islamic Foreign Ministers Conference held in Islamabad in May 1980. The Alliance disintegrated in December of the same year. In early 1981 the Pakistan government announced that it would henceforth recognize only six groups (later seven) and that all refugees in the country must register as members of one of these groups. Refugee aid as well as mujahedin support would be channeled through these groups.

Thus in 1985 the Alliance reconstituted itself under the label of Islamic Unity of Afghan Mujahedin with the moderates in the “Unity of Three” (Sayyid Ahmad Gailani, Sebghatullah Mujaddidi, and Muhammad Nabi Muhammad) and the radicals organized in the “Unity of Seven” of whom only four (Burhanuddin Rabbani, Hekmatyar, Sayyaf, and Yunis Khales) represented viable groups. While the moderates were reasonably united, the radicals were constantly at
odds, especially the groups headed by Rabbani and Hekmatyar. In May 1983 the Alliance elected Sayyaf chairman for a term of two years, but when, in 1985, he attempted to remain in this position the Alliance members objected. Subsequently, a chairman of the Alliance served on a rotating basis for three months. There was otherwise little coordination between the groups.

Upon becoming spokesman in February 1988 Gailani announced the formation of an Afghan Interim Government (AIG). Ahmad Shah, an American-educated Afghan and member of Sayyaf’s party, was chosen as prime minister, and the cabinet included the following:

Dr. Zabihullah Mujaddidi (Jabha) Deputy Prime Minister
Maulawi Muhammad Deputy Prime Minister
Shah Fazli (Harakat)
Haji Din Muhammad (Hizb Khales) Defense
Sayyid Nurullah Ahmad (Jam’iat) Interior
Qazi Najibullah (Hizb Hekmatyar) Foreign Affairs
Muhammad Ismail Siddiqi (Harakat) Finance
Faruq Azam (Mahaz) Rehabilitation and Reconstruction
Maulana Mir Hamza (Jam’iat) Education
Mutiullah Muti (Hizb Khales) Agriculture and Livestock
Din Muhammad Gran (Mahaz) Scientific Research
Ali Ansari (Hizb Hekmatyar) Justice
Yasser (Ittihad Sayyaf) Publicity and Islamic Guidance
Abdul Aziz Faruq (independent) Planning
Wasiq Wayezzada (Jabha) Health

Elections were to be held among the mujahedin and refugees within three months. The government was short-lived: it did not hold a valid election as planned because of disagreement regarding representation in a 520-man assembly (Shura). Each of the seven groups was to delegate 60 members. Twenty “good Muslims” (Afghans under Marxist control, but not supporters of the regime) from Kabul were to be included, and 60 seats were allocated to the Shi’a groups in Iran. The Shi’a groups wanted 120 seats and refused to participate; Sebghatullah Mujaddidi’s offer of 100 seats and 7 of 28 ministerial positions was not acceptable to some Peshawar groups.
On February 20, 1989, the Shura (at Madinat-ul Hajjaj, a town near Rawalpindi) elected an Afghan Interim Government (AIG), naming Sibghatullah Mujaddidi president and Abdul Rasul Sayyaf prime minister. The first meeting of the new cabinet was held on March 10, 1989, in the village of Shiwa in Khost Province of southeastern Afghanistan. Leaders of the alliance held major portfolios:

Maulawi Muhammad Nabi Muhammadi  
Muhammad Shah Fazli (Harakat)  
Maulawi Islamuddin (Harakat)  
Gulbuddin Hekmatyar  
Ali Ansari (Hizb Hekmatyar)  
Qazi Najibullah (Hizb Hekmatyar)  
Yunus Khales  
Haji Dean Muhammad (Hizb Khales)  
Maulawi Abdul Razzaq (Hizb Khales)  
Burhanuddin Rabbani  
Najibullah Lafra’i (Jam’iat)  
Ishan Jan (Jam’iat)  
Ahmad Shah (Ittihad)  
Sayyid Nadir Khurram (Jabha)  

Maulawi Muhammad Nabi Muhammadi  
Muhammad Shah Fazli (Harakat)  
Maulawi Islamuddin (Harakat)  
Gulbuddin Hekmatyar  
Ali Ansari (Hizb Hekmatyar)  
Qazi Najibullah (Hizb Hekmatyar)  
Yunus Khales  
Haji Dean Muhammad (Hizb Khales)  
Maulawi Abdul Razzaq (Hizb Khales)  
Burhanuddin Rabbani  
Najibullah Lafra’i (Jam’iat)  
Ishan Jan (Jam’iat)  
Ahmad Shah (Ittihad)  
Sayyid Nadir Khurram (Jabha)  

Defense  
Scientific Research  
Agriculture  
Foreign Affairs  
Frontier Affairs  
Justice  
Interior  
National Security  
Religious Affairs  
Reconstruction  
Islamic Guidance  
Mining and Industries  
Communications  
Health

Additional portfolios were reserved for Iran-based mujahedin and representatives from Kabul. In May 1989, Pir Sayyid Ahmad Gailani challenged the legitimacy of the government, and in August of the same year Gulbuddin Hekmatyar again withdrew.

Disagreement as to the form a future Afghan government would take, as well as ethnic and sectarian divisions, prevented the AIG from becoming a viable institution. Gulbuddin Hekmatyar took independent action in disregard of the cost to Afghan unity. On July 9, 1990, Sayyid Jamal, one of his commanders in Takhar Province, ambushed and killed a number of commanders, most of them from Jam’iat Islami; the deed was eventually avenged. This was only one in a long series of incidents in which Hekmatyar’s Hizb was the culprit. Such actions lend credence to the suspicion that Hekmatyar did not want unity but intended to gain sole control of the Afghan government. He was responsible for the merciless bombing of Kabul that left much of the city in ruins. But in May 1996, after he was ousted by the Taliban from his stronghold south of Kabul, Hekmatyar made
peace with Rabbani and assumed the post of prime minister in Kabul. The Islamic Alliance, never really allied, found a new challenge in the Taliban, who in September 1996 captured Kabul and eventually controlled about 90 percent of Afghanistan until they were ousted in December 2001.

ISLAMIC LAW. Islamic law (Shari‘a, A. from shar’ = the path) is God-given and a prescription for the believer to the right life in this world and for salvation in the world to come. During his lifetime, the Prophet Muhammad transmitted Allah’s commands. These were eventually collected in the book of readings or recitations, the Koran (Qur’an). The Koran became the basis of law for all Muslims, although various sects and schools differed in its interpretation. When no conclusive guidance was found in the Koran, the Sunna, practice of the Prophet and his companions, was consulted. Four schools of law eventually developed in Sunni Islam named after early legal scholars: the Malikite, named after Malik ibn Anas (d. 795); the Shafi‘ite, named after ibn Idris al-Shafi’i (d. 819); the Hanbalite, named after Ahmad ibn Hanbal (d. 855); and the Hanifite, named after Abu Hanifa (d. 767). The Hanifite school has the largest number of adherents and is dominant in Afghanistan. It recognizes as a basis of jurisprudence, in addition to the Koran, the sunna, ijma (consensus of the Muslim community), and qiyas (reasoning by analogy). Legal reasoning is called ijtihad, the struggle or effort in arriving at a legal decision. By the tenth century Muslim jurists decided by consensus that Islamic law was complete and that independent interpretation, ijtihad, was no longer permissible. Henceforth, Muslims were to follow, or imitate (taqlid), God’s law. Islamic modernists want to reopen the “Gate of Ijtihad” to permit a reinterpretation of Islamic law in order to meet new, modern requirements.

Judges (qadis) in Shari‘a courts are to apply the law, subject to consultation with legal experts (muftis) who issue legal decisions (fatwas). A jurist (faqih) is trained in an Islamic college (madrasa) to serve as lawyer, teacher, judge, and mufti.

Punishments include the penalties for major offenses prescribed in the Koran (hadd, pl. hudud), discretionary and variable punishments (ta‘zir), and retaliation (qiṣas).

Although the Shari‘a has been the law of Afghanistan, there has always existed a dichotomy of “God’s law” and the “King’s law.” During
the time of Ahmad Shah (r. 1747–1773) there were central and provincial courts with administration in the hands of the judges, all of whom were appointed by the ruler on the recommendation of the court imam. The death penalty could not be exacted without the king’s, or governor’s, approval. Ahmad Shah forbade mutilation of limbs and drafted a legal code that was, however, not enacted. Tribal courts existed in the Pashtun frontier areas where cases were decided by council (jirga). Timur Shah first appointed a minister of justice, amir-i dar al-qaza, and a chief justice, qazi al-quzat, to whom all courts were subordinated. All legal functionaries were appointed by Kabul. Amir Abdul Rahman established a court of appeals with 12 members, headed by the khan-i ulum (chief of [religious] sciences). Under Amir Habibullah there existed courts headed by his brother Nasrullah Khan and his son Inayatullah Khan, the shari’at, and the kotwali, police court. Appeals against decisions of governors and high officials were made to the amir. The Ottoman codification of Hanafi law (majalla) was translated into Dari (siraj al-ahkam).

The sphere of the “king’s law” was considerably expanded during the period of King Amanullah (r. 1919–1929). He drafted the first constitution in 1923 and initiated judicial reforms, nizam-namah, that aimed at reducing the influence of the ulama (clergy), and a guide for judges in civil and criminal law was published (tamasuk al-quzzat). The introduction of administrative courts for civil servants, commercial courts, and reconciliation courts took over many functions of the Shari’a courts. A number of statutes restricted the powers of the qazis. These innovations were abolished after the fall of King Amanullah but were resumed as a result of Muhammad Nadir Shah’s constitution of 1931. The usul-namah, a code of statutory legislation, replaced the nizam-namah. It was more conservative in nature and merely supplementary to Islamic law. A hierarchy of primary and appellate courts existed, with the court of cassation (tamyiz) at the highest level. The mufti played a role only on the primary level.

The constitution of 1964 (qanun-i asasi) established an independent judiciary with the supreme court as the highest official organ. In March 1967 the office of public prosecutor was established, and the offices of minister of justice and attorney general were combined. Penal and civil codes were enacted, and criminal procedure was divided into customary law (Islamic law) and statutory law (qanun). The supreme court was temporarily replaced with a high judicial council
after Muhammad Daud established a republican form of government. The gap between statutory law and the Shari’a widened. The sovereignty of God was gradually replaced by sovereignty of the nation or the people.

President Daud’s constitution of 1977 centralized the legal establishment and the vestiges of separation of powers were abolished, as the minister of justice took over the functions of the chief justice. The Milli Jirga (National Council) replaced Parliament, and the Revolutionary Council was the highest authority in the state. The Marxist government set up a Higher Council of the Judiciary that was responsible to the Revolutionary Council. Revolutionary and extraordinary courts that were responsible for the executions of many existed for some time. In spite of the trend toward secularization of law, the lower courts in the provinces and small towns continued to operate in the traditional manner. The Shari’a has remained dominant in matters of family law, inheritance, property, and contracts until the short reign of the Taliban regime, when mutilation of thieves and stoning of adulterers were introduced. The interim government, established on December 22 2001, has taken the 1964 Constitution as a basis for drafting the new document, a process still going on. See also CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT; ENJOINING THE GOOD AND FORBIDDING EVIL; LEGAL REFORMS.

ISLAMIC UNION FOR THE LIBERATION OF AFGHANISTAN. (ITTIHAD-I-ISLAMI BERAYE AZADI-YE AFGHANISTAN). Founded by Abdul Rasul Sayyaf after he served as chairman of the Islamic Alliance for the Liberation of Afghanistan, 1980–1981. It is a small Islamist group that favors the establishment of an Islamic state in Afghanistan. Sayyaf has been able to gain considerable financial support from the Arab Gulf states, helping him to found his own organization, which is a veritable foreign legion. It was part of the loose federation of the Islamic Unity of Afghan Mujahedin and was expelled from Kabul with the Burhanuddin Rabbani government. Sayyaf is now a professor at Kabul University and it is not clear how many members of his former party he still controls.

ISLAMIC UNITY OF AFGHAN MUJAHEDIN. See ISLAMIC ALLIANCE FOR THE LIBERATION OF AFGHANISTAN.
ISLAMIST MOVEMENT. The movement was born in large measure as a reaction to the process of Westernization in Afghanistan and the growth of secular, liberal ideologies among Afghan youth. The movement owes much of its organization and ideology to the influence of the Muslim Brotherhood of Egypt (Al-Ikhwan Al-Muslimin), and its adherents were therefore dubbed Ikhwanis by their opponents. The party originated in religious, intellectual circles in the late 1950s and had as its chief ideologues and mentors Ghulam Muhammad Niazi, Burhanuddin Rabbani, Sayyid Musa Tawana, and others who had studied at al-Azhar University in Egypt and taught at the faculty of theology of Kabul University. They soon gathered a circle of like-minded students, who organized themselves in 1970 in the Muslim Youth (Jawanan-i Muslimin) movement. At first they went through a process of ideological development when members studied the works of Islamic thinkers Hasan al-Banna’ (1906–1949), the “Supreme Guide” of the Ikhwanis; Sayyid Qutb, executed in Cairo in 1966; and Abu’l Ala Maududi (died 1979), founder of the Pakistani Jama’at-i Islami and author of religio-political treatises.

The movement took a political turn during the premiership of Sardar Muhammad Daud (1953–1963) and the subsequent liberal period. Islamist students staged demonstrations, protesting government policies and such international issues as Zionism and the war in Vietnam. By 1970 Islamists won a majority in student elections, a fact that alarmed the Marxists and their supporters. In 1971 the movement began to formally organize at a meeting in Kabul at the house of Professor Rabbani. A leadership council was formed with Rabbani as the chairman, Abdul Rasul Sayyaf as deputy and Habiburrahman as secretary. Council members were assigned responsibility for financial, cultural, and political tasks. Some leaders, like Ghulam Muhammad Niazi, refrained from open participation, others, like Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, were jailed. The organization selected the name Jam’iat-i-Islami (Islamic Society), but the student faction, operating quite openly, was known as the Jawanan Musulman (Muslim Youth) and popularly called Ikhwanis. Other Islamist individuals and circles, not affiliated with the Jam’iat were Minhajuddin Gahiz who in 1968 published his newspaper Jarida Gahiz, (Dawn); Khuddam al-Qur’an (Servants of the Koran) founded by the Mujaddidi family; and the Jam’iat-i Ulama-i Muhammadi (Society of Muslim Ulama) founded by Sebghatullah Mujaddidi.
After the coup of Muhammad Daud (July 17, 1973), the movement was forced to go underground. Rabbani raised the question of armed struggle, and weapons were collected, but before any action could begin, the government police arrested many of the members, including Ghulam Muhammad Niazi. Rabbani and Hekmatyar fled to Pakistan, where they sought help from the Pakistan government and the Islamist Jama’at-i Islami. In 1975 Hekmatyar staged sporadic raids into Afghanistan, and when the attacks failed, the differences between Rabbani and Hekmatyar became public.

After the Saur Revolt of April 1978 an attempt at reconciliation was made. Each party nominated 7 members to a 21-member reconciliation committee including the mediators. The Jami’at members voted for Rabbani to be president of the party, and Hekmatyar’s party voted for Qazi Muhammad Amin as deputy president. The mediators voted for Maulawi Fayez who became the compromise president. But the Islamists were also divided on ethnic and ideological lines. The largely Tajik supporters of Rabbani favored preparation rather than precipitous armed activity. Hekmatyar aspired to leadership of the Islamists and advocated immediate struggle. In April 1978 Maulawi Muhammad Nabi Muhammadi was chosen as a compromise leader, but the movement broke up over the distribution of funds provided by foreign donors. Hekmatyar organized the Hizb-i Islami, and the traditionalist Muhammadi founded his own Harakat-i Inqilab-i Islami party. Rabbani worked with Mujaddidi and his Jabha-yi Milli Beraye Najat-i Afghanistan (National Liberation Front), and continued to lead his own Jam’iat. Muhammad Yunus Khales formed his own Hizb party in 1979.

The Islamists were puritanical moralists who perceived moral laxity, lack of respect for traditional values, and an infatuation with Western secular culture among the Afghan youth and were determined to impose the laws of Islam on the social and political life of the state. They were not fundamentalist, but reformist, and supported a political activism first seen in the great Pan-Islamist, Jamaluddin Afghani. They were critical of the fundamentalist views of the ulama and were themselves the object of criticism by the clergy. They went underground and organized in cells, were accused of resorting to political assassinations, and were themselves the objects of assassinations. They rejected aspects of both communism and democracy although they copied from both.
A new movement, the Taliban, emerged in November 1994 and within two years captured Kabul and eventually most of Afghanistan. They opposed the mujahedin groups and tried to establish their concept of an “Islamic State.” Their radicalism and protection of Osama bin Laden led to United States intervention and the destruction of the Taliban regime. For additional information, see individual party entries and ISLAMIC ALLIANCE FOR THE LIBERATION OF AFGHANISTAN; TAWANA, SAYYID MUSA.

ISMA’IL KHAN. See MUHAMMAD ISMA’IL KHAN.

ISMA’ILIS (ISMA’ILIYA). A Shi’a Islamic sect which originated when the Shi’a Imam Isma’il (son of Ja’far al-Sadeq) died in 765 A.D. and was thought by his followers to be the final, Seventh Imam, who was to return on the Day of Judgment. The present leader of the Isma’ili community is Karim, Agha Khan IV (b. 1937), who administers to some 300,000 people residing in Africa, Syria, Iran, Tajikistan, India, and Pakistan, as well as northeastern Afghanistan. Isma’ilis pay a tax that goes to the support of the needy in their community. The Isma’ilis believe in an esoteric interpretation of the Koran with stages of initiation, depending on the comprehension of the believer. The head of the Isma’ili community in Afghanistan was Nadir Shah Kayani, known as Sayyid-i Kayan. As a small sectarian community, the Isma’ilis refused to cooperate with the mujahedin groups operating in their territory, but allied themselves with Abdul Rashid Dostum against the Taliban, after the latter captured Kabul. As a result of the United States intervention in December 2001, the Isma’ili community reestablished its control over their districts.

ISTALIF (34º50’ N, 69º0’ E). A small town in the Koh Daman area, located about 20 miles northnorthwest of Kabul, which is famous for its scenic beauty and blue-colored pottery. The village is “built on the side of the hills in the form of a pyramid, the houses rising one above the other by terraces, and the whole being crowned by the magnificent chinars which denote the shrine of Hazrat Eshan, whilst far below in a deep glen rushes a foaming yet clear brook” (Gaz. 6). The name, Istalif, has been linked to the Greek istafel (grapes), which are grown there in great abundance.
Istalif was captured and destroyed by British troops in the First Anglo-Afghan War. During the civil war it was held by various mujahedin groups and is said to have suffered considerable destruction.

**ISTIQLAL LYCÉE.** An academic high school in Kabul with a French curriculum, founded by King Amanullah in 1922, hence its name Amaniya. After the accession of Muhammad Nadir Shah it was renamed Istiqlal (Independence) Lycée. It began with five French and 12 Afghan teachers and in 1926 had 33 teachers and 350 students. Subsequently, it was greatly expanded and became one of the most prestigious preparatory schools in the country. See also EDUCATION; FRANCO-AFGHAN RELATIONS.

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**JABAL-US-SIRAJ (JABAL AL-SIRAJ, 35º1' N, 69º14' E).** A town and administrative district in Parwan Province that has become a center of Afghanistan’s textile industry. Built by Amir Habibullah in 1906, the town got its name from the amir’s title Siraj al-Millat wa’l Din (Torch of the Nation and Religion). It included a fortress and Arg (palace) and a cantonment, housing some 12,000 men. Between 1910 and 1913 a hydroelectric plant was constructed by a Scottish engineer, James Miller, to provide electricity for Kabul. For a long time this was the only plant of its type in Afghanistan. Subsequently, the industrial base was further expanded with the construction of a textile mill in the 1930s and a cement factory in the early 1960s. An American, A. C. Jewett, also involved in various projects, published a book about his experience, entitled An American Engineer in Afghanistan.

**JABBAR KHEL.** A section of the Ghilzai tribe occupying the area of Hisarak-i Ghilzai in Nangarhar, between the Siah Koh range and the Surkhab River, and scattered over the greater part of Laghman Province.

**JABHA-YI MILLI BERAYE NAJAT-I AFGHANISTAN.** National Liberation Front, one of the seven mujahedin groups headquartered in
Pakistan, founded by Sebghatullah Mujaddidi in 1978. It advocated the overthrow of the Marxist regime in Kabul and the establishment of a traditional Islamic state with a parliamentary democracy. Members of the Naqshbandi Sufi fraternity predominate in this group. The Jabha was ideologically close to the moderate groups of Sayyid Ahmad Gailani and Muhammad Nabi Muhammadi and cooperated with them. Mujaddidi actively participated in Afghan politics, and after the capture of Kabul by the Taliban recognized their government.

JADRAN (DZADRAN, ZADRAN). A tribe related to the Khostwals Pashtuns, inhabiting the eastern slope of the Sulaiman Range in Paktia Province. They are excellent fighters and entered the war against the Kabul government in 1979. Under the able command of Maulawi Jalaluddin Haqani, they were able to expel government troops from the area of Urgun. The Jadran were loosely affiliated with the party of Yunus Khales.

JAGIR. A feudal, military fiefdom, such as granted by Ahmad Shah Durrani to chiefs of his tribe. It was an allotment of land that was tax-exempt but required its holder to provide a number of troops and arms corresponding to the size of the jagir (also called tiyul and A. iqta’). Land was divided into divisions called qulba, or “plows,” that designated the portion of irrigated land cultivated by one person, employing one oxen and one plow. The area was divided into two sections for sowing of two kharwar grain (one kharwar, literally a donkey load, amounted to 100 man, up to 160 pounds); one section was cultivated each year while the other half remained fallow. About 3,000 double qulba were distributed to Durrani tribes in Kandahar for which they had to provide 6,000 horsemen for the amir’s army.

JAGRAN, SAYYID MUHAMMAD HASAN (JAGLAN). Jagran (major) is the nom de guerre under which Sayyid Hasan, the 60-year-old commander of the Hazara front in Behsud, Ghazni Province, was known. Successful in various military engagements against government forces, he reportedly administered his area autonomously during the 1980s. He was affiliated with the shura-yi ittifaq-i Islami of Sayyid Ali Beheshti, which was the only Shi’a mujahedin movement to attend the consultative council of com-
manders in Rawalpindi, Pakistan, in February 1989. Jagran fought Sazman-i Nasr and Pasdaran and did not enjoy good relations with the other Shi’a groups.

JAJI. A tribe in Paktia Province, estimated to number about 5,000 families. They are Sunnis and have engaged in occasional blood feuds with the neighboring Shi’a Turis. They have a reputation as good fighters. They supported the Sulaiman Khel in ousting King Amanullah, and sided with Nadir Shah against Habibullah Kalakani. After 1930 many Jaji chiefs came to Kabul and, encouraged by Shah Mahmud Ghazi, established themselves in the trucking business. During the 1980s war in Afghanistan, the Jajis allied themselves with the Mahaz of Sayyid Ahmad Gailani.

JALALABAD (36º46' N, 65º52' E). The capital of Nangarhar Province with an estimated 54,000 inhabitants in the 1970s, reportedly increased by 1988, as a result of the influx of internal refugees, to about 200,000. When the mujahedin besieged the city in March 1989, this number was again considerably reduced. The population is largely Pashtun of Khugiani, Shinwari, Tirahi (Tira’i), Mohmand, and Ghilzai tribal backgrounds, in addition to Sikhs, Hindus, and some Tajiks and Sayyids. It had the largest community of Sikh and Hindu merchants (about 4,000) of any Afghan city. Situated at an altitude of 1,950 feet in a fertile valley watered by the Kabul and Kunar Rivers some 90 miles east of Kabul, Jalalabad lies on the trade route to the Indo-Pakistani subcontinent. Invaders passed through the Jalalabad Valley, including Alexander the Great (330 B.C.), Babur Shah (1504), and the British who occupied the town in the First and Second Anglo-Afghan Wars.

Babur Shah, the founder of the Moghul Empire of India, first planted beautiful gardens in the area, and in 1560 A.D. his grandson Jalaluddin Akbar founded the town, hence its name Jalalabad. In the nineteenth century it was a walled town with about 2,000 inhabitants, swelling during the winter to some 20,000.

Because of its beauty and mild climate it was the winter capital of Afghan kings. Amir Habibullah was assassinated in the vicinity of the town on February 20, 1919, during one of his visits. He and his son Amanullah are buried in the city. A dam on the Kabul River and
a hydroelectric power station at Darunta, north of Jalalabad, have made possible the irrigation of additional land, providing the city with electricity. Mechanized farms produced large quantities of citrus and olive fruits, wheat and alfalfa. The area is famous for its orchards and gardens. Virtually all the citrus fruit in Afghanistan is grown here. The civil war caused considerable destruction and the subsequent wars forced many to flee the town and surrounding area. In March 1989 *mujahedin* forces attacked the city but were unable to take it. After the fall of the *Najibullah* regime in April 1992 the mujahedin took Jalalabad, and the city was ruled by a council (*shura*) of commanders and military officials until it was captured by the *Taliban* in September 1996 and came under four years of Taliban rule. Jalalabad is again under the control of a local *shura*, which recognizes the Karzai government but often acts quite independently.

**JALALABAD, ATTACK ON.** Soviet forces left in February 1989, and *Kunar* was taken by the *mujahedin*; the time seemed ripe for the insurgents to progress from the stage of guerrilla to conventional warfare. *Jalalabad* seemed a suitable target for the first capture of a major Afghan city. It was located only about 37 miles from the Pakistani border and within easy access of reinforcement in men and munitions. If taken, the city could have served as the capital of the Afghan Interim Government (AIG) (see ISLAMIC ALLIANCE FOR THE LIBERATION OF AFGHANISTAN), there to be recognized and openly assisted by its foreign supporters. Hamid Gul, director of Pakistan’s Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI), was heavily involved in various stages of the campaign. In March the mujahedin had gathered some 7,000 men in the area amid great publicity about their intended target. The men came primarily from *Gulbuddin Hekmatyar’s*, *Yunus Khaless’s*, *Abdul Rassul Sayyaf’s* and *Sayyid Ahmad Gailani’s* forces although other groups also participated. The garrison was estimated at about 4,500, and the defenses were under the command of General Muhammad Asef Delawar, the Afghan chief of staff. Mine fields provided a secure perimeter, and munitions had been collected in anticipation of the attack.

The mujahedin seemed to be well supplied with heavy artillery and surface-to-air missiles, including the dreaded *Stinger*, and began their attack on March 6, 1989, proclaiming an amnesty for enemy
soldiers in the hope of achieving massive defections. They quickly captured Samarkhel, an important post in the defense of the city, and rocketed the airport to prevent supplies from being brought in. But the fighting quickly bogged down. The mujahedin fought only during the daylight hours and returned to rear bases for the night. Commanders did not always coordinate their actions, Hekmatyar being the major culprit, and they failed to maintain the blockade of the road from Kabul, permitting convoys to supply the city. High-altitude bombing and close air support by MIG-21s, as well as SCUD missiles with 1,700-lb warheads, exacted a heavy toll on the mujahedin. In April the defenders were able to recapture the airport and, after a 10-week siege, the Kabul government prevailed.

On May 10 foreign journalists were permitted to visit Jalalabad to see that the mujahedin had been defeated with heavy losses. One source claims that some 5,000 casualties resulted on all sides, and most of the mujahedin casualties were caused by bombing and mines. On July 4 the Kabul government launched a surprise attack and consolidated its control of Samarkhel and the surrounding area, achieving a badly needed boost in morale of the Afghan army and permitting the Kabul regime to continue in power for another three years. It was only after the fall of Kabul in April 1992 that Jalalabad was taken by a council of mujahedin commanders and in 1996 by the Taliban.

JALALABAD, SIEGE OF. During the siege of the Kabul cantonment in the First Anglo-Afghan War, Jalalabad became an important base for British Indian troops. Sir Robert Sale, the commanding general, was unable to come to the rescue of the Kabul forces; therefore he decided to remain and took possession of the town on November 13, 1841. He worked on reinforcing the walls and fortifications, having only some 1,600 troops and six guns to defend a perimeter of about 2,200 yards. On November 15 an Afghan force, estimated by British officers at about 5,000 tribesmen, surrounded the town but was initially dispersed; however, the Afghans eventually captured the town, forcing the British brigade to withdraw into the citadel. On January 6, 1842, the Afghan commander ordered the British brigade to depart with honor to India in fulfillment of the Kabul Treaty of Capitulation, but General Sale refused, not trusting the promise of safe conduct. On February 19, 1842, an earthquake destroyed the parapets,
making a considerable breach in the ramparts which had to be restored. Two days later, Sardar Akbar Khan attacked British foraging parties and established a rigorous blockade which lasted until April 7. Starvation was averted when the British were able to capture a flock of 500 sheep and goats which were grazing a little too close to the wall of the town. On April 7 General Sale sallied out with virtually all his forces and defeated Muhammad Akbar’s army of some 6,000 men. According to British accounts, only 31 officers and men were killed and 131 wounded. On April 16 General George Pollock reached the city practically unmolested. Before the British departed they destroyed the defenses of Jalalabad.

**JALALI, ALI AHMAD.** Appointed minister of interior in February 2003, replacing Taj Muhammad Wardak in the Karzai government. Jalali was a colonel in the Afghan army and a top military planner in the resistance to the Soviet forces in Afghanistan. He attended higher command and staff colleges in the United States, Britain, and Russia. Prior to his return to Afghanistan, he served as chief of Afghanistan Services of the Voice of America. He is the author of a number of books on the Soviet military, a three-volume military history of Afghanistan, and with Lester Grau of The Other Side of the Mountain: Mujahideen Tactics in the Soviet-Afghan War.

**JAM (34°21' N, 64°30' E).** A village in Ghor Province west of Chaghcharan. Near the village stands a 190-foot-high minaret which was discovered by the governor of Herat and studied by a French archaeologist in 1958. The minaret was constructed in the twelfth century under the Ghorid ruler Ghias ud-Din and is located in a desolated area. The geometric design of the brickwork can still be recognized, and kufic inscriptions from the Koran give the sura (verse) of Mary, mother of Jesus.

**JAMA’AT-I-ISLAMI.** Name of a Pakistani political organization founded by Maulana Abu’l-Ala Maududi (1903–1979) in 1940 that advocates the establishment of an Islamic state patterned after the early Islamic community. Olivier Roy (1986) characterized the Jama’at as an elite religio-political society, similar to the Opus Dei. It is Pan-Islamic in nature and looks at the Muslim community as one
nation (umma) and rejects nationalism and ethnicity as contrary to the concept of Islamic brotherhood. The Jama’at opposed the creation of Pakistan and favored union with Afghanistan as a first step in reestablishing the “Islamic Umma.” Eventually it accepted the idea of creating an Islamic state in Pakistan, but it never gained much popular support; in the 1970 election it won only four out of 300 seats. It was only after the coup by Zia-ul-Haq that some of Maududi’s ideas were implemented. The Jama’at has strongly supported the forces of Gulbuddin Hekmatyar and other Islamist mujahedin groups in Afghanistan, in preference to the nationalist and traditionalist groups. It became a strong supporter of the Taliban regime.

JAMAL PASHA (JEMAL). Member of the Ottoman ruling triumvirate, serving as minister of the navy and governor of Syria during World War I. He came with a small staff to Afghanistan on October 27, 1920, to escape extradition for “war crimes.” He took charge of the reorganization of the Afghan army and founded the “Qita Namuna,” an elite force comprising a battalion of infantry and a regiment of cavalry. He was responsible for reinstituting and expanding the hated hasht-nafari recruitment system and other unpopular reforms. He left Afghanistan with some members of his staff in September 1921 and was assassinated by an Armenian near Tiflis on July 21, 1922.

JAMALUDDIN AFGHANI. See AFGHANI, SAYYID JAMALUDDIN.

JAMI, MULLA NUR-UD-DIN ABDUL RAHMAN. The last great poet of classical Persian, scholar, and mystic who was born in Jam (now Khorasan Province of Iran) in 1414 (which was then under the political control of Herat) and died in Herat in 1492. Afghans consider Jami a native son because he lived in Herat at the court of Sultan Baiqara, where he enjoyed the friendship and support of the wazir Ali-Shir Nawa’i (1469–1506). Afghan historians therefore call him Abdul Rahman Harawi, the Herati.

JAM’IAT-I ISLAMI-YI AFGHANISTAN. Islamic Society of Afghanistan, headed since 1971 by Professor Burhanuddin Rabbani and since 1978 a mujahedin force that fought the Marxist
government in Kabul. It was one of the seven mujahedeen groups accorded recognition by Pakistan and was headquartered in Peshawar. It is largely non-Pashtun in membership. Affiliated commanders controlled areas in northeastern, northern, and western Afghanistan. They included Ahmad Shah Mas’ud, in the Panjshir Valley, and Isma’il Khan, who operated in Herat Province. The party is Islamist in orientation and favors the establishment of an Islamic state. In spite of their common ideological origin, the Jam’iat was in a virtual state of war with Gulbuddin Hekmatyar’s Hizb-i Islami. On July 9, 1989, a group of mostly Jam’iat commanders returning from a strategy meeting with Commander Mas’ud in Takhar Province were attacked and killed, some of them after they were captured alive. In October 1990 Commander Ahmad Shah Mas’ud came to Peshawar and approved a reconciliation between Jam’iat and Hizb, but it was not until May 1996 that an agreement was signed, and Hekmatyar came to Kabul to assume the position of prime minister. The newly formed government was expelled from Kabul in September by Taliban forces who instituted their own theocratic regime.

**JAM’IAT-I ULAMA.** A consultative body of ulama (scholars of Islamic sciences) founded by Muhammad Nadir Shah in 1931 to judge the constitutionality of laws. For a time this council had considerable powers as all new laws had to be submitted to it; but its powers waned after Muhammad Daud became prime minister in 1953, and it became a rubber stamp, legitimizing body of Afghan governments. It published a journal called Al-Falah (Salvation). After the Saur Revolt in 1978, remaining members of the council issued fatwas (legal decisions) that recognized Nur Muhammad Taraki as the legitimate ruler of Afghanistan and authorized jihad against the Islamist mujahedin groups. A religio-political party with this name also exists in Pakistan.

**JAMILURRAHMAN, MAULAWI HUSAIN (JAMIL AL-RAHMAN).** Amir of the Jama’at-i Da’wa, an Islamic revivalist movement whose members call themselves Salafis or ahl-i hadith and are popularly called “Wahhabis.” He captured most of Kunar Province and proclaimed an “Islamic Amirate,” which he ruled for a time to the ex-
clusion of other mujahedin groups. Born in 1933, in the Pech district of Kunar Province of a Safi tribal family, he received a traditional education. In the early 1970s he became a member of Jam‘iat-i Islami and took part in armed attacks against the government of President Muhammad Daud. After the Saur Revolt in 1978, he joined the Hizb-i Islami of Hekmatyar and was until 1982 his amir in Kunar Province. Eventually he broke with Hekmatyar and ousted other mujahedin groups from his area. He issued decrees allowing only bearded men to enter his territory and prohibited the consumption of tobacco in all its forms.

In February 1991 he announced his cabinet including, among others, the following portfolios:

- Defense: Maulawi Rahmatullah
- Interior: Haji Rozi
- Foreign Affairs: Mir Muhd. Majidi (of Hizb H)
- Justice: Maulawi Ihsan
- Information: Shurish
- Finance: Rahman Gul
- Education: Qari Din Muhammad

On April 20, 1991, an explosion at his Asadabad headquarters so decimated the ranks of his followers (including numerous Pakistanis and Arabs) that Hekmatyar’s forces, supported by commanders of other groups, were able to capture Asadabad and expel most of the Wahhabis from Kunar Province. Muhammad Husain, alias Jamilurrahman, was assassinated by an Egyptian in Pakistan. One Maulawi Sami’ullah succeeded as leader of the remnant of the party until it was ousted from power in September 1996 by the Taliban.

JAMSHIDI. One of the Chahar Aimaq communities, variously estimated to number from 40,000 to 80,000 people, concentrated in western Badghis and in smaller groups in Herat Province, northwestern Badghis, and southern Farīāb Provinces. They trace their name to Jamshid, their purported eponymic ancestor, and call themselves Kayanis, claiming descent from the legendary pre-Islamic Kayan kings of Sistan. According to some sources their name is a corruption of jam-shoda, which means “collected together.” A member of the
Jamshidi clan was put in charge of the district of Badghis by Shah Abbas (r. 1642–1668), and Khushi Khan, contemporary of Nadir Shah Afshar, was the first chief of the Jamshidi tribe. The Jamshidis are Hanafi Sunnis and speak Dari.

JAT. Gypsy-like groups of Sunni itinerants who call themselves Ghôr-bâť (travelers) and make a living as musicians, dancers, and fortunetellers and therefore are considered to be of low status. Their women engage in door-to-door selling of small bazaar items. They belong to six different ethnic groups and speak various dialects, some of Iranian and others of Indian origin. Their number has been estimated to be from 9,000 to 12,000, scattered all over the country.

JEWS. Jews arrived in Afghanistan in the early eighteenth century, apparently under Nadir Shah Afshar, who also settled Armenians to stimulate commerce. Others came after the Bolshevik Revolution. They settled in Herat, and later in Kabul and other towns and were permitted to make a livelihood as shopkeepers and money changers. They had the right to practice their religion and did not have to obey Afghan dietary and religious observances. After the foundation of Israel, many left Afghanistan, but a core of some 80 families remained. It was only after the Soviet intervention and the ensuing civil war that most left. The last member of the community, the 70-year-old Izhak Levy, was born in Herat. His family left for Israel in 1992 and settled in Tel Aviv, but the rabbi stayed behind. He was jailed by the Taliban regime and forced to convert to Islam and the ministry of interior confiscated his Torah. But he claims to have kept his faith.

JEZAIL. A long-barreled musket with a thin, curved butt that was the major Afghan firearm during the nineteenth century and can still be seen in the bazaars of the country. It was muzzle-loaded and therefore required several minutes to prepare, but it is said to have had greater accuracy and range than the British muskets. Sir Charles Napier claimed the musket was on balance the better weapon (Macrory, 170). A jezâlčî (rifleman) would carry several jezâil on his horse and fire them in rapid succession, after which he would retire or join the enemy in hand-to-hand combat. It was the major
Afghan firearm during the First, Second, and Third Anglo-Afghan Wars, and was eventually replaced by the breech-loading Martini-Henry and other rifles of foreign and domestic manufacture.

JIHAD. Meaning “striving” or an “effort in the way of God,” it was originally an obligation to wage war against the unbelievers until they accept Islam or submit to Islamic rule. A Muslim who dies in jihad is a martyr (shahid) and directly enters paradise. Monotheists with a sacred book, like Christians and Jews, are not forced to convert and enjoy the status of protected subjects. In battle, an enemy is given three choices: accept Islam and enjoy rights of equality with Muslims; submit, and become a tribute-paying subject with religious freedom and protection of one’s property; or fight, and leave the judgment to God—in which case a defeated enemy becomes part of the booty. These options were historically offered in the siege of a fortified city to encourage the enemy to surrender. In large conquests, as for example in India, Muslim rulers accepted even polytheistic “idol worshippers” as “Peoples of the Book” and therefore not subject to annihilation.

Muslim modernists quote a Koranic passage: “Fight in the Way of God against those who fight against you, but do not commit aggression.”(2:190), maintaining that the obligation of jihad was binding only for the early Islamic period and that jihad also means inwardly waging war against the carnal soul—a kind of moral imperative. The latter is called “The Great Effort” (jihad akbar) and is more important as it strives to achieve man’s personal perfection; jihad within the umma addresses wrongs within the community of Muslims. The third type of jihad is the “martial jihad” which is called “The Small Effort.” A number of radical Islamist groups, as for example Jama’at al-Jihad, also known as Al-Jihad, of Egypt and Osama bin Laden’s organization, al Qaeda, who operated from Afghanistan, have proclaimed jihad; the latter to force the expulsion of foreign troops from the territory of Saudi Arabia.

JIRGA. A tribal council that has legislative and juridical authority in the name of the tribal community. Although the Afghan government claims exclusive jurisdiction, it permits Pashtun tribes in the border areas to resolve internal disputes in their traditional manner. Jirgas
can be composed of chiefs and notables or of all adult male members of a tribe. A chief, or respected greybeard, leads the discussion, and votes are weighed according to the importance of the individual rather than counted. The decision of a jirga is binding on all members of the tribe. Jirgas also resolve intratribal disputes, often with the mediation of a respected member of the ulama (clergy) or pirs (leaders of mystical orders).

In times of national emergency Afghan rulers convened a Loya Jirga, Great Council, which includes representatives from all parts of the country. Its decisions thus become an expression of the national will.

JIZYA. A tax levied on monotheistic non-Muslims who are possessors of a scripture, the ahl al-kitab, or “Peoples of the Book” (such as Christians and Jews). Only adult males of sound mind and body and financial means were to be so taxed. In exchange, they enjoyed freedom of life, liberty, and property and were not drafted into the military. In Afghanistan this tax was levied largely on Indians. Afghan constitutions since the time of King Amanullah declared all Afghan citizens equal and abolished the jizya. See also DHIMMIS.

JOYA, MUHAMMAD SARWAR. A poet, writer, and social critic who was a supporter of King Amanullah’s reforms and opposed to the regime of Muhammad Nadir Shah. He founded the Danesh printing press in Herat, and served as editor of the daily newspaper Ittifaq-i Islam (Consensus of Islam) in Herat, 1928–1930, the daily Anis, and the biweekly Watan. He was jailed repeatedly and died in prison in 1961.

JOZJAN (JOWZJAN, 36º30' N, 66º0' E). A province in north-central Afghanistan with an area of 10,126 square miles and an estimated population of about 642,000. The administrative capital of the province is Shiberghan with some 19,000 (121,000 estimate in 1991) inhabitants. The province is rich in mineral resources; oil and natural gas have been discovered at Khwaja Gugirdak and Jarquduq, near Shiberghan, and reserves of natural gas have been estimated at 500 trillion cubic feet. A pipeline transporting natural gas to the Soviet Union was completed in 1968, and except for a limited amount of local use in the production of fertilizer, all was delivered to the Soviet Union below the world mar-
ket rates. One reason for this was, no doubt, the fact that the Soviet Union was the only feasible trading partner.

**JOZJANIS.** A militia composed largely of Uzbeks from Jozjan Province, numbering about 3,000 to 4,000 men in the 1980s, who served the Kabul government as a reliable and effective force in southern and western Afghanistan. It replaced the Soviet troops in Kandahar, where it protected the airport. After the fall of Kabul to the mujahedin, the Jozjanis merged with the Uzbek forces of General Abdul Rashid Dostum and became one of the contenders for control of portions of Kabul. They first helped Jam'iati Islami to capture Kabul and subsequently pulled out of the city at the insistence of Gulbuddin Hekmatyar in a deal with Burhanuddin Rabbani. Later they joined Hekmatyar when Rabbani was unwilling to include Dostum in his government. The Jozjanis were feared as a fierce and unruly mercenary army and appear to be the defenders of Uzbek ethnic interests in present Afghanistan. They are now part of General Dostum’s army in north-central Afghanistan.

**JUDICIARY.** See ISLAMIC LAW.

**JUM’A.** The day of “general assembly,” Friday, and the Islamic Sabbath, when Muslims attend religious services, preferably in a major mosque, often referred to as the Jum’a (or Friday) Mosque. A sermon, khutba, is read on Fridays in the name of the ruler. After the sermon, those in attendance often discuss matters of importance to the community and to the congregation. The khutba has political significance because it indicates the loyalty of the congregation. It is a sign of rebellion if the ruler’s name is omitted or if it is replaced by another name. In the civil war of 1929, the governor of Herat had the khutba read in the name of the “Islamic King” to avoid making a choice between King Amanullah and Habibullah Kalakani.

**JUMHURIAT (REPUBLIC).** A daily newspaper that temporarily replaced Anis and Islah after President Muhammad Daud proclaimed the republic in 1973. It was the official organ of the republican government and ceased to exist after the Marxist coup of 1978.
JUNBESHI. Popular name of the Afghan currency, the Afghani, issued by General Abdul Rashid Dostum in the area under his control. It coexisted with the Afghanis in use by the Burhanuddin Rabbani and Taliban governments. It is named after the Junbesh-i Milli-yi Islami, the party of Dostum, and varied in value at about half of the currency issued by his rivals. The currency was also known as Dostumi. When the Afghan central bank issued new bank notes in October 2002, this as well as other currencies were abolished.

JUNBESH-I MILLI-YI ISLAMI. See DOSTUM, ABDUL RASHID.

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KABUL (34°31' N, 69°12' E). The capital and largest city in Afghanistan, situated at an altitude of almost 6,000 feet above sea level, and a province with an area of 1,822 square miles and a population of about 1,600,000. In 1978 the city had some 500,000 inhabitants, but this number had in the 1980s increased to about one and a half million as a result of the influx of refugees from the war-ravaged areas. Kabul is strategically located in a valley surrounded by high mountains at the crossroads of north-south and east-west trade routes. Therefore it has been the site of towns since antiquity, called Kubha in the Rigveda (about 1500 B.C.) and Kabura by Ptolemy (second century A.D.). Muslim Arabs under Abdul Rahman Samurah captured Kabul in the middle of the seventh century A.D., but it took the Islamic invaders another 200 years before the Hindu rulers of Kabul were finally ousted. Kabul continued to be disputed, resulting in much destruction until Islam was definitely established under the Saffarids (ninth century A.D.). The city was part of the Ghaznavid Empire to suffer again from Genghis Khan’s hordes (thirteenth century A.D.). Kabul became the capital of a province of the Moghul Empire, whose founder, Babur Shah, is buried on the eastern slope of the Sher Darwaza Mountain. In 1775–1776 Timur Shah made Kabul his capital, and Afghan amirs ruled henceforth from that city. In the nineteenth century Kabul endured British occupation during the First and Second Anglo-Afghan Wars and the destruction of its covered bazaar as a punitive measure.
The city includes the old town, between the northern slope of the Sher Darwaza Mountain and Kabul River, and a new town (shahr-i nau) begun in 1935. A large wall, 20 feet high and 12 feet thick, parts of which archaeologists believe to date from the fifth century A.D., still stands. It extends to the Bala Hisar, the citadel, an imposing fortress that was destroyed by the British in 1878 and rebuilt to serve as a garrison and military college in 1939. Afghan amirs resided in the Bala Hisar until in 1888 Amir Abdul Rahman constructed the Arg, a citadel and walled palace, in the center of town. At the beginning of this century Amir Habibullah further modernized the town, providing electricity for the Arg and eventually also for other parts of the town. In the 1920s the city had 60,000 inhabitants. King Amanullah constructed his own capital in Darulaman, about six miles from the center of town, with several government buildings and an imposing parliament building. Members of the royal court and high government officials built their villas in the new capital, but after Amanullah’s fall from power the center of government moved back into town.

The city grew rapidly after World War II with the addition of new quarters. Karta-yi Chahar (Fourth District) was developed in 1942, followed by Khairkhana in the northwest, Nur Muhammad Shah Mina east of the old town, Nadir Shah Mina to the northeast, Wazir Akbar Khan east of Shahr-i Nau, and Khushhal Khan Mina. In 1953 the Jada-yi Maiwand (Maiwand Street) was drawn through the old city, followed by paved avenues, villas, high-rise buildings, and prefabricated apartment complexes that have replaced much of the old town. The streets were paved with Soviet assistance, and a grain silo and bakery were constructed.

A network of paved roads connects Kabul via the Salang Pass Tunnel to the north, via the Tang-i Gharu (Gharu Gorge) to Pakistan, and via Kandahar and Herat to Iran. Hydroelectric power stations in Sarobi (1957), Mahipar, and Naglu (1966) provided electricity for the city. Soviet-style city planning and the construction of prefabricated apartment complexes have given parts of the town the appearance of a Soviet Central Asian town. Since the late eighteenth century Kabul has been the seat of political power, and to be recognized as ruler of Afghanistan, one had to be in possession of the city. Kabul is still the preeminent city in Afghanistan and the seat of a government.
that exerts a tenuous control over the major towns and arteries of transportation. The city was under siege for years and subject to destructive missile attacks, first by Gulbuddin Hekmatyar’s forces and subsequently by the Taliban, who finally captured it on September 27, 1996. New life came to Kabul as a result of the fall of the Taliban regime. With the help of the United Nations an interim government was established, numerous foreign organizations set up bases in the city, and attempts at reconstruction have begun.

KABUL MUSEUM. An important repository of archaeological and ethnographic collections of the Hellenistic, Graeco-Buddhist, Ghaznavid, and subsequent periods. Its main collection, workshop, and offices were housed in the former municipality building, constructed under King Amanullah in Darulaman. The museum was unique in scope, housing among others some 20,000 artifacts of the Gandharan school, about 40,000 coins from the eighth century B.C. to the nineteenth century—the largest collection in the world, and priceless manuscripts. During the regime of Hafizullah Amin some of the contents were removed but later returned to the museum. In 1989 some of the most valuable items were on display in a small building in the Arg, and portions of the ethnographic materials were relocated to a separate museum. It was feared that as a result of the war in Afghanistan some of the treasures may be lost, but the Kabul government claimed that all the contents had been preserved. It was only after the mujahedin conquest that much was destroyed or plundered. In May 1993 rockets pounded the museum and destroyed parts of the upper floor, and subsequently the museum was on the front line of mujahedin fighting. Soon thereafter artifacts appeared in Peshawar and on the international antiques market. A collection of 21,000 Bactrian gold objects, discovered by Russian archaeologists in 1978, was kept in the palace in control of President Burhanuddin Rabbani. Shortly before their defeat, the Taliban government started a final destruction of statuary in the museum, destroying most of what had not yet been plundered.

KABUL RIVER (33º55' N, 72º14' E). A river that rises on the eastern slopes of the Sanglakh Range near the Unai Pass, about 45 miles west of Kabul. It flows in an easterly direction past Kabul and through the
Tang-i Gharu to Dargai, Jalalabad, and on to Dakka where it enters Pakistani territory and finally runs into the Indus at Attock after a course of about 350 miles. It is the only Afghan river system that flows into an ocean. Major tributaries in Afghanistan include the Panjshir, Logar, Surkhab, Laghman, and Kunar Rivers. Much of the upper part of the river is used for irrigation; therefore it is almost dry during the summer months. It becomes a sizable river only below the confluence, east of Kabul, of its four major tributaries.

THE KABUL TIMES. An English language, daily newspaper published under the auspices of the ministry of information and culture in Kabul since 1962. Before that time, diplomats and foreign residents depended on newsletters in various languages, published by embassies and the ministry of information and culture. The ministry subsidized the paper and provided the physical plant but at times permitted the paper a measure of autonomy. After the Saur Revolt (April 1978) it became a mouthpiece of the Marxist government. President Nur Muhammad Taraki changed the name of the paper to The Kabul New Times to reflect the new ideology in Kabul. In the process of discarding ideological trappings, the Parchami regime restored the paper’s former title. After the capture of Kabul by mujahedin forces the newspaper ceased to exist, but it was again published since the establishment of the interim government in April 2002.

KABUL TREATY OF 1921. See ANGLO-AFGHAN TREATY OF 1921.

KABUL UNIVERSITY. Kabul University is the major educational institution in Afghanistan. It was founded in 1932 with the establishment of the school of medicine with French and Turkish professors. Faculties of law and political science (1938), natural sciences (1941), economics (1957), home economics (1962), education (1962), engineering (1963), and pharmacy (1963) were eventually added. The University was officially inaugurated in 1946, when a president was appointed by the ministry of education and an academic senate was formed. In 1965 a university law was passed that provided for autonomous governance under an elected president.
A new campus was constructed with American financial assistance in 1964, and two years later the Soviet-directed Polytechnic Institute was completed. Foreign countries participated in the development of education. The departments of agriculture, education, and engineering were affiliated with American universities; law and political science enjoyed French support; and a consortium of German institutions was affiliated with the faculties of science and economics. The faculty of theology established links with al-Azhar University of Egypt. Outstanding graduates of Kabul University won fellowships to continue their studies at affiliated institutions. In the 1960s Kabul University became a center of political discourse and a training ground for cadres of the entire political spectrum. About half the student body lived in dormitories on campus. The leadership of the Islamist, Marxist, and nationalist parties emerged from its campus, where they would hone their oratorical skills and engage in verbal abuse and often physical violence. Therefore, the Afghan government in 1968 banned political activities on campus.

After the Saur Revolt in 1978 the curriculum of Kabul University was changed to conform to Soviet models, and Russian became the favored foreign language. Because of the need for manpower in the 1980s, graduates were at times recruited directly from campus. Therefore, the student body was greatly reduced in numbers (from 8,500 in 1976) and, in 1990, was said to be 70 percent female. Of 800 teachers in the 1970s only 350 remained in the late 1980s. Politics interfered in admissions and academic policies; nevertheless, the university campus continued to be a volatile center of student protest. After the fall of the capital to the mujahedin, the university grounds became a battlefield of rival groups, and sporadic attempts to open the University were unsuccessful until Jam‘iati Islami established control over the city in 1994. Under the new regime of Prime Minister Gulbuddin Hekmatyar and his Taliban successors coeducation was no longer permitted. And eventually the Taliban government prohibited women from attending the University. Local rulers established universities in Herat, Mazar-i Sharif, and Bamian, but the ongoing civil war and lack of funds prevented the functioning of viable educational institutions. After the fall of the Taliban regime, the new interim government reopened Kabul University in March 2002, once again admitting women.
Problems for the University emerged when students of the Afghan University in Peshawar and other refugee institutions demanded to be transferred to Kabul. Although there did not exist enough facilities to house them, some 400 students were admitted and an additional 600 students applied. The students refused to submit to written examinations, therefore, officials decided to use interviews to determine the qualifications of transfer students. The University lacked reliable supplies of electricity and water and the dormitories, built for 800 students, had to house about 2,700. On November 11, 2002, students began to march on the palace and were stopped by police with water canons and live bullets, which cost the lives of about three students and wounded many others. The university authorities promised help and classes resumed after a few days.

**KAFIR.** Arabic, for an “unbeliever” or “infidel,” a name popularly given to non-Muslims, but technically referring only to polytheist and “worshipers of idols” who do not have a “Book,” or scripture. In Afghanistan Kafirs were the inhabitants of Kafiristan who remained pagans until they were converted to Islam in 1896. Kafirs are destined for hell, whereas “Peoples of the Book” (ahl al-kitāb), such as Christians and Jews, are monotheists and not condemned to eternal hellfire.

**KAFIRISTAN (35°30' N, 70°45' E).** “The Land of the Infidels,” was an area in eastern Afghanistan now called Nuristan, the “Land of Light,” meaning the light of the Islamic religion that was brought into the area by conquest in 1896. Kafirs were generally divided into two categories: free men who owned pasture for their animals, and former slaves and craftsmen who did not own any flocks. These lower classes served as cowherds or craftsmen, making all the tools and structures in the communities.

There were no chiefs as such, but free men who demonstrated superior capabilities and generosity could gain leadership status and a corresponding influence in community affairs. Because the Kafirs inhabited valleys with dense forests, their material culture varied significantly from neighboring peoples. Kafirs sat on chairs and stools, unlike neighboring peoples who sat on carpets. Their idols, houses, furniture, and other implements were wooden, carved with intricate patterns. There existed little or no ceremony in marriage, as long as
the bride price was paid, and men could divorce their women at will. Polygamy was practiced. There was a considerable incidence of blond or red hair and blue or light eye color, which gave rise to legends that they were the descendants of the armies of Alexander the Great. Physical anthropologists speculate that Kafirs were contemporaries of the Arian migrations that moved south into India.

The Kafirs had a reputation as excellent fighters, and their mountainous, forested country had given them a refuge from their Islamic neighbors. When the Durand Line included the larger part of Kafiristan within Afghan territory, Amir Abdul Rahman lost little time in taking control. He ordered his army to invade the country from all directions, and within 40 days controlled much of the area, although it took years to stamp out all resistance. Some Kafirs were deported to the Kuhdaman area, and others converted when offered gifts and protection from their traditional enemies. In 1906 Amir Habibullah changed the name of the country to Nuristan, and today all Nuristanis are Muslims.

**KAFIR WAR.** In his biography (AR 238–92) Amir Abdul Rahman gave the reasons for his action as necessitated by Russian penetration of the Pamir region and British control of eastern Kafiristan. If Kafiristan remained independent, the Russians (or British) might want to annex it and, since Panjshir, Laghman, and Jalalabad once belonged to the Kafirs, the Russians “might persuade them to re-claim their old possessions.” Furthermore, the warlike Kafirs would always pose a threat when the amir was engaged in fighting an enemy elsewhere. The Kafirs had continuously raided into Afghan provinces and had to be stopped once and for all.

The amir decided to start his campaign in winter, when snow cover would prevent the Kafirs from seeking the safety of their mountain retreats. If the passes were open the Kafirs could retreat into Russian territory and seek the support of that power. The war had to be short, before the neighboring powers could react and the Christian missionaries could make “unnecessary trouble.”

In fall 1895 Abdul Rahman organized an army under Captain Muhammad Ali Khan whose main force proceeded through Panjshir to Kulum; another force under General Ghulam Haidar Charkhi approached Kafiristan from the direction of Asmar and Chitral; and a third force under General Katal Khan approached the area from
Badakhshan. A smaller, fourth force proceeded from Laghman under its Governor Faiz Muhammad Charkhi. Since all four bases were near the Afghan border, the movement of troops did not raise any suspicions of what was to come. Suddenly, in the winter of 1895 the four armies, supplemented by tribal levies, attacked simultaneously and conquered Kafiristan within 40 days. The Kafirs did not have a chance. Their weapons consisted primarily of spears, bows and arrows, and only a few rifles, and their numbers, said to be about 60,000, were no match against the amir’s army divided into well-equipped artillery, cavalry, and infantry branches. Some Kafir prisoners were settled in Paghman, and after conversion to Islam a large number of their youth was trained for military service. Within a few years all Kafirs were converted to Islam, and in 1906 Amir Habibullah changed the name of the country to Nuristan, the “Land of Light.” This conquest greatly increased the reputation of the amir as the Islamic king of a unified and solidly Muslim state.

Kajakai Dam (32º22' N, 65º11' E). A dam built as part of the Helmand Valley irrigation and electrification project by the Idaho-based Morrison-Knudsen Company. The dam is 300 feet high, 887 feet long, and stores a reservoir that is 32 miles long and has a capacity of 1,495,000 acre-feet of water. It was completed in April 1953 and was partially destroyed as a result of the civil war. See also HELMAND VALLEY AUTHORITY.

Kakar. A Pashtun tribe that claims descent from Kak or Kakar. It is loosely organized into four divisions, all located across the Afghan border in Pakistan, south and southeast of Kandahar: the Sanzar Khel, located in the Zhob Valley as well as in Pishin and Loralai; the Sanatia, who live primarily in the Quetta-Pishin district; the Targhara, in Pishin district; and the Sarghara, also in Pishin. The Kakars were merchant nomads (see POWINDAH) and traveled seasonally far into India. The wars of the past decades and the establishment of international boundaries have displaced many tribes from their areas of migration.

Kakar, Asifa. Member of the Constitutional Drafting Committee. Born about 1950, an ethnic Pashtun from Kunduz, Ms. Kakar
graduated from the faculty of law of Kabul University. She served as a high court judge and, subsequently, moved to Peshawar where she taught civil and Shari’a law at a university for refugees from 1990 to 1999. She returned to Afghanistan after the fall of the Taliban.

KALA-I-NAO HAZARA. See HAZARA.

KALAKANI, ABDUL MAJID. A poet and writer and one of the founders of the Marxist Shu’la-yi Javid (Eternal Flame) party. He was born in 1939 at Kalakan in Kuhdaman district (north of Kabul). A biography, published by his organization, states that his father and grandfather were hanged, but does not give any details. He went with members of his family into exile in Kandahar. After the Marxist takeover, he was one of the founders of the Organization for the Liberation of the Afghan People (Sazman-i Azadibakhsh-i Mardum-i Afghanistan) (SAMA) and the United National Front of Afghanistan. SAMA was an underground movement whose aim was the formation of a working-class party, a united front with like-minded groups, and the creation of a “people’s army.” It opposed the Pashtun-dominated Peoples Democratic Party of Afghanistan. On February 27, 1980 Kalakani was arrested and was executed on June 8. His brother Abdul Qayyum Rahbar (born in 1942 and educated at al-Azhar) succeeded to the leadership of SAMA but was killed by unknown assailants on January 27, 1990, in Peshawar. A number of other members of this family were assassinated since the beginning of the war. According to party declarations, SAMA advocates the establishment of a “national democratic” government with universal suffrage, the protection of human rights, and freedom of worship. It favors a federated state and the protection of minorities and denies that it is a Maoist party. It split and became a party of exiles.

KALAKANI, AMIR HABIBULLAH. See HABIBULLAH KALAKANI, AMIR.

KALANTAR. The term for an official, during the reign of Amir Abdul Rahman, who was to preserve law and order in urban areas. He was (similar to the official known as muhtasib) responsible for dealing with minor offenses and had powers of arresting an offender. He was
also in charge of producing lists of names of all males age 16 to 28 in his district for the purpose of establishing a pool of possible recruits for the police force. The kalantar was chosen by the community, unlike the muhtasib, who was chosen by a qazi.

**KAM.** Workers Intelligence Institution (Da Kargarano Amniyyati Mu‘asasa) of President Hafizullah Amin, which succeeded Afghan Security Service (AGSA), the security service of President Nur Muhammad Taraki, with minor changes in personnel. It was headed by Aziz Ahmad Akbari for two months (August–September 1979) and then by Hafizullah’s nephew, Asadullah Amin, who was killed with Hafizullah on December 27, 1979. Akbari is the nephew of Asadullah Sarwari and joined him in virtual exile as first secretary at the Afghan embassy at Ulan Bator, Mongolia. See also KHAD.

**KAMRAN, PRINCE.** The son of Mahmud Shah (r. 1800–1803 and 1809–1817) and “King of Herat” after the death of his father in 1830. During the wars of succession, following the ouster of Zaman Shah, Kamran supported his father, who became Afghan king in 1800. Kamran recovered Peshawar for his father and was appointed governor of Kandahar. When his father was defeated by Shah Shuja in 1803, Kamran was driven from the city by Qaisar, son of Zaman Shah, and forced to seek safety in Herat. During the second reign of Mahmud Shah he established himself in Herat where Fateh (Fath) Khan, the oldest son of Painda Khan, was wazir. Kamran was ambitious and resented the power of the wazir; therefore, he had him blinded and subsequently killed. This started a struggle for power between the Sadozai and Muhammadzai branches of the Durrani clan, resulting in the fall of the Sadozai dynasty. In 1818 Dost Muhammad captured the Kabul throne, and in 1819, Mahmud Shah proclaimed himself king at Herat and made Kamran his wazir. Mahmud Shah died in 1829 under mysterious circumstances and was succeeded by Kamran. Kamran had the reputation of being a cruel and power-hungry man; he eventually ignored the conduct of the affairs of state and delegated much authority to his wazir, Yar Muhammad Alekozai. Trying to reassert his power, he made preparations to rid himself of the wazir but was captured and killed in 1842, after ruling Herat for 12 years. He was the last of the Sadozai rulers.
KANDAHAR (QANDAHAR, 31°35' N, 64°45' E). A province in south central Afghanistan with an area of 19,062 square miles and a population of 699,000 (1991 estimate 737,000). The province borders on Pakistan in the south, Helmand Province in the west, Oruzgan in the north, and Zabul in the east. Kandahar is the second largest town in Afghanistan, lying at an elevation of 3,050 feet and comprising an area of 15 square miles. In the late 1970s the city had about 178,000 inhabitants (1991 estimate 225,000). Its strategic location has made it a desirable spot for settlements since ancient times. It was the capital of Afghanistan until 1775, when Timur Shah established his capital at Kabul. It is one of the major Pashtun cities and is inhabited mostly by Durrani but also has a Hazara population and Afghans of other ethnic groups. The old, walled town, of which only traces remain, was built by Timur Shah. The mausoleum of Ahmad Shah, founder of modern Afghanistan, is one of the major architectural features, as is the mosque of the Khirqa Sharif, where the cloak of the Prophet Muhammad is believed to be kept under lock and key. In the garden of the citadel overlooking the town is the shrine of Baba Wali, frequently visited by pilgrims. On the same hill, carved into the rock, are the “Forty Steps,” Chel Zina, leading to a niche with sixteenth-century inscriptions from the days of the Moghol rulers Babur and Akbar Shah.

The city was part of the Achaemenid Empire of Darius I (r. 521–485 B.C.). It was rebuilt by Alexander the Great in 329 B.C., hence the name Kandahar, a corruption of “Iskander,” the Eastern name for Alexander. Muslim Arabs conquered Kandahar in the seventh century. Thereafter Kandahar formed part of various Muslim kingdoms. In the sixteenth century the city was disputed between the rulers of the Safavid and Moghol Empires until Mir Wais, the Ghilzai governor of Kandahar, rebelled against Safavid control and began the process that led to the establishment of Afghanistan in 1747. British forces occupied the city in the First and Second Anglo-Afghan Wars and suffered one of their severest defeats nearby at the Battle of Maiwand (July 27, 1880), when Sardar Muhammad Ayub wiped out a British Brigade under General G. R. S. Burrows.

Kandahar is surrounded by fertile land, covered with orchards, and famous for its grapes and pomegranates. The city is connected by a paved highway with Kabul, Herat, and Chaman, which lies on the
Pakistan border. It has a major airport that the Afghan government had planned as a link in international travel. Its location made Kandahar an important trade and commercial center and key route to Iran and south into Pakistan, where a train link connects it with Karachi. When Russian troops evacuated the city, the Kabul government installed Nur-ul-Haq Ulumi, a Durrani, as governor. On November 5, 1994, the Taliban captured Kandahar and made it their “spiritual” capital for the subsequent six years and the seat of Mulla Muhammad Omar.

KAPISA (34º45’ N, 69º30’ E). A province created in 1964 with an area of 5,358 square miles and a 1991 population of about 400,000. Its capital, Mahmud Raqi, has an estimated population about 40,500. It is named after the ancient town of Kapisa, located at the present Bagram, which was said to have been founded by Alexander the Great (fourth century B.C.), and the summer capital of Kanishka, the ruler of the Kushanid Kingdom (second century A.D.). The city was destroyed in the eighth century.

The province is watered by the Nijrab, Panjshir, and Tagab Rivers. It is known for an abundance of mulberries and pomegranates. Major industries include the Gulbahar textile mills and cement production in Jabal-us-Siraj.

KARAKUL. See QARAQUL.

KARIZ (QANAT). An underground water channel used widely in southern and western Afghanistan for the purpose of irrigation in areas where electricity and pumps are not available. Well-like shafts are dug into the water table as much as 50 feet deep and connected by a channel that conducts water to fields some distance away. The channels are kept in working condition by dredging, a dangerous and difficult job, since a channel may collapse and bury the person working in it. As a result of the war in Afghanistan many kariz have fallen into disuse or have been destroyed, and formerly irrigated land has been lost.

KARMAL, BABRAK. President and secretary general of the Peoples Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) from January 1980 until
May 1986, when Dr. Najibullah took over control of the Afghan government. Born in 1929 in Kabul, the son of Major General Muhammad Husain (onetime governor of Paktia Province). He adopted the pen name Karmal (friend of labor) in about 1954. A founding member of the PDPA, he was a student activist at Kabul University and known as a communist. Jailed from 1953 to 1956, he then worked in departments of the ministries of education and planning. In 1965 and 1969 he was elected to Parliament as a representative of Kabul. He was a member of the central committee and subsequently secretary of the central committee of the PDPA. As a result of a dispute with Nur Muhammad Taraki over leadership of the party in 1965, he led the Parcham faction until it reunited with the Khalqis in 1977 and became a member of the Secretariat and the Politburo. In 1978 he was imprisoned after the funeral of Mir Muhammad Akbar Khaibar, but liberated as a result of the Saur Revolt. He was then elected vice-chairman of the revolutionary council and deputy prime minister of Afghanistan. In July 1978 the Khalqis in Kabul appointed Babrak Karmal Afghan ambassador to Czechoslovakia. In August 1978 he was accused of plotting against the Khalqi government and stripped of party membership and all his positions. Restored to power with Soviet assistance, he succeeded Hafizullah Amin on December 27, 1979.

Karmal was described as an idealist, rather than a revolutionary. He was an eloquent orator in Dari and, with Anahita Ratebzad, an expert propagandist and the best known of the Marxist leadership. Having been restored to office with Soviet support, he was unable to consolidate his power and in 1986 he was replaced by Najibullah and left Afghanistan for Moscow. After the fall of the Marxist regime in April 1992, Babrak moved to Mazar-i Sharif where his comrade, Abdul Rashid Dostum was the dominant political leader. He died in Moscow in December 1996 and is buried in Mazar-i Sharif.

KARZAI, ABDUL AHAD. Leader of the Popalzai Durranis of Kandahar, Helmand, Zabul, and Oruzgan. He was a member of the 1964 Loya Jirga and member of Parliament 1964–1973, and served as speaker (vice president) for a time. He held no position during the regime of Muhammad Daud and left Afghanistan for Quetta. His brother, Khalil Karzai, was assassinated in Quetta and Abdul Ahad was
killed on July 14, 1999, in Quetta. Abdul Ahad was born in 1925 in Karz, Kandahar, the son of Khair Muhammad Karzai, and educated privately. He is the father of Hamid Karzai who became president of the Afghan government after the fall of the Taliban regime in 2001.

KARZAI, HAMID. Leader of the interim and transitional governments after the fall of the Taliban regime. He was deputy foreign minister in the mujahedin cabinet of Burhanuddin Rabbani. A chief of the Popalzai tribe, in 1995 he was asked to be permanent representative of the Taliban government at the United Nations, an assignment he did not accept. Following the United States intervention in Afghanistan in 2001, Karzai entered Oruzgan Province and started to organize Pash- tun opposition to the Taliban government. Almost captured, he reorganized his forces and was instrumental in the defeat of the Taliban in southern Afghanistan. He originally supported the Taliban, but turned against them, accusing them of being supported by a foreign power and because of their radical interpretation of Islam. Born on December 24, 1957, his father Abdul Ahad Karzai, former president of the Afghan national council, was killed in Quetta in 1999. Educated in India with an M.A. degree in political science, he was described as bookish, balding, with moderate views, and favoring the rights of women.

KAUFMAN, GENERAL CONSTANTIN P. Conqueror of Samarkand in 1868 and Khiva in 1873, he became the first governor general of Russian Turkestan and subsequently aide-de-camp to the tsar. He corresponded with Amir Shir Ali and his foreign minister and sent General Stolietoff to Kabul to conclude an alliance with the amir.

A treaty signed by the amir offered Russian support “either by means of advice or by such other means as it may consider proper.” When Britain made war, Russia did not send any assistance but advised Amir Shir Ali to make his peace with Britain. See FIRST ANGLO-AFGHAN WAR.

KAZI (QADHI). See QAzl.

KAZIM BEY, CAPTAIN. He was delegated by Enver Pasha, the Ottoman minister of war, to accompany the Hentig-Niedermayer Expedition to Afghanistan for the purpose of winning Afghan support
in World War I. When the group disbanded in May 1916, Kazim Bey remained in Herat until the end of the war and then proceeded to Russian Central Asia. Together with Maulawi Barakatullah, a Muslim-Indian member of the Hentig expedition, he conducted Pan-Islamic propaganda in Russian Turkestan. In September 1919 he accompanied the Afghan mission of Muhammad Wali to Moscow before he returned to Turkey.

KESHTMAND, SULTAN ALI. Member of the Parcham faction of the Peoples Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) and at one time second in command in the government of Babrak Karmal. Born in 1935 in Kabul Province of a Hazara family and educated in economics at Kabul University, he took a position in the ministry of mines and industries. He was elected to the PDPA central committee at its founding congress, siding with Babrak Karmal in his dispute with Nur Mohammad Taraki. After the Saur Revolt in 1978 he was purged with other leading Parchamis and sentenced to death, but his sentence was commuted to 15 years imprisonment. At the return to power of Babrak Karmal he became a member of the Politburo and a year later was appointed prime minister (1981–1988). After 1988 he held the positions of secretary of the central committee and chairman of the executive committee of the council of ministers. In May 1990 he was appointed first vice president of the Republic of Afghanistan, the highest ranking Hazara in the PDPA, but in February 1991 he was ousted from all his positions and went to Moscow until July. As a private individual he began to attack Pashtun chauvinism and demanded equal representation for the Afghan Shi’a community. After the fall of Kabul he left Afghanistan and now resides in England. His sister is married to Tahir Badakhshi.

KHAD. Later WAD. The State Security Service (Khedamat-i Ettila’at-i Daulati) of Babrak Karmal that evolved with some replacements in leadership out of Afghan Security Service (AGSA), established by Nur Mohammad Taraki, and the Workers Intelligence Institution (KAM) of Hafizullah Amin. It was headed by Dr. Najibullah before he succeeded to the position of general secretary of the Peoples Democratic Party of Afghanistan and president of Afghanistan. Najibullah upgraded KHAD to ministerial status hence its new acronym
WAD (Wezarat-i Ettila’at-i Daulati). General Ghulam Faruq Yaqubi succeeded Najibullah. The organization was reputed to control thousands of operatives and informers, as well as the National Guard and other fighting units. Excellently trained and disciplined, they were well paid and provisioned forces and a major source of Dr. Najibullah’s power. WAD was Parchami-controlled and a balancing factor to the Khalqi strength in the military, which WAD had effectively penetrated. After the capture of Kabul by the mujahedin, President Burhanuddin Rabbani set up his own security service, as did the Taliban, which was also popularly called KHAD.

KHADEM, QIAMUDDIN. A poet and writer who was vice president of the Pashtu Academy (1941) and in 1943 director of the Pashtu encyclopedia project (see AFGHAN ENCYCLOPEDIA SOCIETY). He served as editor of the Ittihad-i Mashriqi (1942), Tulu-ye Afghan (1950), Kabul Majalla (1951), Islah (1953), Zeri (1955), Haywad (1963), and as publisher of Afghan Wolus (1969). He was born in 1907 in Kama, Nangarhar Province, and educated under the supervision of his father. He began his career as a teacher but then turned to journalism. Khadem was a founding member of the Afghan Mil-lat. He was appointed a senator in 1965 and died in 1979.

KHAIBAR, MIR MUHAMMAD AKBAR. Chief Parchami party ideologue whose assassination sparked the Saur Revolt of 1978. Born in 1925 in Logar Province, he attended Kabul Military School and became an instructor in the Police Academy. Arrested in 1950 as a leftist agitator, he met Babrak Karmal in prison and became his ally and a founding member of the People’s Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA). He was called “Ustad,” master, by his Parchami comrades and was for a time editor of Parcham, the party newspaper. His major activity was to recruit army officers for his party. He was assassinated on April 17, 1978, a day after he visited the air force base at Bagram, according to Parchami claims, by Khalqis, his communist rivals. The Marxists blamed the Muhammad Daud government for the assassination and staged mass demonstrations in Kabul that led to the arrest of some party leaders. A few days later, members of the armed forces started the Saur coup that brought a Marxist government to power.
KHAIBAR PASS (34º1' N, 71º10' E). A historic pass through a gorge and barren hills from the Afghan border to Peshawar, Pakistan. It starts about 10 miles from Peshawar, at Ali Masjid village, narrows to about 200 yards, and reaches its highest point at 3,518 feet. Eventually the pass widens and ends at Torkham, the Afghan frontier post. The population within the area of the pass is largely Afridi. A narrow-gauge railroad, built by the British in the late nineteenth century, connects the pass with the Peshawar rail terminal. Britain gained control of the pass in the Treaty of Gandomak, and this Afghan “gateway to India” is now on the Pakistani side of the Durand Line. Landi Kotal, located a few miles within the pass, is one of the smugglers’ bazaars of the Frontier where one can buy foreign-made goods found only in the tribal area of Pakistan. The Pakistan government has tried to curb this lucrative trade but will probably never succeed.

KHAIRKHWA, MULLA KHAIRULLAH. Minister of the interior of the Taliban government at Kabul. A native of Arghastan district in Kandahar Province, he is a Pashtun of the Popalzai tribe. During the 1980s he was affiliated with Maulawi Muhammad Nabi Muhammadi’s party. He graduated from Cherat Madrasa Pabbi, Akora Khatak, and Haqaniyya madrasa.

KHALES, MUHAMMAD YUNUS. Pashtu poet and leader (amir) of the Hizb-i Islami, one of two groups with the same name headquartered in Pakistan. Born in 1919 in Gandomak, he was educated in Islamic law and theology. He is a radical Islamist and fervent anticommunist and in the 1960s contributed articles to the conservative Gahi news- paper. After the Muhammad Daud coup in 1973 he was forced to flee to Pakistan, having made many enemies among Daud’s supporters. A member with Gulbuddin Hekmatyar of Hizb-i-Islami, he seceded and formed his own group with the same name which fought the Kabul government in the Khugiani area. He often accompanied Maulawi Jalaluddin Haqani, his deputy, on raids inside Afghanistan. Other commanders of his forces included Abdul Haq (killed), who operated in the Kabul area, and Haji Abdul Qadir (killed) in Nangarhar. Many of his party joined the Taliban movement. Khales is opposed to universal suffrage, the emancipation of women, and Shi’a participation in the Afghan Interim Government.
(AIG) (see ISLAMIC ALLIANCE FOR THE LIBERATION OF AFGHANISTAN), although he was a strong supporter of the AIG. Khales and his commanders were the major force in a council that ruled Nangarhar Province until it was captured by the Taliban in September 1996. After the fall of the Taliban regime, Khales agreed to support the Hamid Karzai government. See also ISLAMIST MOVEMENT.

**KHALIFA.** See CALIPH.

**KHALILI, ABDUL KARIM.** Vice president in the transitional government. He succeeded Abdul Ali Mazari as head of the Shi’a Hizb-i Wahdat that controls the Hazarajat. He evicted his rivals Ustad Muhammad Akbari and Muhammad Asef Muhsini from Bamian in October 1995. Khalili was allied with Abdur Rashid Dostum against the government of President Burhnuddin Rabbani, but joined the latter to fight the Taliban movement. He was forced to flee to Iran in November 1998 and in November 2000 he submitted to the Taliban. He took advantage of the United States war against the Taliban and reestablished his control over much of the Hazarajat.

**KHALILI, KHALILULLAH.** Afghan “poet laureate” whose collected works (diwan) were published in three parts in 1960, 1975, and 1984. He was born in 1907 in Kabul, the son of Muhammad Husain Khan (financial secretary of Amirs Abdul Rahman and Habibullah). His father was executed in the early Amanullah period and Khalili moved with members of his family to Kohistan (now in Parwan Province) until the rise of Habibullah Kalakani in 1929. He held various offices under the Tajik king, but then lived as a refugee in Tashkent and later with his uncle Abdul Rahim at Herat. At Herat he wrote his first work, History of Heart, which attracted wide acclaim. In 1944 Khalili and members of his family were imprisoned as supporters of the Safi revolt. After a period of exile in Kandahar, Khalili became lecturer at Kabul University (1948) and secretary of the Shah Mahmud cabinet (1949). In 1951 he became minister of press and information and chief adviser for press and information to King Zahir (1953). In 1965 he was elected a member of Parliament...
from Jabal-us Siraj and founded the centrist Wahdat-i-Milli (National Unity) party. He was appointed Afghan ambassador to Saudi Arabia and Iraq from 1969–1978. In 1985 he left Afghanistan and died in Pakistan two years later. He published a historical biography of Habibullah Kalakani called A Hero from Khorasan, in which he depicts the Tajik king as a noble mujahed and sensitive man. Khalili died in 1987 in Pakistan.

KHALILI, MAS’UD. Ambassador to New Delhi of the transitional government, a position he also held until 1996 in the government of Burhanuddin Rabbani. He is a member of Jami’at-i Islami, and the son of the Afghan “poet laureate” Khalilullah Khalili.

KHALILZAD, ZALMAI. Appointed on December 31, 2001, as special envoy of the United States to Afghanistan. Khalilzad served as special adviser to the State Department between 1985 and 1989. He became undersecretary of defense for policy planning from 1991 till 1992, and moved to the Rand Corporation during the Bill Clinton administration. He headed the George W. Bush-Dick Cheney transition team and advised incoming Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld. In May 2002 he was appointed assistant to President Bush and senior director of the National Security Council for the Persian Gulf and Southwest Asia. In anticipation of the war in Iraq, Khalilzad was appointed U.S. special envoy to the Iraqi opposition. Khalilzad is an ethnic Pashtun, born in 1951 in Mazar-i Sharif. He graduated from Ghazi High School in 1968 and obtained the B.A. and M.A. degrees from the American University in Beirut and the Ph.D. degree in 1979 from the University of Chicago.

KHALIS. See KHALES, MUHAMMAD YUNUS.

KHALQ. Meaning “people,” is the name of a weekly newspaper first published on April 11, 1966, by Nur Muhammad Taraki and edited by Muhammad Hasan Bareq-Shafi’i. The name of the paper was subsequently given to the Taraki/Hafizullah Amin faction of the Peoples Democratic Party of Afghanistan, in distinction to the Parchamis (also named after their party organ) headed by Babrak Karmal. The newspaper was banned by the Afghan government six weeks after its first appearance.
KHALQ (PARTY). A faction of the Peoples Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) headed by Nur Muhammad Taraki (April 1978 to September 1979) and Hafizullah Amin (September to December 1979), popularly named so after its newspaper, Khalq. The party split into two major factions in 1965. Khalq continued under the leadership of Taraki until 1977 when it reunited with the Par- cham faction, led by Babrak Karmal. Together they staged the Saur Revolt (April 27, 1978), but Taraki’s faction captured the government and purged the leadership of Parcham. In December 1979 Karmal returned to power with Soviet support and Parcham became the dominant faction of the PDPA. The factions never stopped fighting for supremacy, the latest manifestation of which was the attempted coup by the Khalqi minister of defense, Shahnawaz Tanai. After the fall of the Marxist regime in April 1992, many Khalqis joined Gulbuddin Hekmatyar and Parchamis sided with Burhanuddin Rabbani. Because of their Pashtun background, many of the Khalqi officers joined the Taliban when they embarked on the conquest of much of the country.

KHAN. Title of tribal chiefs, landed proprietors, and heads of communities. Feudal khans were given honorary military ranks in exchange for providing levies for the Afghan army in case of national emergency. The title was also used in designating the tribe of the ruling family, khan khel, and in positions like khan-i ulum, chief justice. Now khan is used like “mister” and placed after the name of a person.

KHAN, KHAN ABDUL GHAFFAR. Pashtun nationalist, acclaimed as the “Frontier Gandhi” because he advocated nonviolent means for gaining independence from Britain for the Frontier Afghans. He was born in 1890 in Utmanzai village in the North-West Frontier Province (NWFP) of India and educated in village schools and in high schools in Peshawar. He founded various organizations, including the Khuda-i Khidmatgaran (Servants of God), also called “Red Shirts,” and attracted many followers in the NWFP and Afghanistan. He was imprisoned many times by the British Indian and Pakistan governments and was always an honored guest at Kabul, where the Pash- tunistan issue was strongly supported. King Amanullah gave him the title Fakhr-i Afghan (Pride of the Afghans) and he lived intermittently
in Kabul as guest of the royal, republican, and Marxist governments. He died in Peshawar in the late 1980s and is buried in Jalalabad. His funeral procession was attacked, resulting in many casualties.

KHASADAR. A tribal militia supplementing the regular Afghan army, usually under the direct command of provincial governors or district chiefs. They were employed in various duties, including collecting fines and serving as border guards. They were stationed throughout the country and only during campaigns did they come under the direct command of the army commanders. Many were recruited from Waziri and Mahsud tribes from the British side of the border, in spite of British protests.

KHASHRUD (31º11' N, 62º1' E). A river which rises in the Siahband Range, running in a southwesterly direction past Dilaram and the village of Khash. From there it continues to Chakhansur in Nimruz Province, circles Zaranj, and after a course of about 250 miles dissipates in the Hamun on the Iranian side of the border.

KHASTA, MAULAWI KHAL MUHAMMAD. Calligrapher, poet, writer, author of Mo’asserin-e Sokhanwar (Contemporary Poets), and publisher and editor of Wahdat. Born 1902 in Bukhara, the son of Mulla Rostam (son of Abdul Rahim, a well-known calligrapher), Khasta received a traditional education from his father. After five years in Bukhara he came to Mazar-i Sharif, where he studied the Arabic sciences and memorized the Koran. After studying in India for a number of years, he returned to Mazar and taught at local schools. He was elected to the seventh Parliament in 1948 and worked as manager of the Ibn-e Sina Bookstore from 1953 to 1955. He died in 1973.

KHATAK, KHUSHHAL KHAN (1613–1689). A famous Afghan warrior, poet, and tribal chief of the Khatak tribe who called on the Afghans to fight the Moghuls then occupying their land. He admonished Afghans to forsake their anarchistic tendencies and unite to regain the strength and glory they once possessed. But he was pessimistic, saying “The day the Pashtuns unite, old Khushhal will arise from the grave.” Khushhal Khan was born near Peshawar, the son of Shahbaz Khan, a chief of the Khatak tribe. By appointment of the
Moghul emperor, Shah Jehan, Khushhal succeeded his father in 1641, but Aurangzeb, Shah Jehan’s successor, kept him a prisoner in the Gwaliar fortress in Delhi. After Khushhal was permitted to return to Peshawar he incited the Pashtuns to rebel. His grave carries the inscription: “I have taken up the sword to defend the pride of the Afghan, I am Khushhal Khattak, the honorable man of the age.” The Khatak tribe of Khushhal Khan now lives in the areas of Kohat, Peshawar, and Mardan in the North-West Frontier Province of Pakistan and numbers between 100,000 and 160,000 people.

KHILAFAT MOVEMENT. See HIJRAT MOVEMENT.

KHORASAN. The word means “the East” or “Land of the Rising Sun,” the name of a province in northeastern Iran and the historical name of an area that roughly corresponds to eastern Iran and Afghanistan at the time of Abdali Durrani Ahmad Shah (r. 1747–1773). It was part of the Achaemenid and Sasanian Empires, then conquered by the Muslim Arabs in A.D. 651–652. Abu Muslim raised the “Black Banner” of the house of Abbas and with his Khorasanian army defeated the Umayyads, bringing the Abbasid caliphs to power. Khorasan was virtually independent under the Tahirid, Saffarid, and Samanid dynasties (821–999) and part of Ghaznavid, Seljuk, and Khwarizm Empires. The Mongols controlled the area, and the Safavids fought the Uzbeks over Khorasan before it became the heartland of Ahmad Shah’s empire. Khorasan was called the “cradle of classical Persian culture.”

KHOST (33°22' N, 69°52' E). A town (also called Matun) and district in Paktia Province, with a population of about 50,000 people. The area saw some of the fiercest fighting during the war against the Marxist government (see KHOST, FALL OF; ZHAWAR, BATTLE OF). The district is inhabited by Khostwals in the north and Waziris in the south, which impinges on Waziristan, a district in the Pakistan tribal area.

In addition to a limited amount of agriculture and livestock breeding, Khost supports a timber industry. It is one of few wooded areas in Afghanistan and timber is smuggled to Pakistan where it fetches a good price. Because of the civil war, government prohibitions of timber export to Pakistan are ignored and deforestation is resulting in irreparable
harm. The Taliban captured the area in September 1996 prior to their conquest of Jalalabad and Kabul. After the United States intervention, various tribal chiefs clashed over the control of the area and the power of the government-appointed governor is still challenged.

**KHOST, FALL OF (33º22' N, 69º52' E).** A town and district in Pakistan Province that saw severe fighting because it was a major government base for cutting the line of mujahedin forces. The town was commonly called “Little Moscow” because many of the Marxist leaders were native to this area and therefore enjoyed the support of the population. Located only about 18 miles from the Pakistan border, the town was under siege since 1986 and had to be supplied mostly by air. The town was protected by a 3,000-man garrison, supported by militia units, and fortified with a mined perimeter that could not be easily breached. In March 1991 a unified mujahedin force headed by a 23-member council in which Jalaluddin Haqani had a prominent role, began to close in on the town. The Kabul government may have had information of mujahedin plans and had airlifted reinforcements into the besieged town. High-ranking officers had arrived, among them Colonel General Muhammad Zahir Solamal, a deputy minister of defense. On March 13, a few days before the beginning of Ramadhan (the month of fasting), the mujahedin started with a three-day rocket barrage followed by ground attacks from all sides, but it was not until March 30 that the airport was captured; a day later the garrison surrendered. Bad weather and surface-to-air missiles, including Stingers, did not permit close aerial support, but some 40 SCUD missiles were fired.

It appears that the surrender was achieved largely as a result of negotiations, and the militia units are said to have changed sides in time to permit their escape. About 2,200 Kabul soldiers were taken, and 500 wounded were transported to receive medical assistance. About 300 were killed. Among the prisoners were Colonel General Solamal; Major General Ghulam Mustafa, chief of political affairs of the armed forces; Major General Muhammad Qasim, commander of artillery; Major Muhammad Azam, an air force commander; and Lieutenant General Shirin, commander of the Khost militia units. For the mujahedin this was a major morale booster; the Kabul government announced a “day of mourning” and accused the mujahedin of violating
the “sanctity of Ramadhan.” It blamed the defeat on Khalqi betrayal and claimed that Pakistani forces had participated in the assault.

The relatively lenient treatment of the prisoners—some 2,000 (1,200 according to AFGHANews) families of Kabul supporters were permitted to find shelter in Pakistan—may be explained by the surrender and the fact that the battle was primarily between Pashtuns who did not want to incite tribal feuds. The town suffered from reprisal bombing and mujahedin plunder. The mujahedin obtained large quantities of arms and ammunition, including tanks, armored cars, helicopters, and light and heavy guns. Gulbuddin Hekmatyar’s forces were blamed with having snatched more than their “allotment.” No numbers were given as to mujahedin casualties.

KHOST REBELLION. A rebellion led by the Mangal tribe that seriously threatened the rule of King Amanullah. The revolt started in March 1924 in response to the king’s reforms. The Mangals, under Abdullah Khan and Mulla-i Lang (the Lame Mulla), were able to establish a base in Khost and were about to advance on Kabul. At the same time Abdul Karim, son by a slave girl of ex-Amir Yaqub Khan, escaped from British Indian exile and joined the rebels. In April 1924 the rebels were beaten but not yet defeated. The Sulaiman Khel and Ali Khel tribes (see Ghilzai) joined the revolt. In August King Amanullah dramatically proclaimed holy war (jihad) against them. But it was not until January 1925 that the rebels were defeated. Abdullah Khan and the Mulla-i Lang were captured and executed, together with 53 prisoners. The citizens of Kabul were treated to a victory parade, headed by Muhammad Wali Khan, which carried the booty, followed by almost 2,000 prisoners, including women and children, organized according to tribal affiliation. The prisoners were, in the words of the German representative in Kabul, “wild men with sullen, taciturn faces who did not take the least notice of the amir” (Adamec, 1974). The revolt slowed down the amir’s process of reform until 1928, when King Amanullah again forced the process of Westernization.

KHUGIANI. A Durrani tribe settled primarily in the Jalalabad area but also in Laghman and Kandahar. It is divided into three major clans: the Wazir, Kharbun, and Sherzad. They are neighbors of the Shinwaris and Ghilzais. In 1928 they joined the Shinwaris and other
tribes in a rebellion that led to the ouster of King Amanullah. In the war against the Marxist government, the Khugianis made up the majority of the mujahedin forces of the Hizb-i Islami of Yunus Khales.

KHULM. See TASHQURGHAN.

KHURAM. See KHURRAM, ALI AHMAD.

KHURD KABUL PASS (34°23' N, 69°23' E). A pass about 20 miles east of Kabul, extending for a length of about six miles and only about 100 to 200 yards wide, through which passes a road, crossing the Kabul River 23 times. On the third day of their Death March during the British retreat on January 8, 1842, Ghilzai forces blocked the pass and opened fire on the British troops and camp followers, causing panic of the “frightened mass, abandoning baggage, arms, ammunition, women and children, regardless of all but their lives.” (Gaz. 5) Some 3,000 soldiers and camp followers perished.

KHURRAM, ALI AHMAD. Minister of planning from 1974 until his assassination on November 17, 1977. According to an article by Zalmal Popal, an official in the ministry of planning, Ali Ahmad Khurram fell victim to President Muhammad Daud’s change of policy. Daud wanted to broaden economic ties with the West and discontinue “excessive reliance” on Soviet support in the process of developing the country. Arab and Iranian funds were expected to become available, and Khurram had instructions to speedily complete projects started with Soviet technical and financial assistance and not accept any new ones. The assassin, one Muhammad Marjan, is said to have had Khalqi connections but claimed to have acted “in the name of the Islamic Revolution.” He was sentenced to imprisonment for life but was later freed in a general amnesty. Khurram was born in 1931 in Kabul and educated at Kabul University and in the United States and began work in the ministry of planning in 1956.

KHUTBA. Friday sermon delivered at a congregational mosque. It has political significance because the Khateb (preacher) traditionally invokes the name of the recognized ruler. When Afghanistan was in rebellion against King Amanullah, preachers in disputed areas read the
sermon “in the name of the Islamic king,” in order to avoid indicating their loyalty. See also ISLAM; JUM’A.

**KHYBER.** See KHAIBAR.

**KIRGHIZ.** See QIRGHIZ.

**KISHTMAND.** See KESHTMAND, SULTAN ALI.

**KIZILBASH.** See QIZILBASH.

**KOH-I BABA (34°41′ N, 67°30′ E).** A mountain range extending from east to west across the center of Afghanistan and forming part of the Hindu Kush Mountain massif. The range includes peaks rising over 16,000 feet and difficult passes reaching altitudes of 12,000 and 13,000 feet. North of the Koh-i Baba the Turkestan plateau extends to the Amu Daria.

**KOH-I NUR (KOH-I NOOR).** A diamond measured at 191 carats (subsequently cut in London to 108 carats) that was part of Nadir Shah Afshar’s booty from the Moghul treasure of Delhi in 1739. After Nadir’s assassination in 1747, the Koh-i Nur (Mountain of Light) came into the possession of Ahmad Shah, founder of the Durrani Empire, who passed it on to his sons. As a result of internecine fighting between Afghan princes, Shah Shuja was forced to flee and seek the hospitality of the Sikh ruler Ranjit Singh. The latter took possession of the precious stone in 1813. When in 1849 the British defeated their erstwhile ally they took the Koh-i Nur from the Sikhs. The viceroy of India subsequently presented it to Queen Victoria, and it has since been worn in the crowns of British queens (superstition has it that it brings misfortune if worn by men). The Taliban government demanded the return of the Koh-i Nur, but the British did not comply.

**KOHISTAN (35°1′ N, 69°18′ E).** A district in Parwan Province north of Kabul. It includes the valleys of Tagao, Nijrao, Panjshir, Ghorband, and Charikar as well as collateral valleys. The population is largely Tajik and Sunni Muslim. Habibullah Kalakani, Afghan
king for nine months, and Ahmad Shah Mas'ud were natives of this district.

KOHZAD, AHMAD ALI. Historian, writer, and editor of Aryana and Afghanistan. He served as president of the Historical Society of Afghanistan (1956–1961), professor of history, deputy director of the compilation and translation department of the Afghan Academy, and director of the Kabul Museum. He is the author of numerous publications in Afghan history. Born in 1907, the son of Muhammad Ali, he graduated from Istiqal Lycée and worked with the French Archeological Delegation for many years. He served for three years as secretary at the Afghan embassy in Rome. He died on November 25, 1983.

KORAN (QUR’AN). The Koran is the sacred book of Islam, containing God’s revelations through the medium of the Prophet Muhammad. According to dogma it is a miracle, divine in origin, and the uncreated word of God. Revelation began in 610 during the holy month of Ramadhan when the Angel Gabriel called to Muhammad: “Recite! (or Read) in the name of thy Lord.”

The Koran is divided into 114 chapters (suras), 6236 verses (ayahs), 77,934 words (harf, pl. huruf), and 323,621 letters. The suras are arranged roughly according to length, beginning with the longest. An exception is the Fatiha, or “Opener,” which is a short one. The Koran is probably the most widely read book ever written. Besides serving for worship, it is the textbook from which generations of Muslims have learned to read Arabic. Muslims believe that the Koran is inimitable (2:23–24) and no authorized translation exists. The word “Qur’an” means “recitation or reading” and the book is clearly meant for recitation. The language of the Koran is the schriftsprache from which modern standard Arabic is derived. See also ISLAMIC LAW.

KUCHI. Kuchi (T.) literally means “a person who migrates.” In Afghanistan the term is applied to all nomads. In India the term Powindah is used for Kuchi.

KUNAR (35º15' N, 71º0' E). A province in northeastern Afghanistan with an area of 3,742 square miles and a population of about 250,000
(1991 estimate 309,000), which is composed principally of Nuristanis in the north and west and Pashtuns in the south and east. The two ethnic groups have long been at odds because of infringement by the Pashtuns on Nuristani land. The province is traversed by the Kunar River which is fed by the Pech, Waigal, and Chitral streams and runs in a southwesterly direction into the Kabul River near Jalalabad. It provides irrigation for corn, rice, and wheat cultivation, largely on a subsistence level. Kunar and Paktia Provinces are the major forested areas in Afghanistan. Kunar and Paktia Provinces are the major forested areas in Afghanistan. Kunar borders on Pakistan in the east, Nangarhar Province in the south, Laghman in the west, and Badakhshan in the north. The administrative center of the province is Asadabad (near Chegha Sarai), which Afghans believe to be the birthplace of Sayyid Jamaluddin Afghani. In the 1970s Kunar Province was absorbed into Nangarhar Province, with Asadabad (population about 40,000) the administrative center of the sub-province (loya woluswali); but in 1977 it was again designated a province. After the withdrawal of Soviet forces in 1988, the Kabul government created Nuristan Province from portions of Kunar and Laghman Provinces. The remainder of Kunar was once again consolidated into Nangarhar Province.

The mujahedin revolt began in 1978 in Kunar Province. Within a year government bases were captured. Virtually all mujahedin groups operated in the province, but in Asadabad the “Wahhabi Republic” (or Salafiya, Islamic revival movement, also called ahl-i hadith, meaning “people of the traditions”) headed by Maulawi Jamilurrahman and Gulbuddin Hekmatyar’s Hizb-i Islami were the major contenders. Based on Saudi and Kuwaiti support, Jamilurrahman was able to win a large following, which adopted the alien Hanbali school as its religious authority. Radical Islamist volunteers from Pakistan and Arab countries provided both military and financial support to the Wahhabi forces. Da’ulat (State), another Wahhabi group headed by one Maulawi Afzal, had some strength in the areas of Kamdesh and Bargamatal. The Wahhabis were accused of killing their prisoners and enslaving women and have therefore come under criticism from other mujahedin groups. The Iraqi invasion of Kuwait led to a cut in funds and greatly limited the activities of Jamilurrahman’s forces. In February 1991 he announced his cabinet and proclaimed his area an “Islamic Emirate.”
Elections were held in the Kunar Valley in which the victory of the “Arabs” was disputed by Hekmatyar. Armed clashes between the Wahhabis and members of Hekmatyar’s forces increased. After Hekmatyar made peace with the Burhanuddin Rabbani government in May 1996, one member of the Wahhabis was represented in Hekmatyar’s cabinet of July 1996. But the independent enclave was ended when the Taliban captured Asadabad in September 1996.

KUNDUZ (QONDUZ, 36º45' N, 68º51' E). A province in northern Afghanistan with an area of 2,876 square miles and an estimated population of 575,000 (1991 est. 791,000). The province borders on Tajikistan in the north, Takhar Province in the east, Baghlan in the south, and Samangan in the west. The administrative capital of the state is the town of Kunduz, with about 53,000 (1991 est. 191,000) inhabitants. Kunduz River, called Surkhab at its source in the Koh-i Baba Range, meanders through Kunduz Province and runs in a north westerly direction into the Amu Daria. Afghanistan’s cotton industry began in Kunduz in the 1940s. An industrial complex, the Spin Zar Company, grew and ginned cotton and produced edible oil and soap. Sericulture was started at about the same time, and silk weavers produced colorful fabrics for local use and export. Uzbek garments, like the long-sleeved japán (caftans), soft-soled boots, and embroidered caps, constitute an important home industry. The population is largely Uzbek, but Pashtuns and Persian-speakers as well as other ethnic communities can also be found.

KUSHANID KINGDOM. A kingdom that flourished during the first two centuries A.D. and included parts of the Indus Valley, eastern Afghanistan, and Central Asia north to the Aral Sea. It was founded by Kajula Kadphises (40–78 A.D.) and enjoyed its cultural greatness under his successor Kanishka (d. 123 or 173 A.D.), whose capitals were located at Peshawar and Kapisa (now the site of Bagram) as well as in Mathura, south of Delhi. The empire brought about a cultural renaissance and the spread of Buddhism into China. A hundred temples were built in Kapisa, supporting some 6,000 monks. Gandharan art, representing a fusion of Hellenistic and Buddhist civilizations and art forms, testify to the splendor of the Kushanid court. The kingdom was destroyed by Hephtalite invaders in the fifth century.
KUSHKAKI, BURHANUDDIN. Educator, journalist, and scholar of Islamic law, born in 1894 in Kushkak, Nangarhar Province. He served as editor or director of many important Afghan newspapers, including Ittiḥād-i Mashrīqī (Eastern Union) in Jalalabad, Aman-i Afghan (Afghan Peace), Habīb-ul Islām (Friend of Islam), and Islāh (Reconstruction) in Kabul. He is the author of Rahnāma-yī Qataghan wa Badakhshan (Guide to Qataghan and Badakhshan) and Nadir-i Afghan; he translated the Korān into Pashtu. He died in 1953.

KUSHKAKI, SABAḤUDDIN. Minister of information and culture, 1972–1973, and member of the Cultural Council of the Afghan Resistance in Islamabad, Pakistan. Born in 1933, the son of Burhānuddin Kushkakī and educated in Kabul and the United States, he embarked on a career in journalism. He served as editor of Islāh (Reconstruction), news editor of Radio Afghanistan, 1960, and publisher of Carawan, 1968. He was jailed during the Khālqī period (May 1978–January 1980) and moved to Islamabad after Babrāk Karmāl’s amnesty in 1980. He was engaged in cultural services for the Afghan resistance, but left for the United States, where he died in 2002.

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LADEN, OSAMA BIN. Citizen of Saudi Arabia, born in 1953 (or 1957), the son of a Yemeni construction tycoon and a Syrian mother. He graduated from King Abdul Aziz University in Jiddah in 1979 with a degree in economics and public administration and worked in the family business. In 1984 bin Laden moved to Peshawar to support the anti-communist war. He is said to have fought only at one battle, and his contribution was primarily as a fund-raiser. He is said to own the al-Hijrah Construction Company, an Islamic bank, an import-export company, and an agricultural products firm. In 1989 he returned to Jiddah and worked in the family construction business, but in 1991 he was expelled from Saudi Arabia and moved to Sudan. He protested the presence of American troops on Saudi soil and supported militant Islamist groups in addition to his own al Qāeda organization, founded in 1989.

Forced to leave Sudan in 1996, he went to Afghanistan where he established training camps for Islamist fighters to support the Taliban.
regime and Muslim fighters in Kashmir, Chechnya, Bosnia, and other countries. The United States government blamed him for the attacks on U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania and demanded his extradition from Afghanistan. American missiles attacked a chemical plant in Sudan and a base of bin Laden in Afghanistan in retaliation. The refusal of the Taliban government to extradite bin Laden resulted in a United Nations boycott of Afghanistan, severely restricting Taliban movements. A U.S. “fact sheet,” issued by the Office of Public Affairs of the American embassy in Islamabad, listed “criminal charges” against bin Laden including: repeatedly declaring war against the United States; being a terrorist and leader of the terrorist organization al Qaeda; being responsible for the August 7, 1998 bombing of the U.S. embassies in Nairobi, Kenya, and Dar es-Salam, Tanzania; and inciting in August 1996 “his Muslim brothers in the whole world and especially in the Arabian Peninsula” to commence a “jihad against the Americans occupying the Land of the Two Holy Mosques” and ordering them to “expel the heretics from the Arabian Peninsula.” In February 1998 a fatwa endorsed by bin Laden called on Muslims “to kill Americans—including civilians—anywhere in the world where they can be found.”

When on September 11, 2001, suicide teams attacked the World Trade Center in New York and the Pentagon in Washington, D.C., the American government retaliated with war against the al Qaeda forces and their Taliban protectors. In early December 2001 U.S. Special Forces attacked his fortified cave complex at Tora Bora, but bin Laden and the major al Qaeda leaders escaped.

LAGHMAN (35º0' N, 70º15' E). A province in eastern Afghanistan that comprises an area of 2,790 square miles and a population of about 387,000. Laghman borders on Kapisa in the west, Badakhshan in the north, Kunar in the east, Nangarhar in the south, and Kabul Province in the southwest. The administrative center is the village of Mehterlam. According to local legend, Laghman got its name from Lamech, father of Noah, whose ark is supposed to have landed on Kund Mountain, part of the Kafiristan mountain range. From Lamech the name changed to Lamakan and Laghman. Lamech was supposed to have taken the country from the Kafirs but was killed in the battle. Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni, inspired by a
dream, went to Mehterlam and built a tomb over the presumed grave of Lamech. Originally occupied by Kafirs, the area was subsequently taken over by Jabbar Khel and Abu Bakar Khel Ghilzais.

**LALMI.** Land cultivated without the benefit of irrigation.

**LANGUAGE GROUPS.** Three languages predominate in Afghanistan—Pashtu, Dari (or Farsi), and Turki (including Uzbek, Turkoman, Qirghiz). No reliable statistics exist, but Pashtu is said to be the language of about six-and-a-half-million Afghans. Pashtu speakers are the dominant group and were until recently the only ones called Afghans, whereas the others were known by their ethnic appellation (Tajik, Baluch, etc.). The Pashtuns predominate in the south and east of Afghanistan and in the cities of Kandahar and Jalalabad, although they can be found in smaller communities in most parts of the country.

Second in numbers are the speakers of Dari and its dialects, including Hazaragi, spoken by the Hazara. They number about five million and predominate in the center, northwest, and northeast of Afghanistan as well as in urban areas. Dari is still the predominant language in education, although the Afghan government has made a great effort to make Pashtu the national language. The Afghan constitution of 1964 recognized both Pashtu and Dari as official languages of Afghanistan. Turkic languages include Uzbek, with one million the largest of this group, followed by Turkoman, Moghol, and Qirghiz, spoken by about 150,000 people. The Baluch, Brahui, and Nuristani languages are spoken by fewer than 500,000. Although there exist groups of Arab descent, none of them presently speaks Arabic or an Arabic dialect. Indian languages were spoken by small groups, including Hindu and Sikh citizens of Afghanistan, most of whom left the country as a result of the civil war. Most Afghans are bilingual, and most newspapers carry articles in both Pashtu and Dari.

Only since the Saur Revolt in 1978 was an effort made to cultivate other minority languages. The “homogenizing” effort at creating an Afghan nation out of many nationalities gave way to a policy of cultural autonomy when the Marxist government recognized Uzbek, Turkmani, Baluchi, Pashai, and one Nuristani dialect as “national languages.” Newspapers appeared in these languages and radio and
television offered programs in minority languages. The civil war and the division of the country by mujahedin groups ended the existence of a national press and language policy. Only since the establishment of the Hamid Karzai government have a few newspapers begun to appear. See also ETHNIC GROUPS.

LASH JUWAIN (31º43' N, 61º37' E). A small town and administrative district in the southwestern corner of Farah Province. The name is a combination of Lash, a fort on the Farah Rud, and Juwain, the surrounding plain, and is also written Lash-o-Juwain or Lash-i Juwain. The country surrounding the town is scattered with ruins testifying to a prosperous past that ended with the Mongol invasions. The land is fertile and in the 1970s supported an agricultural population of some 15,000.

LASHKAR. Afghan tribal armies recruited during emergencies in support of the regular army. They fought under their own chiefs, often in competition with other lashkars, and therefore not always cooperating in joint operations. The Sulaiman Khel Ghilzais were able to muster some 20,000 fighters and all together the Afghan nomads, traveling yearly to India, could muster as many as 100,000 fighters. For a long time they were superior to the regular army, considered brave but reckless, out for plunder and of limited staying power. They would be reluctant to operate far from their tribal areas. Feuds, temporarily ended to face a foreign invader, were quickly resumed. During the war of the 1980s both the Kabul government and the mujahedin engaged tribal forces to protect their lines of supply.

LASHKARGAH (31º35' N, 64º21' E). Capital of Helmand Province with about 21,600 inhabitants in the 1970s and also the site of an ancient town built by Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni in the tenth century. It is located on the Helmand River, a few miles south of the main road linking Kandahar and Herat. The Ghurids sacked the town in 1150 A.D. but rebuilt it in new splendor. It was irreparably destroyed by the hordes of Genghis Khan (1226). Because of its strategic location, Afghan rulers constructed a number of forts on the site. A visitor to the area at the turn of the century observed the fortified plateau “covered thickly with the remains of towers, forts, and palatial buildings,
which exhibit traces of great architectural skill, and afford evidence of the existence at one time on this site of a large and important city, fortified with unusual skill and strength, and inhabited by a people who combined a knowledge of military art with considerable taste and culture” (Gaz. 2).

The town was called Lashkari Bazaar by the local population as well as Kala-i Bist or Bost.

**LATIF, HAJI.** Mujahedin commander fighting the Marxist regime, he was affiliated with the National Islamic Front (Mahaz-i Milli). His supporters called him the “Lion of Kandahar.” He was poisoned and died on August 8, 1989.

**LATIFI, ABDUL RASHID.** The “Father of Theatrical Arts” in Afghanistan. He was the first Afghan to produce and direct a film, “Ishq wa Dosti” in 1946, which was produced in cooperation with Indian motion picture producers in Bombay. He supervised Pohani Nendari Theater in Kabul and helped in the training of Afghan artists and actors. Born about 1912 in Kabul, he was educated at Nejat School. He held various positions with the department of press and, as Afghan press attache in Cairo, he learned Arabic and translated modern Arabic works into Dari. He died in 1972.

**LAW.** See ISLAMIC LAW.

**LAWRENCE, COLONEL T. E.** The Englishman of “Lawrence of Arabia” fame is suspected by many Afghans to have been a link in a conspiracy to topple King Amanullah from his throne. The Afghan government learned from reports in the London Sunday Express of September 13, 1928, that Lawrence was on the Afghan border on a “secret” mission. He was indeed there under the alias of “Airman Shaw.” The Aman-i Afghan of December 12, 1928, commented that it was certain that the man who had “gathered the miserable Arabs in a revolt against the Turks” was up to mischief in Afghanistan. But the paper debunked his effectiveness on the Afghan Frontier, for after all “he is only an Englishman.” The London Daily News of December 5, 1929, reported that Lawrence was in India, busily learning Pashtu, and “inferred he intends to move into Afghanistan.” Much of the non-British
press was convinced that this was a conspiracy in support of Habibullah Kalakani. No sources have been found in British archives to support this conspiracy theory, and the British government denied all charges. In a letter to Edward Marsh, dated June 10, 1927, Lawrence reported “... do you know that I nearly went there [Kabul], last week? The British Attache at Kabul is entitled to an airman clerk, and the Depot would have put my name forward, if I had been a bit nippier on a typewriter.” Lawrence spent 18 months in India, most of this time in Karachi but a short time also in Miranshah (across the border from Paktia Province) as well as one weekend in Peshawar. After the British minister at Kabul, Sir Francis Humphrys, frantically appealed to London, Lawrence was finally sent back to Britain.

LAYEQ, SULAIMAN. A poet and writer in Pashtu and Dari who was a founding member of the Peoples Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA), member of the Politburo, the party secretariat, and president of the Afghan Academy of Sciences. He is the author of the Marxist national anthem. Born on October 7, 1930, of the Sulaiman Khel tribe, he studied Islamic sciences but was expelled from school because of his leftist activism. He was employed with Haiwad newspaper and Radio Kabul (see RADIOAFGHANISTAN) and in 1968 became publisher and editor of the Marxist newspaper Parcham. After the Saur Revolt in 1978 he became minister of radio and television, but was purged by the Khalqi regime and imprisoned. After the Par- chami faction of the PDPA came to power, Layeq was appointed president of the Academy of Sciences (April 1980) and minister of frontier affairs (1981). In the Najibullah government he remained a member of the Politburo and the secretariat of the central committee. After the fall of the Marxist regime in April 1992 Layeq went abroad and is said to have sought asylum in Europe.

LEGAL REFORMS. According to the Interim Agreement (see APPENDIX 3) the Constitution of 1964 shall be applicable “with the exception of those provisions relating to the monarchy and to the executive and legislative bodies provided in the Constitution.” This provided for an independent judiciary “side by side with the Legislative and Executive Organs” (Art. 97). Judges are to be ap-
pointed by the king, now president, “on the recommendation of the Chief Justice.” A supreme court consisting of nine judges, was to be appointed by the king, now president (Art. 105). A chief justice is to be of “no less than 40 and not over 60 years.” It is not clear whether President Hamid Karzai was ignorant of these provisions or whether he was subject to pressures from interested sources. The fact is that he appointed Fazl Hadi Shinwari, an 70-year-old man who is said to be close the Islamist Abd al-Rasul Sayyaf. Immediately after appointment Shinwari greatly increased the number of supreme court judges from nine to 137. He refused to accept the secular provisions of the 1964 Constitution and established new national security courts that were not provided for in the former constitution. It appears, therefore, that as in so many other cases, provisions of the Interim Agreement are ignored as a result of a struggle for power between modernist and Islamist forces, as well as between powers entrenched as a result of cooperation with the United States efforts at eliminating remnants of the Taliban and al Qaeda units. At the time of writing, it is premature to say how these contradictions will be resolved.

LIMITED CONTINGENT OF SOVIET FORCES IN AFGHANISTAN (LCSFA). Soviet term for its forces in Afghanistan that included, according to McMichael (14), 85,000 ground troops, 25,000 support troops, and 10,000 air force troops. To this should be added some 30,000 soldiers and airmen who operated from Soviet territory. The ground units were made up of the 40th Army Headquarters, five motorized rifle divisions, four to five separate motorized rifle brigades or regiments, three to four air assault or airmobile brigades, one to three brigades or special operations troops (spetsnaz), one engineer regiment/brigade, and one army artillery brigade. About one-third of the force was concentrated in the Kabul area, and the rest were deployed in Jalalabad, Kunduz/Mazar-i Sharif, Herat/Farah, Shindand, and Kandahar. Smaller garrisons were stationed in other towns. See also AFGANTSY; GROMOV, LIEUTENANT GENERAL BORIS V.

LOGAR (33°50’ N, 69°0’ E). A province south of Kabul with an area of 1,702 square miles and a population estimated in the late 1970s at
424,000 (in 1989 about 176,000 of this number were refugees in Pakistan). The province is bounded in the west by Wardak Province, in the north by Kabul, in the east by Nangarhar, in the south by Paktia, and in the southwest by Ghazni Province. The administrative center is the town of Pul-i-Alam, located about 35 miles south of Kabul. The population is largely Pashtun of the Ahmadzai tribe and some Tajik in the Khoshi area. In 1979, about 80 percent of the population were farmers, and the area was called the “granary of Kabul.” Grapes, apples, and vegetables are the major cash crops. This is supplemented with animal husbandry and trading. Continuous war has caused considerable damage to the economy of the province.

LOHANI (LOWANA). Nomadic tribes, also called Powindahs, who conducted cross-border trade with India. They are Ghilzai Pashtuns and claim descent from Ibrahim, second son of Ghalzoe, whose mother called him “Loeday,” meaning he is the “greater son.” They are now located in the North-West Frontier Province of Pakistan in the areas of Kohat, Bannu, and Peshawar. The sixteenth-century Afghan Lodi dynasty of India is named after the Lohanis.

LOINAB. See ALI AHMAD.

LOYA JIRGA. The great (or national) council, is the highest organ of state power that Afghan rulers convened to decide matters of national importance. It was first held by Mir Wais (r. 1709–1715), the Hotaki Ghilzai chief who rebelled against the Persian occupation of Kandahar. Ahmad Shah’s assumption of the throne was legitimized by a Loya Jirga of tribal chiefs, as were the constitutions of King Amanullah (1923) and Zahir Shah (1964). When in October 1941 the Allies forced the Afghan government to expel all Axis nationals, the Loya Jirga reluctantly gave its approval but insisted that they be given free passage through Allied territory.

Amir Abdul Rahman’s Loya Jirga was composed of sardars, the heads of the royal families; important khans; and high religious leaders. According to L. Dupree, 1973, the 1964 Loya Jirga was composed of 455 members representing the following sectors:
Some jirgas were easily manipulated and no more than rubber stamps of the decisions of the Afghan ruler, but at times jirgas defied the monarch. A jirga convened by King Amanullah in Paghman in August 1928 forced the king to compromise and rescind some of his reforms. Both the mujahedin and the Marxist governments have convened Loya Jirgas in support of their cause. However, the validity of the jirgas was disputed because they were not representative of the Afghan population and, in the case of the mujahedin, were convened outside Afghan territory. President Burhanuddin Rabbani convened a Shura (council) of “the people with power to loose and bind” (ahl al-hall wa-al-‘aqd), trying to legitimize his position. As a result of the fall of the Taliban regime, the interim government arranged for a Loya Jirga to meet in Kabul between 10 and 16 June 2002 to elect representatives to a new government of Afghanistan.

A commission, headed by Muhammad Ismail Qasimyar, an expert on constitutional law, was charged with selecting 1,051 members, including 160 women, 53 members of the interim government, 100 Afghan refugees, and 25 nomads. Members had to be at least 22 years old, with no links to “terrorists,” and no history of looting, smuggling narcotics, or killing of innocent people. It was too large a body to perform effectively, therefore a smaller group of representatives had to be chosen. In June 2002 the Loya Jirga elected Hamid Karzai head of a transitional government for the subsequent two years, during which time a new constitution is to be drafted and nationwide elections for a broad-based government are to be held. The Loya Jirga gave ex-king Zahir Shah the honorific title of “Father of the Country” but no real power. See also APPENDIX 5 and 5A.
MACNAGHTEN, SIR WILLIAM (1793-1841). British chief secretary to the Indian government, appointed envoy and minister to the court of Shah Shuja after the occupation of Kabul on August 7, 1839, in the First Anglo-Afghan War. With the benefit of hindsight, historians gave him a good measure of the blame for the British debacle that also cost Sir William his life. Soon after the invasion it became apparent that Shah Shuja would not be able to maintain himself on the throne without the protection of a British garrison. Therefore Macnaghten was prepared for an indefinite occupation of Afghanistan. He became the power behind an insecure throne, paying subsidies to tribal chiefs and directing the affairs of the country to safeguard British imperial interests. Deceived by the apparent quiescence of the Afghan chiefs, he permitted the families of British officers to come to Kabul to join a colony of some 4,500 soldiers and 11,500 camp followers. All seemed well and, as a reward for his services, Macnaghten was to receive the much coveted governorship of Bombay; Alexander Burnes was to succeed him in Kabul. But Afghan forces began to harass the British lines of communication and, eventually, mutinous soldiers in Kabul attacked Burnes’s residence and killed the members of the mission. Realizing the danger of his situation, Macnaghten concluded a treaty with the dominant tribal chiefs that provided for the withdrawal of the British army to India. But he had still not given up hope. Trying a divide-and-rule tactic, the envoy bribed some of the sardars after contracting with Sardar Muhammad Akbar, the ambitious son of Amir Dost Mohammad. When the latter discovered the duplicity, he killed Macnaghten in a fit of rage. Only a few survived the retreat of the Army of the Indus (see FOREIGN RELATIONS; SIMLA MANIFESTO).

MADRASA. A school of higher education in Islamic sciences, usually attached to a principal mosque. In Afghanistan, as elsewhere in the Islamic world, education was the domain of the Islamic clergy. Mulas taught the basics, reading and recitation of the Koran. The ulama, doctors of Islamic sciences, trained the judges (qazis), muftis, and other members of the religious establishment. In the fifteenth century, Timurid rulers (see TIMUR-I LANG) established fa-
mous madrasas in Herat, some of which continued as major centers of education until the early nineteenth century; but invasions and civil wars led to a general decline of the educational system. After Amir Abdul Rahman ascended the throne in 1880, he founded the Royal Madrasa at Kabul which became the foremost institution of its type. When Amir Habibullah founded Habibia School in 1904 as a secular school, he established a dual system of education that has continued to this day.

MAHAZ-I MILLI-YI AFGHANISTAN. The National Islamic Front of Afghanistan (NIFA) was founded in 1979 in Peshawar as an armed resistance movement by Sayyid Ahmad Gailani. It is a liberal, nationalist, Islamic party and, according to its manifesto, advocates both the protection of the national sovereignty and territorial integrity of Afghanistan and the establishment of an interim government that would draft a national and Islamic constitution with the separation of executive, legislative, and judicial powers. It demands an elected and free government that would guarantee such fundamental rights as free speech, freedom of movement, the protection of private property, and social justice, including medical care and education for all Afghans. Until establishment of a democratically elected government in Afghanistan, NIFA aimed to strengthen the unity and solidarity of the mujahedin movement and its Afghan Interim Government (AIG) (see ISLAMIC ALLIANCE FOR THE LIBERATION OF AFGHANISTAN) and to prepare the draft of a national Islamic constitution and its eventual implementation. In its foreign relations, NIFA wants good relations with its neighbors and supports the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, the Declaration of Human Rights, and the Organization of the Islamic Conference. NIFA favors a policy of nonalignment, respect for the rights of all nations, and condemns expansionistic and hegemonistic policies. It was part of a loose coalition of traditional, or moderate, mujahedin groups.

MAHMUD OF GHAZNI (r. 998–1030). Son of Sebuktigin and founder of the Ghaznavid Empire that had its capital at Ghazni, southwest of Kabul, and controlled an empire extending from eastern Iran to the Indus River and from the Amu Daria to the Persian Gulf. Muslims see him as the epitome of the Ghazi warrior, the
“Breaker of Idols” as he called himself, and Hindus remember him as the plunderer of Hindustan. He lavished the treasures he amassed in India on a court that was famous for its wealth and splendor and for being a center of intellectual life where poets like Abu’l Ferdauasi, author of the Shahnama (Book of Kings), the historian Abu’l Baihaqi (d. 1077), the philosopher al-Farabi (d. 950), and the scholar Abu Biruni (973–1048) flourished. The British historian Sir Percy Sykes called Mahmud “a great general who carefully thought out the plan of each campaign that he engaged in,” who was not a fanatic and “whose encouragement of literature and science and art was as remarkable as his genius for war and for government.” Mahmud’s tomb was spared Ghurid destruction and can still be seen in the outskirts of Ghazni.

MAHMUD PACHA, SAYYID. Also called Babu Jan, a spiritual leader to whom Amir Shir Ali gave some territory in the Kunar Valley as endowment. In 1868 Mahmud Pacha revolted against Azam Khan (r. 1867–1869) who was then nominally amir. On the return of Amir Shir Ali to power, Mahmud Pacha was appointed a member of the newly formed advisory council at Kabul, but for a time was deprived of his chiefship. Amir Abdul Rahman confirmed him in his position but gradually deprived him of his independence and forced him to remit revenues to Kabul. He rebelled against the amir but was forced to accept exile in India. His descendants, called the Sayyids of Kunar, have held important positions in twentieth-century Afghanistan. Afghan historians claim that the great Pan-Islamist Sayyid Jamaluddin Afghani is a descendant of the Kunari sayyids.

MAHMUD SHAH (r. 1800–1803 and 1809–1817). One of the 23 sons of Timur Shah who were engaged in an internecine struggle for power. He was governor of Herat and from this base successfully fought his brother Zaman Shah for the Kabul throne. He became Afghan king in 1800 but did not show great interest in the conduct of state affairs and delegated much authority to his Barakzai ministers Fateh Khan and Shir Muhammad. However, internecine warfare continued and in 1803 Shah Shuja, the seventh son of Timur Shah, captured Kabul and made Mahmud his prisoner. Mahmud managed to escape and with the help of Fateh Khan moved against Kandahar and subsequently on Kabul, re-
gaining the throne in 1809, where he ruled until 1817 when he was again driven from Kabul. He fled to Herat where he enjoyed all the “honors of sovereignty” while his son Kamran held all real power. Mahmud was poisoned by his ambitious son in 1829.

MAHMUDI, ABDUL RAHIM. Founder and publisher of Shu’la-yi Javid (Eternal Flame), a leftist weekly newspaper in Pashtu and Dari, which was banned after nine issues in July 1969 because it advocated armed struggle to achieve power. In the 1970s his brothers founded the New Democratic Organization of Afghanistan (Sazman-i Demokratik-i Navin-i Afghanistan, commonly called after its newspaper Shula-yi Javid party). He was imprisoned from 1969 to 1972 and went underground in 1973 when Muhammad Daud proclaimed the republic. Several members of his family were killed during the Khalqi period, and he was forced to flee abroad.

MAHMUDI, ABDUL RAHMAN. Founder of Nida-i-Khalq (Voice of the People), a biweekly Dari/Pashtu language newspaper in 1951 that was banned after 29 issues. Born in 1909 and educated in Kabul, Mahmudi was one of the first graduates of the faculty of medicine of Kabul University. Elected to Parliament in 1949, he was later jailed for 10 years; he died a few months after he was freed in 1963. His brothers, Hadi and Abdul Rahim, founded the Shu’la-yi Javid party.

MAHSUD. A Pashtun tribe in Waziristan in the North-West Frontier Province of Pakistan, counting about 70,000 members. The British Handbook of the Indian Army describes them as “democratic,” permitting any tribesman the opportunity to rise to the position of chief “if he distinguishes himself in bravery or wisdom,” and says approvingly that their “physique and stamina are good, and they are highly spoken of as soldiers.” The Mahsuds have frequently been involved in border wars and supported the forces of Muhammad Nadir Khan in the Third Anglo-Afghan War and during his conquest of Kabul in 1929.

MAIDAN (Now WARDAK, 34°15’ N, 68°0’ E). A province in east central Afghanistan that is now called Wardak.
MAIMANA (35°55' N, 64º47' E). A town in northern Afghanistan with about 38,000 inhabitants, mostly Uzbeks, and the capital of Fariab Province. Maimana was at one time the capital of a semi-independent khanate, meaning “chiefship,” from khan, chief, and a dependency of the ruler of Kabul.

When the Persian ruler Nadir Shah died in 1747, a soldier of fortune and comrade in arms of Ahmad Shah, the first Afghan king, was appointed wali (governor) of Maimana and Balkh on the condition that he provide a certain number troops upon request. He was an Uzbek named Haji Khan, and upon his death his fiefdom was passed on to his son Jan Khan. But Timur Shah reduced the size of the fiefdom by taking Balkh and Akcha under the direct control of Kabul. Jan Khan’s son fought over the succession and one son, Ahmad Khan, was able to rule from 1798 to 1810. Because of his misrule, he was assassinated by the people of Maimana and replaced by his nephew Allah Yar Khan, who ruled until his death in 1826. Nizrab Khan, the oldest son of Ahmad Khan, succeeded but was involved in numerous wars and was eventually poisoned in 1845. Wazir Yar Muhammad, ruler of Herat, made war against Maimana in 1846 and kept the province under the control of Herat. The khans of Maimana tried to stay in power by playing off one force against another, including the Shah of Iran and the Amir of Bukhara, but in 1861 they had to resubmit to control by Herat, and in the 1880s Amir Abdul Rahman took direct control of the khanate.

Maimana was said to have had from 15,000 to 18,000 inhabitants in 1845, but its population was greatly reduced as a result of protracted warfare. More recently, the town and surrounding districts have greatly increased in population as a result of industrial development and internal migration. The town now has a modern grid system of streets with bungalow-style housing. Little is known of recent developments or of the social and economic impact of the civil war in Afghanistan. After the fall of the Marxist regime in April 1992, Maimana became part of General Abdul Rashid Dostum’s domain. He again controls the area since the fall of the Taliban government.

MAIMANAGI, GHULAM MUHAMMAD MUSAWWER. Founder and director of the Kabul School of Fine Arts. Born in 1873 in Maimana Province, he moved to Kabul when he was eight years old.
and studied painting and techniques of enameling. After advanced study in Berlin he embarked on a career of teaching, training an entire generation of Afghan artists. He died at the age of 62 in Kabul. The Kabul Institute of Fine Arts was named after him.

MAIWAND, BATTLE OF. A battle on July 27, 1880, in which a force of 2,600 men under Brigadier General G. R. S. Burrows was totally defeated. At the end of the Second Anglo-Afghan War, Britain had decided to dismember Afghanistan, severing Kandahar Province under Wali Shir Ali Khan, who was to be a vassal of Britain. Sardar Abdul Rahman was recognized as “Amir of Kabul and its Dependencies,” but his cousin Muhammad Ayub also had aspiration to the throne and had himself proclaimed amir at Herat. Kandahar was held by a garrison of some 4,700 British troops of all ranks to which were added the Afghan forces of the newly appointed “hereditary” ruler, Shir Ali Khan, when it was learned that Ayub Khan’s army was moving south. Shir Ali felt he could not rely on his forces against Ayub and requested the assistance of a British brigade. General J. M. Primrose, the commander of Kandahar, dispatched Brigadier-General Burrows with a brigade, about 2,300 strong, consisting of a troop of horse artillery, six companies of the 66th, two Bombay native infantry, and 500 native troopers. At the approach of Ayub Khan, Shir Ali Khan’s forces deserted en masse, taking most of their weapons with them. According to British estimates, Ayub Khan’s regular forces numbered about 4,000 cavalry and between 4,000 and 5,000 infantry, as well as about 2,000 deserters and an unknown number of irregular Ghazis. Burrows’s forces fell back to the vicinity of Kushki Nakhud, about 30 miles from Girishk and 40 miles from Kandahar, to block Ayub’s approaches to these towns; but Ayub succeeded in moving his army around Burrows’s forces, interposing himself between the British forces and Kandahar.

The British brigade thereupon moved toward Maiwand in anticipation of Ayub’s advance and to secure the provisions available at that village. On July 27, 1880, at about 10:00 A.M., the British Brigade, replenished to 2,600 men, made contact with the Afghan forces that had moved toward Maiwand on their left flank. At a ravine, the 66th Foot was on the right, its flank thrown back to prevent it from being turned. On the left were four companies of Jacob’s
Rifles (30th Native Infantry) and a company of sappers, while the center was held by the horse artillery. The cavalry was in the rear to prevent the Afghans from encircling the British forces. The baggage was about 1,000 yards in the rear, only lightly guarded. In an artillery duel lasting about two hours the Afghans with 30 guns proved to be superior against the brigade’s 12. By two in the afternoon, the British cavalry had lost about 14 percent of its men and 149 horses (out of 460), and the Afghan horsemen had succeeded in surrounding the brigade. Swarms of Ghazis went on the attack, quickly demoralizing the British troops. The 66th Regiment was overwhelmed: “The slaughter of the sepoys was appalling—so utterly cowed were they that they scarcely attempted to defend themselves” (Forbes, 301). Afghan sharpshooters began to pick off British officers, who could be recognized by their helmets. A call for counterattack was ignored and the British forces were in full flight, except for several attempts at a last stand that no British eyewitness survived.

The British lost seven guns, 2,424 baggage animals and their loads, and about 1,000 dead; only 168 wounded survived. The rest fled to Kandahar where many were ambushed on the way by Afghan villagers. British estimates of Afghan casualties were 1,250 regular troops and some 600 tribesmen (1,500 regulars and 3,000 according to Heathcote, 151). General Primrose, the commander of Kandahar, panicked and called for a British retreat into the walls of the city, where they soon came under siege. Legend has it that Malalai, a tribal maiden, used her veil as a banner to incite the Afghan forces to heroic deeds. The defeat at Maiwand was a factor in convincing the British occupation forces that Afghanistan could not be held at a tolerable cost.

Maiwandwal, Muhammad Hashim. Prime minister (1965–1967) and founder of the Progressive Democratic Party (jami’at-dimukrat-i mutaraqi), whose mission he announced on Radio Afghanistan in August 1966. It recognized Zahir Shah as the “personification of national unity” and advocated a program of action “in accordance with the principles of Islam, constitutional monarchy, nationalism, democracy and socialism” and aimed at reforms in the “economic, social, cultural, civic, moral and spiritual spheres” of Afghan national life. He published the weekly Dari/Pashtu newspaper Musawat
in January 1967 to propagate his ideas. He resigned in 1967 because of ill health. Born in 1919 and educated at Habibia School in Kabul, he embarked on a career as editor of Itifaq-i Islam (Agreement of Islam, 1942–1945) in Herat and subsequently as editor of the daily newspaper Anis. He served as deputy minister of foreign affairs in 1955 and as ambassador to Britain (1956), Pakistan (1957–1958), the United States (1958–1963), and again Pakistan (1963). He was imprisoned when Muhammad Daud took power in 1973 and was killed in jail, reputedly under torture. The government announced that he had committed suicide but sentenced him posthumously to death in December 1973.

MAJLIS. Originally the name of a tribal council (from A. jalasa = to sit with someone) in pre-Islamic Arabia which conducted the affairs of a tribe. Thus, the name was used for a parliament or similar representative body. In Afghanistan the term was used for the senate (majlis-i ayan); the Pashtu equivalent of majlis is the jirga. See also LOYA JIRGA.

MAJRUH, SAYYID BAHA’UDDIN. Professor of philosophy and sociology at Kabul University and president of the Historical Society of Afghan (1972) who fled Afghanistan after the Saur Revolt in 1978 and founded the Afghan Information Centre in Peshawar. He published the Monthly Bulletin, which was an independent newsletter reporting on the events in the Afghan war. He was assassinated in Peshawar in February 1988 by unknown assailants who did not share his moderate views. Born in 1928 in Kunar Province, the son of Sayyid Shamsuddin, he was educated at Istiqal Lycée and studied in Britain, Germany, and France where he obtained a Ph.D. degree. He was the author of numerous publications, including Azhdaha-yi Khudi (Dragon of Selfishness), which was translated from Dari into French and published under the title Voyageur de Minuit.

MAKHDUM, MULLA ABDUL SATTAR. Minister of public works and social affairs in the Taliban government. A Pashtun from Pul-i Khumri, he was a commander affiliated with Yunus Khales.

MAKHDUM. See RAHIN, SAYYID MAKHDUM.
MALALAI. A tribal maiden who contributed to the victory of Muhammad Ayub Khan at the Battle of Maiwand against the forces of the British Brigadier-General G. R. S. Burrows on July 27, 1880. According to legend, she used her veil as a banner to incite the Afghan forces to heroic deeds. A girls’ school and a hospital are named after her.

MALIK. A “big man” or “petty chief” among the Pashtuns who possesses influence rather than power. He is a leader in war and an agent in dealings with representatives of the government. The term is synonymous with ārābāb in the west and ḍeq and mîr in the north of Afghanistan. In non-Pashtun areas, a malik is elected from among local landowners and acts as middleman in the collection of taxes and other services demanded by the central government.

MANGAL. A Pashtun tribe that inhabits parts of the Kurram Valley and Zurmat in Paktia Province. The Mangals have always been jealously independent and fought Afghan rulers and British alike. In 1924 they were the major force behind the Khost Rebellion, which seriously threatened the government of King Amanullah. In the 1980s they supported the mujahedin

MANGAL REVOLT. See KHOST REBELLION.

MANSUR, MULLA ABDUL LATIF. Minister of agriculture in the Taliban government. A Pashtun from Zurmat District in Paktia Province and a commander in Gardez Province, he is a graduate of Haqaniyya madrasa.

MARATHAS. See PANIPAT, BATTLE OF.

MA’RUFI, MUHAMMAD MUSA. Member of the Constitutional Drafting Committee. An ethnic Pashtun from Kandahar, he obtained the Ph.D. degree in law and taught at the faculty of law at Kabul University. Subsequently, he taught law in the United States before returning to Kabul. He is a brother of Muhammad Yahya.
MA’RUFI, MUHAMMAD YAHYA. Minister-adviser for international relations and chief of protocol in the transitional government. He served as regional director for Asia and special envoy of the International Organization of Migration (OIM) in Geneva since 1984 and as Afghan diplomat at the UN mission since 1974. Ma’rufi was born in Kandahar in March 1940 and graduated from Kabul University with a degree in law and with M.A. degrees in international relations from Sydney and Fairley Dickinson Universities. He is a brother of Musa Ma’rufi.

MASJID. See MOSQUE.

MAS’UD, AHMAD SHAH (MASSOUD). One of the most successful and most publicized mujahedin leaders in the Panjshir valley of Parwan Province, north of Kabul. He withstood numerous Soviet invasions into his territory but in 1983 concluded a temporary truce with Soviet forces, which was described as a tactical measure and did not prevent him from carrying out attacks elsewhere. He organized a supervisory council and was one of few commanders who sought to set up a civil administration, instill discipline in his troops, and use modern military principles of tactical warfare. He was a member of the Jam’iat-i Islami-yi Afghanistan, headed by Professor Burhanuddin Rabbani, which is largely of non-Pashtun background. After the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Afghanistan he was able to extend his territorial control, establishing his headquarters at Taloqan. His group was involved in bloody clashes with Gulbuddin Hekmatyar’s Hizb-i Islami which resulted in considerable casualties on both sides. In October 1990 Mas’ud participated in a meeting to coordinate the efforts of mujahedin commanders from many parts of Afghanistan and subsequently came to Pakistan where he and Hekmatyar appeared to have reconciled their differences. Because of his successes, Mas’ud was called “The Lion of Panjshir” by his admirers.

Born in 1956, the son of Dost Muhammad, he was educated at Istiqlal Lycée and the Military Academy, where he graduated in 1973. He was a member of the radical Islamist movement. Mas’ud captured Kabul with the help of the Uzbeki forces of General Abdul Rashid Dostum, but other groups, including the Shi’a Wahdat,
carved out areas under their influence and fighting continued over the control of the city. Mas’ud was elected minister of defense, a post he relinquished in an attempt to compromise with Hekmatyar’s Hizb-i Islami. Nevertheless, Mas’ud continued to control the armed wing of the Jam’iat-i Islami, and he gained control of the entire city of Kabul after defeating the other mujahedin groups. When Rabbani made peace with Hekmatyar in May 1996, the latter came to Kabul to resume his position as prime minister. Mas’ud was engaged in a struggle for survival against the Taliban, who captured Kabul in September 1996, and was assassinated in a suicide attack on September 9, 2001. Two assassins posed as journalists and asked to take a photo of the Panjshiri leadership with a camera that was rigged to explode. Mas’ud was succeeded by General Muhammad Qasim Fahim who captured Kabul after the fall of the Taliban regime.

MATUN. See KHOST.

MAULAWI (MAWLAWI). A graduate from a madrasa, college of Islamic studies; also an alim (pl. ulama), doctor of Islamic sciences.

MAZARI, ABDUL ALI. Chief of the radical Nasr (Victory) party that succeeded in capturing most of the Hazarajat from traditional groups. In 1989 he joined the Hizb-i Wahdat, a coalition of seven Shi’a parties, and subsequently became its head. He collaborated with Burhanuddin Rabbani, but eventually allied himself with Gulbuddin Hekmatyar. A hard-liner accused of having liquidated some of his opponents, he was himself killed in Taliban captivity after he surrendered to this new force. Mazari was born in 1946 in the village of Nanvayi in Balkh Province. After elementary education he studied in Mazar-i Sharif and Qom and Najaf in Iraq. He was buried in Mazar-i Sharif.

MAZAR-I SHARIF (36°42' N, 67°6' E). Capital of Balkh Province with an estimated population of 70,000 and at one time also the name of a province that included the present Jozjan, Balkh, and Samangan Provinces. Mazar-i Sharif, located about 13 miles east of Balkh village, is named “The Noble Tomb” because of a local claim that the Caliph Ali (r. 656–661) is buried in the city (Najaf in present Iraq is
generally accepted as the burial place). According to that claim, Ali’s body was placed on the back of a white camel that was permitted to wander about. It was decided to bury the **caliph** on the spot where the camel eventually halted. Two cupolas were constructed over the tomb by Sultan Ali Mirza in the early fifteenth century. Subsequently a great **mosque** and shrine were built in its location, and Mazar-i Sharif became an important place of pilgrimage. As the town grew it eventually superseded Balkh in importance and became the capital of the province.

In the late nineteenth century the town had some 20,000 inhabitants, and by the 1930s it had become the major commercial center in northern Afghanistan. In the 1970s the new part of the town was built according to principles of modern town planning, with avenues intersecting at right angles and modern shops rather than the traditional **bazaar**. The town is an important commercial center famous for its **Qaraqul** skins, carpets, and melons and is developing into a major industrial town for fertilizer and textile production. Because of its proximity to the former Soviet border and its flat terrain, the area was easily defended from **mujahedin** attacks and became a stronghold of the Marxist regime. It lies about 270 miles northwest of **Kabul** on the paved road that connects the capital with northern Afghanistan. After the fall of the Marxist government in Kabul, General **Abdul Rashid Dostum** made Mazar-i Sharif his capital. He founded a university in Mazar which enrolled 6,000 students, about 35 percent **women**.

**MAZAR-I SHARIF, FALL OF.** The fall of **Mazar-i Sharif** precipitated the fall of President **Najibullah** and his **Kabul** government. It occurred in March 1992, not as a result of military conquest but rather as the consequence of a power struggle within the Marxist leadership. Najibullah wanted to replace the **Tajik** General Mumin, commander of the Hairatan garrison and guardian of the major weapons depot in the northern province, with the **Pashtun** General Rasul. Mumin refused to go and allied himself with General **Abdul Rashid Dostum**, commander of the **Jojzani** militia, and Sayyid Mansur Nadiri, head of the **Isma’ili** forces which controlled the area north of the **Salang** Pass. They cooperated with **Ahmad Shah Mas’ud** and assisted the latter in the capture of **Kabul** on April 25. Dostum then founded the National Islamic Movement, **Junbesh-i**
milli-yi Islami, with Nadiri and others and has intermittently controlled the north-central area of Afghanistan. After the defeat of the Taliban government, the area was controlled by the Northern Alliance in which Dostum was a dominant player.

MEENA (MINA). Founder and leader of the Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan (RAWA). Born on February 27, 1956, in Kabul and educated in the capital, she founded RAWA in 1977 to educate women and help their emancipation. She published the women’s magazine Payam-i Zan (Women’s Message) in 1981 and opened schools for refugees and a hospital and handicraft centers for refugee women in Pakistan. She visited European capitals condemning the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan and Islamist repression of women. She was killed in Quetta on February 4, 1987, by unknown assailants.

MELMASTIA. See PASHTUNWALI.

MESHRANO JIRGA. Pashtu name for the upper house (or House of Notables) of the bicameral Parliament established by the 1931 and 1964 Constitutions. According to the 1931 Constitution, its members were appointed by the king; in 1964 a third of the members were appointed, and the rest were elected. Its membership was 20, but this number was subsequently increased. The upper house was also called by the Dari name majlis-i a’yan, which also means House of Notables.

MILITIA. See ARMY.

MILLER, JAMES. A Scottish engineer engaged by Amir Habibullah during his Indian tour in 1907. He set up a furniture factory and, having accomplished this, built a clock tower in the garden of the Dilkusha (Arg) palace. Subsequently he was employed on various irrigation schemes and built the Darunta Bridge over the Kabul River northwest of Jalalabad.

MINBAR. See MOSQUE.

MINES. Mines, detonated by contact, magnetic, proximity, or electric command, were first used during the Soviet intervention in
Afghanistan, where they were used by all parties as a weapon of passive defense to protect bases and offensively to block lines of logistics. Villages suspected of harboring rebels were made uninhabitable by widespread sowing of mines. Antipersonnel mines, especially the PFM-1 “butterfly” mine, were most commonly dispensed by helicopters and scattered at random. The mujahedin eventually obtained various types of mines from foreign supporters, including plastic ones, which made detection difficult. The mujahedin mined roads in ambush operations, choosing places where an entire convoy could be blocked. According to McMichael, the Soviet forces planted literally millions, and the mujahedin thousands, of mines, which still pose a severe threat to life in Afghanistan.

MIR GHULAM HAIDAR. Called Khadem-i Pir-i Herat, he was one of the major scholars and poets of Herat. He participated in the Loya Jirgas of 1955 and 1964. Born in 1892 at Gozargah, Herat, the son of Mir Muhammad Osman, he was the custodian of the Shrine of Khwaja Abdullah Ansari (1006-1089) at Herat. He died on January 4, 1965.

MIR KHWAJA JAN. A Kohistani belonging to the Sahibzada family of religious leaders. He was exiled to India by Amir Abdul Rahman, but Amir Habibullah permitted him to return to Kabul. He served on the amir’s advisory council and later on the staff of the amir’s son, Sardar Enayatullah. He had three sons who became important members of Amir Habibullah Kalakani’s government: Ata-ul Haqq, his foreign minister; Shir Jan, minister of court; and Muhammad Siddiq, who commanded the Gardez forces and fought General Nadir Khan in 1929. Mir Khwaja Jan died in 1971.

MIR SAYYID JAN PACHA. Known also as the “Badshah (chief) of Islampur” in Kunar Province, where he had his home. A sayyid (descendant of the Prophet Muhammad) and pupil and successor of the Hadda Mulla, whose militant hostility to the British government in India he continued. He was probably the most powerful mulla in Afghanistan in 1913, operating a mosque and a langar, or charitable kitchen, at Hadda, six miles south of Jalalabad, which was built for
his predecessor by Amir Abdul Rahman. He is said to have received Rs. 12,000 per annum from Amir Habibullah. He crowned Sardar Nasrullah Khan in 1919 but later submitted to King Amanullah.

MIR WAIS KHAN HOTAKI (r. 1709–1715). A Ghilzai Pashtun and founder of the short-lived Hotaki Dynasty (1709–1738) and leader of the Afghan tribal revolt against Persian domination that led to the foundation of modern Afghanistan. He was a Ghilzai chief who lived as a hostage at the court of the Safavid ruler in Isfahan while Kandahar was ruled by Gorgin Khan, a Georgian governor. Mir Wais got permission to go on a pilgrimage (hajj) to Mecca where he obtained a fatwa (legal decision) authorizing revolt against the Shi’a domination of western Afghanistan (which is largely Sunni). Upon his return to Kandahar he used the fatwa to win the support of tribal chieftains and, in 1709, staged a successful revolt against Gorgin Khan’s troops. Mir Wais and his Afghan forces defeated all attempts by the Safavid armies to recapture Kandahar and laid the basis for the Afghan invasion of Persia and the defeat of the Safavids at Gulnabad in 1722.

MOBAREZ. See MUBAREZ.

MOGHOLS (MONGOLS). A small ethnic group southeast of Herat who speak Dari with some Mongolian vocabulary and claim to be the descendants of thirteenth-century Mongolian soldiers who intermarried with local people. They belong to the Sunni school of Islam and numbered about 800 families at the turn of the century. In recent years their population was estimated at 1,000 to 5,000 persons.

MOHMAND. A powerful tribe of eastern Pashtun origin that migrated from the area north of Kandahar to the Peshawar area. Their territory was dissected by the Durand Line in 1893 (see DURAND AGREEMENT), but they continued to be a factor in the politics of both states. In the early twentieth century they were estimated to comprise some 40,000 families and could raise 18,000 fighters. They supported Prince Kamran in the early nineteenth century and joined the Shinwaris in their revolt against King Amanullah in November 1928. In 1930 the Haji of Turangzai, a tribal mulla, led them against British forces on the frontier. The Mohmand area was always autonomous,
and the British Indian, as well as later the Pakistan government, controlled the Mohmand Agency indirectly by means of an agent who acted as the representative of the government. In September 1935, they staged a major uprising against the British government. During the 1980s civil war, the Mohmands generally remained neutral.

**MOSQUE (MASJID).** The Islamic place of worship, where Muslims assemble for prayer, especially on Fridays when communal prayers are obligatory and the traditional sermon (khutba) is delivered. Mosques vary in size from one-room buildings to monumental structures, but all mosques have a prayer niche (mīhrāb) that indicates the direction of the Ka’ba, the Islamic shrine in Mecca. Before prayer Muslims must perform a ceremonial washing, wudhu’, and enter the prayer room without their shoes. Prayer includes repeated bowings (ruku’) whereby one touches the ground with the forehead. Prayers are usually performed in unison with one person leading in prayer. Larger mosques have a pulpit, miḥbār, and minarets from which the “crier,” muezzin, gives the call to prayer. Cathedral mosques usually have a large courtyard with fountains, high minarets, and buildings for schools and colleges (madrasas).

On special holidays Afghan kings attended prayers at the Idgah Mosque in Kabul, and high government officials attend prayers in provincial capitals. The Friday sermon is read in the name of the ruler and, therefore, has political significance. Until the government took over these functions, mosques were centers of education, public welfare, and social or political gatherings. Mosques are supported by the state or local communities, as well as by pious endowments administered by the ulama (see also ISLAM).

**MOSTAMANDI, SHAHI BAI.** Curator of the Kabul Museum (1965–1966) and director of the Afghan Archaeological Mission in 1966. From 1966–1973 he directed the Afghan Institute of Archaeology and Preservation of Historical Monuments. He served as professor of ancient history at Kabul University until 1973 and left the country in 1978. Born in 1936 in Kabul, the son of Muhammad Hakim Mostamandi, he graduated from Istiqlal Lycée in 1956 and went to Italy, where he obtained the Ph.D. degree in archaeology in 1965. He died in a car accident in the United States on July 10, 1993.
MUBAREZ, ABDUL HAMID. Deputy minister of culture and information in the transitional government of Hamid Karzai. He served as president of Bakhtar News Agency and in the office of the prime minister. He resigned in 1980, but subsequently acted as deputy minister of education in 1985. Born in 1927, he was educated at Istiqlal Lycée and Kabul University where he obtained a degree in law in 1956. He spent most of his career in the ministry of information and culture.

MUFTI. A canon lawyer of reputation who gives a formal, legal opinion, fatwa, in answer to a question submitted to him either by a judge or a private individual. All laws passed by Afghan legislatures are required to be in conformance with Islamic law and it is (or was) the duty of a high member of the ulama or a council of the ulama (J am‘iat-i Ulama) to pass on the constitutionality of laws. The 1957 law on the administration of justice by Shari’a relegated the function of the mufti to primary courts, and the Constitution of 1964 dispensed with the services of a mufti and established a supreme court. The Taliban rulers restored the function of the mufti. See also ISLAM.

MUHAMMAD AFZAL, AMIR (r. 1866–1867). Eldest son of Amir Dost Muhammad who served as governor of northern Afghanistan in the 1850s. He fought his half brother, Shir Ali, for the throne and was proclaimed amir in 1866. He died a year later in Kabul of cholera and was succeeded by his brother Muhammad Azam. Muhammad Afzal was the father of the subsequent Amir Abdul Rahman (r. 1880–1901).

MUHAMMAD AKBAR, SARDAR. The ambitious son of Amir Dost Muhammad (r. 1826–1838 and 1842–1863) and “Hero of Jamrud,” who defeated the Sikh army of Hari Singh in April 1837. He was a major figure in the defeat of the British in the First Anglo-Afghan War. Akbar was the premier of the Afghan chiefs with whom the British force of occupation sought to negotiate safe passage from Kabul to India (see CAPITULATION, TREATY OF). During negotiations with Sir William Macnaghten, he killed the British envoy “in a fit of passion.” He saved the lives of British women and children as well as a number of officers whom he had taken into “protective” custody during the ar-
duous retreat. Few others survived the massacre of the British expeditionary force of some 16,000 troops and camp followers (see DEATH MARCH). Akbar wanted to regain territory lost in the Panjab, but his father, Amir Dost Muhammad, who had been restored to the throne in 1842, favored a policy of accommodation with Britain. In 1845 Akbar rebelled, but he died at the age of 29 of poisoning before he could pose a serious challenge to his father. He is revered by Afghans and called Ghazi (Victorious Hero), and a residential area of Kabul and a major hospital have been named after him, Wazir Akbar Khan.

MUHAMMAD AKHUND, MULLA. Minister of finance in the Taliban government. An Alakozai Pashtun from Spin Buldak District of Kandahar Province, he was a commander affiliated with Maulawi Muhammad Nabi Muhammadi during the war.

MUHAMMAD AZAM (r. 1867). Son of Amir Dost Muhammad Khan. He succeeded his brother Muhammad Afzal to the Kabul throne in 1867 but was defeated by his half brother Shir Ali and forced to flee to Iran, where he died in October 1869 on his way to Tehran. (British authors spell the name Azim).

MUHAMMAD AZIM. A teacher at the German-language Amani (later Najat) high school in Kabul who entered the British legation in Kabul on September 6, 1933, with the intention of assassinating the minister, Sir Richard Maconachie. He wanted to precipitate war between Britain and Afghanistan. Instead of killing the minister he shot an English mechanic and two employees of the legation. This act was seen as a continuation of the struggle between the followers of King Amanullah and Nadir Shah. Muhammad Azim was executed on September 13, as were six prominent prisoners and high officials of King Amanullah, including Wali Muhammad and Ghulam Jilani Charkhi.

MUHAMMAD AZIZ. Half brother of Nadir Shah and father of Muhammad Daud (r. 1973–1975). He was born in 1877, the son of Sardar Muhammad Yusuf, and entered service as assistant private secretary of Amir Habibullah and supervisor of Afghan students in France in the 1920s. Nadir Shah appointed him ambassador to
Moscow in 1929 and in 1933 to Berlin where he was assassinated on June 6, 1933, by one Sayyid Kemal, apparently in retaliation for the killing of Ghulam Jilani Charkhi.

MUHAMMAD DAUD, SARDAR. President of the Republic of Afghanistan from July 1973 until his assassination in April 1978 as a result of the Saur Revolt. Born in 1909 in Kabul, the son of Sardar Muhammad Aziz, he was educated in Kabul and France. He embarked on a military career and was governor and general officer commanding the Eastern Province (1934), Kandahar (1935), and commander of Central Forces (1939–1947) stationed in Kabul and minister of defense in 1946. A minister of interior (1949–1950) and prime minister (1953–1963), he encouraged social reforms and in 1959 permitted women to abandon the veil, thus contributing to their emancipation and participation in the economic life of Afghanistan. Daud initiated two five-year plans (1956–1961 and 1962–1967) and a seven-year plan in 1976 and relied for military and development aid on the Soviet Union (see RUSSIAN-AFGHAN RELATIONS). He demanded the independence of Pashtunistan, which led to repeated crises with Pakistan and ended with his resignation in 1963.

Ten years later Muhammad Daud staged a coup against his cousin, King Muhammad Zahir, and in July 1973 proclaimed Afghanistan a republic. Whether he just wanted power or felt that the political liberalization during the democratic decade (1963–1973) had failed to remedy the social and economic problems of Afghanistan is not clear. He relied on the support of leftists to consolidate his power, crushed the emerging Islamist movement, and in 1975 established his own National Revolutionary Party as an umbrella organization for all political movements. He thereby tried to limit the power of the left and create a left-of-center movement loyal to himself. Toward the end of his rule he attempted to purge his leftist supporters from positions of power and sought to reduce Soviet influence in Afghanistan. Financial support from Iran and the Arab Gulf states was to enable him to repay Soviet loans and improve his relations with the West. Daud and members of his family were assassinated on April 27, 1978 as a result of the Saur Revolt that brought Marxist parties to power in Kabul.
MUHAMMAD HASANI (MAMASANI). A Brahui tribe located in the area of Shorawak.

MUHAMMAD HASHIM, SARDAR. Prime minister of Afghanistan (1929–1946), said to have been a good administrator but austere and harsh in his dealings with the Afghan people. He groomed his nephew, Muhammad Daud, for the position of prime minister. Born in 1886, the son of Sardar Yusuf Khan, he embarked on a military career and commanded Amir Habibullah’s bodyguard. He became King Amanullah’s governor of the Eastern Province (1919) and served as Afghan minister in Moscow (1924–1926) before joining his half brother Muhammad Nadir in France. When Nadir Khan ascended the throne in December 1929, Muhammad Hashim became his prime minister and ruled with a strong hand until his retirement in 1946. He died on October 26, 1953.

MUHAMMAD HUSAIN “SAR AHANG”. Most famous Afghan musician and singer of Indian classical music. Born about 1920, the son of Ghulam Husain.

MUHAMMADI, MAULAWI MUHAMMAD NABI. Leader of the Harakat-i Inqilab-i Islami (Islamic Revolutionary Movement), a traditional Islamic mujahedin group headquartered in Pakistan. He was born in 1921 in Logar, the son of Haji Abdul Wahhab, and educated in madrasas in Logar Province. In the 1950s he was one of the first members of the religious establishment to agitate against “communist influence” in the Afghan educational system. He was elected to Parliament in 1964 as a representative of Logar Province. After the Marxist coup, he fled to Pakistan and utilized a network of maulawis (graduates of madrasas) to organize armed resistance against Kabul. In the early 1980s his Harakat was the largest of the mujahedin groups, but it lost members to the more radical Islamist parties of Abdul Rasul Sayyaf and Burhanuddin Rabbani. It had Pashtun support in Kandahar, Ghazni, Logar, Kabul, and Baghlan Provinces. In 1992 Muhammadi became vice president in Rabbani’s government, but in March 1995 he recognized the Taliban movement, which many of his party joined. Muhammadi died on April 22, 2002, in Pakistan.
MUHAMMAD ISA (EISA). Minister of water and power in the Taliban government. A Hotaki Pashtun from Kandahar Province, he was a commander, affiliated with Maulawi Muhammad Nabi Muhammadi’s party and is a senior maulawi. Born in 1936, he graduated from the Teachers College in Kabul in 1959.

MUHAMMAD ISHAQ. Son of Amir Muhammad Azam Khan and cousin of Amir Abdul Rahman, he proclaimed himself amir in June 1888 and unsuccessfully fought Abdul Rahman for the throne. Born about 1851 of an Armenian mother, he was in command of Abdul Rahman Khan’s forces in Afghan Turkestan at age 18. He was defeated by Amir Shir Ali and lived with Abdul Rahman in exile at Samarkand. In 1879 he returned with Abdul Rahman Khan to Afghanistan. When the latter assumed the Kabul throne, he appointed Muhammad Ishaq governor of Turkestan, as the northern provinces were then called. Ishaq Khan was ambitious; he demanded autonomy amounting to virtual independence, subject to token allegiance to the Kabul throne. He next extended his control over Herat Province, and when Amir Abdul Rahman was ill in 1888, proclaimed himself amir. Amir Abdul Rahman quickly recovered and raised an army under General Ghulam Haidar that decisively defeated his rebellious cousin in the Battle of Gaznigak on September 19, 1888. Ishaq Khan was forced to flee to Russian Turkestan where he died shortly thereafter.

MUHAMMAD ISHAQ (ESHAQ). Since 1982 political officer of the Jam’iat-i Islami and since spring 1984 cofounder (with Mas’ud Khalili) and editor of its fortnightly news bulletin AFGHANews. Born in 1952 in the Panjshir Valley, he attended the faculty of engineering of Kabul University. Ishaq became a member of the Muslim Youth, an Islamist student organization, and in 1975 joined Commander Ahmad Shah Mas’ud in raids on military post of the government of Muhammad Daud. He served as political adviser and publicist to Commander Mas’ud, but did not obtain any position in the Kabul governments after the fall of the Taliban regime.

MUHAMMAD ISMA’IL KHAN. Mujahedin commander affiliated with the Jam’iat-i Islami. He was the “Amir” of Herat, Badghis,
Ghor, and Farah Provinces and built a good military organization. He was born in 1942 in Shindand (now Farah Province), the son of Muhammad Aslam. After completing his elementary education in Shindand, he continued his education at Kabul Military School and the Military Academy. He was a second lieutenant in the 17th Division stationed in Herat when he defected and participated in the uprising of March 15, 1979. When the uprising was suppressed, he fled to Iran and made his way to Pakistan, where he joined the forces of Burhanuddin Rabbani. In 1987 he was said to have received Stinger missiles that helped him to secure control of much of Herat Province. He was promoted to general by Sebghatullah Mujaddidi and called himself “Amir,” showing ambitions for autonomous rule. Isma’il Khan was captured by Abdul Malik and surrendered to the Taliban forces in 1997. He managed to escape to Iran and was able to establish himself as the predominant warlord in western Afghanistan after the fall of the Taliban regime.

MUHAMMADI, JUMA M. Minister of mines in the transitional government of President Hamid Karzai. He is a Pashtun, born in 1937 in Paktia Province, and educated at Kabul University with a B.S. degree in engineering and an M.S. degree in hydraulic engineering from the University of Colorado in 1965. He served as president of the water and soils department in the ministry of agriculture in 1961; deputy minister of agriculture and irrigation, 1972; general president in the irrigation department, 1973; and minister in the water and power authority of the prime ministry, 1976. He was jailed in Pul-i Charkhi prison May till October 1978, and subsequently left the country.

MUHAMMAD NADIR SHAH. King of Afghanistan, 1929–1933. Born in 1883, the son of Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan, he embarked on a military career. Appointed a brigadier in 1906, he was promoted to lieutenant general, naib salar, for his services in suppressing the Khost Rebellion in December 1912. He was appointed general, sipah salar, in 1914. He and other members of the Afghan court had accompanied Amir Habibullah to Jalalabad, the winter capital, and when the amir was assassinated, Nadir was arrested. Amir Amanullah exonerated him of any involvement and sent him
to command the troops in Khost Province. During the Third Anglo-Afghan War, Nadir Khan led an army across the Afghan border into Waziristan and besieged the British base at Thal. This prevented a British offensive in the east and threatened to cause a general uprising among the “British” Afghans, which was one of the factors forcing Britain to accept Afghan independence. Amir Amanullah appointed him minister of war in 1919, in which post he served until 1924, when he was appointed Afghan minister at Paris. He resigned two years later because of illness (or because he disagreed with King Amanullah’s policies). Nevertheless, he remained in France, where he was joined by his half brother Muhammad Hashim Khan and his brother Shah Wali Khan.

After the abdication of King Amanullah in January 1929, Nadir left France for India and established himself at the Afghan frontier. He collected tribal support, including Waziri tribal forces from the Indian side of the border, and, after initial setbacks, defeated Habibullah Kalakani and captured Kabul on October 13, 1929. Nadir Khan was proclaimed king two days later. He made great efforts to reorganize the country and reopen schools. He founded the faculty of medicine in 1932 that 10 years later merged with a number of faculties to become Kabul University. He drafted a new constitution (1931) that provided for a bicameral parliament, the national council (shura-i milli), the senate (majlis-i ayan), and an advisory council (Jam’iat-i Ulama). He fought those who aimed at restoring King Amanullah to the throne and executed Ghulam Nabi, one of his chief opponents, in 1932. He was assassinated in 1933 by a Hazara student who was a servant of Ghulam Nabi’s family.

MUHAMMAD NAIM, SARDAR. Minister of foreign affairs and deputy prime minister (1953–1963) and foreign policy adviser of President Muhammad Daud (1973–1978). Born in 1912, the son of Muhammad Aziz and brother of Muhammad Daud, he embarked on a diplomatic career and served as Afghan minister in Rome (1932), London (1946–1947), and the United States (1948–1950). He was assassinated together with President Daud and members of their family as a result of the Saur Revolt of April 27, 1978.

MUHAMMAD SIDDIQ, AKHUND. Minister of the disabled and martyrs in the Taliban government. An Amir Khel Pashtun of Logar
Province, he was affiliated with Maulawi Muhammad Nabi’s party and is a graduate from Haqaniyya Madrasa in Akhora Khattak, Pakistan.

MUHAMMADULLAH, HAFIZ. Minister of pilgrims and religious affairs in the Taliban government. A Barakzai Pashtun from Kandahar Province. He was affiliated with the Yunus Khales party. He is one of the most senior mullas and had a madrasa in Quetta where he was also in charge of Khales’ office.

MUHAMMAD, WALI. See WALI MUHAMMAD.

MUHAMMAD YUSUF. Appointed Afghan prime minister in 1963, succeeding Sardar Muhammad Daud as the first commoner in this position. He served during the process of drafting and ratification of the Constitution of 1964. The newly elected, bicameral parliament was soon bogged down in recriminations and political infighting. When the lower house (wolesi jirga) decided to hold closed meetings, demonstrations, largely by students, led to police repression in which two persons were killed and a number of others wounded. Thereupon Dr. Yusuf resigned. The Sewwum-i Aqrab (the third of the month of Aqrab 1344, corresponding to October 25, 1965) was subsequently a day of protest and demonstrations of leftists. Born in 1917 in Kabul, Muhammad Yusuf was educated at Najat School and in Germany, where he received a Ph.D. degree in physics. He became a professor at Kabul University and deputy minister of education in 1949. He held the position of minister of mines and industry for 10 years (1953–1963) before his appointment as prime minister. After his resignation he served as Afghan ambassador to Bonn (1966–1973) and Moscow (1973), but was recalled after the Muhammad Daud coup. He left Afghanistan for Germany and died there on December 23, 1998.

MUHAMMAD ZAHIR SHAH. See ZAHIR SHAH.

MUHAMMADZAII. The Muhammadzai (a branch of the Barakzai of the Durrani tribe) are the descendants of Sardar Painda Khan. They captured the Kabul throne in 1826 under Amir Dost Muhammad and continued in power (with the exception of the nine-month rule of Habibullah Kalakani) until the Marxist coup
in 1978 deposed President Muhammad Daud. For Muhammadzai rulers, see DURRANI DYNASTY.

MUHAMMADZAI, KHATOL. Appointed general in the Afghan army by President Hamid Kharzai on the occasion of Independence Day, August 19, 2002. She joined the army in 1982 after the death of her husband and is said to have made more than 500 parachute jumps since her first leap at the age of 16. Much decorated, she was promoted to colonel under President Burhanuddin Rabbani. In celebration of Near Year (nauruz, March 21, 2002) she parachuted, wearing a sign that read “we want education, employment and salaries for widows, orphans and handicapped people.” She entered Kabul Stadium amid enthusiastic applause. During the Taliban regime she was forced to stay at home, but after the fall of the Islamists she became head of physical training for the air force. Khatol has received numerous decorations.

MUHAQEQ, AYATOLLAH MUHAMMAD. Minister of planning in the transitional government of Hamid Karzai. A Hazara military commander from Parwan, he fought the Taliban in central and northern Afghanistan. He is deputy president of the Junbesh-i Milli-yi Islami and director general of Shi’a Hizb-i Wahdat. He studied at Shi’a universities in Najaf, Iran, and has become a “Source of Imitation” (marja’i taqlid) for his followers.

MUHSINI, AYATOLLAH MUHAMMAD ASEF. A Hazara, born in 1935 in Kandahar Province and educated at Shi’a universities in Iraq. He is called “Ayatollah” by his supporters. Upon his return to Afghanistan he founded a cultural organization called “Dawn of Science” (sobh-i danesh) that became the nucleus of the rural-based mujahedin group Harakat-i Islami-yi Afghanistan (Islamic Movement of Afghanistan). In 1980 he was elected chairman of the Afghan Shi’a Alliance, a mujahedin umbrella group headquartered in Iran, but subsequently he left the alliance and moved to Quetta. His group once rivaled Nasr in importance and collaborated with Nasr in expelling the Shura of Ayatollah Sayyid Ali Beheshti from most of the Hazarajat. In June 1990 the Shi’a groups announced the formation of a new organization, called Unity Party (Hizb-i Wahdat), but
Muhsini presented a number of conditions for joining the coalition. Muhsini is known as a moderate who receives no support from Iran. After the fall of the Marxist regime, his party supported the government of President Burhanuddin Rabbani, and two members of his group were represented in Prime Minister Gulbuddin Hekmatyar’s short-lived cabinet of July 1996.

MUHTASIB. An overseer of public morality, common in Afghanistan before local police forces were established. He was to discourage sinful behavior, encourage attendance at prayers, check measures and weights in the bazaars, and ascertain that foodstuffs were not adulterated. He was appointed by a qazi (judge), paid from the public treasury, and was empowered to administer whippings for minor offenses. With the establishment of regular police forces in towns in the early 1920s, the position of muhtasib began to disappear. During its short rule, the Taliban government established a ministry for “joining the good and forbidding evil” (al-amr bi ‘l-ma’ruf wa an’nnahy ’an al-munkar) and its religious police was ever-present in the major cities of Afghanistan. See also KALANTAR.

MUJADDIDI. The name of a family of religious leaders who are the descendants of the Sufi reformer Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi (purported to have been born in Kabul Province in 1564 and buried in Sirhind, India, 1624), called Mujaddid Alf-I Thani (Renewer of the Second Millennium). Qayyum Jan Agha (descendant in seven generations of the Shaikh) came to Afghanistan in the early nineteenth century and founded a madrasa (Islamic college) and khanaqa (Sufi center) in the Shor Bazaar area of Kabul, and his successor therefore assumed the title Hazrat Sahib of Shor Bazaar. Succession went from Qayyum Jan Agha to Fazl Muhammad (Shams al-Mashayekh, meaning “the Sun of Shaikhs,” assumed title in 1925), Fazl Omar (Nur al-Mashayekh, meaning “the Light of Shaikhs”), Muhammad Ibrahim (Zia al-Mashayekh, also “the Light of Shaikhs,” assumed title in 1956). Members of the family also established themselves in Herat (the Hazrat Sahib of Jaghathan) and other towns in Afghanistan. They are leaders of the Naqshbandi Sufi order in southern Afghanistan and have long played an important political role. They preached jihad (holy war) against Britain, opposed the secular reforms instituted by
King Amanullah and Muhammad Daud, and encouraged tribal revolts to restore their concept of Islamic orthodoxy. Some members held government positions, and some lived in exile. In January 1979 Muhammad Ibrahim and some 96 male members of the Mujaddidi family were arrested and executed during the Khalqi regime.

MUJADDIDI, SEBGHATULLAH. Elected president in February 1989 of an Afghan Interim Government (see ISLAMIC ALLIANCE FOR THE LIBERATION OF AFGHANISTAN) made up of members of the seven-party alliance of mujahedin headquartered in Pakistan. He founded and led the National Liberation Front of Afghanistan (Jabha-yi Milli Beraye Najat-i Afghanistan) that conducted armed attacks on Soviet and Afghan government forces from about 1980. Born in 1925 in Kabul, the son of Muhammad Masum, he was educated in Kabul and at al-Azhar University in Egypt and subsequently taught Islamic studies at high schools and colleges in Kabul. He publicly denounced “unbelievers” and communists and was imprisoned (1959–1964) for involvement in a purported plot to assassinate the Soviet premier, Nikita Khrushchev. When he was freed, he traveled abroad for two years and upon his return founded the Jam’iat-i Ulama-i Muhammadi (1972, Organization of Muslim Clergy). He was again politically active and participated in antireformist demonstrations in Kabul in the 1970s and was forced to flee abroad in order to escape arrest. He was head of the Islamic Center in Copenhagen, Denmark (1974–1978). After the Saur Revolt in 1978 he went to Pakistan where he led the armed resistance of the National Liberation Front. His supporters are primarily Pashtun members of the Naqshbandi Sufi order in Paktia and Kunar Provinces. In spite of his radical background, he was counted among the moderates who did not rule out the establishment of a constitutional monarchy.

After the fall of the Marxist government in April 1992, Mujaddidi served as interim president for two months (April 28–June 28) in which capacity he amnestied his communist opponents and promoted Abdul Rashid Dostum to the rank of general. In the subsequent power struggle, Mujaddidi supported Gulbuddin Hekmatyar against Burhanuddin Rabbani, when the latter refused to step down at the end of his two-year appointment. He resigned from the Supreme Co-
ordination Council of the Islamic Revolution in Afghanistan (SC-CIRA) in November 1995, when Hekmatyar unilaterally negotiated with Rabbani. The constellation of forces changed again when in May 1996 Hekmatyar made peace with Rabbani and established himself in Kabul as the new prime minister. When the Taliban captured Kabul in September 1996, Mujaddidi recognized their regime.

MUJAHID, SAYYID AMIN. Member of the independent commission for convening an emergency Loya Jirga in June 2002 and professor of history at Kabul University. He is a member of the Afghan Academy of Science, in charge of encyclopedia and dictionary projects. A Pashtun, he was born in 1954 in Nangarhar Province, the son of a wazir. He was educated in Herat and at Kabul University, where he obtained a degree in journalism in 1977. He then began to work in the news department of the ministry of information and culture.

MUJAHEDIN (A., pl. MUJAHEDUN, sing. MUJAHED). Fighters in a holy war, jihad. Afghan resistance fighters adopted this designation to indicate that they are waging a lawful war against an “infidel” government (according to Islamic law, a jihad can be fought only against non-Muslims and apostates). The mujahedin were organized in a tenuous alliance of seven Sunni groups stationed in Peshawar, including the moderate leaders Muhammad Nabi Muhammadi, Sebghatullah Mujaddidi, and Sayyid Ahmad Gailani and the Islamist radicals Burhanuddin Rabbani, Muhammad Yunus Khales, Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, and Abdul Rasul Sayyaf. In 1989 these groups formed an Afghan Interim Government (AIG) (see ISLAMIC ALLIANCE FOR THE LIBERATION OF AFGHANISTAN) with Sebghatullah Mujaddidi as the president. In 1989 a Shi’a alliance of eight groups (some of them small or inactive) in Iran united in an umbrella organization called Hizb-i Wahdat (Unity Party) that, however, refused to join the AIG of the Sunni groups because of what they considered insufficient representation. Refugees in Pakistan and commanders in the field were required to be affiliated with one of the seven groups if they wanted to receive outside assistance. The Pakistani government recognized only six (later seven) Sunni groups, thereby preventing the proliferation of parties (and to eliminate nationalists, monarchists, and Shi’as). The
Pakistani military **Inter-Services Intelligence** (ISI) took an active part in planning and executing attacks and favored **Islamist** (rather than nationalist or moderate) groups, especially Gulbuddin Hekmatyar’s **Hizb-i Islami**, in the supply of funds and war materiel.

Many of the commanders did not necessarily share the ideology of their leader and some switched “allegiance,” when it helped in obtaining supplies. Mujahedin were also grouped according to regional, tribal, and ethnic origin; the **Jam’iat-i Islami** of Rabbani, largely non-**Pashtun** in ethnic composition, was active in northeastern Afghanistan. The Jam’iat was in conflict with its ideological brother, the Hizb of Gulbuddin Hekmatyar. Ideological purity (never precisely defined) also suffered as a result of the “tactical alliance” in March 1990 between **Shahnawaz Tanai**, a **Khalqi** hard liner, and Hekmatyar, one of the most vocal radical Islamists. In the ever-changing constellation of forces, Hekmatyar made his peace with Rabbani in May 1996 and established himself in **Kabul** as prime minister. The **Taliban** ended the dream of the allies at Kabul, when they captured the city and conquered most of the country. After the fall of the Taliban, the major actors in the struggle for political power were **General Abdul Rashid Dostum**, a former communist, in the north; the Jam’iat–i Islami, which occupied Kabul; and the Hizb-i Wahdat, which controlled most of the **Hazarajat**. Kabul came under the control of the **interim government** of **Hamid Karzai**, but the regional leaders have not yet been demobilized.

**MUJTABA KHAN.** He was in charge of a school of accounting in **Kabul**, the Maktab-i Usul-i Daftari, opened by Amir **Amanullah** in 1919. It had 100 students who were trained to be tax collectors. Mujtaba Khan was active in the financial administration and held the positions of financial secretary (**mustaufi**) of Kabul, 1920–1924; deputy finance minister, 1929 (under **Habibullah Kalakani**) and 1932; and inspector general of the tribunal at the prime ministry, 1945. He became a member of the senate in 1952. He died in the late 1950s. His descendants have adopted the family name Mustamandi.

**MUKARAMA, M.S.** Member of the **Constitutional Drafting Committee**. Born about 1955, an ethnic Tajik, Ms. Mukarama was edu-
cated at Kabul University with a degree in Islamic law. She served as a member of the Kabul High Court for commercial issues.

MULLA. A preacher and spiritual adviser as well as a teacher in elementary mosque schools (maktab) (see EDUCATION). There is no clergy in Sunni Islam, no need for an intermediary between God and man, no ordination or strict hierarchy. Educational preparation ranges from informal study to rigorous training at a faculty of theology or well-known Islamic university. A mulla performs such religious activities as recitation of the adhan (call to prayer) in the ear of the newborn and presides at marriage and burial ceremonies. He is paid for his services by donations from his parish and often needs to supplement his income by pursuing a trade or agricultural work. Mulas vary considerably in educational background, from the barely literate to those with some madrasa education.

Until the rise of the Taliban, they had never held political power on a national scale, but individual mulas had great influence on a grassroots level. They sometimes mediate in tribal disputes (not being members of the tribe) and have been active in mobilizing the masses against a foreign invader or an “infidel” ruler. Famous mulas include Mushk-i Alam (see DIN MUHAMMAD) who proclaimed jihad against the British in the Second Anglo-Afghan War and subsequently led Mangal and Ghilzai forces against Amir Abdul Rahman, as well as Mulla-i Lang (the Lame Mullah) who led a tribal army against King Amanullah (see KHOST REBELLION) and Mulla Muhammad Omar who founded the Taliban. Amir Abdul Rahman first tried to keep mulas under state control by requiring tests for certification and made attempts at improving the quality of religious education in Afghanistan. Since the time of King Amanullah (1920s) the Afghan government established state-sponsored madrasas and in 1951 a faculty of theology affiliated with Al-Azhar University in Cairo, but the informal, private system of religious education has continued to exist to this day. Most mulas are either self-described or recognized by others as such. For the higher religious functionaries, see ULAMA.

MUNJANI. A small ethnic group of Isma’ili Muslims living in 12 villages in the Munjan Valley of Badakhshan Province. They are engaged
in agriculture and speak Munjani (a northeastern Iranian language of the Pamir group) as well as Dari.

**MURGHAB (38°18' N, 61°12' E).** A river formed by the confluence of the Chiras and Wajan Streams, rising in the eastern ranges of the Band-i Baba and Band-i Turkestan Mountains. It flows in a westerly direction and turns northwest about 11 miles below Bala Murghab in Badghis Province, where it receives the waters of the Karawal Khana. It then crosses into Turkmenistan and, running in a northerly direction, dissipates in the plains of Merv. The river is some 500 miles in length; about half of its course is in Afghanistan.

**MURSHID.** Master, or head, of a mystic order.

**MUSAHEBAN.** A family also called Yahya Khel, because of its members’ descent from Muhammad Yahya and Muhammad Yusuf who were companions, musahiban, of Amir Habibullah. Prominent members of the family were Muhammad Nadir, the Afghan king (1929–1933), and his brothers and half brothers Muhammad Aziz, Muhammad Hashim, Shah Wali, and Shah Mahmud who held high positions in Zahir Shah’s government. They were exiled in India until 1901 when Amir Habibullah permitted them to return to Afghanistan.

**MUSA SHAFIQ.** See SHAFIQ, MUHAMMAD MUSA.

**MUSAZAII.** See MOHMAND.

**MUSHK-I ALAM.** See DIN MUHAMMAD.

**MUSIC.** Music and musicians have an ambivalent status in Afghanistan as well as in much of the Islamic world. Popular in most parts of the Islamic world, music is frowned upon by theologians of the Hanbali school of jurisprudence and by members of the newly emerged Islamist movement. Although not expressly forbidden (haram) in the Koran, it is generally said to be reprehensible (makruh), but not sinful. Some theologians refer to a passage, saying: “And be moderate in thy pace, and lower thy voice” (31:19) to jus-
tify its prohibition. One hadith calls musical instruments “the devil’s muezzin, calling all men to his worship.” But there are other traditions which would condone music.

Apart from the popularity of music, musicians have traditionally been persons of low status. Although Indian musicians had already settled in Afghanistan in the 1860s, it was only since the mid-twentieth century and with the establishment of Radio Afghanistan in Kabul that professional musicians and singers attained stardom. In the 1940s Parvin, a granddaughter of Sardar Nasrullah, was one of the first female Afghan singers. Mahwash was the first female singer to win the title of ustād. Ustad Muhammad Qasim-Afghan was the best-known singer and musician in the first half of the twentieth century. By the 1970s other members of the upper class, like Ahmad Za-hir, son of a onetime prime minister, attained popular stardom. Titles like “master” (ustād or khalīfa) were won by the very best artists, including singers and musicians like Muhammad Husain who won the title Ustad Sar Ahang. He excelled in Hindustani and Persian classical music. Dr. Sadeq, a famous singer, adopted the alias Nashenaz (unknown) and kept his singing career secret even from his father.

Major instruments include the dambura, a long-necked lute with two strings; the six-string lute tambur; the rabab (rubab), lute, the most Afghan of all musical instruments; the two-stringed “spiked fiddle” with a tin can as resonator. Flutes included the nāi, tūla, and sōr-nāi, which were made of various types of wood or metal, and drums included the da’īrā, a tambourine of varying sizes; the dōhl; the tabla, or kettle drums; and the zirbagālī, held under the armpits, as its name indicates. The harmonium with keyboard was primarily an urban instrument. (Music in the Mind, by Hiromi Lorraine Sakata)

**MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD.** The Society of Muslim Brethren (Jam‘i‘at-i Ikhwan al-Muslīmīn), founded in 1929 in Isma‘iliyya, Egypt, by Hasan al-Banna (1906–1949). It was a religio-political organization that eventually spread to other parts of the Islamic world. Al-Banna, an ascetic and charismatic teacher, was the “Supreme Guide” (murshid al-‘amm), who advocated social and economic reforms, expulsion of the British from Egypt, and establishment of an Islamic state. The movement is Pan-Islamic in outlook and aims at imposing Islamic law on all aspects of the social and political life of the Muslim nation (umma).
a political party it was never very successful, but it was able to mobilize considerable support among the masses of the lower urban and rural classes. The Ikhwan was accused of political assassinations, and Hasan al-Banna was himself assassinated in 1949 (reputedly by government agents). The Ikhwan was represented in the Egyptian Parliament, and other, more radical groups, have taken over the Islamist cause.

A number of founders of the Islamist movement (Burhanuddin Rabbani, Abdul Rasul Sayyaf, Ghulam Muhammad Niazi) in Afghanistan became members or sympathizers of the Ikhwanis while residing in Egypt for study and upon returning to Afghanistan contributed to the spread of the movement’s ideology. They were the teachers of young radicals recruited from Afghan government schools who formed the nucleus of the Islamist movement.

**MUSLIM YOUTH ORGANIZATION (SAZMAN-I JAWANAN-I MUSULMAN).** An Islamist movement started in the late 1960s by theology students on the campus of Kabul University. It was advised by such teachers as Ghulam Muhammad Niazi who took no direct part in the organization. His namesake, but not a relative, Abdul Rahim Niazi was one of the first student leaders. The movement grew from only a few members in 1969 and spread to elementary and secondary schools in Kabul. It rose in reaction to leftist student agitation and eventually advocated violent action against them and the Afghan government. To prevent retaliation, the movement organized into three layers of cells, each containing only a small number of members who were promoted on the basis of ideological reliability and talent from the lower to the next higher circle (Edwards, 2002, 177). Destroyed as an effective force in 1975 by the regime of Muhammad Daud, the survivors fled to Pakistan where they joined the mujahedin forces.

**MUSSOORIE CONFERENCE.** A conference at Mussoorie (April 17–July 18, 1920) north of Delhi in India, that was to restore “friendly” relations between the governments of Afghanistan and British India after the Third Anglo-Afghan War. It was a sequel to the peace treaty at Rawalpindi (August 8, 1919, see FOREIGN RELATIONS; ANGLO-AFGHAN TREATY OF 1919) and pitted the Afghan foreign minister, Mahmud Tarzi, against the foreign secretary to the government of India, Sir Henry Dobbs, in a fruitless at-
tempt to conclude a treaty of friendship between the two states. A British aide-mémoire provided for some economic assistance but postponed the establishment of normal, “neighborly” relations for another conference at Kabul in 1921.

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NADIM, ABDUL GHAFUR. Dari poet and traditional scholar. He was born about 1880 at Kabul, the son of Rajab Ali Khan. Although he died at 37, he wrote some 3,500 verses, consisting mainly of odes and other lyrical poetry. His poems are still greatly appreciated. He taught Dari literature at Habibia School for several years and in 1915 published the first modern Dari grammar, entitled Sarf-i Nadim (The Grammar of Nadim). He also published a newspaper called Iksar. He died in 1918 in Kabul.

NADIRI, SAYYID SHAH NASIR. See SAYYID-I KAYAN.

NADIR SHAH. King of Afghanistan (1929–1933). See MUHAMMAD NADIR SHAH.

NADIR SHAH AFSHAR. Ruler of Iran (1736–1747) and founder of the short-lived Afsharid Dynasty (1736–1795). Born in 1688 as Nadir Quli in northern Khurasan, the son of Imam Quli of a clan affiliated with the Afshar tribe, he started life as a raider for booty and became one of the last great nomadic conquerors of Asia. He ended the Ghilzai dream of ruling an empire after Mahmud, son of Mir Wais, captured Isfahan in 1722. Nadir defeated the Afghans and drove them out of Iran. He attacked Herat and invaded India, where he defeated the Moghul army at Karnal, near Delhi, in 1739. Rather than fighting the Afghan tribes he enlisted them into his army, making Ahmad Khan Abdali (the subsequent Ahmad Shah) one of his military commanders. He moved the Abdali tribe from Herat to their original home in the Kandahar area and settled them on Ghilzai lands. This led to the ascendancy of the Abdalis (Durrani) over the Ghilzais and contributed to the long-standing rivalry between these two Pashtun tribes. Nadir Shah also settled Jewish and Armenian traders from
Iran in Afghan towns to encourage trade with India. Ruling over a heterogeneous population, he wanted to unite his subjects by proclaiming Shi’ism the fifth (Ja’farite) orthodox school of Sunni Islam. The Shi’ a clergy objected to this. Nadir became increasingly tyrannical and was eventually killed by one of his own tribesmen. Some of Nadir’s Qizilbash soldiers settled in Afghanistan where their descendants had successful careers in the army (until the end of Dost Muhammad’s rule), government, the trades, and crafts. The last Armenian merchants were expelled from Afghanistan in 1897, and virtually all Jewish residents and immigrants from Central Asia had emigrated to Israel by the late 1980s. At the time of Nadir Shah’s death, Ahmad Khan Abdali was able to fill the political vacuum and become the first Durrani ruler of Afghanistan.

**NAGHLU (34º38’ N, 69º43’ E).** A village in the southern part of Laghman Province on the left bank of the Kabul River, opposite Sarobi. It is the site of a 350-foot-high dam for irrigation and generation of electricity. The project was financed by the Soviet Union, started in January 1960, and completed in 1968. Long controlled by Gulbuddin Hekmatyar’s militia, the power plant was frequently shut down to deprive Kabul of electricity. In September 1996 the Taliban were able to capture the area prior to the conquest of Kabul.

**NAHID.** Killed in a demonstration of high school and college women and a martyr of the jihad against the Marxist government.

**NAIM MUHAMMAD.** See MUHAMMAD NAIM, SARDAR.

**NAJAT SCHOOL (NEJAT).** A comprehensive elementary and secondary school founded in Kabul by King Amanullah in 1923. The school had a German curriculum, and German was the language of instruction. Many of the graduates were sent by the Afghan government to German-speaking countries for higher education. The school was first named Amani after King Amanullah (Aman Allah) but was renamed Najat. It is also spelled Nejat (Liberation) School after Nadir Shah’s defeat of Habibullah Kalakani in 1929 and ascension to the throne. Nadir Shah was assassinated by a student of this school. The school was renamed Amani by the Marxist regime in the 1980s as part of its effort to establish links between it and the progressive poli-
cies of King Amanullah. See also EDUCATION; GERMAN-AFGHAN RELATIONS.

NAJIBULLAH. President of the Republic of Afghanistan and general secretary of the Peoples Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) from May 1986 to April 1992. Born in 1947 in Kabul of an Ahmadzai family (his father, a Ghilzai Pashtun, was an Afghan trade agent in Peshawar), he was educated at Habibia School and Kabul University, graduating from the College of Medicine in 1975. He became a member of the Parcham faction of the PDPA in 1965 and was repeatedly arrested for his political activities. After the Saur Revolt he was appointed Afghan ambassador in Tehran (July–October 1978) in a move to get leading Parchamis out of the country, but was quickly dismissed with other Parchamis by the Nur Muhammad Taraki government, which accused them of plotting a coup.

Najibullah remained abroad and returned to Kabul with Babrak Karmal after the ouster of Hafizullah Amin in the final days of December 1979. He next held the position of general president of KHAD (1980–1986) and in 1986 replaced Babrak Karmal as secretary general of the PDPA. He purged the central committee and brought in new members and reorganized government in 1988 and 1990. In March 1990, he successfully withstood a Khalqi coup, headed by Shahnawaz Tanai, his defense minister. He downplayed Marxist ideology and annulled most of the early reforms. When he agreed to step down in April 1992, members of his party deserted him, and the mujahedin were able to capture Kabul. He remained in a building of the United Nations in Kabul and was prevented from going into exile, as had been arranged through the United Nations. When the Taliban captured Kabul in September 1996, they tortured and brutally killed Najibullah. He was married to a Muhammadzai.

NANAWATI. Nanawati (mediation or protection) is a vital element of the Pashtun code (pashtunwali). It is the obligation to afford protection or asylum to anyone in need or assist in mediation to help the weaker in a feud find peace with someone he has injured.

NANGARHAR (34º45' N, 70º50' E). A province in eastern Afghanistan with an area of 7,195 square miles and a population of
about 740,000 of which almost 400,000 were settled in refugee camps in Pakistan. The capital of the province is Jalalabad, with a peacetime population of about 56,000 (at times increased to 200,000). The population is largely Pashtun of the Khugiani, Mohmand, Shinwari, and Tirahi tribes, but other major ethnic groups are also represented in Jalalabad.

Local tradition associates the name, Nangarhar, with ṯuh (nine) and nahār (river) or, according to another version, with the Sanskrit nāu vihāra, meaning “nine monasteries.” The Nangarhar area was a flourishing center of Buddhism until the fifth century A.D. Because of its mild climate, Jalalabad was the winter capital of Afghan kings after they were established in Kabul. The eastern part of the province is well irrigated, producing two or three crops a year. Wheat, corn, and some rice are the major crops, and Soviet-developed mechanized state farms produce olive and citrus fruits, much of which were formerly exported to the Soviet Union. Timber is cut on the upper slopes of the Safid Kuh and smuggled to Pakistan where it fetches a better price. The Darunta Dam on the Kabul River provides hydroelectric power and makes possible large irrigation projects. In March 1989 a mujahedin assault on Jalalabad failed to dislodge the forces of the Kabul regime. This demonstrated the fact that the mujahedin were as yet unable to switch from guerrilla warfare to conventional war, which led to a lull in large-scale operations. After the capture of Jalalabad by the mujahedin, a council of mujahedin ruled Nangarhar for four years until the city was taken by the Taliban in September 1996. After the fall of the Taliban regime, the council (Shura) established itself again in Jalalabad.

NAQIB OF BAGHDAD. Title of Sayyid Abdul Rahman in the late nineteenth century, Naqib al-Ashraf (Representative of the Sayyids) and custodian of the Baghdad Shrine of the Sufi saint Abdul Qadir Gailani (1077–1166 A.D.), founder of the Qadiri Sufi fraternity. He was in contact with Amir Habibullah through his brother Sayyid Hasan Gailani, a man of great importance and influence in Afghanistan. He was often visited by Afghans going on Hajj via the Hijaz railway. Sayyid Hasan Gailani came to Afghanistan in 1905; he was the uncle of Sayyid Ahmad Gailani, head of Mahaz-i Milli-yi Afghanistan.
NAQSHBANDI (NAQSHBANDIYYA). A Sufi fraternity named after its founder, Muhammad ibn Muhammad Baha’ al-Din al-Bukhari Naqshband (1317–1389 A.D.), which has many devotees in Afghanistan. The Hazrat of Shor Bazaar of the Mujaddidi family is the leader of the Kandahar and eastern branches of the order by virtue of his descent from the Naqshbandi reformer Shaikh Ahmad Sirhind. Among the mujahedin forces of Sebghatullah Mujaddidi were many devotees of the Naqshbandi order, whereas northern (non-Pashtun) Naqshbandis were affiliated with the Jam‘iat-i Islami of Rabbani.

NARANJAN DAS. An Afghan Hindu who held high offices during the reigns of Amir Habibullah and King Amanullah. Born in Kabul about 1853, he was accountant-general (finance minister) at Kabul and was granted the rank of civil colonel in 1906. He was a member of the Afghan delegations to the peace conference at Rawalpindi in 1919 (see ANGLO-AFGHAN TREATY OF 1919) and the Mussoorie Conference in 1920. His participation in the Afghan delegation had an excellent propaganda effect among the Hindu population of India, who saw King Amanullah as a potential ally in their struggle for independence.

NASIR (NASAR). One of the wealthiest and strongest of the Kuchi Pashtun tribes which dwells in black tents and formerly traveled into the Indian subcontinent in the winter. They had a reputation of being democratic and not dominated by their chiefs. They had long feuded with the Waziris, who attacked the Nasir when they passed through their territory. Amir Abdul Rahman wanted to settle the tribe in Herat Province; they refused and agreed to pay taxes to continue their nomadic way of life. See also POWINDAH.

NASRULLAH KHAN. Second son of Amir Abdul Rahman and viceroy, na’eb al-saltana, in charge of most of the government administration while his brother Amir Habibullah was amir. He was commander in chief of the army and president of the amir’s advisory council. He was conservative in outlook, a sponsor and supporter of the religious establishment and militant foe of the British. He was sent by his father to London in 1895 to win Queen Victoria’s
consent to establish an Afghan embassy in London. London was not willing to grant this, and the failure of his mission was one of the reasons for Nasrullah’s hostility to Britain. When Amir Habibullah was assassinated in February 1919, Nasrullah Khan was proclaimed king in Jalalabad, but the army supported Amanullah Khan, who was in control of the Kabul palace and the treasury. Nasrullah was arrested and assassinated while in confinement. He is buried in Qot-i Chakan in Kabul. During his trip to England the London Globe and Traveller described the 23-year-old Sardar as “of medium height, and slender built . . . of a handsome appearance. [With] a face of much earnestness, sincerity, and power . . . If he wore full English uniform he would easily pass as an Englishman” (May 25, 1895).

NATIONAL FATHERLAND FRONT (NFF). A national umbrella organization (jabha-yi milli-yi pader-watan) established by Babrak Karmal in 1980 to “unite all progressive forces.” Dr. Saleh Muhammad Zirai (Zeary) was appointed chairman, and the Peoples Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) was the vanguard or “guiding force” in an organization that included all unions, guilds, women’s and professional organizations. The NFF was said to have had 55,000 members in 1984, but it never succeeded in mobilizing the masses under party control. (Similar “national front” governments, set up in East-bloc countries, remained under communist party control.) In 1987 the Afghan government renamed the organization the National Front of the Republic of Afghanistan (NFROA), headed by Abdul Rahim Hatef, but it did not outlast the fall of the Najibullah government.

NATIONAL ISLAMIC FRONT (NIFA). See GAILANI, SAYYID AHMAD; MAHAZ-I MILLI-YI AFGHANISTAN.

NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT OF AFGHANISTAN. Name of the Jabha-yi Milli Beraye Najat-i Afghanistan, one of seven resistance organizations sanctioned by Pakistan after the Saur Revolt in 1978. It was headed by Sebghatullah Mujaddidi.

NATIONAL RESCUE FRONT. A short-lived mujahedin organization founded in June 1978 by Burhanuddin Rabbani. It was a fore-
runner of the Jam’iat-i Islami. See ISLAMIC ALLIANCE FOR THE LIBERATION OF AFGHANISTAN.

NATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY PARTY (NRP). Hizb-i Inqilab-i Milli, name of a party founded in 1975 by President Muhammad Daud to support his republican regime. It was headed by a central council that included Dr. Abdul Majid, Gen. Ghulam Haidar Rasuli (the minister of defense), Sayyid Abdullah (minister of finance), and Prof. Abdul Qayyum. Only one political party was to be permitted, and the NRP was to be an umbrella organization for “all progressive forces.” It represented an attempt by Muhammad Daud to limit the influence of his erstwhile Communist supporters and gain grassroots support.

NAURUZ. New year (D., nau = new, ruz = day), the first day of the Afghan (and Iranian) solar calendar, coinciding with the vernal equinox on March 21 (Hammal). Nauruz is an important holiday, going back to pre-Islamic times, which is celebrated throughout Afghanistan and Iran. The Taliban government forbade the celebration of nauruz because it is a secular celebration that predated the appearance of Islam.

NE’MANI, HAMIDULLAH. Minister of higher education in the Taliban government. He is a Pashtun of the Daftani tribe from Zabul Province. During the war against the Kabul government, he was affiliated with Maulawi Muhammad Nabi Muhammad. He only has a local madrasa education.

NE’MATI, HUMAIRA. Member of the special commission for convening a Loya Jirga in June 2002, and professor of law and political science at Balkh University. She was educated in her native Balkh Province and at Kiev University, where she finished the studies she began at Kabul. She obtained a teaching position at Balkh University in 1991 and served as head of the faculty of political science until the Taliban conquest in 1997.

NEW DEMOCRATIC PARTY. Jam’iat-i Demukrati-yi Nawin, official name of the Shu’la-yi Javid.
NEWSPAPERS. See PRESS AND JOURNALISM.

NIAZI, DR. GHULAM MUHAMMAD (1932–1978). One of the founders of the Sazman-i jawanan-i musulman (Organization of Muslim Youth), which was affiliated with the Jama’at-i Islami (Islamic Society) in Pakistan and formed the nucleus of the subsequent Islamist movement. He was born in the village of Rahim Khel in Ghazni Province and educated at Abu Hanifa Theological School in Kabul and al-Azhar University at Cairo, where he was exposed to the teachings of the Ikhwan al-Muslimin (Muslim Brotherhood) and the writings of Sayyid Qutb. He returned to Afghanistan and became a teacher and later dean at the faculty of theology of Kabul University. The mujahedin leaders Burhanuddin Rabbani and Abdul Rasul Sayyaf were his students, and Rabbani succeeded him in 1972 as amir of the youth movement. Niazi was arrested in 1974 and executed during the Khalqi regime in 1978.

NIDA-I-KHALQ. A biweekly Dari/Pashtu newspaper with a circulation of about 1,500. It was published by Abdul Rahman Mahmudi and edited by Wali Ahmad Ata’i and represented the views of Khalq, a liberal group (unrelated to the Khalqi faction of the Peoples Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA). Its first edition appeared on September 15, 1971, and ceased publication in January 1972.

NIEDERMAYER, OSKAR VON. A German officer from Bavaria and in the years 1915–1916, coleader with Werner Otto von Hentig of an expedition to Afghanistan for the purpose of winning Amir Habibullah’s support for military action against British India during the World War I. The expedition did not achieve its objectives (see HENTIG-NIEDERMAYER EXPEDITION). After the defeat of Germany, Niedermayer was in the Soviet Union under provisions of the secret Treaty of Rapollo of 1922, where he and other German military officers participated in the modernization of the Red Army. At the end of World War II Niedermayer was arrested by Soviet forces in eastern Europe and died in Moscow’s Lubjanka prison in about 1945.
**NIFA.** The English-language acronym for the National Islamic Front of Afghanistan, the mujahedin party of Pir Sayyid Ahmad Gailani. For details see MAHAZ-I MILLI-YI AFGHANISTAN.

**NIGHT LETTERS.** Clandestine leaflets attacking Afghan rulers and government officials, which became a potent propaganda tool in the war of the mujahedin with the Soviet/Kabul forces. Night letters, protesting the secular policies of the Afghan government, were handwritten, copied, and distributed by Islamist groups since the 1960s. President Muhammad Daud was the target of such leaflets, as were the Marxist and Soviet governments after 1978. Letters, written in Dari and Pashtu, called for resistance against government policies, urging Afghans not to “accept the orders of the infidels, and wage jihad against them” (Bradsher, 208). Soviet soldiers were addressed in Russian, telling them to resist the policies of their dictatorial regime. On February 21, 1980, one successful campaign summoned the citizens of Kabul to shout “Allahu Akbar” (God is Great) from their rooftops. This was followed by rioting and a general strike which was severely repressed. The letters were distributed at night, hence the name, shab-nama (D., shab = night, nama = letter).

**NIMRUZ (30º30' N, 62º0' E).** A province in southwestern Afghanistan with an area of 20,980 square miles and a population of 112,000. The capital of the province is Zaranj, a small town built in the 1960s. The province was called Chakhansur until 1968 and is part of ancient Sistan. Although the second largest in area, it is the smallest province in population. The economy is based primarily on agriculture in the Helmand Valley and animal husbandry. Baluch nomads graze their herds in the deserts. A strong wind prevails for about 120 days a year and is harvested by countless windmills. Nimruz is watered by the Helmand, Khashrud, and Farah Rivers, which dissipate in the hamuns east of Zaranj.

A multitude of tepe, mounds, indicating ancient settlements, as well as mud brick and baked brick ruins can be found throughout the province, testifying to a flourishing civilization before its destruction as a result of Mongol invasions.
NIZAMNAMA. A code of regulations enacted in the 1920s by King Amanullah that embodies his reforms, such as the Constitution of 1924 (nizam-nama-yi asasi = basic law). The Nizamnama included regulations as to the organization of the state and the payment of taxes, as well as rules concerning engagements and marriages and the establishment of schools for women. Traditional elements strongly opposed these innovations, which they considered contrary to Islamic law, and with tribal support succeeded in ousting King Amanullah. See also CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT.

NOMADS. See POWINDAH.

NORTHERN ALLIANCE. A tenuous alliance of anti-Taliban forces founded in 1996–1997 that included the Itihad-i Islami of Abdul Rasul Sayyaf; the Uzbek Jumbesh-i Milli of Abdur Rashid Dostum; the Jam’iat-i Islami of General Isma’il Khan in Herat, Ahmad Shah Mas’ud and Burhanuddin Rabbani (the nominal leader) in the northeast; and the Shi’a Hizb-i Wahdat of Karim Khalili. The Panjshiri military arm of Jam’iat was able to capture Kabul and gain the most powerful ministerial positions in the interim and transitional governments. The forces of Dostum and Muhammad Ata of Jam’iat have frequently clashed over territory in northern Afghanistan.

NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE (NWFP). The North-West Frontier Province of India (now Pakistan) is inhabited largely by Pashtuns, the same ethnic group that is politically dominant in Afghanistan. Because of the inaccessibility of the Frontier area and the martial reputation of its people, the British and Pakistani governments found it preferable to rule the area indirectly, leaving it politically and culturally autonomous under their tribal chiefs. The province had been part of Afghanistan since 1747 but gradually came under British control as result of its “forward policy.” In 1893 Sir Mortimer Durand, foreign secretary of the government of India, drew a boundary line, subsequently called the Durand Line, which bisected the Pashtun tribal area, a decision Amir Abdul Rahman could not prevent. The 1893 agreement was reconfirmed in subse-
quent Anglo-Afghan treaties. When the state of Pakistan came into existence, the Afghan government wanted the Pashtuns of the NWFP to be given the choice of reunion with Afghanistan or independence in addition to the option of union with Pakistan or India. These choices were not given, and a minority of Pashtuns of the NWFP opted for union with Pakistan. The Pashtunistan Question subsequently had a deleterious effect on Afghan-Pakistani relations. Pashtun nationalists of the NWFP demand the right to call their province by its ethnic designation Pakhtunkhwa, Land of the Pashtuns. See also APPENDIXES 1 and 1A.

NURISTAN (34°57' N, 70°24' E). A district in Laghman Province that comprises an area of 1,404 square miles and is part of ancient Kafiristan. The Nuristanis are Sunni Muslims, estimated at numbering 90,000 to 100,000. They predominate in Kunar and Laghman Provinces and speak several languages and dialects of languages which have intrigued historical linguists, since they have elements of both Indian and Iranian languages. This suggests that these languages (and populations) became isolated at a time when Indo-Iranian populations had not yet differentiated. Their country was called by Afghans Kafiristan (Land of Unbelievers) until 1895–1896 when Amir Abdul Rahman conquered it and converted the Kafirs to Islam. Henceforth the country was called Nuristan, Land of Light, meaning the enlightenment of Islam. The Nuristanis and their neighboring Safi Pashtuns were among the first people to rise in October 1978 in rebellion against the Peoples Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) regime. After attempts to pacify Nuristan failed, the area remained largely autonomous and was an important base for mujahedin operations. As part of its nationalities policy, the Marxist government elevated Kati (not a lingua franca for all Nuristani communities) to the status of a “national” language and permitted radio broadcasts and newspapers in that language. Nuristan remained largely autonomous during the period of Taliban rule.

NURISTANI, ABDUL QADIR. Commandant general of the police and gendarmerie, 1973–1975 and minister of the interior, 1975–1978. He participated in the Muhammad Daud coup in
1973 and was responsible for the arrest of Marxist leaders. He was loyal to President Daud and remained with him when Daud and his family were killed by Marxists who stormed the Palace on April 27, 1978.

**NURISTANI, AHMAD YUSUF.** Minister of irrigation and environment in the **transitional government** and spokesman for the president in the **interim government** of President Hamid Karzai. He was adviser and coordinator of the Secretariat of the ex-king Muhammad Zahir in Rome, Italy. In the 1980s he served on the editorial board of Writers of the Union of Free Afghanistan (WUFA), published in Peshawar, Pakistan. He graduated from Rahman Baba High School in Kabul, and from Kabul University in 1970 and continued his studies at the University of Arizona, where he obtained an M.A. degree in anthropology in 1975 and the Ph.D. degree in Middle Eastern Studies in 1991. Ethnically a Nuristani, he also speaks Nuristani dialects, Urdu, Dari, and Pashtu.

**NURZAI.** A large and prosperous tribe of Durrani located primarily in the Rabat and Kadanai districts of Kandahar Province and in Farah and Herat Provinces. In the early 1930s they were estimated to number about 30,000 fighting men. They are largely cultivators and live in mud brick villages as well as in traditional black tents.

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**OBAIDULLAH, AKHUND (UBAYD ALLAH).** Minister of national defense in the Taliban government. A Hotaki Pashtun from Dand district of Kandahar Province. He was a commander affiliated with Maulawi Muhammad Nabi Muhammadi’s party.

**OBAIDULLAH, MAULAWI.** An Indian Nationalist and revolutionary, who came to Kabul with the Hentig-Niedermayer Expedition in 1915. He was an associate of Mahendra Pratap and “home secretary” of the “Provisional Government of India in Exile.” He was a Sikh who had converted to Islam and was educated at the Deoband Islamic School in India. He fled India in February 1915 where he was
a leader of the Pan-Islamic Party of Muslim Indians. He eventually returned to India where he founded a political party in the 1940s, known as the Jamna Narbada Sind Sagar Party. He died in the late 1940s.

**OBEH (34°22' N, 63°10' E).** A small town and administrative district in eastern Herat Province that lies on the Hari Rud. The inhabitants are primarily Qipchak (Turks) as well as some Taimanis, Ghilzais, and Sayyids. About 26 miles east of Obeh is the village of Chisht, the birthplace of Muin ud-Din Muhammad (b. 1142), founder of the Chishti Sufi fraternity and one of the great Sufi masters of India.

**OJHIRI CAMP EXPLOSION.** Ojhiri Camp was the Inter-Services Intelligence command post for the war in Afghanistan. It comprised an area of some 70 to 80 acres, located on the northern outskirts of Rawalpindi, about eight miles from Islamabad. The camp included a training area, a psychological warfare unit, a Stinger training school, and mess halls for some 500 men. Most importantly, it contained the warehouses where some 70 to 80 percent of all arms and ammunition for the mujahedin were held. On April 10, 1988, the entire stock was lost in a giant explosion. According to Yousaf and Adkin (220) “Some 30,000 rockets, thousands of mortar bombs, millions of rounds of small-arms ammunition, countless anti-tank mines, recoilless rifle ammunition and Stinger missiles were sucked into the most devastating and spectacular firework display that Pakistan is ever likely to see.” About 100 persons died and over 1,000 were wounded as people as far away as eight miles were hit by falling rockets. The depot was stocked to capacity with four months worth of supplies needed by the mujahedin for their spring offensive. The cause of the explosion was never examined in a public inquiry, and President Zia-ul Haq dismissed the government that wanted to blame the ISI and the Pakistani army for this disaster. Conspiracy theorists saw it as a result of KGB or CIA sabotage, while others called it an accident. Fire was supposed to have started in a box of Egyptian rockets that had not been defused before shipping. A box was dropped and wounded several people, and the fire was permitted to burn for several minutes while the wounded were carried away. Ten minutes later, the entire depot went up, and secondary explosions occurred for the following two days.
OMAR, MULLA MUHAMMAD. Supreme leader and founder of the Taliban movement in 1994 who ruled over much of Afghanistan until the start of the United States military intervention in October 2001. Omar led his madrasa students in a spectacular campaign to capture Kandahar (1994), Herat (1995), Kabul (1996), and Mazar-i Sharif (1997 and finally 1998) to control most of the country. The 50-year-old mulla, a Pashtun born in Oruzgan Province (or Nodeh village near Kandahar) was a mujahed in the Harakat of Muhammad Nabi Muhammadi (or Yunus Khales) and rose to the rank of deputy chief commander. Of heavy build, he is an expert marksman and is reputed to have destroyed several tanks in the battle with Soviet and Marxist forces. He was wounded several times and lost one eye. Omar is said to be of Nurzai Durrani (or Hotak Ghilzai) background. He taught in a village madrasa in Sangsag (Sang Hisar) some 24 miles west of Kandahar but never finished his religious education; nevertheless, in April 1996 a Shura of about a 1,000 members of the ulama recognized him as Amir al-Mu'minin, (Commander of the Faithful). For this occasion, Omar wore what is believed to be the Cloak of the Prophet. Mulla Omar made Kandahar his center from where he directed the organization. He wanted to establish a “true” Islamic state in Afghanistan and issued a number of fatwas to this effect. Men were to wear beards and native dress. He ordered the closing of girls’ schools, and restricted women to their homes. He forbade photography of living creatures, music, TV, video cassettes, cockfights, kite flying, and made sportsmen wear pants from below the knee to navel. Omar forbade women to walk in public without a male relative and initiated brutal punishment of enemies and “sinners,” striking fear into those who did not accept his interpretation of Islam. After the defeat of the Taliban regime, Omar fled and has not yet been captured. There is a bounty of $10 million on his head. See also APPENDIX 7; OPERATION ENDURING FREEDOM; TALIBAN GOVERNMENT.

OPERATION ANACONDA. A United States Army attack on an al Qaeda stronghold in the Shah-i Kot area, about 20 miles from Gardez, which has been praised as “an unqualified and absolute success” by General Tommy Franks and a “big mistake” by others. Planned by Army Major General Franklin Hagenbeck as a 72-hour operation, the campaign lasted for 12 days and pitted a force of about
1,400 American troops against a force of 150 to 250 enemy on the Takur Ghar range. Not unlike the Soviet experience in the 1980s, the American troops were pinned down and five of six Apache helicopters got shot up and were “non-mission capable” on the first day of fighting. Two helicopters crashed, resulting in the death of eight U.S. soldiers. The valley was narrow and the enemy was entrenched high on the slopes of the mountain. Fixed-wing aircraft had to fly at an altitude of 20,000 feet to avoid Soviet-made SA-7 surface-to-air missiles and, in spite of dropping about 6 million pounds of ordnance, the enemy fighters could not be dislodged from their bases and most of them seemed to have escaped. General Hagenbeck blamed lack of adequate air support, as aircraft had to be repositioned from Kuwait. Afghan allies claimed that the Americans failed to adapt to the enemy’s guerrilla tactics and that they underestimated the tenacity of the al Qaeda fighters. After the operation “fewer than 20 enemy bodies were found” (Brendan O’Neill, The Strange Battle of Shah-i Kot). See also APPENDIX 4.

**OPERATION ENDURING FREEDOM.** As a result of the terrorist attack on the World Trade Center in New York and the Pentagon in Washington, D.C., and Osama bin Laden’s declaration of war on the United States, President George W. Bush announced strikes by the U.S. military “against al Qaeda terrorist training camps and military installations of the Taliban regime.” The objectives were to destroy the al Qaeda infrastructure in Afghanistan and capture its members and, secondarily, to replace the Taliban regime. The operation began on October 7, 2001, when American and British aerial attacks quickly destroyed whatever existed of the Afghan communications system. For ground forces the allies employed fighters of the Northern Alliance and tribal groups from the Pashtun areas, who took advantage of the situation and extended their control over the country. The Panjshiri contingent of the Northern Alliance took Kabul and Burhanuddin Rabbani established himself in the palace. Most of Afghanistan was quickly cleared of al Qaeda and Taliban forces and an interim government and, subsequently, a transitional government were set up in which the Panjshiris continued to have a dominant control. An international peace force, the International Security Force for Afghanistan, (ISFA) policed Kabul while American forces continued to hunt for leaders of the Taliban and al Qaeda movements.
It has been estimated that the first three months of the war cost the United States $3.8 billion and while the Taliban regime was largely destroyed, warlords in the service of American campaigns were able to fill the political vacuum, establishing autonomous power bases in defiance of the Kabul government. At the time of writing, Osama bin Laden and **Muhammad Omar** have not been captured. Some observers see this as the beginning of permanent American bases in Central Asia and the Gulf region. See also APPENDIX 4.

**OPIUM**. During the **Taliban** regime poppy cultivation in Afghanistan experienced a considerable increase, in spite of the fact that the use of opiates is forbidden in **Islam**. Unaware of the foreign political implications, the new rulers maintained that production was “only for export” and not local consumption. Only as a result of foreign pressure did the government realize that this was not an acceptable justification. The cultivation of poppies requires little water and the raisin can be stored for long periods of time before it is processed into heroin. It is the ideal cash crop for impoverished farmers and the Taliban government derived a considerable income from its taxation. Lacking foreign assistance in subsidizing alternate crops, poppy cultivation became an irresistible means for economic advancement. By 1999 Afghanistan produced 70 percent of the world’s illicit opium, amounting to about 4,500 metric tons.

Finally, in 2001 the Taliban government yielded to pressure and production dropped to 185 tons, but after the ouster of the **Islamist** regime in 2002, production again surged to 3,400 metric tons. According to a survey by the **United Nations** Office for Drug Control and Crime Prevention, poppy cultivation exists in 24 of 32 Afghan provinces, but 95 percent comes from northern **Badakhshan**, **Nangarhar**, **Oruzgan**, the **Helmand** Valley, and **Kandahar**. The major area of production is the Helmand Province, which is not very distant from an American military base in Kandahar. The **Hamid Karzai** government has outlawed the cultivation of poppies and has offered farmers $500 an acre, but it lacks adequate funds and the power to enforce its edicts in the provinces.

**ORAKZAI**. A Pashtun tribe located at the **Pakistan** side of the Afghan border, it is divided into seven clans: the Sultanzaizi, Bahramzaizi, Ismailzaizi, Massuzai, Alizai (or Sturi Khel), Lashkarzaizi, and Daulatzai.
There are various traditions as to its origin. According to one, they are the descendants of a Persian prince, Sikander Shah, who was exiled ("Wruzkai") in the Kohat area a thousand years ago. Another version claims its origin from Abdul Aziz, a descendant of Warak, one of three brothers who came from Afghanistan to the Orakzai hills. Western scholars speculate that they are of Indian stock with some infusion of Turkic blood, and are now reckoned to be Ghurghusht Pashtuns (Ridgway, Pathans, 1910).

ORMURI. A group of perhaps 300 families who speak Ormuri, one of a number of almost extinct eastern Iranian languages. They are Sunni Muslims and also speak Pashtu and Dari. They are located primarily in the Logar Valley as well as in Peshawar and Waziristan on the Pakistani side of the border.

ORUZGAN (33°15' N, 66°0' E). A province in central Afghanistan with an area of 11,169 square miles and about 483,000 inhabitants; it is also the name of a village and its surrounding district. The population is largely Hazara with some Pashtuns and other ethnic communities in the south. The administrative center of the province is Tirinkot with a population of about 50,000. The province is part of the Hazarajat and in the late nineteenth century was incorporated into Kandahar Province. In 1964 Oruzgan became a province and elected representatives to the Afghan Parliament.

A mountainous area, it is easily accessible only from the south through valleys at altitudes of 3,000 to 7,600 feet. It is traversed by the Helmand River and some of its tributaries. The province is largely agricultural with the cultivation of cereal grains. Major handicrafts include the weaving of gelim.

OSAMA BIN LADEN. See LADEN, OSAMA BIN.

OXUS. Greek name of the Amu Daria, still used in the West.

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PACHA KHAN ZADRAN (JADRAN). Member of the 2001 Bonn Conference and leader of the Jadran tribe. He returned to
Afghanistan from Pakistan exile to help American forces hunt for al Qaeda and Taliban forces in eastern Afghanistan. He claims to head a force of some 3,000 tribesmen and challenged the Hamid Karzai government when a rival, Abdul Hakim Taniwal was appointed governor of Khost. One of his younger brothers, Amanullah Zadran, was appointed minister of border and tribal affairs in the interim government. Ibrahim Haqqani, a brother of Maulawi Jalaluddin Haqani, is also a Zadran rival of Pacha Khan. Pacha wants to regain control of Gardez, where he was once governor and closed the Khost–Gardez road, which resulted in clashes with U.S. and Afghan forces.

PAGHMAN (34º36' N, 68º57' E). A foothill town about 12 miles north-west of Kabul, where King Amanullah built a modern town, including a royal palace. Members of the upper class also built beautiful villas. A triumphal arch (taq-i zafar) was built in honor of the martyrs of the First, Second, and Third Anglo-Afghan Wars. An open-air theater was constructed for the entertainment of Kabuli citizens who would visit the town on weekends during the hot summer months.

The town lies at an altitude of about 8,000 feet on the eastern slope of the Paghman Range. A reservoir and water line from the area supplies Kabul with potable water. Although it is near Kabul, it is surrounded by woods and high mountains and was a shelter for mujahedin groups. Much of the town has been destroyed. Paghman is the birthplace of several prominent political leaders, including the Khalqi President Hafizullah Amin and the radical Islamist mujahedin leader Abdul Rasul Sayyaf. Paghman was controlled by Burhanuddin Rabbani until the surprise victory of the Taliban in September 1996.

PAINDA KHAN (PAYANDA). Chief of the Muhammadzai section of the Durrans and ancestor of the families of both King Amanullah and ex-King Zahir Shah. He was the son of Haji Jamal Khan (1719–1805), who helped Ahmad Shah gain the throne in 1747. Painda Khan backed Zaman Shah in his struggle for the throne against other sons of Timur Shah, but subsequently plotted against him and was executed at the direction of Zaman Shah. Painda Khan’s sons avenged this deed and thus contributed to the downfall of the Durrani dynasty. His son Dost Muhammad (r. 1826–1838 and 1842–1863) became the founder of the Muhammadzai dynasty.
**PAKHTUN.** Another form of *Pashtun*, as pronounced in the eastern Pashtun dialect.

**PAKISTAN-AFGHAN RELATIONS.** Relations between the two neighboring states were marked by hostility from the founding of Pakistan in 1947. Afghanistan cast the only vote against admitting Pakistan to the United Nations on the grounds that the *Pashtuns* of the North-West Frontier Province had not had a fair plebiscite.

“Historical Afghanistan” at the time of *Ahmad Shah*, founder of the state of Afghanistan, included most of Pakistan territory up to the Indus River and south to the Arabian Sea. *Ranjit Singh* (1780–1839) of the ephemeral *Sikh* nation, deprived the Afghan ruler of his eastern provinces, and the British, in search of a “scientific frontier” to defend their possessions in India, moved into tribal territory of the Afghan heartland. The *Durand Agreement* of 1893, signed under “duress” by Amir *Abdur Rahman*, divided Afghan tribal territory, leaving an autonomous area within British India. And when Britain finally agreed to relinquish her hold on India, the Afghan government demanded that the Afghans of the frontier belt be given the choice to opt for independence or union with Afghanistan, in addition to the choice of union with Pakistan or India. This was not granted. The British government replied that it held to the *Anglo-Afghan Treaty of 1921* by which the boundary was recognized by both states and asked Afghanistan to abstain from any act of intervention on the northwest frontier (but see APPENDIXES 1 and 1A). Afghanistan began to agitate for the creation of an independent *Pashtunistan* and Pakistan rejected all Afghan claims.

Armed conflict loomed in June 1949 when Pakistani planes bombed tribal territory as well as Moghalghai, a village within the boundaries of Afghanistan. In July 1949 the Afghan National Assembly repudiated the treaties with Britain regarding the tribal territory, and in May 1955 the two countries withdrew their diplomatic representatives.

The dispute gained an international dimension when the Soviet Union (see RUSSIAN-AFGHAN RELATIONS) backed Afghanistan in the Pashtunistan dispute and the *United States*-supported SEATO powers issued a statement declaring that “the region up to the *Durand* Line is Pakistan territory and within its treaty area.” In August 1956 Prime Minister *Muhammad Daud* announced the conclusion of a military arms agreement with Czechoslovakia and the Soviet
Union. Another break in diplomatic relations resulted in September 1961, which lasted until August 1963 when the two countries again exchanged ambassadors. In March of that year, Prime Minister Daud resigned and a new government was elected which concentrated its efforts on the development of the country. A pragmatic government wanted to improve relations with its neighbors and did not press the Pashtunistan issue, resulting in a period of relative calm.

When Muhammad Daud in July 1973 abolished the monarchy in a bloodless coup, Afghanistan’s relations with Pakistan again turned hostile. The Zulfikar Ali Bhutto government permitted members of the Afghan Jam‘iat-i Islami to stage raids into the Panjshir Valley, which marked the beginning of a mujahedin movement to fight the Kabul regime, after the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. During the 1980s and 1990s Pakistan became the predominant power in Afghanistan. Pakistan was the conduit of funds and weapons and the haven of some three-and-a-half million refugees who formed the reservoir of fighters against the Marxist regime. In 1981 Pakistan recognized six Sunni resistance organizations and began to actively participate in the war effort. Brigadier Muhammad Yousaf (Yusuf), Head of the Afghan Bureau of the Inter-Services Intelligence of the Pakistani armed forces, claimed a leading position in the war effort. Radical Islamists received preferential treatment in the supply of funds and weapons. Royalists, nationalists (like members of Afghan Millat), and Shi‘as were more or less neglected. Pakistan began to look at Afghanistan as a area providing “strategic depth” in a confrontation with India.

When the Marxist government was ousted, Pakistan supported the Islamist forces of Gulbuddin Hekmayar in the struggle for power between the victorious mujahedin groups. The Islamists were seen as a Pan-Islamist movement which was not expected to be concerned with the Pashtunistan question. Eventually, the Pakistan government switched its support to the Taliban. If it had not been for the fact that Afghanistan provided shelter to Osama bin Laden, the Taliban government might well have prevailed. The irony is that even the Taliban regime did not prove to be a willing puppet of Pakistan. It gave shelter to terrorist groups who were wanted in Pakistan, pursued a radical Islamist policy that threatened to destabilize Pakistan society, and never issued a statement recognizing the Durand Line.
After the defeat of the Taliban government, the Hamid Karzai government expressed its willingness to maintain brotherly relations with Pakistan, but the fact that it is dominated by the non-Pashtun Northern Alliance makes it unlikely that relations would become too friendly in the near future.

PAKTIA (33º35' N, 69º35' E). A province in eastern Afghanistan comprising an area of almost 3,860 square miles and a population of about 550,000. The capital of the province is Gardez, with a pre-1978 population of about 10,000 (1991 est. 54,000). Until the early 1970s Paktia also included Paktika Province and southeastern parts of Ghazni Province. The province is largely mountainous, but well watered and cultivated and shares an almost 125-mile-long border with Pakistan. The population is largely Ghilzai Pashtun, but in the south and west are found Jadran and in the east Jaji, Mangal, Tanai, and Waziri tribes.

The economy depends largely on agriculture with wheat, maize, barley, and rice being the principal crops. Land holdings are generally small, and animal husbandry and illegal timber cutting supplement agricultural activities.

Paktia was an area of strategic importance for the mujahedin because it has a common border with Pakistan and lies on the route to Kabul. There has been considerable fighting in the area because many of the Peoples Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) leadership were Ghilzais from Paktia, where the Kabul government also enjoyed some support. A mujahedin offensive finally led to the capture of Khost on March 31, 1991. According to United Nations estimates a large portion of the population lived as refugees in Pakistan, more than from any other province. The area was controlled by various mujahedin groups until it was conquered by the Taliban in summer 1996. United States intervention, which led to the defeat of the Taliban regime in December 2001, established a base in the area for continued search and destroy mission of al Qaeda and Taliban forces ensconced in parts of Paktia province.

PAKTICA (32º25' N, 68º45' E). Paktika Province was created during the tenure of President Muhammad Daud (r. 1973–1978) from the south-eastern districts of Paktia and Ghazni Provinces. It comprises an area of about 7,336 square miles and has an estimated population
of about 245,000. The administrative center is Sharan with a population of about 40,000. The population is largely Ghilzai of the Sulaiman Khel, Kharoti, and Jadran tribes, but also includes Tajiks and Waziri Pashtuns. About 31 percent of the population eventually settled as refugees in Pakistan.

Paktika suffered greatly from the war, and the destruction of the ancient system of irrigation in the Katawaz plain has greatly reduced the amount of cultivated land. Unrestricted cutting of timber has denuded formerly forested areas. From 1990 the province was in mujahedin control until captured by the Taliban in summer 1996 and held until their ouster in 2001.

PAMIRS (38º0' N, 73º0' E). A mountain range running in a north-south direction and dividing the Oxus basin from the plains of Kashgar, Sinkiang Province of China. There is a series of valleys forming plateaus at altitudes of from 11,000 to 13,000 feet. Located in the Wakhan Corridor, which extends to the Chinese border, the plateaus were inhabited by Qirghiz hunters and herders, most of whom fled to Pakistan and emigrated to Turkey.

PANIPAT, BATTLE OF. A battle on January 14, 1761, in which Ahmad Shah Durrani decisively defeated the Maratha tribal confederation near the town of Panipat some 50 miles north of Delhi. The Maratha Empire, founded in 1680 by Shivaji in the present Maharashtra Province, gradually grew in size and in a successful guerrilla war supplanted the Moghuls in a wide area of India. They were warriors and champions of Hinduism and became a serious threat to the Afghans when they occupied the Punjab. Ahmad Shah was able to cross the Jumna River unopposed and took up a position near the Maratha army, commanded by Sadashiv Bhau. For two months the two armies engaged in skirmishes with varying success, but eventually the Afghan forces were able to block the supply routes of the Indians. Both armies were organized in the traditional left and right wings with large center divisions; the Afghans had the advantage in numbers, about 60,000 against 45,000 Indian troops. The Marathas were handicapped with most of their camp followers, families, and supplies located in Panipat, making it impossible for them to retreat quickly.
Sadashiv Bhau therefore tried to negotiate, but when the Afghans refused to deal, he was forced into combat. The artillery of the Afghans was lighter and more mobile than the heavy guns of the Marathas; nevertheless, in a desperate move, the Marathas seemed about to penetrate the Afghan center. But the Afghans were able to bring in reinforcements and enveloped the Marathas from three sides. One squadron after another discharged their muskets, leaving the Indians little opportunity to compose themselves. Wishwas Rao, the nominal head of the Marathas, and Sadashiv were killed, and the Marathas were routed. The battle ended the dreams of both the Marathas and Afghans to become the rulers of India. Ahmad Shah’s troops disliked the heat of the Indian plains and wanted to return home with their plunder, forcing the Afghan ruler to return.

PANJ A. The name given to the Wakhan branch of the Amu Daria.

PANJAB (PUNJAB). An area watered by five rivers (D., panj = five, ab = water), the Beas, Jhelum, Chenab, Rawi, and Sutlej in northern India. It is now divided into the western Panjab of Pakistan and the eastern Panjab of India. It is a rich and fertile area and has been the scene of numerous battles.

PANJDEH INCIDENT. A military encounter in 1885 in which a Russian force under General Alikhanov annexed the Panjdeh district north of Herat Province (now part of Turkmenistan). The military action pitted superior Russian troops against about 500 defending Afghan soldiers headed by the Afghan general Ghausuddin Khan. Afghan rulers claimed the area by virtue of the fact that the Turkomans of Panjdeh had been their occasional tributaries, but the Russians insisted that they were part of the Turkoman nation of Khiva and Merv, which Russia had annexed in 1881 and 1884.

An Anglo-Russian commission was to meet and resolve the dispute, but military action began on March 30, 1885, before Sir Peter Lumsden, a British Indian general and his Russian counterpart had arrived on the scene. Amir Abdul Rahman learned of the incident while he was on a state visit in Rawalpindi, India, and accepted the fait accompli at the urging of Lord Dufferin, the viceroy of India. The fact that Britain did not come to Afghanistan’s defense, as she was
obligated to do in case of unprovoked Russian aggression, confirmed the Afghan ruler in his belief that he could not rely on British promises of support.

**PANJSHIR (34º38' N, 69º42' E).** An administrative district in northern Parwan Province with an area of about 273 square miles and an agricultural population of about 30,000. The district is traversed by the Panjshir River, which rises on the southern slopes of the Hindu Kush in the vicinity of the Khawak Pass.

The population is largely Tajik, converted to Sunni Islam as late as the sixteenth century. The area was often independent or autonomous and although the Panjshiris acknowledged the Afghan amir as their ruler, they rarely paid taxes to the Kabul government. It was only since the time of Amir Abdul Rahman that the Kabul government asserted its sovereignty over the area.

The Panjshir Valley is quite inaccessible; therefore, the Soviet and Kabul forces never succeeded in bringing it under full government control. Its location, impinging on the strategic Salang road that connects Kabul with the northern provinces, made the Panjshir Valley an ideal base for mujahedin activity. Ahmad Shah Mas’ud, called “The Lion of Panjshir” by his admirers, was able to withstand numerous Soviet incursions and was not evicted from the valley, making him one of the most successful mujahedin commanders. As irony would have it, when the Taliban captured Kabul in September 1996, Mas’ud was forced to flee to the Panjshir Valley, where he remained under siege until his assassination on September 9, 2001. With United States aerial support, the Panjshiri militia under General Muhammad Fahim was able to capture Kabul and establish itself as a dominant part of the interim government of December 2001.

**PANJSHIR, SOVIET OFFENSIVE.** Of about nine offensives, the seventh Soviet Panjshir offensive of April–May 1984 has been cited by military historians as the typical example of Soviet frustration in fighting a counter insurgency war in this area. It began in response to Ahmad Shah Mas’ud’s refusal to renew his 1983 cease-fire with Soviet forces and involved some 10,000 Soviet and 5,000 Afghan troops (20,000 Soviet and 6,000 Afghans according to Isby, 1989, 32). Ac-
according to Brigadier Yousaf and Adkin (71–73), Mas’ud had learned of the planned offensive and organized the evacuation of hundreds of villages in the lower portion of the Panjshir Valley. He laid mines along the road up the valley and in one successful ambush was able to destroy 70 fuel tankers and two important bridges. He then pulled back his forces before the start of aerial bombardment. Mountain ridges rising to 19,000 feet border the narrow valley and hindered proper approaches of the TU-16 (Badgers) and SU24 (Fencer) bombers. The high-altitude bombing was often way off the mark, permitting the mujahedin to make spoiling attacks from the flanks. Heliborne units, landing in side valleys, executed blocking actions, but several landed too far from aerial support and were decimated by mujahedin forces. In eight days, the Soviets advanced about 40 miles up to the village of Khenj and by May 7 Dasht-i Ravat was occupied. Afghan garrisons were established in the valley and the Soviet/Kabul troops withdrew, permitting the mujahedin to move back into the valley by the end of June. Total Soviet casualties were said to have amounted to about 500, and some 200 mujahedin were killed. The Afghan garrisons found themselves isolated in hostile territory and eventually developed a modus vivendi in which they coexisted without causing much harm to each other. Masud was soon again free to attack Soviet convoys on the Salang Highway that provided much of the needs for the survival of the Kabul government. Eventually, the mujahedin captured isolated posts when the garrisons surrendered or defected. Since the fall of the Kabul regime in April 1992, Panjshir formed the heartland of Mas’ud’s territory, to which he retreated when the Taliban captured Kabul.

**PAPUTIN, LIEUTENANT GENERAL VICTOR S.** First deputy minister of internal affairs, said to have been in command of the Soviet special forces’ attempt to capture, or assassinate, President Hafizullah Amin. Paputin and Colonel Bayerenov, a KGB officer, were killed in the mission. According to another version, Paputin committed suicide because of the failure of his mission to capture Amin alive.

**PARCHAM.** A faction of the Peoples Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) that supported Babrak Kamal in opposition to
Nur Muhammad Taraki. Called Parcham (Banner), it was also the name of their newspaper, founded in March 1968. It was published by Sulaiman Layeq and edited by him and Mir Akbar Khaibar, the faction’s major ideologist. It carried articles in Pashtu and Dari and was openly critical of the Afghan government and was therefore closed in July 1969.

**PAROPAMISUS (34º30' N, 63º30' E).** Name given by Western writers to the Safid Kuh and Band-i Baba, the range bounding on the Hari Rud valley on the north.

**PARSIWAN.** See FARSIWAN.

**PARWAN (35º15' N, 69º30' E).** A province located north of Kabul with an area of 2,282 square miles and a population of about 418,000. The capital of Parwan is Charikar, a town with 22,500 (1991 est. 120,000) inhabitants, located at the mouth of the Ghorband Valley about 49 miles north of Kabul. The province is famous for its grapes, some of which are dried and exported as raisins. The first cement plant in Afghanistan was started at Jabal-us-Siraj and a hydroelectric power plant provided electricity for Kabul. Subsequently, a textile industry was developed at Gulbahar. The province is of great strategic importance as it is crossed by the Salang Highway, which leads from Kabul north over the Hindu Kush.

**PASDARAN-I JIHAD-I ISLAMI.** A radical Islamist Shi’a group, inspired and supported by the Iranian pasdaran (Guardians of the Revolution), which established itself in the Hazarajat in 1983. Ustad Akbari, one of its leaders, collaborated with Mir Husain Sadeqi of Nasr and by 1984 succeeded in the expulsion of the Shura commanded by Sayyid Ali Beheshti from most of the Hazarajat. The pasdaran were recruited with Iranian support from Hazaras resident in Iran and local militants in the Hazarajat who seceded from the Shura. They were led by young members of the ulama, educated in Iran, and followed the “line” of Ayatollah Khomeini, professing hostility to the former Soviet Union and the United States (“neither East nor West”) and looking to Iran as a
model for an Islamic state. The pasdaran seemed to have discontinued close cooperation with their Iranian brothers and became part of the Hizb-i Wahdat.

PASHAI. A collective term for a Dardic language of an ethnic community of about 100,000 Sunni Muslims located primarily in Laghman and Kapisa Provinces. In 1981 the Kabul regime declared Pashai one of Afghanistan’s national languages and began broadcasting in that language on Radio Kabul (see RADIO AFGHANISTAN).

PASHTU (PAKHTU). Pashtu is the language of the largest Afghan ethnic group and of an equal number of people in parts of Baluchistan and the North-West Frontier Province of Pakistan. Until the early twentieth century in Afghanistan, only the Pashtu-speakers were called Afghans, while the rest of the population was called by their ethnic or tribal designation.

Pashtu is an Indo-Iranian language related to Dari, but the two languages are not mutually intelligible. Two main dialects are spoken, the “hard” or Peshawari, called Pakhto, and the “soft,” or Kandahari, called Pashto. The former is also called the “northern” or “eastern” dialect, the latter the “southern” or “western.” The earliest Pashtu book is the History of the Yusufzai (1417), by Shaikh Mali, a Yusufzai chief. There is a considerable amount of native literature, consisting mainly of tribal and national histories and love poems. Most important of these are the Divān (Collection) of Khushhal Khan Khatak (1644–1690); the Makhzan-i Afghani (Afghan Treasure), by Akhund Darwaza, a Tajik; the Tarikh-i Murassa, (History of Jewels) by Afzal Khan, Khatak, a grandson of Khushhal Khan (fifteenth–sixteenth century).

In Afghanistan, as in Central Asia and parts of India, Persian (or Dari) was the language of the royal court, but since the early twentieth century Afghan governments have promoted Pashtu as the national language. In 1923 a literary group, Da Pashtu Maraka, was formed for this purpose, followed by the Pashto Academy (see AFGHAN ACADEMY), which conducted research in Pashto literature and culture. But Dari remains the language of education in the greater part of Afghanistan, and virtually all educated Afghans speak and understand it. Many urban Pashtuns use Dari as their
first language, and some Pashtun nomads are now Dari-speakers. The Constitution of 1964 declared both Pashtu and Dari official languages.

**PASHTU TOLANA.** See AFGHAN ACADEMY.

**PASHTUN(S).** Also called Pakhtuns (and Pathans in India), the politically dominant group in Afghanistan, with a population estimated at from six to seven million concentrated largely in the west, south, and east, but also scattered throughout Afghanistan. Another seven million Pashtuns live in Pakistan across the Durand Line. Except for the Turis and a few groups in Pakistan, all Pashtuns are Sunni Muslims, and most were converted to Islam by the tenth century A.D. The Pashtuns are excellent soldiers, and many an invader of India chose to enlist them in his armies rather than force his way through their territory. Tribal society is organized along family, clan, sectional, and tribal lines. The tribe, qabila, or clan, qaum, from the Arabic qama, meaning “those who rise together in war,” are named after their eponymic ancestor and carry the suffix “zai,” as in Muhammadzai, the “sons of Muhammad”; the clan or a group living in the same locality is called khel, like in Yahya Khel; and a kinship group is called the kor, or kahol. Alien affiliated groups, like hamsaya (dwellers under the same shade), are often attached to a tribe and enjoy its protection. Each section has its own chief, or malik, and the most powerful clan often provides the chief of the tribe. Although the tribal system has undergone changes, traditionally chiefs have to be successful leaders and exemplify Pashtun values; that is, they have to be generous and brave. They are not absolute rulers of their fellow tribesmen. Each clan decides matters of its welfare by council, the jirga. Jirgas also arbitrate disputes.

The Pashtuns living in the inaccessible areas on both sides of the Durand Line adhere to their traditional code of behavior, the pashtunwali, which guides the jirgas in resolving disputes. The principal pillars of this code are nanawati, mediation or protection; badal, retaliation; and mailmastia, hospitality. Urban Pashtuns still have a direct or emotional link to their tribes. The frontier Afghans are politically autonomous along the tribal belt on both sides of the Durand Line, but the rest have come increasingly under the control of the central governments.
Their dress consists of long shirts and wide pants that are gathered and tied around the waist. A turban (lungi) is wound in various styles over a skull cap, and open sandals (chāplīs) are worn, regardless of the severity of the weather. A shawl of wool or cotton is wrapped around the body for protection from the cold. Frontier tribesmen also carry daggers and guns, which are usually manufactured in village workshops. **Women** wear long shirts, trousers, and a kerchief and adorn themselves with coins stitched to their shirts, as well as bracelets, necklaces, and earrings. Their long hair is usually kept in a braid. A Pashtun tribal dance, the *atan*, is performed by men; it has been adopted with some changes as the Afghan national dance.

About two million Pashtuns are still partially nomadic, most of them **Ghilzai** Pashtuns (called **Kuchis** in Afghanistan and **Powindahs** in India) who used to migrate each year far into British India. Afghanistan’s relations with **Pakistan** since 1947 and the civil war in Afghanistan ended most of the seasonal transborder migrations, and many nomads from the frontier belt have remained in Pakistan.

Because secular **education** was largely in **Dari**, the Afghan government opened tribal boarding schools in **Kabul** and subsequently in the southern and eastern provinces where Pashtu is the language of education. Some of these schools prepared students for higher education in Kabul, **Jalalabad**, and **Kandahar** Provinces. Many opted for military careers, and Pashtu-speakers were drawn into the political mainstream of Kabul politics. See also **PASHTUNS, TRIBES**.

**PASHTUNISTAN.** “Land of the Afghans” (or **Pashtuns**), the name given by Afghan nationalists to the **North-West Frontier Province (NWFP)**, and parts of Baluchistan in present **Pakistan**. It was part of Afghanistan when the state was founded in 1747, but soon came under the control of the **Sikh** ruler **Ranjit Singh** and subsequently the British Indian government.

Direct rule of the area was difficult because it is mountainous and difficult to access; therefore the Pashtun tribes were allowed a considerable measure of autonomy. The British government cut the area from Afghanistan in 1893, drawing a border without regard to ethnic and cultural boundaries. Amir **Abdul Rahman** (r. 1880–1901) had scarcely consolidated his power and felt he had to accept “under
“duress” the Durand Line as his border (see APPENDICES 1 and 1A; DURAND AGREEMENT). In 1901 the British Indian government created the North-West Frontier Province but left the tribal lands outside of the directly administered areas. Five Tribal Agencies (Malakand, Khaibar, Kurram, North Waziristan, and South Waziristan) were set up with autonomous khans (chiefs) and governed by tribal councils. A British agent protected the interests of the government. Tribesmen were engaged as militia to keep order in their own areas, and if a tribe conducted raids into the lowlands, punitive campaigns were organized.

In 1947, when India was to be divided on the basis of a plebiscite, the Afghan government and Pashtun nationalists demanded that the Pashtuns be given an option to vote, if not for union with Afghanistan, then for the creation of an independent “Pashtunistan.” This option was not given and, as a result of a boycott by members of the Frontier Congress, a Muslim party allied with the Hindu Congress party and 68 percent of a low voter turnout agreed to union with Pakistan. Afghanistan protested the procedure and cast the only vote against Pakistan’s admission to the United Nations. Afghanistan’s relations with Pakistan were subsequently plagued by the Pashtunistan Question. The Afghan government supported the Pashtun nationalists; Pakistan retaliated by closing the border at times. This issue seems now to be dormant, if not dead, but just in case, the Pakistani government tended to support such Islamist mujahedin groups as Gulbuddin Hekmatyar’s Hizb-i Islami to the exclusion of nationalist groups. Pashtun nationalists have protested the fact that the NWFP is the only province in Pakistan not named after its inhabitants and demanded the adoption of the name Pakhtunkhwa (P. for Pashtunistan). The Taliban government, in spite of its good relations with Pakistan, never agreed to issue a declaration recognizing the Durand Line as Afghanistan’s boundary. See also FOREIGN RELATIONS.

**PASHTUN(S), TRIBES.** Pashtuns are tribally organized and derive their origin from an eponymic ancestor. Although almost all speak Pashtu, some may have been of Turkic or other ethnic background. Today, the Pashtuns are the dominant factor in Afghanistan and the North-West Frontier Province (NWFP) of Pakistan. Beyond these boundaries they can be found in considerable numbers in India and
other neighboring countries. The Pashtuns (Pathans) of the NWFP include the following tribes:

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<td>Afridis</td>
<td>Bajauris (or Tarkanris)</td>
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<td>Bannuchis</td>
<td>Barbars</td>
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<td>Mohmands</td>
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<td>Safis</td>
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<td>Turis</td>
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Pashtuns in Baluchistan include the following:

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<td>Achakzais</td>
<td>Babis</td>
<td>Barech</td>
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<td>Kakars</td>
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<td>Lunis</td>
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<td>Panis</td>
<td>Shiranis</td>
<td>Tarins</td>
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<td>Utman Khel</td>
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<td>Zmarais</td>
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Pashtuns in Afghanistan include the following:

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<th>Tribe</th>
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<tr>
<td>Durranis</td>
<td>Ghilzais</td>
<td>Jadrans</td>
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<tr>
<td>Safis</td>
<td>Shinwaris</td>
<td>Utman Khel</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Yusufzais</td>
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as well as others present in the NWFP. (Ridgway, 1910)

The Duranis also include the Popalzai, Alikozai, Barakzai, Alizai, Nurzai, Ishaqzai, Khugiani, Maku.

See also ETHNIC GROUPS; PASHTUNISTAN.

**PASHTUNWALI.** Name of the Pashtun traditional code of behavior which can be summarized under the terms of nanawati, mediation or protection; badal, retaliation; and melmastia, hospitality.
Nanawati is the obligation to give protection to anyone seeking asylum, even at the risk of the protector’s life, and to mediate for the weaker party seeking peace with someone he has injured. It is, therefore, a means of ending a feud.

Badal must be exacted for personal insults, damage to property, or blood feuds. Badal is exacted for the murder of a member of one’s family or hamsaya (client) and for violation of safe conduct (badragga). Feuds may involve entire tribes and last for years until a jirga of elders, or mullas, succeeds in mediating a solution. Khunbaha, blood money, has to be paid for murder, except in the case when an even number of feuding individuals were killed. Each injury had a price: at the turn of the century 180 to 300 rupees had to be paid for a life; the loss of an eye, ear, arm, or leg carried a certain value (the British government in India codified tribal law, including the amounts of money to be paid). Anthropologists disagree as to the major cause of feuding, whether it is in defense of female honor, competition for land, or retaliation for personal insult.

Melmastia is considered a sacred duty, and every village has a guest house or uses its mosque as a shelter for visitors. A guest’s person and property are protected, and a Pashtun is proud to “offer the guest or stranger what he can not even afford for himself.”

In a sense, each Afghan tribe constitutes a nation, and no one may enter a tribe’s territory without the permission of the tribe and the assurance of safe conduct, badragga. A traveler pays for an armed escort that will convey him through the territory of a tribe and hand him over to a badragga of the neighboring tribe.

Violation of the Pashtun code will bring dishonor and shame not just to an individual but to the entire tribe or the community. The process of detribalization, sedentarization, and Islamization has led to a weakening of the practice of pashtunwali.

**PASHTU TOLANA.** See AFGHAN ACADEMY.

**PATHAN.** British Indian term for Pashtuns.

**PAYAM.** Organ of the Watan party, the new name for the Peoples Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA), which succeeded the Haqiqat-i Saur Inqilab, the former party organ. Payam was under the editorship of Bareq-Shafi’i.
PAYAM-I IMRUZ. “Message of Today,” a weekly newspaper published in Dari by Ghulam Nabi Khater and edited by Abdul Rauf Turkmani and Muhammad Tahir Muhsini. It was first published on February 9, 1966, and ceased publication on May 25 when the editors resigned. It was an opposition paper that demanded justice, equality, national unity, and the eradication of social vices. It favored the expansion of education and agricultural and industrial development.

PAZHWAK, ABDUL RAHMAN. A poet, scholar, and writer in Pashtu and Dari who served as president of the 21st General Assembly of the United Nations in 1966 and as ambassador to Bonn (1972), New Delhi (1973), and London (1976–1978). Born in 1919 in Ghazni and educated in Nangarhar and at Habibia School in Kabul, he started a career as journalist. He was editor of Islah (1939), director general of the Pashtu Tolana (1941) and was appointed press attaché at the Afghan embassy in Washington in 1948 and London, 1946 and 1951. In 1955 Pazhwak was appointed general director of political affairs in the ministry of foreign affairs. In 1958 he became Afghan ambassador to the United Nations. During the Nur Muhammad Taraki regime he was under house arrest and left Afghanistan for medical treatment in 1982. He applied to the United Nations for political asylum and went to the United States, but moved to Peshawar in April 1991 and died there in 1995.

PEOPLES DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AFGHANISTAN (PDPA). Afghan Marxist party (after June 1990 called Hizb-i Watan, Fatherland Party) founded in 1965 and succeeded to power on April 27, 1978, in a coup called the Saur Revolt (named after Saur, the month of the revolt). The party was officially founded on January 1, 1965, at a meeting of 27 persons in Nur Muhammad Taraki’s house in Karte Char, Kabul. Taraki was chosen general secretary of the party and Babrak Karmal deputy secretary and secretary of a central committee, whose membership consisted of Taraki, Karmal, Ghulam Dastagir Panjshiri, Dr. Saleh Muhammad Zirai, Sultan Ali Keshtmand, Tahir Badakhshi, and possibly Shahrullah Shahpar. Alternate members were Dr. Shah Wali, Karim Misaq, Dr. Muhammad Taher, and Abdul Wahhab Safi. The party drafted a manifesto which stated that it was a workers’ party. It declared Afghanistan a feudal society
that should be transformed into a socialist state and announced its intention of obtaining power by democratic means.

From the beginning there was rivalry between the two leading personalities, Karmal being urbane and known for his activities on the campus of Kabul University and as a member of Parliament. He attracted followers among the Kabul intelligentsia, students, government officials, and some military officers of various ethnic backgrounds. Taraki, on the other hand, was more successful among the Pashtuns, military officers, and students and teachers of schools in which tribal Pashtuns predominated. The PDPA published a newspaper, called Khalq (Masses), which first appeared on April 11, 1966. Only six issues had appeared when it was banned on the recommendation of Parliament for being “anti-Islamic” and opposed to the new constitution. By 1967 the party had split into two entities, subsequently called Khalq and Parcham, after their respective newspapers. Parcham (Banner) was founded in 1968, published by Sulaiman Layeq and edited by him and Mir Akbar Khaibar. Having been successful in winning a parliamentary seat, Babrak Karmal was willing to cooperate with Afghan governments, while the Khalqis remained aloof. In 1977 the two factions reunited in a tenuous coalition with the help of Soviet and Indian Communist party mediation.

The Saur Revolt was precipitated when the Parcham ideologue Mir Akbar Khaibar was assassinated, according to some sources by Khalqis who resented his recruiting efforts in the army. The Marxists, however, accused the government of the deed, and the party followed up with a funeral procession that turned into a public demonstration by a crowd of about 15,000 against the Muhammad Daud government. The government reacted with arrests of the leadership, but three days later, on April 27, 1978, Marxist officers in the armed forces staged their successful coup. The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan was proclaimed, and in early May the formation of a government was announced with Nur Muhammad Taraki as president and premier and Babrak Karmal as deputy premier. The majority of cabinet members were Khalqis. By July the Khalqis had purged members of the Parcham faction, including Babrak Karmal.

A number of decrees issued by the Khalq revolutionary council established Taraki as the “great leader” (No. 1), set up a government with Taraki as president of the revolutionary council and Karmal as
vice president (No. 2), and abrogated the Daud constitution (No. 3). Subsequent decrees elevated the status of the Uzbeki, Turkmani, Baluchi, and Nuristani languages to the status of “national languages,” to be promoted in the Afghan media (No. 4); deprived members of the royal family of their citizenship (No. 5); canceled mortgages (No. 6); gave equal rights to women (No. 7); and ordered land reforms (No. 8). Former government officials and political opponents were arrested and thousands were assassinated.

Khalqi supremacy, however, did not end strife in the PDPA. Hafizullah Amin had become vice premier and minister of foreign affairs and on July 8, 1978, was elected secretary of the Secretariat of the central committee. By that time it became apparent that he was the dominant personality in the party. He became prime minister and minister of foreign affairs in April 1979 and president on September 16, 1979. Barely a month later, on October 9, Taraki was assassinated. A split occurred in the Khalqi faction between the “Red Khalqis” of Taraki and the “Black Khalqis” of Amin. A third faction, the followers of a Dr. Zarghun, already existed. They were called the “Paktia Khalqis.” Increasing guerrilla activity of mujahedin forces prevented further strife in the Khalqi camp. Amin was said to have shown a tendency to develop into an “Afghan Tito” and demanded the recall of the Soviet ambassador, Alexandr M. Puzanov, who expected Amin to do his bidding. Puzanov was reported to have been implicated in a plot to assassinate Amin.

There were mass arrests and executions, blamed on the Taraki era, as was apparent from a list published with about 12,000 names of killed or missing persons. Hafizullah Amin’s intelligence service, KAM, replaced Taraki’s Afghan Security Service (AGSA), and new government and party positions were announced. About 5,000 Soviet advisers resided in Afghanistan when, on December 25, 1979, an airlift of Soviet troops began that eventually brought in some 115,000 troops (see SOVIET INTERVENTION). On December 27, a Parchami coup, with Soviet armed support, replaced Hafizullah Amin with Babrak Karmal.

Karmal announced a government that included the dreaded head of AGSA, Asadullah Sarwari, as deputy premier and two other Khalqis, Sayyid Muhammad Gulabzoi as minister of the interior and Sherjan Mazduryar as minister of transport. KAM was purged and renamed KHAD, and the Parchami regime promised a new deal and an end to the excesses of the previous governments. Soviet troops established
bases in various strategic locations. The government proclaimed a general amnesty and opened the doors of the feared Pul-i-Charkhi prison. Early Khalqi decrees of land reform (No. 6) and abolition of the bride price (No. 7) were rescinded, and the tricolor replaced the red flag. But it was too late to overcome the “sins” of the past. The presence of Soviet forces in Afghanistan quickly transformed a civil war into a war of national liberation, and many of those freed from jail augmented the growing forces of the mujahedin.

Karmal’s lack of success in destroying the mujahedin was the likely reason for his resignation (or ouster) on May 4, 1986, and his replacement by Dr. Najibullah, the onetime head of KHAD. Ideological evolution continued under Najibullah when the Kabul government initiated a policy of “national reconciliation” and changed the name of the PDPA to Hizb-i Watan, Fatherland Party. The early orthodoxy of adherence to Marxist-Leninism was gradually replaced by a general, socialist orientation and political liberalization, as the Parchamis attempted to survive in a national front coalition of “progressive” parties. Soviet troops withdrew from Afghanistan on February 15, 1989, but the party continued in power until President Najibullah announced his resignation in April 1992. After the mujahedin conquest of Kabul, the party ceased to exist, and many of its members joined opposing mujahedin groups. In fall 1994 it was reported that members of the Communist party met in the Microrayon quarter of Kabul and elected Mahmud Baryalai, half brother of Babrak Karmal, as its head. At the time of writing, most of the Marxist leaders are dead or have found political exile abroad.

PESHAWAR ACCORD. An agreement concluded in April 1992 to form a transitional government after the fall of the Marxist government in Afghanistan. The 12-point program provided for a leadership council of 51 persons, headed by Sebghatullah Mujaddidi for a period of two months (1). Burhanuddin Rabbani was to be president of the Transitional State of Afghanistan for an additional four months (2), a period not to be extended even by a day (3). The prime minister and members of the cabinet were to be appointed by the heads of the tanzimat (mujahedin) (4). The prime ministership was to go to the Hizb-i Islami (Gulbuddin Hekmatyar) (5). The deputy prime ministership and interior ministry was to go to Ittihad-i Islami (5). The deputy prime ministership and ministry of interior was to go to
Ittihad-i Islami (6). The deputy prime ministership and the ministry of education was to go to Hizb (Yunus Khales) (7). The deputy prime ministership and the ministry of foreign affairs was to go to Mahaz (Sayyid Ahmad Gailani) (8). The ministry of defense was to go to Jam’iat (Rabbani) (9), and the supreme court to Harakat-i Inqilab-i Islami (Muhammad Nabi Muhammadi) (10). The leadership council was to make appointments for the Shi’a and other parties (11), and the total process of interim government formation was to last for six months, after which a transitional government was to be established for a period of two years (12).

Hekmatyar opposed the appointment of Ahmad Shah Mas’ud as defense minister and the civil war between the various factions began.

PESHAWAR, TREATY OF 1855–1856. The treaty opened diplomatic relations between Britain and Afghanistan. It stipulated that “perpetual peace and friendship should be established between the two governments; that the British government should respect the territories in possession of the Amir; that the Amir on his part should respect the territories of the British government, and be the friend of its friends and the enemy of its enemies; and that the British should assist the Amir against his enemies, if they thought fit to do so” (MR, 28). Amir Dost Muhammad never knew whether the British “thought fit” to assist him against his enemies.

PIR. A religious leader; old man; title given to heads of Sufi orders.

POLLOCK, FIELD MARSHAL SIR GEORGE (1786–1872). Commander of the “Army of Retribution” after the British debacle in the First Anglo-Afghan War. Pollock gathered an army of about 8,000 men composed of eight infantry regiments, three cavalry corps, a troop and two batteries of artillery, and a mountain train. He entered the Khaibar Pass on April 5, 1842, where he overcame an Afridi attack, and after additional encounters on the way, took Jalalabad and rescued a British garrison nearly starved to surrender. Marching on the route of the British retreat, Pollock’s army saw the remnants of the Army of the Indus, the wheels of the gun carriages crushing the bones of their comrades. He defeated Akbar Khan in the Battle of Tezin and entered Kabul on September 16, 1842. He destroyed the fortification of the Bala Hisar and the magnificent Kabul bazaar and
permitted his troops to plunder, resulting in the nearly total destruction of the city. Many hundreds of Afghans were killed or executed (O’Ballance). In September he got the British hostages released after offering Saleh Muhammad, their guardian, a “reward” of 20,000 rupees and a pension of 12,000 rupees per year for life. Pollock’s forces then moved against Istalif and Charikar and destroyed the towns before evacuating Afghanistan on October 12, 1842.

POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE, KABUL. A technical institute for post-secondary education in Kabul, opened in February 1967 with Soviet assistance and staffed with Soviet and Afghan instructors. It awarded degrees in fields of engineering with special emphasis on geology, exploration, and extraction of mineral and natural gas resources. It was one sector of Afghan education where the Soviet Union was dominant and rivaled the American-supported engineering department of Kabul University. Many graduates of the institute went to the Soviet Union for advanced studies. After the Saur Revolt it was given a monopoly in engineering education, while the Kabul University engineering department was closed for reasons of “redundancy.” See also RUSSIAN-AFGHAN RELATIONS.

POPALZAI. A main division of the Durranis. The Sadozai, a chief branch of the Popalzai, produced the kings of modern Afghanistan from 1747 to the 1830s when the Muhammadzai branch of the Durranis succeeded to power. The Popalzai heartland lies to the north of Kandahar, but colonies of this branch exist also in Multan and Dera Ismael Khan on the Pakistani side of the Durand Line. Hamid Karzai, the present leader of the 2001 interim and transitional governments, is chief of the Popalzai tribe.

POTTINGER, MAJOR ELDRED (1811–1843). Sent to explore Central Asia, he came to Kabul disguised as a horse dealer. He reached Herat in 1837 and assisted in the defense of the city. Lord George Eden Auckland, the governor-general of the government of India, called him the “Hero of Herat” responsible for the successful defense of Herat during the second Persian siege of the city from 1837–1838. As a reward, he was appointed political officer to Kamran, the ruler of Herat. He was one of two Englishmen to survive the destruction of a British out-
post at Charikar in November 1841, in which the Fourth (Gurka) Infantry was wiped out. As the senior surviving officer at Kabul, he negotiated the Treaty of Capitulation with Afghan sardars in December 1841. And as a hostage of Sardar Muhammad Akbar, he was instrumental in negotiating a deal for the release of the hostages in exchange for a monetary reward to their guardian, Saleh Muhammad Khan. The seemingly indestructible Pottinger returned to India, where a court of inquiry in 1842–1843 accused him of drawing bills for 19 lakhs in favor of the Afghans and for signing a treaty without authorization. He was exonerated but did not get his back pay and was refused the award of a medal for his services. He died in Hong Kong of typhus.

**POWINDAH.** A term applied in India to Pashtun merchant-nomads who seasonally traveled far into India. There is disagreement as to the etymology of the name: one source derives the word from the Persian parwinda, meaning “a bale of merchandise,” because of their occupation as merchant nomads. It is more likely from pawidan (to wander) or perhaps from the Pashtu word powal, meaning “to graze flocks.” In Afghanistan Powindahs are called Kuchis.

The majority of the Powindah are Sulaiman Khel Pashtuns, one of the largest of the Ghilzai tribes. They lead a pastoral way of life, some as nomad shepherds, others as merchants and camel men, carrying on trade between Afghanistan and India. Individuals who left their families behind at times engaged in day labor, sold clothing, or lent money at interest. They were formerly scattered over northern India and would occasionally travel as far as Burma and Nepal.

In the Frontier Belt they were always heavily armed but upon entering India deposited their weapons, keeping only their daggers and swords. The Powindahs created an image of the Afghan, from their appearance in their “storm-stained Afghan clothing, reckless manners, and boisterous voices,” as tall and haggard but proud and free. Their chiefs, maliks, were in charge only during migration and when crossing hostile tribal territory. They are Sunni Muslims of the Hanafi school and adhere to a Sufi fraternity, but their law is a mixture of tribal code and the Shari’a (see ISLAMIC LAW).

After the British left India in 1947 and Pakistan was created, the Powindah were gradually limited in their migrations across international borders. As a result of the Pashtunistan dispute, Pakistan
closed its borders to large-scale migration and the Powindah were forced to redirect their routes of migration. Afghan governments have tried to settle the nomads but have had only limited success. The nomads have been able to adapt to new ways by moving into the motorized transport business, and former nomads now control much of the transport from Afghanistan to the port of Karachi in Pakistan.

PRATAP, MAHENDRA. Hindu member of the Hentig-Niedermayer Expedition who formed a “Provisional Government of India in Exile” government in Kabul with Maulawi Obaidullah as “home minister” and Maulawi Barakatullah as prime minister and himself as president. He was in touch with Indian revolutionaries and the independence movement in India and frequently visited Germany and the Soviet Union to solicit support and political recognition. He eventually returned to India and wrote My German Mission to High Asia. He later founded the “Great School of Love,” a religious, industrial arts school, and the Society of the “Servants of the Powerless,” a syncretist religion combining aspects of Islam, Christianity, Judaism, and Buddhism.

PRESS AND JOURNALISM. According to undocumented claims, the first impetus for the establishment of journalism in Afghanistan came from the great Pan-Islamist and modernist Jamaluddin Afghani, who in the 1860s was said to have published the first newspaper, named Kabul. There is no evidence of the existence of a paper called Kabul nor of the fact that Afghani was instrumental in the publication of the Shams al-Nahar (Sun of the Day), which was published in the 1870s during the reign of Amir Shir Ali. An extant copy of this 16-page paper, published in January or February 1873, carried official announcements, “profitable and necessary information,” and reports on events from England, America, Prussia, China, Russia, and Austria, in addition to domestic news from Badakhshan and Kabul. It appeared twice a month and cost 25 rupees a year, which was deducted from the salary of officials; chiefs, courtiers, and notables were invited to make a donation commensurate to their status. The paper ceased publication in the late 1870s as a result of the British invasion in the Second Anglo-Afghan War.

In 1906 Maulawi Abdul Rauf, head of the Royal Madrasa at Kabul, started a newspaper called Seraj al-Akhbar-i Afghanistan (Torch of
News of Afghanistan) that appeared, however, only once in January 1906.

Journalism was permanently established by Mahmud Tarzi, the “Father of Afghan Journalism,” with the publication of the Seraj al-Akhbar Afghaniya (Beacon of Afghan News) from 1911 to 1918. Its name derived from Amir Habibullah’s title, “seraj al-millat wa’d-din” (Beacon of the Nation and Religion). In the first year of its existence the paper was lithographed from a handwritten copy by Muhammad Ja’far Kandahari and edited by Mahmud Tarzi. Subsequent issues were typeset and illustrated, and the paper soon became appreciated for its quality and relative independence. It served as a medium of information for a small circle of courtiers, government officials, and literate Kabulis, providing both domestic and foreign news. It adopted a Pan-Islamic, anti-British tone and advocated an Islamic modernist policy of reform. It continued with minor interruptions until 1918. Under King Amanullah the press experienced considerable growth. The weekly Aman-i Afghan (“Afghan Peace,” derived from Amanullah’s name), founded in 1919, took over the tradition of the Seraj al-Akhbar with a reformist and decidedly nationalistic tone. Provincial newspapers appeared for the first time: Ittihad-i Mashriqi (1919, The Unity of the East) in Jalalabad, Ittifaq-i Islam (1920, The Concord of Islam) in Herat, and the weekly Tulu-yi Afghan (1921, The Rise of the Afghan) in Kandahar.

The first national newspaper that survived subsequent regimes was Anis (Companion), first published on May 5, 1927. Islah (Reform), published in late 1929 by Nadir Khan (the subsequent king), served as his organ to counter attacks in Habibullah Kalakani’s Habib ul-Islam.

Beginning in the 1930s numerous journals and magazines appeared in both Pashtu and Dari as private individuals and government ministries published their house organs or specialized papers. The press experienced considerable growth with the increasing literacy resulting from the expansion of education after World War II. The Kabul Times, an English-language daily newspaper, was founded in 1962 under the auspices of the ministry of information and culture as a semi-official medium with a measure of editorial autonomy. Article 31 of the Constitution of 1964 permitted freedom of the press, subject to respect for the fundamentals of Islam, the constitutional
monarchy, and public morality. New, privately funded weeklies appeared in 1966: Payam-i Imruz (Message of Today), published by Ghulam Nabi Khater, demanding “justice, equality, national unity,” and social and economic reforms; Khalq (The People) and Parcham (Banner), organs of the Marxist People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA), published respectively by Nur Muhammad Taraki and Sulaiman Layeq; Mardum (People), an anti-Marxist paper published by Sayyid Moqadas Negah; Wahdat (Unity), published and edited by Maulavi Khal Muhammad Khasta; Afghan Millat (The Afghan Nation), organ of the Afghan Social Democrats and a Pashtun nationalist paper, published by Ghulam Muhammad Farhad; and Musawat (Equality) published by Abdul Shukur Reshad, organ of the Progressive Democratic Party founded by Muhammad Hashim Maiwandwal.

Most papers were banned soon after their first appearance on the grounds that they offended Islamic sentiments or constitutional provisions or on such technicalities as lacking an editor. Private newspapers were replete with ad hominem attacks and appealed only to small circles of the Kabul public. Therefore they were not economically viable. A publisher had to obtain a license from the ministry of information and culture and deposit from 10,000 to 15,000 Afghani as a security bond. Khalq and Parcham had the largest circulation of private newspapers, no doubt because they were secretly subsidized and espoused a Marxist line.

The relatively free press in Afghanistan ended in the period of President Muhammad Daud and the founding of Jumhuriat (1973, Republic) as the official organ of the republican government. No independent papers were tolerated. After the Saur Revolt in 1978, The Kabul Times was transformed for a few years into The Kabul New Times. Anis and Haywad continued under new editorship. The new party organ was the Da Saur Inqilab, renamed Haqiqat-i-Saur Inqilab under the Parchami regime (later called Payam of the Watan party). The contents of Kabul newspapers was reproduced virtually unchanged in the provincial press, which now also included newspapers in Baluchi, Uzbek, Turkmani, Pashai, and Nuristani. The Kabul government censored the press, and when Najibullah became president the press had discarded a great deal of the Marxist rhetoric and appealed to the war-weary masses to win acceptance for the continu-
ation of the regime. After the fall of the Marxist regime, numerous publications, mostly ephemeral, appeared in exile in many parts of the world. Restrictions to the freedom of press appeared again under the Taliban regime, but the Hamid Karzai government has proclaimed freedom of press as long as cultural and religious norms are respected.

PROGRESSIVE DEMOCRATIC PARTY (PDP). Founded by Prime Minister Muhammad Hashim Maiwandwal as a social democratic movement in support of parliamentary democracy and the principles of the 1964 Constitution. Its organ was Musawat (Equality), a weekly that first appeared on June 24, 1966, with articles in Dari and Pashtu. It was published by Abdul Shakur Reshad and Muhammad Sharif Ayyubi and edited by Muhammad Rahim Elham and Abdul Ghani Maiwandi.

PROVINCES. See ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS.

PROXIMITY TALKS. Negotiations under the auspices of the United Nations between Afghanistan and Pakistan leading to the withdrawal of Soviet intervention forces from Afghanistan. See also GENEVA ACCORDS.

PUL-I CHARKHI (34º33' N, 69º21' E). A village on the Kabul River east of Kabul that is the site of a modern prison, built in the time of President Muhammad Daud and heavily utilized since. The prison, built from a West German design, had a capacity of 5,000 prisoners, but during the Khalqi period it was said to have housed more than twice that number. The prison has special wings for political prisoners, foreigners, and women. During the early years following the Saur Revolt, large numbers of prisoners at Pul-i Charkhi were executed. In 1979 the Hafizullah Amin government produced a list of approximately 12,000 Afghans who had been killed. When Babrak Karmal came to power in 1980 he disassociated himself from the Khalqi executions and amnestied most of the prisoners. The prison was partially destroyed during the subsequent civil war, but it served the Burhanuddin Rabbani regime until it was captured by the Taliban in September 1996. It is the only modern prison in Afghanistan and therefore it continues to be in use.
PUL-I KHUMRI (35º56' N, 68º43' E). An industrial town named after a bridge over the Surkhab/Kunduz River on the main highway from Kabul north to Baghlan and Kunduz. In 1938 the textile (nasaji) company, Spin Zar, began construction of an electric power plant and a textile industry as well as a small town. At first the town only housed the industrial workers and staff, but it gradually grew with the addition of other industries engaged in the production of cement and briquettes and in mining nearby. In 1973 the town had about 20,000 inhabitants, mostly Tajik and Pashtuns but also about 20 percent Hazaras. According to local tradition, the name Khumri comes from the name of Khumari, a young lady who lived in the area about 400 years ago and had a bridge built to facilitate trade across the river.

PUZANOV, ALEXANDR. Soviet ambassador accredited to Kabul in 1972, the final year of Zahir Shah, and an important figure during the republican and early Marxist periods. He was an active politician in Kabul and was therefore dubbed the “little czar.” He was credited with helping to reunite the two factions of the Peoples Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) in 1977 and was quoted as saying that the Saur Revolt “came as a complete surprise to me.” One expert describes him as “an alcoholic seventy-two-year-old castoff from Kremlin political struggles . . . [who] was trout fishing in the Hindu Kush” (Bradsher, 83) when the Saur Revolt occurred. He supported Nur Muhammad Taraki against Hafizullah Amin and was said to have lured Hafizullah Amin into an ambush. The “palace shoot-out” of September 14, 1979, misfired, and Amin demanded the recall of Puzanov; he left Kabul on November 19, 1979.

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QADHI. See QAZI.

QADIR. See ABDUL QADIR.

QADIRI (QADIRIYYA). A Sufi order named after Shaikh Abdul Qadir al-Gailani (al-Jilani, 1088–1166), an ascetic preacher acclaimed as the most popular saint in the Islamic world. His tomb in
Baghdad is a place of pilgrimage, maintained by the Naqib, custodian of the shrine, who is his descendant and the hereditary head of the Qadiri Sufi fraternity. Sayyid Hasan Gailani, younger brother of the Naqib al-Ashraf of Baghdad, came to Afghanistan in 1905 and established himself there. Upon the death of his brother, he was asked to return to Baghdad, but he stayed in Afghanistan. He was succeeded in Afghanistan by Sayyid Ali Gailani, who was succeeded by Sayyid Ahmad Gailani, who is also the head of the National Islamic Front of mujahedin forces. The Qadiri order is strong among the Ghilzai and Wardakis in southern Afghanistan.

QALAT (QALAT-I GHILZAI, 32º7' N, 66º54' E). The administrative center of Zabul Province, located on the road from Kandahar to Ghazni and Kabul, about 87 miles northeast of Kandahar. Its celebrated eighteenth-century fort was occupied by the British in the Second Anglo-Afghan War. In 1973 the town had about 20,000 inhabitants, mostly from the Ghilzai tribe.

QANAT. See KARIZ.

QANDAHAR. See KANDAHAR.

QANUN. Statutory laws enacted after the 1964 Constitution.

QANUNI, YUNUS (QANOONI). Appointed interior minister in the transitional government but, because of overrepresentation of Panjshiris, appointed as special adviser on security and minister of education. He was a member of the delegation to Bonn which elected an interim government in which he was at first appointed as interior minister. Born in 1957 in the Panjshir Valley, he joined Ahmad Shah Mas’ud in the war against the Marxist regime and was wounded. He became the “joint defense minister” in 1993 and retreated to the Panjshir Valley when the Taliban took Kabul. After the assassination of Mas’ud, in September 2001, Qanuni became political head of the Jami’at-i Islami.

QARAQUL (KARAKUL). A sheep bred originally in Russian Central Asia and introduced to Afghanistan at the time of World War I.
Uzbek breeders began a lucrative industry in Afghanistan that soon became the major hard currency earner. Qaraqul skins became popular in Europe, and Afghan merchants were able to corner the market until the end of the 1940s, when the Soviet Union and South Africa became major competitors. In the face of increasing competition, the Afghan Qaraqul Institute was founded in 1966 to provide quality control and promote the export of the pelts. The skins come in various colors, most commonly grey and black but also brown and other colors, and are used in Afghanistan primarily to fashion the customary headgear for men, called kula.

QARI, ABDULLAH “MALIK AL-SHU’ARA”. Proclaimed Afghan poet laureate in 1936. His collection of poetry, Diwan, was published in India and Kabul. Born in 1871 in Kabul and self-educated, he became an attendant of Amir Habibullah and tutor to his son Prince Enayatullah. He was a teacher at Habibia School and member of the Afghan Literary Society (see AFGHAN ACADEMY). He died in 1944.

QARLIQ (QARLUQ). A small ethnic community of Sunni Turks in Kunduz, Takhar, and Badakhshan Provinces. They migrated north from the Ghorband Valley (now Parwan Province) during the time of Amir Abdul Rahman (1880s). The Qarliq resemble the Uzbek but speak a different dialect.

QASIM-AFGHAN, USTAD MUHAMMAD. Ustad (Master), the best-known singer and musician in Afghanistan in the first half of the twentieth century. Born in 1881, the son of Ustad Sattar Kashmiri, he was court singer during the rule of Amir Habibullah and was responsible for creating an Afghan style of music that was akin to classical Indian music. A teacher of many Afghan singers, he died in 1957.

QASIMYAR, MUHAMMAD ISMA’IL. Head of a 21-member Special Independent Commission for convening of a Loya Jirga which met on June 22, 2002. The commission supervised the selection of representatives from all over the country. Qasimyar is a jurist and constitutional expert in his sixties. He was a judge of the Supreme
Court in the 1970s and a member of the constitutional council in 1987. He participated in the Loya Jirgas of 1964 and 1976. Qasimyar is a native of Herat who speaks both Dari and Pashtu.

QATIL, SARDAR AZIZULLAH. Poet, diplomat, and honorary member of the Afghan Literary Society (see AFGHAN ACADEMY). Born in 1892 in Kabul, the son of Sardar Nasrullah, he served in the department of census during the reign of King Amanullah and was subsequently appointed ambassador to Tehran (1930). He died in 1935.

QAZI (QADHI). A judge with jurisdiction in cases of civil and criminal law. He usually is a graduate of a madrasa or theological college. See also ISLAMIC LAW.

QIBLA. Prayer direction, the Ka’ba in the center of the Great Mosque of Mecca, which Muslims face when performing their daily prayers. In mosques and areas reserved for prayer the qibla is indicated either by the prayer niche, mihrab, or outdoors by a sūtra (covering). See also ISLAM.

QIRGHIZ (KIRGIZ). A Turkic Sunni community of about three million people in the Qirghiz Soviet Republic, of whom a small number lived in eastern Badakhshan Province. As a result of the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan in the 1980s, they fled first to Pakistan; later, most emigrated to Turkey. They visited Afghanistan seasonally in the early nineteenth century from Russian Central Asia and the Sinkiang Province of China and settled in the Afghan Pamirs in the Wakhan Corridor during World War I. They lived in yurts and subsisted as herders of sheep, goats, and yaks. In the early 1970s the Afghan Qirghiz numbered about 1,900 persons.

QIZILBASH. Meaning “red heads” (T.), a people named after the color of pleats in their turbans. They were one of seven Turkic tribes who revered the Safavid ruler Ismail (r. 1499–1524) as both a spiritual and temporal ruler. The Persian ruler Nadir Shah Afshar stationed a rear guard (chandawol) of Qizilbash troops at Kabul on a campaign to India. They are Shi’a and were quartered in an area called Chandawol today. Estimated at about 30,000, they no longer speak their original
Turkic dialect and live mainly in the cities of Herat, Kabul, and Kandahar. As an ethnic and religious minority, the Qizilbash have tended to be politically inactive to avoid discrimination, but have held prominent positions in government service and commerce. They held military positions until the 1860s, the end of Amir Dost Muhammad’s reign (one of his wives was a Qizilbash).

QUNDUZ. See KUNDUZ.

QUR’AN. See KORAN.

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RABBANI, BURHANUDDIN (BURHAN AL-DIN). Leader of the Jam’iat-i Islami-yi Afghanistan (Islamic Society of Afghanistan), the largely non-Pashtun group, and president of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan until 1996. He was born in 1940 in Faizabad, Badakhshan Province and educated in Islamic studies at Kabul University and al-Azhar University, Cairo, where he received an M.A. degree in 1968. After returning to Afghanistan he taught at the faculty of theology at Kabul University. He became editor of Majallat-i Shari’at (Journal of Islamic Law) in 1970 and was a leading member of the Islamist movement since the late 1950s. He organized university students to oppose the secular trend in Afghanistan and to counteract the activities of leftist students on campus. The 15-member high council of the Jam’iat-i Islami selected him as its leader in 1971, and in 1974 he fled to Pakistan where he sought the support of the Pakistan government and the Jama’at-i Islami, a radical Islamist party.

In 1975 the Jam’iat carried out raids into Afghanistan, and the failure of the armed attacks revealed policy disagreements between Rabbani and Gulbuddin Hekmatyar. Thereupon Hekmatyar founded his Hizb-i Islami in 1976. Rabbani continued to lead the Jam’iat after the Saur Revolt in 1978. At the fall of the Najibullah regime, Rabbani’s forces, under Commander Ahmad Shah Mas’ud, entered Kabul on April 25, 1992, and quickly expelled members of Hekmatyar’s forces from the presidential palace and the interior ministry.
The Uzbek forces of General Abdul Rashid Dostum also cooperated with Jam’iat and other groups, including the Shi’ite Hizb-i Wahdat, which occupied portions of Kabul and began the struggle for power between the mujahedin. In June 1992 Rabbani succeeded Sebghatullah Mujaddidi as president of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, but he did not effectively control Kabul or the rest of Afghanistan. His refusal to step down after a two-year term resulted in considerable fighting and bombardment of Kabul, primarily by the forces of Hekmatyar.

The rise of the Taliban in 1994 posed a serious threat to Rabbani and in September 1996 the Taliban drove Rabbani from the capital. With the support of United States air strikes, the Northern Alliance was able to recapture Kabul in December 2001 and Rabbani established himself in the palace, in spite of the fact that he did not have any position in the interim government of 2001. As a onetime “president,” Rabbani aspires to regain the leadership of the country. He was dislodged from the palace to make room for Hamid Karzai and ex-king Zahir Shah.

RABBI'A BALKHI. See BALKHI, RABI’A.

RADIO AFGHANISTAN (RADIO KABUL). National Afghan radio station, first called Radio Kabul, with daily medium-wave and short-wave domestic service in Pashtu and Dari and, after the Saur Revolt in 1978, also in several minority languages. Its foreign broadcast
program offered regular services in Arabic, English, Urdu, and Russian. Broadcasting began under King Amanullah in 1925 with the construction of a station in Kabul and was temporarily stopped at the end of his reign in 1929. In 1937 the Marconi company set up transmitters in Kabul, Khanabad, Khost, and Maimana, and experimental broadcasts resumed in 1939. A year later broadcasts reached a relatively wide public: 8,000 radio sets were owned by Afghans, most of them in Kabul, and loudspeakers were set up in bazaars and public places. In order to justify this innovation, the Afghan government stated its purpose as spreading the message of the Koran, promoting a spirit of nationalism, preserving Afghan culture and folklore, and advancing public education. The system soon expanded throughout the country with the establishment of stations in the provinces.

Radio Afghanistan contributed to the development of Afghan music. In 1964 more than half of the domestic programs consisted of native music. Koran and poetry readings were regularly featured, and plays were subsequently added. Programming was controlled by the government, and no private radio or television stations were permitted. In 1977 television was established in Kabul to give a new dimension to the cultural and political objectives of the Afghan government. After the Taliban captured Kabul in September 1996, they renamed the station Radio Shar’iat. It was rigorously censured and broadcasting of music and television was forbidden. After the establishment of the interim government in December 2001, the radio and television services were resumed and women announcers were again employed.

RADIO KABUL. See RADIO AFGHANISTAN.

RAHIN, SAYYID MAKHDUM (RAHEEN). Minister of information and culture in the transitional government of President Hamid Karzai. Born in 1946 in Kabul, he was educated locally and received the Ph.D. degree in Dari language and literature from Tehran University. He taught literature at Kabul University and served as president of the department of culture in the ministry of information and culture. He fled to Pakistan in 1980 and subsequently came to the United States, before returning to Afghanistan after the fall of the Taliban regime.
RAHMAN. See ABDUL RAHMAN; HABIBURRAHMAN.

RAHMAN BABA. Contemporary of the seventeenth-century Pashtu poet Khushhal Khan Khatak and mystical poet in the Pashtu language. Afghans call him the “Pashtun Hafiz” in reference to Shams al-Din Hafiz, the great Persian poet. A school in Kabul, originally intended to teach tribal students in Pashtu, is named after him.

RAHMAN QUL, HAJI. Chief of the Pamir Qirghiz. He fled from Sinkiang Province, China, after the communist takeover in 1949 and settled with about 2,000 followers in the Wakhan Corridor. After the Saur Revolt in 1978, he fled to Pakistan with most of his followers then settled with them in eastern Anatolia, Turkey.

RAMADHAN (RAMAZAN). Name of the ninth month of the Islamic (lunar) calendar and “the month in which the Koran was sent down,” during which Muslims are enjoined to observe complete abstinence from food or drink during daylight hours. See ISLAM.

RANJIT SINGH. King (1780–1839) of the newly founded Sikh nation, a religio-political entity, who in 1820 controlled most of the northern Panjab, Kashmir, and Peshawar. He captured Lahore from its Afghan garrison in 1798, compelling Shah Zaman to appoint the Sikh chief as governor of the Panjab. Ranjit Singh was described as of small stature and blind in his right eye but quite fearless and a brilliant soldier. Lord George Eden Auckland, governor-general of India, sided with the Sikh ruler and concluded an alliance with Ranjit Singh and Shah Shuja for the purpose of restoring the latter to the Afghan throne (see FIRST ANGLO-AFGHAN WAR; SIMLA MANIFESTO). Ranjit Singh, at that time “an old man in an advanced state of decrepitude,” was wise enough not to send his army into Afghanistan and therefore did not share the British disaster. Ranjit Singh died in 1839, and his empire was soon annexed by his former British allies.

RAWALPINDI PEACE CONFERENCE. See ANGLO-AFGHAN TREATY OF 1919.
RED SHIRTS. A Pashtun independence movement, also called khuda-i-khidmatgaran (The Servants of God), founded in 1921 by Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan in the North-West Frontier Province (NWFP) of India. The movement was organized in cells and had members in most villages on the tribal belt. It was allied with the Indian Congress Party of Mahatma Gandhi and accepted his policy of peaceful resistance. Membership adhered to seven basic tenets: admission open to all adults; rejection of the Indian caste system; wearing of national dress; readiness to serve the people; dedication of one’s life to the interests of the people; recognition of all members as brothers; and obedience to the orders of the party.

The British government suspected them of being a communist front because of their red uniforms and insistence not only on national autonomy but also on “freeing the oppressed, feeding the poor, and clothing the naked.” Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and his supporters were frequently arrested, and the movement remained localized until 1947 when it espoused the cause of a “Free Pashtunistan.”

REFUGEES. Decades of war in Afghanistan, severe drought, political insecurity, banditry, and hunger have created the largest refugee problem in the world. Afghans fled in stages. A few thousand, mostly Islamist militants, fled to Pakistan after the Muhammad Daud coup of 1975. The numbers increased after the Marxist coup in April 1979, turning into a flood during the Soviet intervention from 1980 to 1989 when about 3.5 million Afghans found shelter in Pakistan and some 2.5 million in Iran. Thousands found refuge in Europe, North America, Australia, and elsewhere. In Iran Afghans were dispersed throughout the country, working as day laborers and other menial occupations. In Pakistan refugees were kept in camps, supported by the international community and enlisted in the war against the communist regime. Each refugee family had to register with one of six (later seven) mujahedin parties to gain refugee status. Large camps provided the manpower for the war against the Kabul regime, where fighters could be rotated between periods of rest and armed activities. Afghan intellectuals, graduates of foreign universities, and professional people found ready asylum in the West. The doors were wide open, as long as the war lasted against the communist regime. Things changed after the ouster of the Marxist regime in 1992 and the
beginning of a period of civil war, which was just as devastating as anything that happened before.

Although some 1.4 million refugees returned home in 1992, the emergence of the Taliban regime created new refugee problems. By that time the international community was no longer as hospitable to the Afghans, and host countries began to refuse entry to most Afghans who were now considered “economic” rather than political refugees. At the end of 2001 there were still some 4.5 million Afghans living as refugees in various countries, most of them in Pakistan (2.2 million) and Iran (2.4 million). According to United Nations statistics, the United States intervention after September 11, 2001, produced a new wave of refugees: Russia 100,000; Central Asia 29,000; Europe 36,000; North America and Australia 17,000; and India 13,000. It is difficult to say how many internally displaced Afghans there are, but in 2002 alone some 230,000 of them were helped to return home. Support for refugees is still insufficient, “doner fatigue” and the change of focus to other areas of need have tended to keep this social problem unsolved. It can only be hoped that the establishment of the new government in 2002 will provide the security and prosperity to reintegrate all Afghans into their homeland.

**REGISTAN (31°0' N, 65°0' E).** “The Land of Sand,” a vast expanse of ridges and hillocks of loose red sand that covers the southern parts of Kandahar, Helmand, and Nimruz Provinces. This desert is sprinkled with bushes and vegetation, including alluvial soil in the hollows that are cultivated by Baluch and Brahui nomads. It has formed a natural boundary with India (now Pakistan) and has been an obstacle to penetration by conventional military forces.

**RELIGION.** See ISLAM; JEWS; HINDUS; SIKHS.

**RELIGIOUS POLICE.** In Islam a believer has the obligation to remonstrate with a sinner, an obligation which has been institutionalized in the position of the muhtasib or kalantar. Eventually, these functions were assumed by the police in most urban areas of the Islamic world. When the Taliban captured Kabul in September 1996, they created the Department for Promotion of Virtue and Prevention
of Vice (from the Koran, al-amr bi ‘l-ma ‘raf wa an’nahy ‘an al-munkar) with the duty to enforce newly introduced regulations of proper behavior. A 16-point edict prohibited women from being in public without being accompanied by a close male relative. A dress code for men and women was commanded, which required women to be completely veiled, men to wear turbans and grow beards of a sufficient length. Music, television, many games, photography of living creatures, as well as any manifestations of Western culture were outlawed. It was the duty of the religious police to enforce these rules, to force attendance at prayers, and to punish those who did not conform. Punishments, like mutilation of thieves, stoning of adulterers, and beatings for minor transgressions were reintroduced. The religious police, as it was popularly called, seemed omnipresent in urban areas and was soon widely feared. It was therefore not surprising that after the fall of the Taliban regime, many of the prohibitions were quickly ignored. See also ENJOINING THE GOOD AND FORBIDDING EVIL.

RESHTIA, SAYYID QASIM. Writer, historian, and diplomat. Born in 1913 and educated in Kabul, he embarked on a career in government service. He was editor of Salnama (Kabul Almanac) and of Kabul Magazine, 1934–1938. In 1948 he was appointed president of the department of press (with cabinet rank), reappointed in 1957, and minister of press in 1963. He served as ambassador in Prague (1960), Cairo (1962), and Tokyo (1970). He was vice president of the committee for drafting of the constitution (1963), and minister of finance in 1964. He is the author of numerous publications on Afghan history. After the Marxist coup, he fled the country and lived in Geneva, Switzerland, until his death on March 26, 1998.

REVOLUTIONARY ASSOCIATION OF THE WOMEN OF AFGHANISTAN (RAWA). An Afghan women’s association founded in 1977 for the purpose of “acquiring women’s human rights and contributing to the struggle for the establishment of a government based on democratic and secular values in Afghanistan.” After the Soviet intervention in December 1979, leaders of the organization moved to Pakistan where they worked among Afghan refugee women and established schools and hospitals for women and children. Some women
participated in armed activities against the Soviet forces. Meena “Keshwar Kamal” (Mina), one of the founders of RAWA, was assassinated in Quetta in 1987, reputedly by Islamist radicals. A number of other women activists were assassinated and many were bloodied during demonstrations or imprisoned. During the Taliban regime, RAWA supported underground schools for girls and agitated for liberation from Taliban tyranny. They staged protest demonstrations in Pakistan and organized protest rallies in a number of European cities. RAWA publishes a journal called Payam e-Zan (Woman’s Message) in Dari and Pashtu to publicize its ideology. Because it calls itself “revolutionary,” it is suspected of leftist tendencies and does not receive any funding from international non-governmental organizations.

**ROBERTS, GENERAL SIR ABRAHAM.** Commander of Shah Shuja’s Army of the Indus in the First Anglo-Afghan War (1838–1842). He escaped the British debacle when he was recalled by Lord George Eden Auckland, governor-general of the British East India Company, who disliked Roberts’s criticism of his policy. His son Frederick Roberts was a British general in the Second Anglo-Afghan War.

**ROBERTS, GENERAL SIR FREDERICK (1832–1914).** British general, the son of Sir Abraham Roberts, and commander of the Kurram Field Force in the Second Anglo-Afghan War (1878–1880). He invaded Afghanistan through the Kurram Valley and reached Kabul on October 12, 1879, where he was the de facto ruler after the abdication of Yaqub Khan. He fought at the Paiwar Kotal action on December 2, 1878. After Louis Cavagnari’s assassination at Kabul, September 3, 1879, he commanded the Kabul Field Force, fighting at Charasia on October 6. He received Amir Yaqub Khan’s abdication and sent him to Indian exile and engaged in operations around Sherpur, December 1879. After Maiwand he marched from Kabul to Kandahar and defeated Ayub Khan at Kandahar on September 1. He was a legendary figure, called “Bobs” by his fellow generals and famous, or infamous, for ordering indiscriminate executions of Afghans. He arrested Yahya Khan, a nephew of Amir Dost Muhammad, for the purpose of looting his house. General MacGregor said of him: “Bobs is a cruel bloodthirsty little
brute, he has shot some 6 men already in cold blood. I have saved three men from his clutches already” (Trousdale, 1985). Although Sir Frederick was able to defeat Ayub Khan, the Indian government agreed to withdraw from Afghanistan in April 1881 to avoid a repetition of the disaster of the First Anglo-Afghan War. Sir Frederick died in 1914.

**ROKETI, MULLA ABDUL SALAM.** A colorful individual of Abdul Rasul Sayyaf’s Ittihad-i Islami party who was robbed by Pakistanis of three Stinger missiles he wanted to sell. In retaliation he took 10 Pakistani hostages, including the deputy commissioner of Ziarat and two Chinese engineers. He demanded his brother be freed from a Pakistani prison and the return of his Stingers but was eventually forced to give up his hostages when the Pakistan government threatened to close Sayyaf’s offices in Pakistan. He was wounded by Taliban forces but subsequently joined them and became a commander in Jalalabad.

**ROSHAN (37°56’ N, 71°35’ E).** A district in northern Badakhshan Province on the left bank of the Panja, or upper Amu Daria, with an area of 1,413 square miles and an agricultural population of about 6,500. The Clarendon-Gortchakoff Agreement of 1873 between Russia and Britain defined the Amu Daria as the northern boundary of Afghanistan; it was not known at the time that Shignan and Roshan included territory on both sides of the Amu Daria. In 1893 Sir Mortimer Durand (see DURAND AGREEMENT) succeeded in forging a compromise in which Afghanistan gained territory on the Afghan side for land lost across the river, thereby reducing the original size of Roshan.

The climate of Roshan is moderate in spite of the fact that the valley lies at an elevation of 6,000 feet. There are said to be considerable deposits of iron and copper in the area. Some mines are operated by the population, which consists largely of Ghilzai Pashtuns, Tajiks, and Isma’ilis (including some Roshanis, Sanglichis, Wakhis, and Shignanis).

**RULERS OF AFGHANISTAN.** See DURRANI DYNASTY.

**RUMI.** See BALKHI.
RUSSIAN-AFGHAN RELATIONS. Formal diplomatic relations between Russia and Afghanistan began in June 1919, when the Soviet Union and Afghanistan announced their intention to establish legations in Kabul and Moscow. A cease-fire had just been declared in the Third Anglo-Afghan War and King Amanullah wanted to demonstrate Afghanistan’s independence by establishing diplomatic relations with European powers. A mission, headed by Wali Muhammad, proceeded to Tashkent and Moscow, where it was given a rousing welcome. N. N. Nariman, a spokesman for the foreign ministry, announced that “Russian imperialism, striving to enslave and degrade small nationalities, has gone, never to return.” Muhammad Wali expressed the hope that “with the assistance of Soviet Russia, we shall succeed in emancipating our Afghanistan and the rest of the East.” He presented V. I. Lenin a letter from King Amanullah, which was received “with great pleasure.” A Bolshevik diplomat, Michael K. Bravin (who subsequently defected and was killed by an Afghan), proceeded to Kabul to arrange for the arrival of a permanent representative, Z. Suritz, in January 1920. Suritz immediately set about negotiating the preliminaries for the Treaty of 1921, which recognized the “mutual independence” of both states and bound them not to “enter into any military or political agreement with a third State, which might prejudice one of the Contracting Parties.”

The Soviet Union agreed to permit free and untaxed transit of Afghan goods and recognized the independence and freedom of Khiva and Bokhara “in accordance with the wishes of the people.” It provided for Soviet technical and financial aid of one million rubles in gold or silver and promised a return of the “frontier districts which belonged to the latter [Afghanistan] in the last century,” a reference to the area of Panjdeh. Britain had held a monopoly in the supply of arms and war materiel, which could only be shipped to Afghanistan by way of India; the treaty now opened a new avenue for materiel purchased in Europe. King Amanullah was able to crush the Khost Rebellion in summer 1924, with the assistance of several aircraft from the Soviet Union and a number of foreign pilots, including several Russians.

In spite of the friendly rhetoric, differences existed between the two countries: King Amanullah wanted Khiva and Bukhara to be free from Soviet control, possibly associated with Afghanistan in a Central Asian confederation, but the “Young Khivan and Bukharan”
revolted and opted for membership in the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union saw this as an expression of the “wishes of the people” and retained the tsarist possession of Central Asia. A more serious crisis in Soviet-Afghan relations occurred in December 1925 when Soviet troops occupied the island of Darqad (also called Urta Tagai and Yangi Qal’a) on the Amu Daria. At the turn of the century the course of the Amu Daria had changed from south of the island to the north and, since the main stream was designated as the Afghan boundary, Kabul considered the island Afghan territory. After the Bolshevik Revolution, refugees from the Soviet Union settled on the island, including some Basmachi counterrevolutionaries, who made it a base for raids into Soviet Central Asia. The matter threatened to develop into an international conflict, but the Soviets apparently wanted good relations with King Amanullah and evacuated their troops on February 28, 1926. Moscow paid the promised subsidy only irregularly, and by the mid-1920s the Kabul government had expanded its diplomatic base to the extent that it did not need to maintain a special relationship with the Soviet Union.

During the 1929 civil war the Soviet Union had maintained its embassy in Kabul and immediately recognized the government of Muhammad Nadir Shah. The new king sent Muhammad Aziz, his half brother, as ambassador to Moscow to indicate the importance of the post, but he was determined to end Soviet influence in Afghanistan. He renegotiated and signed on June 24, 1931, the treaty of 1921, with the inclusion of an article calling for the prohibition in both territories of activities that “might cause political or military injury” to the other. Nadir Shah was thinking of the followers of ex-King Amanullah who might attempt a return to power, and the Soviets were concerned about the Basmachi threat. A commercial treaty had to wait until 1936, and the Afghan government did not renew a Soviet airline concession, eventually dismissing all Soviet airline pilots and mechanics. The Afghan government turned increasingly to Germany for its technological and developmental needs, and a special relationship developed which greatly disturbed Moscow and was accepted in London only as the lesser of two evils. The outbreak of World War II and the temporary alliance between Germany and the Soviet Union resulted in fears in London and Kabul that the Soviets might support a pro-Amanullah coup. And, indeed, these worries
The German foreign ministry considered **Muhammad Zahir Shah** pro-British and toyed with the idea of supporting a coup against the monarch. Count Schulenberg, the German ambassador in Moscow, queried Vyacheslav Molotov whether the Soviet Union would permit the transit of Afghan forces into northern Afghanistan. But Molotov was noncommittal, and the matter was dropped.

On June 22, 1941, Germany attacked the Soviet Union and Moscow joined the Western alliance. The alliance of Britain and the Soviet Union caused considerable anxiety in Kabul because Afghan foreign policy had been based on the premise that its territorial security depended on the continued rivalry between its imperialist neighbors. Concerted Allied action was soon to follow: in October 1941 the Allies presented separate notes to the Afghan government demanding the expulsion of all Axis nationals. Kabul was forced to comply, and the Afghan king convened a **Loya Jirga**, Great Council, which gave retroactively its approval after the Axis nationals had left. The Afghan government insisted that they be given safe passage to a neutral country. From that time the Afghan government kept its northern border closed to nondiplomatic travelers, but trade continued between the two countries.

When India became independent in 1947 and the State of **Pakistan** was created, Afghanistan repudiated the treaties that accepted the **Durand** Line as international boundary and demanded that the Afghans of the **North-West Frontier Province (NWFP)** be given the choice of independence. Afghanistan was the only country voting against the admission of Pakistan to the **United Nations**. The Cold War had begun, and the Dwight D. Eisenhower administration sought to contain Moscow’s expansionism by sponsoring alliances with states bordering on the Soviet Union. Washington supported creation of the Baghdad Pact (later renamed CENTO), which united Britain, Turkey, Iraq, Iran, and Pakistan in a defensive alliance. This alliance guaranteed international borders but ignored irredentist and nationalist aspirations in the Middle East. As a result, relations between Afghanistan and Pakistan, a Western ally, turned increasingly hostile.

The Afghan government “normalized” its relations with the Soviet Union and in 1946 agreed to accept the **thalweg** (middle) of the Amu Daria as the international boundary. A telegraph link was established
with Tashkent in 1947, and in 1950 Afghanistan signed a four-year trade agreement with the USSR. The Soviet government praised Afghanistan’s “positive” neutrality and, when in December 1955 Nikita Krushchev and Nikolai Bulganin came to Kabul, the stage was set for a major rapprochement. The two countries renewed the Treaty of 1931 for 10 years, the Soviet Union granting Afghanistan a $100 million loan at 2 percent interest for projects selected by a joint USSR-Afghan committee. The Afghan national airline, Ariana Afghan Airlines, started flights from Kabul to Tashkent in 1965, which were subsequently extended to Moscow and other European countries.

The Afghan government wanted to purchase arms from the United States, and when it was unable to obtain what it wanted, Prime Minister Muhammad Daud turned to the Soviet Union for help. In 1956 the first shipments of East Bloc weapons arrived and the Afghan armed forces began to be Soviet-equipped. Thousands of Soviet advisers came to Afghanistan and thousands of Afghan technicians and military officers went to the Soviet Union for training. The result was a growing cadre of military officers, students, and technocrats with leftist, if not pro-Russian, sympathies. When Muhammad Daud staged a coup with leftist support on July 17, 1973, the stage was set for the Saur Revolt in 1978 that brought a Marxist government to power. The new Kabul government accepted Soviet advisers in virtually all its civilian and government branches and concluded a series of treaties that made the Soviet Union the dominant influence in Afghanistan. On December 5, 1978, the Nur Muhammad Taraki regime concluded a treaty of friendship, similar to one the Soviet Union concluded with Vietnam, that also provided for military assistance and that became the basis for military intervention a year later.

Resistance was growing against the Marxist regime, resulting in a civil war that turned into a war of liberation when Soviet troops tried to prop up a faltering regime. The war turned out to be costly to Afghanistan: mujahedin sources claim that as many as one million Afghans perished, whereas the Kabul government claimed that 243,900 soldiers and civilians were killed. After Soviet troops evacuated Afghanistan in February 1989, Moscow announced it had suffered about 13,000 deaths and another 35,000 wounded.
The end of the Soviet regime and the rise of Boris Yeltsin as head of the Russian state marked the end of jihad and the beginning of civil war in Afghanistan. Although old hostilities were not forgotten, Russian assistance to the Northern Alliance may have prevented the Taliban regime from conquering the rest of the country. The emergence of independent states in Central Asia has created a buffer between Russia and Afghanistan, making the northern neighbor no longer a major threat. See also FOREIGN RELATIONS; APPENDIX 2; SOVIET INTERVENTION.

RUTSKOI, ALEXANDR. One of the Russian Afgantsy, he became vice president of Russia and head of the parliamentary opposition to President Boris Yeltsin in October 1993. He spent five months in Leforto prison in Moscow as a result of his challenge to Yeltsin. Rutskoi is leader of the conservative Great Power Party. He served in Afghanistan from 1985–1986 and again in 1988 and was a “Hero of the Soviet Union,” having flown 428 combat missions and been shot down twice, once over Pakistan (Galeotti, 128). He became deputy commander of the 40th Army’s air forces and with other Afgantsy is an important actor on the political scene in Russia.

SAADABAD PACT. A treaty of friendly relations and cooperation between Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, and Turkey concluded in 1937 and renewed in 1943. The treaty, also dubbed the “Oriental Entente,” was a gesture of solidarity rather than being of political importance. One Afghan diplomat commented on the nature of the agreement, posing the rhetorical question: “what do you get when you add zeros?” Nevertheless, the Soviet government suspected some kind of British plot, in view of the fact that Iraq was still not emancipated from British control and could be seen as a de facto member. When Britain and the Soviet Union occupied Iran in World War II, none of the signatories of the pact protested.

SADEQI, HOJJAT AL-ISLAM MIR HUSAIN. One of the founders of Sazman-i Nasr (Victory Organization), a Hazara movement that
followed the line of Ayatollah Khomeini but appeared to be free of Iranian political control. The movement was publicly proclaimed by Sadeqi and three other ulama (Shafaq and Abdul Ali Mazari) in 1980 in Meshed and soon controlled most of the Hazarajat. A Hazara, Sadeqi was born in the early 1930s in Nili in the Turkman Valley and studied Shi’ite theology in Kabul under Shaikh Muhammad Amin Afshar and in Najaf, Iraq. A book, entitled Sayyid Gerā’i, was published under his name, questioning the political control of the Sadat (non-Hazara sayyids) of Hazara society. He is said to have advocated armed struggle against Pashtuns as well as against Soviet forces and broke with Sayyid Ali Beheshtī, who supported the unity of the Afghan state. He fled to Iran in 1974 where he became active in the Islamist movement. Nasr is now part of the Hizb-i Wahdat.

SADIQ, MAULAWI. Minister of commerce in the Taliban government. A Hotaki Pashtun from Kandahar Province, he was a commander, affiliated with Maulawi Muhammad Nabi Muhammadi’s party. He and some of his fighters were taken prisoner by General Abdul Malik’s forces. After he was released, he was not given any major position.

SADO. Eponymic ancestor of the Sadozai (see DURRANI DYNASTY) dynasty, which ruled Afghanistan from 1747–1818. His place of birth is not known, but from the poetry he wrote Afghan historians assume that he belonged to the Mohmand tribe. He lived in Qal’a Bahadur near Peshawar and is buried in Hazar Khana, Peshawar. The line from Sado to Ahmad Shah extends over five generations.

SADOZAI. See DURRANI DYNASTY.

SAFI (QANDARI). A tribe located northeast of Jalalabad, which is of Nuristani origin and speaks a Kohistani dialect in addition to Pashtu (some scholars count them as Pashtuns). They claim to be the descendants of the original Gandharis and among the last to convert to Islam when they adopted the name Safi as well as Qandari. They are divided into three sections—the Gurbuz, Masud, and
Wader. At the turn of the century they mustered about 3,000 fighting men. The Safis rebelled from 1947–1949 and as a result were forcefully moved to areas in northern Afghanistan.

**SAFID KUH (SPIN GHAR, 33º58' N, 70º25' E).** The “White Mountain,” a high range on the **Pakistan** side of the border, forming part of the **Sulaiman Range** system that separates the basin of the **Kabul River** from Kurram. Its highest point is the Sikaram Peak, at a height of 15,620 feet. The Paiwar Kotal (Pass) is about five miles from the peak. Another range with this name is in the eastern part of the **Koh-i Baba**, which runs south of the **Hari Rud** Valley into the vicinity of **Herat**.

**SAFRONCHUK, VASILY S.** Soviet economist and career diplomat who was in **Kabul** from May 25, 1979, to 1982. Officially, he was counselor-envoy of the USSR embassy, but unofficially he was an adviser to the Afghan foreign ministry. He unsuccessfully tried to prevent the rift between **Nur Muhammad Taraki** and **Hafizullah Amin** and was said to have recommended the establishment of a broad-based, national front government with the inclusion of noncommunists. **Nur Ahmad Etemadi**, who was held in the **Pul-i Charkhi** prison at the time, was said to have been suggested for the position of prime minister. Hafizullah Amin refused, and Etemadi was executed in his prison cell (Cordovez and Harrison, 38). Safronchuk published two articles in *International Affairs* (Moscow, January, February 1991) in which he denied that he did more than advise Amin in matters relating to the **United Nations** and international relations. He characterized Amin as a “commonplace petty bourgeois and an extreme **Pashtu** nationalist.”

**SAID, MAULAWI SADRUDDIN (SAEED).** Minister of rural development in the **Taliban** government. He is a **Pashtun** from **Kandahar** and commander affiliated with Maulawi **Muhammad Nabi Muhammadi**.

**SALANG (35º12' N, 69º13' E).** A village and district in **Parwan** Province located near the Salang Pass at an altitude of 13,350 feet. It is a choke point to north-south traffic on the 300-mile-long Termez-Salang-**Kabul** Highway. The highway and a 1.7-mile-long
tunnel, located at an altitude of 11,000 feet, were built by Soviet experts and opened to general traffic in 1964. It was one of the routes of Soviet occupation in December 1978 and soon proved to be vulnerable to mujahedin attacks. In October 1984 an explosion in the tunnel was said to have led to the death of 1,000 people, including 700 Soviet troops. Commander Ahmad Shah Mas‘ud, whose center of operations included the Panjshir Valley, staged numerous ambushes along the road, including one in March 1984 when he was reported to have destroyed 70 fuel tankers destined for Kabul. Repeated Soviet Panjshir campaigns could not secure safe passage through this vital link to Kabul. The area separated Mas‘ud from the Taliban forces. After the fall of the Taliban regime, the Salang Tunnel was cleared of debris and again put into service.

SALE, LADY FLORENTIA (1790–1853). Wife of General Sir Robert Sale, commander of the garrison at Jalalabad during the First Anglo-Afghan War (1838–1842). Lady Sale was a hostage with other British women and some of their officer husbands and thus escaped the general massacre of the British forces. She recorded her experience in a book, entitled A Journal of the Disasters in Afghanistan, 1841–1842, which is an important source on the British misadventure.

SALE, GENERAL SIR ROBERT HENRY (1782–1845). Controversial general called “Fighting Bob” for his exploits in the Burmese War in 1823. When the Army of the Indus invaded Afghanistan during the First Anglo-Afghan War, Sale was in command of the First Brigade of the Infantry Division of the Bengal Column. He defeated Amir Dost Muhammad at Parwan Darra, November 2, 1840. He forced the Khurd Kabul Pass and reached Jalalabad on November 12, 1841. Unable to return as ordered by General William Elphinstone, he remained besieged in Jalalabad until April 7, 1842, when he sallied out of the city with almost his entire force of 1,430 men and six guns and defeated Akbar Khan. He was relieved by General George Pollock’s “Army of Retribution” and went to Kabul, September 1842. A severe disciplinarian, Sale ordered hundreds of lashings for the least infringement by his soldiers. Made a Knight Com-
mander of the Bath for the capture of Ghazni in spite of the fact that he “nearly muffed the whole operation” when he ordered the bugler to sound the retreat at the time a storming column had already effected a breach. “He would have surrendered Jalalabad without firing a shot if Havelock and Broadfoot [two of his officers] had not intervened. His victory over Akbar outside Jalalabad was only achieved because his officers forced him to attack against his own judgement” (Pottinger/Macrory, 153). He returned to India in September 1842. Many times wounded, Sale was killed in a battle with the Sikhs in 1845.

SALJUQI, FIKRI ABDUL RAUF. Poet, historian, and expert on the Herati school of miniature and Persian calligraphy. Born in 1900 in Herat, he was a cousin of Ustad Salahuddin Saljuqi.

SALJUQI, USTAD SALAHUDDIN. A philosopher, writer, and poet in Persian and Arabic, appointed president of the department of press (1953) and ambassador to Cairo (1955–1962). Born in 1895 in Herat, the son of Sirajuddin Mufti, he received a traditional education and became a teacher of Persian and Arabic at Habibia and Istiqlal schools. Appointed director of the Herat newspaper Ittifaq-i-Islam (Consensus of Islam, 1923) and Sarwat (Wealth, Kabul, 1925), he became secretary to King Amanullah (1926). He served as consul general in Bombay (1931) and Delhi (1935). He participated in the Ariana encyclopedia project and was a member of the Pashtu Tolana (see AFGHAN ACADEMY). He died in the late 1960s.

SAMA. See KALAKANI, ABDUL MAJID.

SAMANGAN (36º15' N, 67º40' E). A province in north-central Afghanistan with an area of 6,425 square miles and a population of 275,000 (1991 est. 337,000). The administrative center of the province is Aibak, with about 90,000 inhabitants, which abounds in important archaeological sites. The province is rich in mineral resources and is famous for its fruits, especially melons. The population is largely Uzbek who breed horses for the famous Buzkashi games. See also TASHQURGHAN.
SAMAR, DR. SIMA. Hazara physician who was selected as a vice president and minister of women’s affairs in the interim government, headed by Hamid Karzai. She was not included in the transitional government, but appointed head of the human rights commission. She was born in 1957 in Jaghori, Ghazni Province, and educated at Kabul University where she received a medical degree. She fled Kabul in 1984 and practiced medicine in refugee camps in Pakistan and Afghanistan. Samar opened the first women’s hospital in Quetta in 1989 and schools and clinics for women and children.

SANA’I, HAKIM (1081-1150). A scholar, philosopher, physician, and mystical poet who wrote the first mystical epic in Persian. He is acclaimed as one of three great mystical poets in Persian. He was born and died in Ghazni in present Afghanistan.

SAR AHANG. See MUHAMMAD HUSAIN.

SARAI. A resting place for travelers and their animals, surrounded by high walls for protection from marauding bandits or tribes. Before the advent of aerial warfare, fortified sarais existed to garrison troops and ammunition. They were built at intervals of 12 miles along main roads and in major towns, accommodating as many as 300 men. The average sarai covered an area of 80 to 100 square yards with sundried brick walls 15 to 20 feet high and two to three feet thick. A covered gateway 10 feet wide led to loopholed corner bastions, and firing platforms existed on top of the wall. Quarters for troops were located along the interior of the walls, and a well, often in the center of the yard, provided potable water of varying quality. Governors and high military officials would reside in sarais provided with a citadel for defense, and officials of rank and distinguished visitors would be offered hospitality there. The use of heavy artillery has rendered the sarai obsolete as a fortification in modern military warfare, and it serves now primarily as a shelter for passing caravans where motor transport is not possible. In the frontier area tribal chiefs maintain sarais with watchtowers and fortifications that provide adequate protection in local skirmishes.

SARANDOY (TSARANDOY). The name of the Afghan Boy Scouts organization begun in 1932 and headed by the Afghan Crown Prince
Muhammad Zahir (the subsequent king) and later by his son Ahmad Shah.

President Muhammad Daud organized a gendarmerie force called Sarandoy of some 20,000 men, which the Khalqi government continued and Babrak Karmal reorganized in 1981 into a defense force of six brigades, 20 battalions of 6,000 men, and various support units. The Sarandoy forces were stationed in major urban areas held by the Kabul government. The Sarandoy was under the direction of the ministry of interior and was a Khalqi stronghold under Colonel General Gulabzoy and his successors. It used to rival the power of the Parcham-dominated State Security Service (KHAD) until the Shahnawaz Tanai coup of March 1990. After the fall of the Marxist regime the organization disintegrated, its members joining competing mujahedin groups.

SARDAR. Title of the heads of Durrani clans, meaning “leader, general, or prince.” The title was awarded by the king also to commoners but subsequently only referred to members of the Afghan royal family.

SAR-I KOL (ZOR QUL, 37°25' N, 73°42' E). A lake, called Lake Victoria by the British, located at the head of the Pamir branch of the Amu Daria. It is 12 miles long and one and a half to two and a half miles wide and lies at an altitude of 13,390 feet.

SAR-I PUL (36°13' N, 65°55' E). A province with a population of about 400,000 inhabitants and a town with an estimated population of 155,000. It is a new province formed by the Marxist government in April 1988. The town is located at an altitude of 2,155 feet and lies on the river of the same name. During the reign of Ahmad Shah Durrani, Sar-i Pul was a dependency of Maimana. It became independent in 1810 but was annexed by the Kabul government in 1875. A village with about 950 families in 1885, the town counted 12,000 to 16,000 inhabitants in 1973, mostly Uzbeks and Tajiks. A new town on the northwest edge was started in 1963. A shrine, the Ziarat-i Hazrat-i Yahya, is a well-known place of pilgrimage that attracts many visitors, especially during nauruz, New Year (March 21). The discovery of natural gas and oil nearby has led to the construction of buildings and workshops. An oil refinery was planned but never constructed.
SARWARI, ASADULLAH. Member of the Khalq faction of the People’s Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) and head of the Afghan Security Service (AGSA), the security service of Nur Muhammad Taraki. He was replaced by Hafizullah Amin’s nephew, Asadullah Amin, in October 1979. When Babrak Karmal succeeded to power in the last days of December 1979, Sarwari was appointed vice president and deputy prime minister; but he was soon afterward appointed ambassador to Ulan Bator, Mongolia (1980–1986). He was stripped of membership in the Politburo in 1981 and expelled from the central committee in July 1986. Dr. Najibullah appointed him ambassador to Berlin until 1988 and to Aden, South Yemen, in 1989. He came to Delhi, India, at the time Shahnawaz Tanai, the commander in chief, attempted a coup against the Najibullah regime. Born about 1930 in Ghazni and educated in Afghanistan, he went to the Soviet Union to be trained as a helicopter pilot. He participated in the Muhammad Daud Coup in 1973 and after the Saur Revolt in 1978 became first deputy prime minister and vice president of the Revolutionary Council. He was reported to have been arrested in India, and the Najibullah government requested his extradition, which was not carried out.

Saur Revolt (Revolution). Marxist coup of April 27, 1978, named after the Afghan month (7. of Saur 1357), which initiated 11 years of rule by the People’s Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA).

Sayyaf, Abdul Rasul (Abd al-Rabb al-Rasul). Leader of the Ittihad-i Islami Baraye Azadi-ye Afghanistan (Islamic Union for the Liberation of Afghanistan), a radical Islamist movement that aims at the establishment of an Islamic State in Afghanistan. He was born in 1946 in Paghman and educated there, at Abu Hanifa theological school, and at the faculty of theology of Kabul University. He went to Egypt and obtained an M.A. degree at al-Azhar University. He was a member of the Islamist movement and in 1971 deputy of Burhanuddin Rabbani. In 1974, when he was about to leave for the United States for legal training, he was arrested at Kabul International Airport by intelligence officers and spent more than five years in prison. Freed by the Parcham regime in 1980, he went to Pe-
shawar and joined the mujahedin as spokesman of the Union. Elected for a period of two years (1980–1981), he wanted to continue in this position but was forced to step down.

Sayyaf then formed his own group, which included a large number of Arabs and contributed to the internationalization of the Jihad. He is an eloquent speaker in Arabic and has been able to receive financial support from Arabic Gulf states. He is ideologically close to the groups headed by Gulbuddin Hekmatyar and Yunus Khaled and allied himself with Arab “Wahhabi” mujahedin groups. During the civil war he had frequent clashes with the Hizb-i Wahdat and has allied himself with the Jam’iat-i Islami of Rabbani. Driven from his base in Paghman, he fled with his men to Jalalabad and from there to Kabul. In May 1996 he was instrumental in achieving a reconciliation between Rabbani and Hekmatyar, which resulted in the establishment of a government with Hekmatyar as prime minister. But by September the rulers of Kabul were in flight when the Taliban captured Kabul. Sayyaf then allied himself with Rabbani, but he did not succeed in obtaining any position in President Hamid Karzai’s governments. He was described as “a hulking bear of a man with a long unkempt, frosty white beard, and of surprising charm.” He teaches Islamic studies at Kabul University where he has his own armed guards. See also ISLAMIC ALLIANCE FOR THE LIBERATION OF AFGHANISTAN.

SAYYID (SAIYID). Sayyid (pl. sadat) means “prince, lord, chief,” or “mister” in Arabic, and is applied as a title for the descendants of the Prophet Muhammad. In Afghanistan the name is also applied to healers and holy men. Communities of sayyids exist in Kunar Province and the Hazarajat, where they constitute a hereditary clergy.

SAYYID HUSAIN. A Tajik of Charikar and minister of war in the government of Amir Habibullah Kalakani. He was born about 1895, the son of a wealthy landowner, and “quickly squandered” his inheritance and “never had any profession but highway robbery.” As minister of war he made himself unpopular with his extortions and cruelty. He was executed together with Habibullah on November 1, 1929.
SAYYID-I KAYAN. Sayyid Nadir Shah Husain, commonly called Sayyid-i Kayan, was elected head of the Isma‘ili community in Afghanistan by the Agha Khan and served for 45 years until his death in the 1960s at age 83. He was a scholar and writer who published a number of works on religious, literary, and historical topics. Before his death, he appointed his son Sayyid Shah Nasir Nadiri as his successor.

Sayyid Shah Nasir Nadiri was born in 1933 in Darra-yi Kayan in Baghlan Province. He was elected to parliament in 1965 and in 1968 became vice president of the Wolesi Jirga. Six months after the republican coup of 1973, Sayyid Nadiri and his four brothers were imprisoned. Freed after two years, Sayyid Nadiri and his brothers were again jailed after the Saur Revolt of 1978. He was in Pul-i Charkhi prison until Babrak Karmal proclaimed an amnesty in 1980. Sayyid Shah Nasir Nadiri left Afghanistan in 1981 and now lives in England. His brothers Sayyid Nuruddin Raunaq, Sayyid Abdul Qadir, and Sayyid Gauhar Khan are missing and presumed dead. Raunaq was a noted Afghan poet. Sayyid Mansur is acting head of the community, seeking protection in tactical alliances. After the fall of the Taliban regime, Mansur Naderi’s son Jaffar tried to regain control of their traditional area, but was expelled from Pul-i Khumri by the Panjshiri forces of General Muhammad Fahim.

SAZMAN-I NASR. “Victory Organization,” a Hazara mujahedin party, founded by Shaikh Mir Husain Sadeqi, after the Saur Revolt in 1978. It recruited its followers from Hazaras living in Iran and obtained some material support from Iran. It eventually succeeded in becoming a major force in the Hazarajat and allied with the Pasdaran in expelling the traditionalist Shura (headed by Sayyid Ali Beheshti) from much of the area. It is radical Islamist in outlook and was said to have governed with the assistance of Islamic komites (ideological committees). Nasr is now part of the Hizb-i Wahdat. See also SADEQI, HOJJATAL-ISLAM MIR HUSAIN.

SCHOOLS. See EDUCATION; MADRASA.

SECOND ANGLO-AFGHAN WAR (1878–1881). The “Signal Catastrophe” of the First Anglo-Afghan War inclined the British to pursue a policy of “masterly inactivity” that was to leave Afghanistan to the Afghans. But a generation later the advocates of a “forward policy” to
counter Russian moves in Central Asia succeeded in being heard. Technology had advanced considerably since the first war, and British conquests had extended across the Indus River and approached the passes leading into Afghanistan. British Indian telegraph lines and rail terminals had reached the borders of Afghanistan. The Indian forces, now wearing khaki uniforms, were equipped with breech-loading Martini-Henry and Snider rifles that were faster to operate. The Afghan army still depended largely on the jezail and muzzle-loading rifles.

Amir Shir Ali (r. 1863–1879), a son of Amir Dost Muhammad, had ascended the Afghan throne after eliminating a number of rivals. He gained British recognition in 1869 and was invited to meet Lord Richard Southwell Bourke Mayo in Ambala, India. Shir Ali was worried about Russian advances in Central Asia and wanted British guarantees against Russian aggression and recognition of his son, Abdullah Jan, as crown prince and his successor; but the viceroy was not willing to make any such commitment and merely gave the Afghan king 600,000 rupees and a few pieces of artillery. Disappointed, Shir Ali was receptive when General Constantin Kaufman, the Russian governor-general at Tashkent, made overtures, promising what Britain was not willing to give. General Stolietoff arrived uninvited in Kabul on July 22, 1878, with the charge to draft a treaty of alliance with the Afghan ruler.

Lord Robert Lytton was now alarmed and sent General Neville Chamberlain to lead a British military mission to Kabul on November 21, 1878. Arrangements had been made with the independent tribes on the frontier for the mission’s escort of 1,000 troops, but when the British reached the border, they were prevented from entering Afghan territory. In response to this “insult,” the Indian government issued an ultimatum and dispatched an army under General Frederick Roberts that entered Kabul on July 24, 1879. Shir Ali fled north in the hope of receiving Russian support. No help was forthcoming, and the amir died apparently of natural causes in Mazar-i Sharif on February 21, 1879.

The Indian government wanted the “Complete establishment of British influence in Afghanistan, and the rectification of the frontier.” It did not want too much territory, “only the passes leading into India” (OA 2, 177).

Britain recognized Shir Ali’s son Yaqub Khan as the Afghan ruler (Abdullah Jan had preceded his father in death) as the cost of
his signing the Treaty of Gandomak on May 26, 1879. Louis Cavagnari was established as British envoy at Kabul, and history repeated itself when, on September 3, 1879, mutinous troops whose pay was in arrears stormed the British mission and assassinated the envoy and his staff. The incident encouraged attacks on British positions elsewhere, which grew in spite of British attempts at pacification, culminating in the rout of General G. R. S. Burrows at the Battle of Maiwand (July 27, 1880). Fearing a repetition of the “Signal Catastrophe,” the British Indian government recognized Abdul Rahman as “Amir of Kabul and its Dependencies” and thus facilitated an orderly exit from Afghanistan.

For India the war was an economic disaster; instead of the original estimate of £5 million it cost £19.5 million, exclusive of 395,000 rupees paid to the Amir, and an additional sum of 50,000 rupees per month for six months. The exchequer bore its share of £5,000,000; the Indian revenues paid the rest (OA 2, 723). The greatest number of troops employed in Afghanistan at any one date was about 20,000, with 72 guns in the main theater and 50,000 men with 74 guns on the lines of communication (MR, 65). According to one source (Hanna), the British suffered 40,000 casualties which, if correct, must include camp followers. Almost 99,000 camels perished, a loss that was long felt in the areas from which they had been requisitioned. O’Ballance says, “The real winners of this war were the breach-loading Martini and Snider rifles, and the disciplined direction under which they were employed” (49).

SECOND ANGLO-AFGHAN WAR, REASONS FOR ENDING. An interesting source as to the reasons for ending the Second Anglo-Afghan War is a memo by T. F. Wilson, a military officer, dated July 10, 1880. It gave the “political and financial reasons why we should withdraw from Northern Afghanistan.” It stated that for 18 months the government had carried on a war at a peace establishment. Not a petty war, but one involving 50,000 men and more. “This has denuded India to a great extent of troops, and left our garrisons weak, especially in European soldiers.” The majority of the viceroy’s council had protested against the war, and Wilson quotes Sir Henry Durand, “Peace in India is but an armed truce.” “Our Asiatic subjects see that we have met with considerable difficulty and opposition, while the persistent drain on the country for transport animals, such as bul-
locks, asses, mules, ponies, and camels, has brought the matter home in a convincing manner to even remote parts of India by the detrimental effect which it has more or less exercised on agricultural industry.” Members of the Native Army were away too long. He quotes the commander-in-chief, saying

The position is very serious; we have to face extended operations in Afghanistan, and a more or less prolonged occupation of the country. Our cavalry regiments on service, instead of being 500 strong, have only 378 effectives, and our infantry corps, instead of 800, have only 587 effectives. Constant marching and fighting, and harassing fatigues, and the vicissitudes of a climate severe and trying beyond measure for natives of India, have reduced our numbers and impaired the health of every Native regiment, while recruiting is at a standstill, the entire Bengal Army having obtained only 46 recruits during the month of January late... Such is the picture of the Bengal Native Army in 1880, painted by its own chief. Even in the darkest days of the mutiny of 1857 no difficulty existed in raising new regiments. Stories of First War seem to discourage others. [We] Underestimated cost of war at 14 million, add to this renewals required, pensions to Afghan collaborators altogether no less than 20 million.

It is now nine months since we occupied Cabool after a resistance just sufficient to throw the Commander of the army off his guard... followed by the narrowest escape of his force from destruction; this last resulting in a scare which has never been entirely shaken off.

In fact, the occupation of Cabool has been marked by three distinct epochs; the first that of heedless audacity and misguided unnecessary executions and severity; the second by surprise and defeat, followed by timidity, want of enterprise, and a general condonation of all offenses; and the third by aimless, costly, and weak attempts at diplomacy resulting in fruitless efforts to win over influential people to our interests.

Since early in January last, our force at Cabool has not been less than from 8 to 9,000... yet it has never taken the initiative or ventured to do much more than hold the position of Sherpore... fortifications continued to be piled on each other, the army being allowed to grow into a belief that it could only command the ground on which it stood behind its defenses.

Seeing all this, and remembering how their foot soldiers captured our horse artillery guns, drove us into Sherpore, and plundered the city at their leisure under our eyes; is it to be wondered at that the Afghan nation continue elated and defiant? Kabul is 190 miles from Peshawar, 19 marches, but 15,000 men are barely sufficient to keep the line open.
In short, our military position in Afghanistan is this. We have 11,500 men at Candahar, and on its line of communication with India; 20,000 at Cabool, or in its immediate vicinity; 15,000 holding the line through Jellalabad and the Khyber to Peshawar; and 8,500 locked up in the Kurram valley; or a total of 57,000 men in the field, yet we command little more than the ground on which we stand.

The creation of ‘the strong and friendly Government at Cabool,’ and our determination ‘to have an English Ambassador at the Doornnee Court,’ are now but dreams of the past, from which Englishmen turn to the thought of, How can we best get our army back to India? How can we best disentangle ourselves from the false position we occupy?

We have recently based our hopes on Abdool Raheeman [Abdul Rahman] as the best candidate for the vacant masnud . . . [but] we must not forget that he has for years past been in receipt of a liberal pension, and an honored guest in Russian dominions. This need not result in any gratitude to the Russians for whatever he may now say or promise, he will in the future act only according to his own views and belief . . . if we can come to some patched up arrangement with this man that will enable us to quit the country without absolute discredit. . . .

Whenever we withdraw care must be taken to avoid all appearance of precipitancy . . . the enemy should be prevented from following our troops. The last withdrawal awoke in India a belief that we had at last met with a nut we could not crack; and two legacies resulted the long and severe struggle with the Punjab and the Mutiny.

In every Native Court it will be said “the Feringhees could not hold Cabool.” [He did, however, recommend to keep Kandahar and demand some border adjustments.]

In the present temper of Parliament, and the people of England. . . . whether we leave the ‘strong and friendly Government’ behind us or anarchy. . . . Government or no Government, Ameer or no Ameer, coute qu’il coute, we shall withdraw early in the autumn.

Abdool Raheeman is playing with us . . . Evidently he is not such a fool as to come to Cabool and accept the throne from us.

And, indeed, the amir came with an army, possibly to make war with Britain, but he concluded an agreement that permitted the British forces to withdraw with a semblance of dignity.

SEPAH-I PASDARAN. See PASDARAN-I JIHAD-I ISLAM.
SERAJ AL-AKHBAR AFGHANIYA. A biweekly newspaper meaning “Beacon of Afghan News,” published during the reign of Amir Habibullah from 1911 to 1918, and derived from his title, “seraj al-millat wa’d-din” (Beacon of the Nation and Religion). It was edited by Mahmud Tarzi and propagated Pan-Islamic and modernist ideas. One of the staff members was Abdul Hadi Dawai who became president of the Afghan senate, 1966–1973. During the first year of its existence the paper was lithographed, but subsequent editions were handsomely typeset and illustrated, occasionally with political cartoons. Although circulation was small (1,600 copies), the paper had a regular readership as far distant as Russian Central Asia, Iran, the Ottoman Empire, India, and even Japan. To make the paper economically feasible, Mahmud Tarzi requested courtiers and government and military officials to subscribe. The newspaper was independent, but Amir Habibullah occasionally censored an issue when the British Indian government protested its hostile attitude. The paper ceased publication in December 1918, two months before the assassination of Amir Habibullah. See also PRESS AND JOURNALISM.

SERAJ AL-MILLAT WA’D DIN. “Beacon of the Nation and Religion,” the title adopted by Amir Habibullah upon being sworn in as amir in 1901. His descendants subsequently adopted Seraj as a family name.

SETAM-I MILLI. See BADAKHSHI, TAHIR.

SEWWUM-I AQRAB. The Afghan date of a series of demonstrations (the third of Aqrab 1344, corresponding to October 25, 1965), when students under leftist leadership protested the secret session of Parliament, which was to decide on a vote of confidence for the government of Prime Minister Muhammad Yusuf. Troops responding to stone-throwing students opened fire and killed three and wounded several others. As a result of the demonstrations the prime minister resigned, and the “Sewwum-i-Aqrab” subsequently became a rallying cry of the Afghan left.

SHAFIQ, MUHAMMAD MUSA. Afghan foreign minister (1971) and prime minister from October 1972 until the coup of Sardar Muhammad Daud in July 1973. He was arrested by the Daud government
and held from 1973–1976, later under house arrest until the Saur Re-volt of 1978, when he was executed during the Nur Muhammad Taraki regime. Born in 1930 in Kabul, he attended Koran school and the Islamic College (Dar al-Ulum-i Sharia) in Kabul, al-Azhar in Cairo, Egypt, and studied Islamic and comparative law at Columbia University. He opened the first private law firm in Kabul in 1961 and had a major role in drafting the Constitution of 1964. He served as Afghan ambassador to Cairo from 1968 to 1971.

SHAH MAHMUD, GHAZI. See GHAZI, SHAH MAHMUD.

SHAHNAMA. See FIRDAUSI, ABU’L QASIM MANSUR.

SHAHRANI, NEAMATULLAH. Vice president and chairman of the Constitutional Drafting Committee of the transitional government of 2002. Born an ethnic Uzbek about 1940 in Shahran-i Khash, Badakhshan, the son of Ibadullah Shahrani, he was educated in Faizabad and at Abu Hanifa High School, Paghman, and at the faculty of Islamic law, Kabul University. He studied at al-Azhar University in Cairo and George Washington University in Washington, D.C. Appointed director of the Majalat-i Shariat, he served on the teaching staff of the faculty of Islamic law at Kabul University. He was affiliated with Jam’iat-i Islami and lived in Peshawar during the Marxist period. He returned to Afghanistan after the fall of the Taliban regime and joined the Hamid Karzai government.

SHAH-I BARBAR. The remains of an ancient city on a hill between the Firuzbahar and Band-i Amir Streams in Bamian Province. It is said to have been the capital of a kingdom comprising the Hazarajat and inhabited by a people called Barbar, probably the ancestors of the Hazaras who were also known as Barbari.

SHAHRYAR, ISHAQ M. Afghan ambassador to the United States. An Afghan industrialist, founder, and president of Solec International, Inc. in California, which produces PV cells, modules, and systems. He was manager of processing at Halex, Inc., 1972–1973 and director international operations at Spectrolab, Inc. from 1973. Shahryar was born in 1939 in Kabul and educated at Kabul University. He ob-
tained the B.S. degree in chemistry and the M.A. degree in international relations from the University of California at Los Angeles. He was president of the Afghan Student Association in 1967–1968.

**SHAH SHUJA-UL-MULK (r. 1803–1810 and 1839–1842).** Born about 1792, the seventh son of Timur Shah, he became governor of Peshawar in 1801 during the reign of his full brother Shah Zaman. In 1803 he captured Kabul, imprisoned his brother Mahmud, and proclaimed himself king. He accepted a British mission in 1809 under Mountstuart Elphinstone and concluded a treaty of alliance that states in Article 2:

> If the French and Persians in pursuance of their confederacy should advance towards the King of Cabool’s country in a hostile manner, the British State, endeavoring heartily to repel them, shall hold themselves liable to afford the expenses necessary for the above mentioned service to the extent of their ability.

This treaty was to prevent a Franco-Persian invasion of India that never occurred; but it did not protect the amir from attack by Persia alone. At that time, Mountstuart Elphinstone described the Afghan ruler as “a handsome man . . . his address princely,” and he marveled “how much he had of the manners of a gentleman, or how well he preserved his dignity, while he seemed only anxious to please” (Macrory, 32).

Two years later Mahmud, who had managed to escape, captured Kabul and forced Shah Shuja to flee to Bukhara and later to India where he remained as an exile for almost 30 years. En route to India he had to pass through the territory of the Sikh ruler Ranjit Singh who took from him the Koh-i Nur, a prized diamond that is now part of the British crown jewels. The internecine fighting between the Sadozai princes brought Dost Muhammad to power and marked the end of the Sadozai dynasty. In 1839 Britain invaded Afghanistan and restored Shah Shuja to the throne in a campaign that became known as the First Anglo-Afghan War. At that time the Amir was described as “elderly, stout, pompous and unheroic” (Macrory, 298). The Sadozai ruler was not able to govern without British protection; he remained ensconced in the protection of the Bala Hisar and was assassinated by a Barakzai sardar on April 25, 1842, only a few months after the British army was forced to a disastrous retreat. See also ARMY OF THE INDUS.
SHAH WALI, MARSHAL. Conqueror of Kabul from the forces of Habibullah Kalakani in October 1929. He was born in 1885, the son of Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan and brother of Muhammad Nadir Shah. He headed Amir Habibulla’s bodyguard and commanded King Amanullah’s forces during the Khost Rebellion of 1924–1925. He left for France in 1926 and remained there with Nadir Khan until they started their campaign against the Tajik king. Nadir Shah appointed him minister in London in 1930 and Paris 1932; Muhammad Zahir Shah assigned him as ambassador to Karachi in 1947 and in London in 1949. During the later reign of Zahir Shah, he was an adviser to the king, carrying the title of marshal. President Muhammad Daud placed him under house arrest. He eventually left Afghanistan and died in Rome in 1976.

SHAH ZAMAN (r. 1793–1800). Born in 1772, one of 23 sons of Timur Shah and his successor to the throne in 1793. During most of his reign he was engaged in intermittent warfare with his brothers Mahmud and Humayun. He wanted to win over the British for a concerted war against the Maratha confederacy in India. Instead, the British concluded an alliance with Persia to keep the Afghans out of India (see FOREIGN RELATIONS). Shah Zaman appointed Ranjit Singh governor of Lahore, in spite of the fact that he had previously rebelled. He abolished the hereditary posts established by Ahmad Shah Durrani and carried out bloody executions, antagonizing many Afghans. While he was in the Panjab, Mahmud captured the Kabul throne. Shah Zaman was blinded and imprisoned but eventually escaped and lived in Indian exile until his death in 1844.

SHAIKH ALI HAZARAS. See HAZARAS.

SHAMS AL-NAHAR. The “Sun of the Day” was the first Afghan newspaper published during the reign of Amir Shir Ali at Kabul from 1873 to 1877. An extant copy in possession of this writer (dated February/March 1873) shows a masthead consisting of an emblem inscribed Shams al-Nahar Kabul, positioned between two lions who hold a dragon with one paw and a sword in the other. Around it are four couplets that state: “The work I have begun with your sup-
port, you, my Lord, complete with excellence.” The price of a copy was ten annas, in cash or deducted from the creditor’s salary or account with the government. Notables, courtiers, chiefs, and government officials paid “according to their glorious ranks and names.” The 16-page paper featured public announcements, international and domestic news, and a weather report. Human interest stories discuss the manner of solving paternity suits in China and Kafir religious practices as told by a recent convert to Islam. Only the name of the printer, one Mirza Abdul Ali, was given. See also PRESS AND JOURNALISM.

SHAMSI CALENDAR. The solar (Ar., shams = sun) year calendar introduced in Afghanistan under King Amanullah.

SHARI’A. See ISLAMIC LAW.

SHERZAI, GUL AGHA. See GUL AGHA SHERZAI.

SHERZOY, ABDUL RAHIM. Deputy foreign minister and member of the 2002 Constitutional Drafting Committee. An ethnic Pashtun, he was born in 1935, the son of Sardar Sher Ahmad, and educated at Istiqlal Lyceé and the faculty of law of Kabul University. He obtained a Ph.D. degree in international law and served as chief of mission at Islamabad and as ambassador to Prague in 1974.

SHI’A, SHI’ISM. A Muslim sect that derives its name from shi’at Ali, meaning “the party of Ali,” and holds that leadership of the Islamic community should be by dynastic succession from Imam Ali (cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet Muhammad) and his descendants. Their view conflicts with the Sunni principle that Muhammad’s successor, khalifa (caliph), should be elected. Shi’as divide into three major sects according to which of their imams is believed to be the “Expected One” who will return on judgment day: the fifth, seventh, or twelfth. In Afghanistan the small Qizilbash and Farsiwan communities, and most of the Hazara population, are “Twelver” (Ithna’ashariyya, or imami) Shi’as, the same sect that predominates in Iran. There are also small groups of Isma’ilis, or “Seveners,” who live in northeastern Afghanistan.
The Twelvers believe their imam is infallible and that their theologians, the mujtahids, may legislate in the absence of the imam. In addition to Mecca and Medina, their holy places are Najaf and Karbala in Iraq, as well as Mashhad and Qum in Iran. They accept the practice of temporary marriages, mut'a (called sigha in Dari), and taqqiya, prudent denial of their religion if in danger of persecution. They believe in an esoteric interpretation of the Koran, but like the Sunnis accept the Five Pillars of Islam with only minor exceptions. The Shi’as constitute about 15 percent of the Afghan population and, in addition to being a sectarian minority, also are an ethnic minority. See also ISLAM; SHI’A MUJAHEDIN GROUPS.

SHI’A MUJAHEDIN GROUPS. The people of the Hazarajat, home to a large part of the Afghan Shi’a population, rebelled in February 1979 and by the end of the year had liberated their area from Marxist control. The Revolutionary Council of Islamic Union of Afghanistan (Shura-yi Inqilab-i-yi Ittifaq-i Islami-yi Afghanistan) established a government headed by Sayyid Ali Beheshti with its administrative center at Waras in Bamian Province. It set up offices, formed a defense force drafted from the local population, and collected taxes to defray the costs of running a state. Until about 1983, the Shura was the dominant movement; but radical Islamist parties emerged, which challenged the authority of the traditional Shura. The Sazman-i Nasr (Organization for Victory), headed by Mir Husain Sadeqi and the Pasdaran (Guardians), modeled after the Iranian Sepah-i Pasdaran and following the “line” of Ayatollah Khomeini, gained strength and took much of the Hazarajat from the Shura. Smaller groups controlling enclaves in the Hazarajat were the Ittihad-i Mujahedin-i Islami (Union of Islamic Fighters), led by Abdul Husain Maqsudi and the Harakat-i Islami (Islamic Movement) of Muhammad Asef Muhsini, headquartered in Quetta and subsequently allied with Burhanuddin Rabbani at Kabul. Numerous groups, like Ra’d (Thunder), headed by Shaikhzada Khaza’i, and Hizbullah (The Party of God) of Shaikh Ali Wusuki, and others, Islamist or Marxist, published their manifestos but never succeeded in winning popular support.

Unifying efforts were not successful. In 1987 they founded the Council of Islamic Alliance, which the Shura joined a year later. And
during a meeting of commanders in Bamian on June 16, 1990, creation of the Party of Islamic Unity of Afghanistan (Hizb-i Wahdat-i Islami-yi Afghanistan) was announced. Abdul Ali Mazari was appointed its leader, followed by Muhammad Karim Khalili after Mazari’s assassination. Ustad Akbari, who broke away from Wahdat, also joined the Rabbani government at Kabul. Major divisions exist between the traditional and Islamist groups and a multitude of notables and khans, sayyids, and the new elite of Islamists who are competing for leadership. Wahdat issued a declaration supporting the independence of an indivisible Afghanistan, demanding freedom for all nationalities and sects, and seeking security and social justice for all. It supports women’s rights, including the right to vote.

The spectacular victory of the Taliban in September 1996 and their capture of Kabul enabled them to extend their hegemony also into the Hazarajat. But the Hizb-i Wahdat was not defeated, as demonstrated by their quick recovery and reconquest of much of their heartland, after the United States intervention in 2002.

SHIBERGHAN (36º41' N, 65º45' E). The capital of Jozjan Province, located some 80 miles west of Mazar-i Sharif. In 1970 the town was estimated to have 15,000 inhabitants. Afghan historians link the name to Asaburgan, a prosperous ninth-century town that was destroyed as a result of Turco-Mongolian invasions. The town was surrounded by a wall and served as the seat of an independent Uzbek khan (chief) until it was annexed in 1859 by Amir Dost Muhammad. In the late 1930s the Afghan government began construction of a new town, and further expansion resulted from the discovery of natural gas in the vicinity and the construction of a pipeline and complex of buildings for the needs of the rapidly growing oil industry. A World Bank study estimated that the fields at Yatimdagh, Khwaja Gugerdak, Jarquduq, and Khwaja Burhan, northeast and southeast of Shiberghan, contain a combined reserve of natural gas amounting to 140 billion cubic meters. In the 1970s Shiberghan was a modern town with wide open streets and avenues and flat roofed houses and a thriving handicraft industry in leather and wood. Because of the large Russian personnel involved in the oil industry, Shiberghan was popularly called the “Russian” town (Lashkargah being the “American” town). The Americans left in
the late 1970s, and most Russians departed with the Soviet troops in 1989; the rest left after the fall of the Marxist regime in April 1992. After the United States intervention in December 2001, General Abdul Rashid Dostum was able to reestablish himself as the dominant power in Shiberghan.

SHIGHNAN (37º27' N, 71º27' E). A district in northern Badakhshan that until 1859 was an independent Tajik khanate. It came under the direct administration of the Kabul government in 1883. Britain and Russia in 1873 recognized the Amu Daria as Afghanistan’s northern boundary and the limit of Russian influence. But the agreement (see GRANVILLE-GORCHAKOFF AGREEMENT) was concluded in ignorance of the fact that Shighnan extended across the river. The boundary question continued to be an issue until in 1893 Amir Abdul Rahman ceded the portions of Shighnan lying across the river in exchange for Darwaz, which was on the Afghan side of the river. The Shighnanis speak a language of their own and are Isma’ili Shi’as. See also ROSHAN.

SHI’ITE. See SHI’A.

SHINDAND AIR BASE (SABZAWAR, 33º18' N, 62º08' E). A town and district in Farah Province that was the location of the largest operational air base of Soviet forces in Afghanistan. It was one of the objectives in a pincer move into Afghanistan on December 27, 1978, when the 357th MRD advanced from Kushka to Herat and established its control at Shindand. The airfield was considerably expanded from 1980 to 1982 to become the largest Soviet airbase in Afghanistan. It was the main base of Hind D helicopters and the 5th Guards MRD, as well as some 45 fighter and fighter bombers, which operated from the relative safety of the base. It was located in flat territory and surrounded by a three-ringed security belt, covering an area of 27 miles. Although it was well protected, mujahedin claim to have destroyed some 22 aircraft, two helicopters, and 18 oil tankers in a spectacular case of sabotage on June 8, 1985. After the fall of the Kabul regime, Shindand became the major air base of Muhammad Isma’il Khan until it was captured by the Taliban on September 2, 1995. The air base is again in the area of Isma’il Khan, but has been used also by United States forces.
SHINWARI. The Shinwaris are Pashtuns who migrated in the 16th century into the area of Nangarhar. The tribe consists of four divisions: the Mandezai, Sangu Khel, Sipah, and Alisher Khel who can muster a fighting force of 12,000 men. The Alisher Khel, on the Pakistani side of the Durand Line, have a reputation as excellent soldiers.

In the early eleventh century the Shinwaris accompanied Mahmud of Ghazni on his invasions of India. They fought the British in the First, Second, and Third Anglo-Afghan Wars and in the late nineteenth century repeatedly rose against Amir Abdul Rahman. The Shinwaris were members of a coalition of tribal forces that caused the downfall of King Amanullah. See also SHINWARI MANIFESTO.

SHINWARI, FAZL HADI. Chief justice of the supreme court in the transitional government of Afghanistan. The Islamic scholar was affiliated with the Sebghatulah Mujaddidi and Abdul Rasul Sayyaf's parties during the war against the Marxist regime. A Pashtun, he immediately proved himself a controversial appointment, declaring that he would not accept the secular ordinances of the Constitution of 1964. He ordered the closing of cable television as contrary to Islamic morals and packed the supreme court with his followers. Born in 1930, he attended the conservative Deoband madrasa and taught Islamic law at a Frontier madrasa in Pakistan.

SHINWARI MANIFESTO. A proclamation by the Shinwari leaders Muhammad Alam and Muhammad Afzal in November 1928 listing their principal grievances against the government of King Amanullah and declaring war against the Afghan king. The manifesto objected to the king’s legal and social reforms, such as the framing of legal codes, recommendation of monogamy, the removal of the veil, and the opening of theaters and cinemas in Kabul. They invested Dakka and Jalalabad and tied down Amanullah’s forces, enabling Habibullah Kalakani to capture Kabul and install himself on the Kabul throne.

SHIR ALI, AMIR (r. 1863–1866 and 1868–1879). One of Amir Dost Muhammad's 27 sons who became amir of Afghanistan in 1863 and spent much of his tenure trying to meet challenges from his brothers who governed various provinces. By 1869 he had consolidated his
power and traveled to Ambala, India, in response to an invitation from the viceroy, Lord Mayo. He was willing to form an alliance with India in exchange for British protection from Russian attacks, assistance in weapons and money, and recognition of the succession of his favorite son Abdullah Jan. But the viceroy merely expressed his pleasure that the civil war among the princes had come to an end and, as a gesture of friendship, gave the Afghan ruler a present of 600,000 rupees and a few pieces of artillery.

Disappointed in his dealings with Britain, the amir decided to listen to Russian overtures. Russia sent General Stolietoff to Kabul on July 22, 1878, who promised what Britain was not willing to grant. Alarmed, the viceroy’s government decided to send General Neville Chamberlain to Kabul, but he was not permitted to enter Afghanistan. Following an ultimatum, a British army invaded Afghanistan in a campaign known as the Second Anglo-Afghan War. Shir Ali left his son Yaqub in command at Kabul and went north to seek Russian support, but General Constantin Kaufman, the Russian governor-general of Turkistan Province, merely advised Shir Ali to make peace with the British. Shir Ali died on February 21, 1879, in Mazar-i Sharif and was succeeded in Kabul by his son Yaqub.

Shir Ali was the first to initiate modern reforms: he established an advisory council to assist in the administration of the state and created an army organized along European lines. He abolished the feudal system of tax-farming, set up a postal system, and published the first Afghan newspaper, the Shams al-Nahar (Sun of the Day).

SHIR DARWAZA (SHER). A hill on the outskirts of Kabul, overlooking the town and the location of the “noon cannon,” which sounds noontime and the end of daylight fasting during the month of Ramadhan (See ISLAM).

SHIRKAT-I SAHAMI-YI MILLI. See BANK-I MILLI.

SHU’LA-YI JAVID. Name of a weekly Marxist newspaper with articles in Dari and Pashtu, published by Dr. Abdul Rahim Mahmudi. The newspaper was banned in July 1969, three months after its first appearance, because it advocated the violent overthrow of the Afghan government. It was the organ of the New Democratic Party (Jam’iat-i
Demukrati-yi Nawin), popularly called Shu’la-yi Javid (Eternal Flame), and vied with other leftist groups in organizing strikes and student demonstrations. The party opposed Pashtun nationalism and advocated the right of self-determination of all nationalities and therefore found supporters among ethnic and sectarian minorities. It appeared to be ideologically closer to the Peoples’ Republic of China than the Soviet Union. Prominent leaders included Dr. Abdul Hadi Mahmudi, brother of Rahim, Professor Akram Yari, and Muhammad Osman. After the Saur Revolt in 1978, the party opposed the Khalqi regime and set up a mujahedin group; it was soon decimated, and most of its members fled abroad or were killed.

SHURA. Council, a consultative body or parliament. Islamic political theory demands that rulers seek council, “Shura.” Islamic modernists base their demands for a representative government on this principle. After the downfall of the Marxist government in Kabul, local mujahedin groups, remnants of the Afghan army, and even some Marxist groups united in Shuras to maintain local control in various areas of Afghanistan.

SHURA-YI INQILAB-I-YI ITTIFAQI ISLAMI-YI AFGHANISTAN. See BEHESHTI, SAYYID ALI.

SIDIQ, GENERAL SUHAILA. Head of surgery of Wazir Akbar Khan Hospital where she worked for about 20 years. She was promoted a general by the last Marxist ruler Najibullah. Sent home in 1996 when the Taliban took Kabul, she was soon reinstated in her position. According to Siddiq, she did not marry because she did not want to take orders from a man. She was appointed minister of health in the interim government of December 2001 and the subsequent transitional government.

SIKHS, SIKHISM. A religio-political community that rose in the Panjab, India, in the fifteenth century, founding a state that reached its height under Ranjit Singh in the late eighteenth century. Sikhism began as a syncretist religion, combining Islamic and Hindu beliefs under Nanak, the first guru (sage). Subsequently, belief in 10 gurus and the Granth Sahib, their sacred book, constituted the creed of the
Sikhs. In constant conflict with Indian and Afghan rulers, the Sikhs became increasingly militant and under Ranjit Singh captured Multan in 1818, Kashmir in 1819, and Peshawar in 1834.

The Sikh nation supported the British invasion of Afghanistan in the First Anglo-Afghan War, but after the death of Ranjit Singh, the British ended Sikh rule when it annexed the Panjub in the “Sikh Wars” of 1845–1846 and 1848–1849. In the 1970s there were about 10,000 Sikhs resident in Afghanistan.

**SIMLA MANIFESTO.** A document issued by the governor-general of India on October 1, 1838, which declared war on the Afghan Amir Dost Muhammad. It accused him of “a sudden and unprovoked attack” on its ally, Ranjit Singh, and announced Britain’s intention of restoring to the Afghan throne Shah Shuja “whose popularity throughout Afghanistan had been proven to his Lordship [the governor-general] by the strong and unanimous testimony of the best authorities” (Sykes, 339). The result was the First Anglo-Afghan War (1839–1842) and the British disaster in Afghanistan. See also FOREIGN RELATIONS.

**SINGH.** See RANJIT SINGH.

**SIRAJ.** See SERAJ.


**SIRR-I-MILLI.** Name of a secret organization which in 1909 plotted a coup against Amir Habibullah and aimed at the establishment of a republican form of government (mashrūta). Its reputed head was
Maulawi Muhammad Sarwar Wasif, a native of Kandahar. Dr. Abdul Ghani, an Indian Muslim who was head of Habibia School, and some of his students were accused of membership in the Sirr-i milli (Secret of the Nation). The organization wrote threatening letters to Amir Habibullah, telling him to “mend his ways, or face the consequences.” Abdul Ghani was arrested and jailed until 1919, when King Amanullah ascended the throne.

SOCIETY OF ULAMA. See JAMI’AT-I ULAMA.

SOVIET-AFGHAN RELATIONS. See RUSSIAN-AFGHAN RELATIONS.

SOVIET INTERVENTION/INVASION. The question as to the motive for Soviet intervention in Afghanistan was a matter of conjecture. Some saw it, as well as the Marxist coup in Afghanistan, as part of a master plan with the objective of gaining access to the resources and the warm water ports of the Persian/Arabian Gulf. But recent revelations of Politburo notes indicate that it was to be a temporary effort to rescue a faltering Kabul regime from defeat by rebel forces. Recent disclosures of minutes of Politburo meetings in March 1979 indicate that requests by Nur Muhammad Taraki for direct military assistance were at first not granted. Yuri V. Andropov, chairman of the KGB, is quoted as having said, “We can suppress a revolution in Afghanistan only with the aid of our bayonets, but that is for us entirely inadmissible... Thus our army if it enters Afghanistan will be an aggressor.” Prime Minister Alexei N. Kosygin added “we cannot introduce troops... There would be huge minuses for us... and no pluses for us at all.” In a meeting with Taraki in which Defense Minister Dmitri F. Ustinov also participated, the Soviets pointed out that Vietnam never demanded assistance of foreign troops. Taraki was told that he could expect considerable assistance, “You have working for you 500 generals and officers. If necessary we can send an additional number of party workers, as well as 150–200 officers,” but, he was told, the introduction of Soviet forces would alarm the international community and would involve the Soviets in a conflict with the Afghan people and “a people does not forgive such things.” By the end of 1979 these prescient words were forgotten or the situation had
deteriorated to such a degree that the Kremlin agreed to intervention. Its legality was based on the Soviet-Afghan treaty of friendship and cooperation of December 5, 1978, which stated in Article 4 that

The high contracting parties . . . shall consult each other and take by agreement appropriate measures to ensure the security, independence, and territorial integrity of the two countries.

The “temporary occupation” was legalized under a Status of Armed Forces Agreement signed in April 1980. The Kabul government claimed that the rebels were supported by foreign powers and that the Limited Contingent of Soviet Forces in Afghanistan (LCSFA) would withdraw at the end of foreign interference.

The reconnaissance for the intervention was said to have been carried out by General Ivan Pavlovski, a Soviet deputy defense minister, who spent three months in Afghanistan prior to the invasion. The overall command was under Marshall Sergei Sokolov. By the time the Soviet 40th Army entered Afghanistan on December 27, 1979, two airborne assault brigades had already secured the Bagram air base, about 40 miles north of Kabul, and in 180 sorties of Antonov-12 and Antonov-22 transport aircraft, escorted by 100 combat aircraft, troops and munitions were brought in. The Salang Pass/Tunnel, and the Kabul airport were secured by paratrooper and Spetsnaz units. Two motorized rifle divisions crossed the Amu Daria on pontoon bridges, and in a pincer movement the 357th proceeded from Kushka south to Herat and Shindand; and the 360th “Nevel-Polovsk” moved from Termez to Salang and to Kabul and Kandahar (Isby, 1989, 23. Urban [42] gives the route to Kandahar via Herat). The Soviet forces were equipped for conventional war, including an SA-4 antiaircraft missile brigade and chemical warfare decontamination units. Within a week some 50,000 Soviet troops with some 350 tanks and 450 other armored vehicles had crossed the Amu Daria. (O’Ballance, 89) The objective was to secure the key cities and links of communication. The Soviet armed forces were intended for the protection of major towns and lines of communication, leaving counterinsurgency tasks to the Afghan army, but they were inevitably drawn into search-and-destroy missions that cost 80 percent of its casualties. See also AFGANTSY; RUSSIAN-AFGHAN RELATIONS; APPENDIX 2.
SPETSNAZ. Special Operations Forces (Spetsnaz) are an elite counterinsurgency force that, together with airborne, air assault/air mobile, and designated reconnaissance units, made up 10 to 20 percent of the Soviet forces deployed in Afghanistan. The elite force was created in the years 1941–1942 during World War II and in the 1960s expanded to battalion size. In December 1978, Spetsnaz forces were said to have been employed in securing air fields, communications centers, and other key points in Afghanistan prior to the invasion. They constituted the commando unit that was responsible for the assassination of Hafizullah Amin. Spetsnaz operated as raiders, sabotage teams, and reconnaissance and intelligence commandos. According to McMichael (108), they operated disguised as shepherds, nomads, and itinerant traders. It is not clear how effective they could have been, since they were primarily of Slavic background, blond haired and blue eyed and not familiar with any Afghan languages. Altogether about nine battalions with 250 men each are said to have been active in Afghanistan. They were stationed at Asadabad, Baraki-Barak, Ghazni, Shahjoy (about midway between Ghazni and Kandahar), Lashkargah, Farah, Kandahar, and Jalalabad. Brigade headquarters were at Lashkargah and Jalalabad. See also SOVIET INTERVENTION/INVASION.

STINGER. An American infrared, heat-seeking missile, with high explosive warhead, capable of engaging low altitude aircraft, including high-speed jets, that has been credited with tipping the tactical balance in favor of the mujahedin. Long sought by the resistance, the first missiles were fired in September 1986 and became an immediate success. According to General Muhammad Yousaf, head of the Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI), the United States government trained Pakistanis who then trained Afghans. The first missiles were delivered to commanders of Gulbuddin Hekmatyar and Yunus Khales, and possession of a Stinger soon became the ultimate status symbol. The American government agreed to deliver 250 grip stocks with 1,000 to 2,000 missiles per year (Yousaf and Adkin, 182). The missiles had been deployed by American forces first in 1981, but had never been used in combat. According to Yousaf, the mujahedin achieved a hit-rate of 70 to 75 percent (68 percent according to Isby, 1989), much better than the rate of their Pakistani or American teachers. To reward
success, mujahedin commanders were given two Stingers for each hit (Rubin, 1995, 196). As was to be expected, a Spetsnaz commando was able to capture a number of missiles in an ambush, and one commander, Mulla Malang, boasted of having sold four launchers for $1 million each with 16 missiles to Iran (Rubin, 1995, 336, n 45). Overby (115) claims that of 1,150 Stingers originally sent, only 863 reached the mujahedin. China obtained several Stingers and was said to be copying them (Les Nouvelles, No. 63). In 1987 the Soviet/Kabul forces had 150 to 200 air losses, and the much-feared Hind D helicopter never recovered its tactical preeminence. Isby (114) quotes the Commander Ahmad Shah Mas’ud, saying “There are only two things Afghans must have: the Koran and Stingers.” See also ROKETI, MULLA ABDUL SALAM.

STOLIETOFF, MAJOR GENERAL. Head of an uninvited Russian mission sent to the court of Amir Shir Ali by General Constantin Kaufman in 1878 to conclude an alliance against Britain. Stolietoff reached Kabul on July 22 at a time when General Kaufman was dispatching a force of 15,000 men to the upper reaches of the Amu Daria. Not being able to prevent the mission from reaching Kabul, the amir treated the Russian and his staff of six officers with courtesy. Stolietoff presented several “letters of friendship” in one of which Kaufman wrote:

I have deputed my agent, Major General Stolietoff, an officer high in the favour of the Emperor. He will inform you of all that is hidden in my mind. I hope that you will pay great attention to what he says, and believe him as you would myself. . . . The advantage of a close alliance with the Russian Government will be permanently evident. (Sykes, vol. 2, 97)

The draft of a treaty promised what Britain was not willing to offer: protection from foreign aggression and recognition of Shir Ali’s son Abdullah Jan as heir-apparent. Article 3 of the treaty stated:

The Russian Government engages that if any foreign enemy attacks Afghanistan and the Amir is unable to drive him out, and asks for the assistance of the Russian Government, the Russian Government will repel the enemy either by means of advice or by such other means as it may consider proper. (Sykes, vol. 2, 107)

The fact that the type of Russian support was left to the discretion of the Russian government apparently did not occur to the amir. His
refusal to permit a British mission under General Sir Neville Chamberlain to proceed to Kabul was taken as Lord Robert Lytton’s excuse to start the Second Anglo-Afghan War.

**SUFISM.** Islamic mysticism (A., *tasawwuf*), emerged in the eighth century A.D. and rapidly spread over most of the Islamic world. The generally accepted etymology derives the word Sufism from *ṣuf*, meaning “wool, the robes of coarse wool worn by Muslim mystics.” Sufism was long in conflict with Islamic orthodoxy because it sought the personal experience (*ma‘rifa*) of union with God, rather than rational knowledge (*‘ilm*), the scholasticism of *Sunni Islam*. Al-Ghazzali (d. 1111), the great canonist and theologian, was largely instrumental in reconciling Sufism with orthodox Islam.

Sufi orders originated among the urban artisan classes and organized into brotherhoods (*ṭariqā* = way, path), following a particular spiritual leader or saint (*pir*, *shāikh*, or *murshid*). Sufi lodges (*khānaqah*) were founded at the residence or tomb of a venerated *pir* and supported with contributions of the disciples (*murid*). Members met regularly in homes or public places to perform *zikr* (A., remembrance), ecstatic recitations of the names of Allah, or passages of the *Koran*, accompanied by rhythmical breathing and physical movement.

Sufism has experienced a revival in Turkey after orders were closed in the early 1920s in conformance with the Kemalist policy of secularization. The Hanbali school of Islamic jurisprudence prevalent in Saudi Arabia also does not accept Sufism as an orthodox practice.

Famous mystical poets which Afghanistan shares with the Islamic world are Hakim Sana‘i of Ghazni, who wrote the first mystical epic in Persian in the early twelfth century A.D.; Jalaluddin Rumi Balkhi, famous for the *maulawiyya*, whirling dervishes, who was born in 1207 in Balkh (therefore called Balkhi by Afghans); and Jami born in Jam, Khorasan, who died in Herat in 1492. The most important contemporary Sufi orders in Afghanistan are the Qadiri and Naqshbandi. The Qadiri order is headed by Pir Sayyid Ahmad Gailani whose ancestor, Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani (d.1166), “the sultan of saints,” founded the order. Gailani’s devotees are primarily among the Pashtuns in southern and eastern Afghanistan. The Naqshbandi order originated in Bukhara in the fourteenth century and is found in parts of northern and southern Afghanistan. The Mujaddidi family is associated with devotees of the Naqshbandi order in southern
Afghanistan. Of about 200 orders, about 70 are still active in the Islamic world.

**SULAIMAN KHEL.** A division of the Ghilzai tribe.

**SULAIMAN RANGE.** The name given by Western geographers to the southern portion of the great watershed between the Helmand and the Indus Rivers. The range probably got its name from the Sulaiman Khel Ghilzais through whose territory it passes. Starting from the Shutur Gardan Pass (11,200 feet) in Paktia Province, it runs in a south-southeasterly direction under the names of Mangal and Jadrang Hills where its peaks reach altitudes between 11,000 and 12,000 feet. The British Indian general staff considered the route over the Shutur Gardan the best avenue for an attack on Kabul. There are two ranges with this name—one that extends along the Afghan border and the other, the eastern range, that runs along the Baluchistan-Panjab border in a generally north-south direction.

**SUNNA.** The tradition (A., trodden path), including the example and sayings of the Prophet Muhammad that have become part of Islamic law.

**SUNNI (SUNNITES).** The major branch of two Islamic traditions (in distinction to the Shi’a branch), comprising about 80 percent of the Muslim population. Sunnis are called the “people of custom and community” (ahl al-sunnah wa ‘l-jama’a) or “orthodox” Muslims. They recognize the first four caliphs as rightful successors to the Prophet Muhammad and accept the legitimacy of the Umayyad and ‘Abbasid caliphates. They are divided into four schools of law, the Hanafite, Malikite, Shafi’ite, and the Hanbalite schools, the Hanafi being the largest and the Hanbali school the most restricted in its interpretation of the Koran and the Sunna (see ISLAMIC LAW). In Afghanistan the majority of Sunnis are of the Hanafi school. See also ISLAM.

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**TAIMANI.** One of the Chahar Aimaq tribes that numbers about 180,000 Farsi-speaking Sunni Muslims. They are the most numerous of the Chahar Aimaq and occupy the hilly country southeast of
Herat between the district of Sabzawar (also called Shindand) in Farah Province on the west and the Hazarajat on the east. Their country is virtually barren of trees and bushes except for the upper course of the Farah Rud. The Taimanis are of Turco-Mongol origin.

TAIMURI (TIMURI). Also called Aimaq-i Digar (the other Aimaq) as distinguished from the Chahar Aimaq. They are Sunnis, number about 30,000, and inhabit the area of northwestern Herat, Farah, and southern Farib Provinces. They claim Arab descent and derive their name from Sayyid Timur, Kurkhan, of Tirmiz in Bukhara. The Taimuris participated on various sides in the civil wars of the Sadozai princes, as a result of which a part of the tribe was compelled to move to Khorasan, Persia. In 1893 there were about 12,000 Taimuris each in the Khorasan Province of Iran and western Afghanistan.

TAJIK. A name, generally applied to Farsi/Dari speakers whose number has been estimated at about four to five million people. The term comes from the Persian tāzī (running) or tāj (crown), meaning “Arab,” but the Turks applied it to non-Turks and eventually only to Farsi-speakers. They are largely Sunni Muslims, except for the “mountain Tajiks” who are Isma’ilis and inhabit various areas of Badakhshan Province.

The Tajik are the ancient population of Khorasan and Sistan who were sedentary and made a living as traders. They were also located in northern Afghanistan and predominated in Balkh and Bukhara, until they moved south as a result of Timurid invasions. Now they are scattered all over the country, but are concentrated in communities in western, northern, and northeastern Afghanistan. They are mainly agricultural, except in the towns where many are artisans or engage in commercial activities. They have been engaged as clerks and predominate in the government administration. As a community, the Tajik are relatively better educated and more modernized. Conscious of a great cultural tradition, the elite of the Tajiks have been the “men of the pen,” whereas the Pashtuns have been the “men of the sword” of Afghanistan.

TAHAR (36°30' N, 69°30' E). A province in northeastern Afghanistan with an area of 6,770 square miles and a population estimated at
528,000 (1991 est. 545,000). The province borders on Tajikistan in the north, Badakhshan Province in the east, Parwan/Kapisa in the south, and Baghlan and Kunduz in the west. Since 1963 the administrative center of the province has been Taloqan, a town of about 20,000 (1991 est. 170,000) inhabitants. Major agricultural products of the province include cotton, corn, and wheat; local industries include gold and silver mining and carpet production. Takhar provides two-thirds of the salt used in Afghanistan.

TALIBAN. A movement of “taliban” (students) who attended religious schools (madrasas) in Pakistan and the Afghan tribal belt, and suddenly emerged as a politico-military force in Afghanistan. Headed by Mulla Muhammad Omar, a Nurzai from Oruzgan, and his deputy Mulla Muhammad Hasan, the movement first came to public attention in November 1994 when it rescued a Pakistani truck convoy bound for Central Asia from mujahedin captors. The Taliban then captured the city of Kandahar and moved north against Kabul. On Monday, February 13, 1995, they captured Pul-i Alam and the next day Charasiab, the stronghold of the Hizb-i Islami leader Gulbuddin Hekmatyar. Hekmatyar was forced to flee to Sarobi, about 37 miles east of Kabul. In March 1995 the Shi’a Hizb-i Wahdat surrendered its enclave in Kabul to the Taliban, and its leader Abdul Ali Mazari was killed while in Taliban captivity. On September 3 the Taliban captured Shindand, an important air base, and two days later the city of Herat. In September 1996 the Taliban renewed their offensive and captured Jalalabad, Sarobi, and by the end of the month they were installed as rulers in Kabul.

It is still unclear how they were able to quickly defeat the supposedly battle-hardened mujahedin. Afghans were sick of war and the rule of warlords, and financial support from the Gulf and armed assistance from the Pakistani Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI), as well as foreign volunteers, made the difference. Often they conquered without a fight as ex-army officers and mujahedin commanders defected or were bribed to join the new force. The Taliban claimed not to be affiliated with any of the mujahedin groups and only desired to unite Afghanistan, end the power of the war lords, and create a “true” Islamic state. Their rule was ended only as a result of United States intervention in December 2001. See also ENJOINING THE GOOD AND FORBIDDING EVIL.
TALIBAN COMMANDMENTS. After the conquest of Kabul in September 1996, the Taliban government issued a law of proper conduct and established a Department for “Promotion of Virtue and the Prevention of Vice,” which was subsequently upgraded to a government ministry. This “religious police,” as it was dubbed, was to enforce the new laws and its members, equipped with whips, cables, or car antennas, would immediately dispense punishment for minor infractions.

The law (usulmana) contained the following 16 provisions:

1. **Women** must wear the Afghan type of **veil** (hijab). The Iranian veil is immodest and forbidden. Drivers of all types of vehicles are forbidden to transport women without a proper veil. Violators will be arrested. Women found walking without the proper veil will be taken home and their husbands punished.

2. **Music** and singing is prohibited. The sale and playing of audio tapes is banned. Vehicles are prohibited from carrying tapes. Shops selling tapes must be closed. The tapes will be destroyed and the violators arrested. If five persons vouch for an offender, the person is freed and his property returned.

3. It is forbidden to trim or shave **beards**. After a month and a half, all violators will be imprisoned until their beards reach standard size.

4. Communal prayers are obligatory. Fifteen minutes before the prayer call, the road in front of **mosques** will be closed to traffic to force people to stop. If someone remains in a shop he will be arrested. If five persons vouch for the offender, he will be released, otherwise he will remain in prison for 10 days.

5. Games and betting with pigeons and quails is forbidden. Violators will be punished and the birds killed.

6. The use and sale of intoxicants is forbidden. The drogues will be seized and the violators punished.

7. Kite flying and betting on it is forbidden. Stores are forbidden to sell the materials for kites. Kites will be confiscated and destroyed.

8. Reproduction of humans and animals is forbidden and all photos must be destroyed. Vehicles with idols will be stopped and their drivers are forbidden to drive.

9. Gambling is forbidden and violators will be imprisoned for one month.
10. Western type hairstyles (beatle and ponytail) are forbidden. Violators will be taken to a barber and shorn at their own cost.
11. Money changers are forbidden from issuing letters of exchange and charging interest loans. Violators will be imprisoned for a long time.
12. Young women are forbidden from washing their laundry in public places, such as rivers, brooks, and streams. Their husbands will be punished for lack of vigilance.
13. Dancing and singing and instrumental music at weddings is prohibited. In case of violation, the host will be arrested.
14. Drumming is un-Islamic and violators shall be dealt with according to the advice of the ulama.
15. Women are not permitted to visit tailor shops, read fashion magazines, and have their measure taken by tailors. In case of violation, the tailor shall be arrested.
16. Diviners and witches shall be imprisoned until they repent and their books shall be destroyed.

Other laws decreed stoning for adultery and mutilation for theft. After the fall of the Taliban regime, the interim government again adopted the Constitution of 1964 and the legal code of that time, which did not enforce mutilation. See also ENJOINING THE GOOD AND FORBIDDING EVIL.

TALIBAN ORGANIZATION. For a list of Taliban officials, see APPENDIX 7.

TAMERLANE. See TIMUR-I LANG.

TANAI (TANI). A section of the Khostwal Pashtun tribe. They inhabit the southwest corner of the Khost Valley.

TANAI COUP. See TANAI, LIEUTENANT GENERAL SHAHNAWAZ.

TANAI, LIEUTENANT GENERAL SHAHNAWAZ. Member of the Khalqi faction of the Peoples Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA), chief of general staff since 1986, and minis-
ter of defense from 1988 to 1990. A Pashtun born in Paktia Province of the small Tani tribe. A captain-major until the Saur Revolt of 1978, Tanai was considered a rising star in the PDPA, when on March 6, 1990, he and several Khalqi officers staged a coup against the Najibullah government from the Bagram air force base. They attacked the presidential palace and key government facilities in Kabul but were unable to topple the government. Tanai and some of his closest supporters escaped from Bagram air base in three military aircraft and a helicopter and landed in Parachinar, Pakistan. Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, leader of the most radical of the mujahedin groups, gave the coup his support. This alliance of hard-line Khalqis and radical Islamists caused considerable consternation in Afghanistan. Tanai and Hekmatyar were seen as determined to win power, regardless of ideological considerations. Najibullah’s control of the air force and scrambling of the communications network enabled him to rout the rebels. On March 16, Tanai made his appearance in Hekmatyar’s camp in Logar Province, claiming to continue the campaign against Najibullah but remaining a loyal member of the PDPA. After the fall of Najibullah in April 1992, many Khalqi officers joined Hekmatyar’s forces. Tanai is said to have joined the Taliban in November 1995.

TANG-I GHARU (34º34' N, 69º30' E). A spectacular gorge through which passes the Kabul River and the road linking Kabul to Jalalabad. The gorge begins five miles below Pul-i Charkhi, about seven miles east of Kabul, and extends for about 10 miles to the vicinity of the village of Gogamanda. It is an alternate route to the difficult Lataband Pass (alt. 7,950 feet) and replaced it in 1963 when the new paved highway to Tor Kham at the Afghan border was completed. At the top of the gorge one can see five or six levels of highway winding within a short distance of three miles. The gorge narrows in places to 20 yards with cliffs on both sides rising almost perpendicularly.

TANIWAL, ABDUL HAKIM. Appointed governor of Khost in Paktia Province by the Hamid Karzai government in 2002, after spending 15 years in exile. Born in 1946 in Paktia Province and educated at Rahman Baba School in Kabul, he obtained an M.A. degree in sociology in Münster, Germany. He started his teaching career at Rahman Baba

**TARAKI.** A section of the Burhan branch of the Ghilzai tribe, estimated in the early nineteenth century at about 12,000 families. They inhabit Mukur and the country to the south.

**TARAKI, NUR MUHAMMAD.** Member of the Khalq faction of the Peoples Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) and, after the Saur Revolt in 1978, president of the Revolutionary Council and prime minister of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. Taraki was born of a Ghilzai nomad family on July 15, 1917, in Ghazni Province. After attending a village school in Nawa, Ghazni Province, he took night courses in Bombay and college credit in Kabul. He worked as a clerk for Abdul Majid Zabuli at the Pashtun Trading Company in Kandahar and at its office in Bombay. Because of his knowledge of English he was able to obtain employment in various Afghan ministries and at Bakhtar News Agency. In the 1950s he became known as an author and journalist, and in 1953 he served for a few months as press attaché at the Afghan embassy in Washington. Subsequently, he opened the “Nur Translation Bureau” in Kabul, which translated Dari and Pashtu materials for various foreign missions in Kabul, including the American embassy.

Taraki’s ideological transformation from social critic to communist occurred in the early 1960s. He convened the “founding congress” of the PDPA on January 1, 1965, which was attended by 27 persons. The members elected him secretary general in a split decision, some voting for his subsequent rival Babrak Karmal, who was elected secretary of the central committee. In April 1966 Taraki started publication of Khalq, the party organ, which became also the name of his faction of the PDPA. In 1967 the party split into two factions over tactical and leadership disputes, until ten years later they reunited and attained power in a coup in April 1978. After the Saur Revolt, Taraki became the “Great Leader” and a personality cult prepared the way to legitimate his rule as the “teacher and great guide” of the communist movement. Leading Parchamis were purged from government positions and Taraki’s Khalqis ruled until a new split de-
veloped. Hafizullah Amin attacked his former teacher as unfit for leadership. The “red Khalqis” of Taraki and “black Khalqis” of Amin were pitted against each other and Hafizullah prevailed. On October 9, 1979, Taraki was secretly executed. See also APPENDIX 2.

TARNAK (31º26' N, 65º31' E). A river that rises near Muqur in Ghazni Province and, flowing in a southwesterly direction, runs into the Dori River about 25 miles southwest of Kandahar.

TARZI, GHULAM MUHAMMAD (1830–1900). A calligrapher and poet who took the pen name Tarzī (the stylist) and was the author of a large body of religious, mystic, and secular poetry. He was the son of Rahmdil Khan, a Muhammadzai from Kandahar. He received a yearly stipend from Amir Dost Muhammad, but Amir Abdul Rahman forced Tarzi and his family into Indian exile in December 1881. Tarzi traveled in 1885 to Baghdad and Istanbul and from there to Damascus, where he lived as a pensioner of the sultan/caliph, Abdul Hamid. Ghulam Muhammad had five daughters and six sons, one of whom, Mahmud Tarzi, returned to Afghanistan after the death of his father and held high offices at the courts of Abdul Rahman’s successors.

TARZI, MAHMUD. Prominent Afghan nationalist, “Father of Afghan Journalism,” and high government official during the reigns of Amir Habibullah and King Amanullah. Born in Ghazni on August 23, 1865, the son of Ghulam Muhammad Tarzi, he accompanied his father into exile and was educated in India and Damascus under the supervision of his father. He returned to Kabul after the death of Amir Abdul Rahman and became editor of the Seraj al-Akhbar Afghaniya. During the reign of King Amanullah, Tarzi served as foreign minister (1919–1922) and headed the Afghan delegation at the peace conference at Mussoorie (1920) and signed the Anglo-Afghan Treaty of 1921 at Kabul. He was the first Afghan minister at Paris 1922–1924, and again foreign minister 1924–1927, and left Afghanistan with King Amanullah in January 1929. He was a great reformer but did not agree with some of King Amanullah’s innovations. One of his daughters was married to King Amanullah and another to Sardar Enayatullah. Tarzi died in Istanbul in 1933. See also PRESS AND JOURNALISM.
TASAWWUF. See SUFISM.

TASHQURGHAN (36°42' N, 67°41' E). A town, now called Khulm, with 28,000 inhabitants, which once was the principal market between Central Asia and Kabul. The town was founded on the site of an ancient town (destroyed as a result of Turco-Mongol invasions) in the early nineteenth century by Amir Kalich Ali Beg, Khan of Khulm, who built a citadel there and called it Tashqurghan (T., stone, or brick, fort). Ali Beg was able to expand his domains, creating the largest khanate in Afghan Turkistan. In 1850 Amir Dost Muhammad defeated the khan and brought Tashqurghan under the control of Kabul.

TATAR. An ethnic group of Sunnis claiming to be of Mongol descent. They number about 60,000 and inhabit the northern part of Bamian and parts of Samangan Provinces. Larger numbers of Tatars also live in Bukhara and Khiva in Uzbekistan. In the mid-nineteenth century their chief was Shah Pasand Khan. His son Dilawar Khan supported Amir Shir Ali (r. 1863–1866 and 1868–1879) in the wars of the princes, but in the early 1880s Amir Abdul Rahman took the khanate under Kabul control.

TAWANA, SAYYID MUSA. Member of the commission for electing a Loya Jirga in 2002 and founder of the Islamist movement in Afghanistan. Born in 1936 in Rustaq, Takhar Province, he was educated at the Dar al-Ulum-i Shari’a (now Abu Hanifa) madrasa, Kabul University, and Cairo’s al-Azhar University. In the late 1950s he belonged to a small circle at Kabul University who perceived a “danger of apostasy among university students.” The group designed a three-point program of action: refute the claims of secularists on questions of Islam; write and translate articles to propagate the teachings of Islamist scholars; and study communism and European history with a view of understanding the enemy. In 1961 he graduated from Kabul University and became a lecturer at the faculty of theology of Kabul University until 1964, when he proceeded to Cairo to study at al-Azhar University. After graduating with a Ph.D. degree in 1971 he returned to Kabul and in 1972 was appointed a professor at the faculty of Islamic law of Kabul University. At that time the professors founded the Jami’at-i Islami with Burhanuddin Rabbani as head
and Abdul Rasul Sayyaf his deputy. Habiburrahman was secretary and in charge of military affairs. Gulbuddin Hekmatyar was in a Kabul jail at the time. As a result of the Muhammad Daud coup on July 17, 1973, the Islamist movement had to go underground.

TAZI. See AFGHAN HOUND.

THIRD ANGLO-AFGHAN WAR (1919). A short war between Afghanistan and British-Indian forces which lasted from May 4 until conclusion of a cease-fire on June 3, 1919. Amir Amanullah had ascended the throne in February 1919, after the assassination of his father, Amir Habibullah. He was an ardent nationalist and reformer and was said to have been a member of the “war party” at the Afghan court, which favored an attack on India during World War I. Afghanistan had remained neutral in the “holy war” against Britain, and Amir Habibullah expected a generous financial reward and British recognition of Afghanistan’s complete independence. But once the European conflict was ended, Britain showed no intention of freeing the country from its control.

Upon accession to power, Amir Amanullah demanded a treaty that would end Afghanistan’s political dependence on Britain and establish normal, neighborly relations between the two states. Lord Frederick John Chelmsford, the viceroy of India, however, suggested that no new treaty was required, despite the fact that previously India had held that the agreements with Afghan rulers were personal and therefore subject to renegotiation with each new ruler. He merely acknowledged Amanullah’s election as amir “by the populace of Kabul and its surrounding,” implying that Amanullah was not in complete control of his country. The subsidy paid to previous Afghan rulers was halted, and when Amanullah sent his new envoy to India he was asked “what amir” he represented.

On the occasion of a royal dārbār on April 13, 1919, Amanullah showed himself belligerent, announcing to an assembly of dignitaries:

I have declared myself and my country entirely free, autonomous and in dependent both internally and externally. My country will hereafter be as independent a state as the other states and powers of the world are. No foreign power will be allowed to have a hair’s breath of right to interfere in ternally and externally with the affairs of Afghanistan, and if any ever does I am ready to cut its throat with this sword.
He turned to the British agent and said, “Oh Safir, have you understood what I have said?” The British agent replied, “Yes I have” (Adamec, 1967, 110).

To emphasize his demands, Amanullah sent three of his generals to the border: Saleh Muhammad, the commander in chief, arrived at Dakka, the border town, on May 3; Abdul Quddus, the prime minister (sadr-i a’zam), moved to the area of Qalat on May 5; and a day later Muhammad Nadir, the commander in chief (and subsequent king of Afghanistan), moved to Khost with a tribal lashkar (army) of several thousand men in addition to his regular forces.

On May 5 the government of India stopped demobilization of all combatant forces in India and began to recall all British officers. India intended to confront the Afghans with an overwhelming force in the Khaibar to induce them to withdraw quietly.

Lieutenant General G. N. Molesworth described the Afghan regular forces as ill-trained, ill-paid, and probably under strength. But the superiority of the British Indian forces was to a certain extent matched by the power of the Pashtun tribal lashkars from both sides of the border. They were aggressive fighters and operated in an inaccessible terrain that was well known to them. The Pashtun soldiers of the British Khaibar Rifles were not willing to fight their Afghan brothers and, given the choice, 600 men out of 700 elected to be discharged, making it necessary for the British to disband the units. (OA 3, 22–23)

Lord Chelmsford was warned by the London government “that you will not have forgotten [the] lessons of history, that we have not so much to fear from [the] Afghan regular army as from the irregular tribesmen and their constant attacks on our isolated camps and lines of communications” (Adamec, 1967, 116).

Hostilities began on May 4, 1919, when Afghan troops cut the water supply to Landi Kotal on the Indian side of the border, and Britain retaliated by closing the Khaibar Pass. The Afghans wanted to make a concerted effort involving the frontier tribes and the people of Peshawar, but a Peshawar revolt was prevented when British forces cut the supplies of water, electricity, and food to the city. Saleh Muhammad’s forces became prematurely engaged and had to give ground. It was primarily on the Waziristan front that the Afghans were able to break through the British defenses and lay siege to the British base at Thal. The entire North-West Frontier was in ferment and Indian tribesmen were ready to rally to support the Afghans.
John Maffey, the chief political officer with the field force, indicated in a letter that the “threat to Thal has delayed the Jalalabad move, as the motor transport available does not admit of two simultaneous offensives.” He also was afraid that British forces would have to push so far that there would be nobody to settle up with (Adamec, 1967, 118).

Therefore the Indian government permitted the Afghan envoy in India to proceed to Kabul to persuade Amanullah to end his hostile activities. Amanullah agreed, and a cease-fire was concluded leading to peace and the establishment of normal neighborly relations after long and heated negotiations at Rawalpindi, Mussoorie, and Kabul. On the southern front British forces captured Spin Boldak but could not follow up on their conquest, and no major campaign occurred on the northern, Chitral, front. British casualties included 236 killed (49 British ranks) and 615 wounded (133 British ranks), as well as 566 deaths of cholera and 334 of other diseases and accidents. British “ration strength” reached 750,000 British and Indian, and animals involved totaled 450,000 (Molesworth, vii). No figures are available on Afghan casualties. See also FOREIGN RELATIONS; ANGLO-AFGHAN TREATY OF 1919; ANGLO-AFGHAN TREATY OF 1921.

TIMURIDS. See TIMUR-I LANG.

TIMUR-I LANG (TAMERLANE, r. 1370–1405). “The Lame Timur” founded the Timurid dynasty and wreaked destruction on the towns he conquered but made Samarkand into a city of splendor. He was a warrior, not an empire builder, and could not hold his extensive territorial conquests. Timur was a Turk, born at Kesh, near Samarkand, who claimed Mongol descent and began his career as a raider for booty. Claiming to wage jihad (holy war) he fought Muslim rulers in Russia and India and subdued the Ottomans at the Battle of Ankara in 1404. He was preparing a campaign against China when he died in 1405. His son Shahrukh chose Herat as his capital and made it an important cultural center. Under Husain Baiqara (r. 1469–1506), the last of the great Timurid rulers, Herat experienced a cultural renaissance, and artists, poets, and scholars enjoyed the sponsorship of the Timurid court. Architectural remains from the Timurid period include the Musalla (minarets) and the mausoleum of Gauhar Shad, the wife
of Shahrukh. Timurid rule ended when the Uzbek Shaibanid dynasty took Herat in the early sixteenth century. While the government of Uzbekistan is presently celebrating Timur as a national hero and great humanitarian, others view him on a par with Genghis Kahn as a destroyer of civilizations.

**TIMUR SHAH (r. 1773–1793).** One of Ahmad Shah’s six surviving sons and governor of Herat at the time of the death of his father. He defeated his brother, Sulaiman Mirza, and quickly established himself as successor to the Afghan throne at Kandahar. To weaken the power of the Durrani chiefs he moved his capital to Kabul, where he continued his father’s policy of forging an alliance with the Barakzais, granting hereditary offices, and maintaining a strong army. He made alliances by marriage and further strengthened his power by creating an elite bodyguard of non-Pashtun soldiers. However, he was unable to create a centralized state. Afghan historians describe him as “humane and generous but . . . more a scholar than a soldier.”

**TIRAHI (TIRA’I).** A small ethnic group that was moved by Timur-i Lang from the area of Tehran to the Tirahi Plateau. Later expelled from Tirah, they settled in the Nangarhar Valley, where they are engaged in agriculture. They were Shi’as at one time but became Sunnis and speak Pashtu, although some may still know their original language. The Tirahis are divided into three sections: the Shabadwani, Sipai, and Lartoi. At the turn of the century they numbered about 3,000.

**TOKHI.** A section of the Ghilzai tribe.

**TORA BORA, BATTLE OF.** A campaign to destroy al Qaeda and Taliban forces and capture Osama bin Laden who controlled a complex of cave fortifications near the village of Tora, about 35 miles south of Jalalabad, near the Pakistan border. After the capture of Kandahar by United States and allied forces in early December 2001, U.S. Special Forces, supported by Hazrat Ali and Haji Zaman and their Pashai and Khugiani tribal contingents moved east to trap the enemy ensconced in the Tora Bora Mountains. Pakistani forces
sealed the border. U.S. ground soldiers operated as spotters for B-52 sorties coming in at 20-minute intervals while allied tribal forces did much of the fighting. The enemy, estimated from 1,500 to 2,000 Arab and Chechnyan fighters, proved to be fierce opponents, holding out until December 16, when some 21 al Qaeda fighters were taken prisoner, an unknown number were killed, and most managed to escape. Osama bin Laden was last seen in the final days of November, when he made preparations to flee to the autonomous tribal area on the Pakistani side of the border. Although the American allies fought bravely, they may have permitted the enemy to escape.

TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT (TRANSITIONAL AUTHORITY). Established on June 20, 2002, for a two-year period as a result of an emergency Loya Jirga and selection of cabinet members by President Hamid Karzai. The Panjshiris retained the positions of defense and foreign affairs, but Yunus Qanuni lost control of the interior ministry, which was given to the 80-year-old Pashtun, Taj Muhammad Wardak. Qanuni became special adviser to the president on security. Muhammad Fahim became first vice president and retained the position of defense minister. Powerful local commanders (warlords), including Ismail Khan, Abdul Qadir (later killed), Abdul Rashid Dostum, Atta Muhammad and Gul Agha Sherzai, formed the national defense commission. Hedayat Amin Arsala was replaced by Ashraf Ghani to head the finance ministry. Sima Samar, the former minister of women’s affairs, was replaced by Mahbuba Huquqmal, but retained the position of human rights commissioner. It was clear that Karzai was under severe pressure to reserve positions for the major actors of the political scene. Burhanuddin Rabbani, the onetime president of Afghanistan, did not receive any portfolio and attention was paid to keep an ethnic and sectarian balance. It is not surprising that Karzai was not able to satisfy all contenders. Karzai left the appointment of a prime minister and the establishment of a parliament for a later date. For members of government, see APPENDIX 6.

TREATIES. See under individual treaties. See also FOREIGN RELATIONS; FIRST, SECOND, and THIRD ANGLO-AFGHAN WARS.
TREATY OF KABUL. See ANGLO-AFGHAN TREATY OF 1921.

TREATY OF PESHAWAR, 1855. A treaty of friendship and alliance between Amir Dost Muhammad and the government of India that stipulated perpetual peace and friendship, that the British government should respect the territories in possession of the amir, and that the amir respect the territories of the British government. The Afghan ruler was to be the friend of Britain’s friends and enemy of her enemies, and the British would assist the amir against his enemies.

TREATY OF SIMLA. See TRIPARTITE AGREEMENT.

TRIBES. For non-Pashtuns, see ETHNIC GROUPS.

TRIBES, PASHTUNS. See PASHTUNS, TRIBES.

TRIPARTITE AGREEMENT. An agreement, also called Treaty of Simla, signed on July 16, 1838, between Ranjit Singh, ruler of the Sikh nation of the Panjab, Shah Shuja, the exiled king of Afghanistan, and the British government. It stipulated relations between the future Afghan ruler and Ranjit Singh and allied the three powers in an attempt to restore Shah Shuja and the Sadozai dynasty to the Kabul throne. Ranjit Singh was not required to commit his army and wisely left the task of invading Afghanistan to the British Army of the Indus. He was thus spared the British defeat in the First Anglo-Afghan War. See also FOREIGN RELATIONS; SIMLA MANIFESTO.

TSARANDOY. See SARANDOY.

TURABI, MULLA NURUDDIN. Minister of justice in the Taliban government. A Hotaki Pashtun from Oruzgan Province. He was an important commander, affiliated with Abdul Rasul Sayyaf during the war against the Marxist government. He strictly enforced mutilation and other traditional punishments.

TURI. A Pashtun tribe of the Ghurgusht branch. Babur Shah, founder of the Moghul dynasty of India, mentions the Turis as residing in
1506 in the Kurram Valley, where they are found today. Kurram was part of Afghanistan until 1880, when the Turis rebelled and came under British “protection” in 1882. They are Shi’as and disciples of one of four Sayyid families: the Tirah, Ahmadzai, Kirman, and Maura. In the conflict between the mujahedin and the Kabul government, the Kurram Valley was an important supply route of mujahedin operating in the Kabul area. This resulted in friction between them and the local population of Turis.

**TURKOMAN.** A Sunni Turkic people whose population is estimated to be from 125,000 to 400,000. They inhabit the northwestern part of Afghanistan, where the majority of them had fled after the Bolshevik Revolution. They contributed greatly to the Afghan economy as breeders of Qaraqul sheep and weavers of carpets. The Marxist government tried to win minority support, declaring Turkmani one of the national languages and permitting the publication of newspapers and broadcasts in that language.

**TWELVER SHI’ITES (ITHNA ASHARIYA).** A Shi’a sect believing that the Twelfth Imam (A. ściha ʿashariya), Muhammad al-Mahdi, is the last imam (leader of the Shi’a community) who went into occultation and will return at the end of time “to announce the last judgment and to fill the earth with justice.” The Safavid rulers of Iran made Twelver Shi’ism the state religion and forcefully converted much of its Sunni population. In Afghanistan most of the Hazara, the Qizilbash, and about half of the population of Herat belong to this sect. The Twelvers are also called Ḥimamī Shi’as and constitute a religious minority in Afghanistan.

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**ULAMA.** Doctors of Islamic sciences. The word comes from the Arabic word ʿalîm, (pl. ulûma) and denotes “one who possesses the quality of ʿilm, knowledge, or learning, of the Islamic traditions and the resultant canon law and theology.” Afghan rulers established a hierarchy of ulama, headed by the khan-i ʿulum (chief of the ulama) and including the qazis (judges), muftis (canon lawyers), and mullas
(preachers) who, at the time of Amir Abdul Rahman, were members of his royal council, darbar-i ’am. They seldom enjoyed political power but were an influential factor in the mobilization of the masses against King Amanullah in 1929 and against the Marxist regime when it was in control of the Kabul government. In the latter conflict members of the ulama assumed military leadership which enabled the victorious Taliban to establish a theocratic government in which all leading positions were held by the ulama. See also ISLAMIC LAW.

ULFAT, GUL PACHA. One of the founders of Wish Zalmayan, president of the Pashtu Academy (1957, see AFGHAN ACADEMY), president of tribal affairs (1963–1965), and popular Pashtu poet. He was born in 1909 in Laghman Province and educated in Islamic studies. In 1936 he became editor of the daily newspaper Anis and subsequently served as director of Ziray (1938), Himanat (1940), Kabul Magazine (1942), and Ittihad-i Mashriqi (1947). He was a member of the Loya Jirgas of 1956 and 1964 and of the seventh and eighth Parliaments. He was a social critic, political writer, and Pash-tun nationalist. He died on December 20, 1977. See also PRESS AND JOURNALISM.

UMAR. See OMAR.

UMMA. Name for the Islamic community; the Pan-Islamic concept that all Muslims belong to one community, or Islamic nation.

UNITED NATIONS AND AFGHANISTAN. Afghanistan joined the United Nations in 1946 and soon benefitted from various types of assistance. It became a member of such organizations as the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), the International Development Association (IDA), the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), the World Health Organization (WHO), the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), and others. UN experts visited Afghanistan to assist in agriculture, industries, rural and educational development. The United Nations sponsored malaria eradication, vaccination projects, and provided emergency food shipments and economic aid at various times.
Afghanistan opposed Pakistan's admission to the United Nations in an unsuccessful attempt to solve the Pashtunistan problem. The country was honored when in 1966 Abdul Rahman Pazhwak was elected president of the Twenty-First Session of the General Assembly. Politically, the United Nations became involved in mediation of disputes during the Marxist regime when the General Assembly voted with an overwhelming majority to urge the withdrawal of “foreign forces” from Afghanistan. Diego Cordovez, undersecretary-general for political affairs, initiated “proximity talks” between Afghanistan and Pakistan under the auspices of the United Nations which, after six years of gruelling negotiations, resulted in the Geneva Accords of April 1988 and the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan in 1989.

During the civil war, following the fall of the Marxist regime in April 1992, United Nations representatives vainly tried to mediate between the various factions. Lakhdar Brahimi, a former Algerian foreign minister, and the German diplomat Norbert H. Holl unsuccessfully continued the effort to end the Afghan civil war. The United Nations was unable to save ex-President Najibullah from Taliban assassins after he had found shelter in the United Nations compound in Kabul. Eventually, the United Nations took an increasingly hostile stand against the Taliban regime for its support of international terrorism, trafficking in illegal drugs, discrimination against women, and for refusing to surrender Osama bin Laden. On November 19, 1999, the UN Security Council imposed sanctions that required an embargo of arms sales and military assistance to the Taliban; withdrawal of foreign military advisers from Taliban territory; closure of all Taliban overseas representative offices; closure of Ariana Afghan Airlines’ overseas offices; a freeze on funds and assets belonging to bin Laden, his associates, and his al Qaeda organization; and a ban on the sale to the Taliban of heroin precursor chemicals. The sanctions came into force on January 19, 2000.

It was only as a result of United States intervention and the destruction of the Taliban regime, that Brahimi was able to bring the forces together to agree on an interim government established on December 22, 2001. This prepared the way for a transitional government under President Hamid Karzai, and since then the United Nations became heavily involved in “nation building” to produce a democratic, Islamic government in Afghanistan. The success of this
effort is not yet assured and only the coming years will tell. See also APPENDIXES 3, 3A, 4, and 5.

UNITED STATES-AFGHANISTAN RELATIONS. The United States was slow in establishing diplomatic relations with Afghanistan because of several factors. Afghanistan had achieved independence from Great Britain in the Third Anglo-Afghan War, but Washington still considered the country within the British sphere of influence. Afghanistan was not attractive as a market for American industrial products nor as a source of vital raw materials. Americans knew little about the country; whatever the U.S. government wanted to know it learned from the British, and they were not eager to have American competition in Afghanistan. Therefore, it is not surprising that Washington did not establish a legation at Kabul. The mission of Wali Muhammad, which visited European capitals for the purpose of establishing diplomatic relations, arrived in Washington in July 1921 with high hopes. Faiz Muhammad Zikria, a member of the mission, later described the event as follows:

After waiting for some weeks to present the letter from King Amanullah to the President of the United States the members of our delegation were very much humiliated to read in the newspapers that President Harding had entertained Princess Fatima [the Afghan “princess” was not known by any member of the mission] at luncheon. Some days later we were received briefly and informally, presented our letter and received in reply one in which the President expressed regret at the death of the King’s illustrious father [Amir Habibullah] and congratulated His Majesty on his ascension to the throne. It was all very disappointing and heart breaking. (Adamec, 1974)

The Afghan government wanted to embark on a plan of development and modernization for which it needed the assistance of Western know-how. Both Britain and the Soviet Union were too close to permit a relationship of dependency. Kabul, therefore, hoped that the United States would become a “third power” that would balance the influences of Afghanistan’s neighbors. Afghanistan offered incentives to American enterprises: In 1930–1931 an American firm sold 68 trucks for $121,000 to the Afghan government, but Britain made this an expensive deal, insisting that the trucks be transported on the Indian railroad rather than proceeding on their own power. In the
same year the U.S. consul at Karachi came to Kabul, but when asked why the United States was not ready to establish diplomatic relations with Afghanistan, he could not give a satisfactory reply. The speaker of Parliament reproached him, saying “Americans had always said kind things about Afghanistan but, despite the fine opinion of the country, they refused to recognize a friendly state.” In May 1935, W. H. Hornibrook arrived from Tehran to arrange for accreditation of U.S. diplomats stationed in India. The Afghans were ready to offer an oil concession to the United States. The Afghan foreign minister explained: “For obvious reasons we cannot give the concessions to the British and for the same reasons we cannot give it to the Russians. . . . We therefore look to your country to develop our oil resources.” He added that this would require a permanent American legation in Kabul. An oil concession was signed and ratified with the Inland Oil Exploration Company in April 1937, but the company canceled the concession a year later “in view of the worsening of the international situation.”

Finally, in 1942 the U.S. government established a permanent legation in Kabul because of geopolitical reasons. The German advance on Stalingrad threatened the Allied logistics link through western Iran. Eastern Iran or western Afghanistan were the only areas for an alternate route. An American presence in Kabul could help gain Afghan approval for construction of a railroad. Therefore, on June 6, 1942, Cornelius van Engert became the first resident minister. The German defeat at Stalingrad made it unnecessary to raise the question of a railroad project with Kabul.

In the post-World War II era the United States provided aid for the war-torn and impoverished world, and Afghanistan received loans in 1950 and 1954 to finance its Helmand Valley electrification and irrigation projects. The American Morrison-Knudsen Construction Company undertook the ambitious task, which consumed a considerable amount of Afghanistan’s hard currency reserves and did not live up to expectations (see HELMAND VALLEY AUTHORITY). The beginning of the Cold War further complicated American-Afghan relations.

The United States sought allies in its effort to contain Soviet expansionism and promised economic and military assistance to those states that were willing to join. The Afghan government was unable to obtain American guarantees of protection from Soviet aggression, but Pakistan did and became a member of the Baghdad Pact. The
U.S. Department of State made the decision to defend the Indian subcontinent at the Khaibar rather than at Afghanistan’s northern boundary. This was bound to exacerbate relations with Pakistan (see PASHTUNISTAN) and prompted the Afghan government to pursue a policy of “positive neutrality,” which eventually led to dependence on the Soviet Union. The American government was willing to help, but Washington was not ready to match Soviet aid. Between 1950 and 1971 the total of American loans and grants amounted to about $286 million, as compared to $672 million from the Soviet Union. American policy was to foster cordial relations with Afghanistan, help expand its communications infrastructure, participate in certain sectors of education, and provide moral, but not military, support to strengthen Afghanistan’s independence. In the late 1970s the U.S. Department of State downgraded the American embassy in Kabul to the category of missions of countries of least importance to the United States, and Afghanistan was tacitly left in the Soviet sphere of influence.

After the Saur Revolt in 1978, the United States recognized the Marxist government, but relations quickly deteriorated. The assassination of the American ambassador, Adolf Dubs, in February 1979, in a botched rescue attempt from kidnappers by Kabul police, further worsened relations. The Soviet military intervention in December 1979 resulted in vital American support for the mujahedin, forcing the Soviet government to withdraw its forces by February 1989. Fearing a general massacre in Kabul and the quick defeat of the Kabul government, the United States closed its embassy for “security reasons” in January 1989 and prevailed on others to do likewise. As a result of the Taliban capture of Kabul in September 1996, the American government examined whether conditions permitted the establishment of diplomatic relations, but in view of the Taliban’s harsh regime, human rights violations, and toleration of continued poppy cultivation, decided against it. It was only after the fall of the Taliban regime that Washington resumed diplomatic relations and appointed Robert P. J. Finn as American ambassador to Kabul. See also FOREIGN RELATIONS; GERMAN-AFGHAN RELATIONS; RUSSIAN-AFGHAN RELATIONS.

URTAGA (37º30' N, 69º30' E). A 160-square mile island in the Amu Daria, also called Yangi Qal’a and Darqad, which in the 1920s became an issue in Russian-Afghan relations.
USAMA BIN LADEN. See LADEN, OSAMA BIN.

UZBEK (UZBAK). The largest Turkic-language group in Afghanistan, estimated to number about 1.3 million (Uzbekistan has a population of about 17.5 million, half of them Uzbek). They inhabit northern Afghanistan from Fariab Province in the west to Badakhshan Province. The Uzbek trace their name to an eponymous ancestor or a major tribe that migrated from the area north of the Syr Daria to the area north of the Afghan border. In the fifteenth century the Uzbeks were clients of various Timurid princes but soon struck out independently and by the early sixteenth century had captured Bukhara, Samarkand, and Khiva. They expelled Zahir al-Din Muhammad Babur from Ferghana, were defeated by Shah Isma’il of Persia in 1510, and carved out a khanate in Transoxania. Abdali Durrani Ahmad Shah gave Balkh to Haji Khan Uzbek, to protect the border from raids, but after the latter’s death the khanate became a source of dispute between the Afghans and the amir of Bukhara. In 1869 Amir Shir Ali placed the khanate under the administration of the governor of Balkh.

The Uzbeks are distinguished from other Turkic groups in their dress. They wear long striped chapans (caftans—still popular in Afghanistan), small turbans, rather than the Turkoman sheepskin caps, and boots of soft leather that fit tightly over wool stockings and reach up to the knees. They are largely sedentary agriculturalists. The Marxist government tried to win their support and proclaimed Uzbek a national language, permitting the use of the language in education, the press, and the broadcasting media. Some Uzbek groups served the Marxist government in Kabul as militia units in Pashtun areas, and General Abdul Rashid Dostum of the Uzbeks controlled six provinces in north-central Afghanistan. After the fall of the Taliban, Dostum again established himself as the dominant warlord/leader of the Uzbek territories. See also JOZJANIS.

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VEIL, ISLAMIC. In the pre-Islamic Middle East the veil was a status symbol, worn only by aristocratic ladies and subsequently by urban women; it became obligatory for Muslim women only in the
Christian and Jewish women also wore the veil, whereas Muslim peasant and nomad women only wore a kerchief as the veil would have interfered with agricultural labor and the mobility of the nomads. Increasing urbanization led to a variety of veils from full body covers to those that revealed parts of the face. Modernization and the growth of Western influence in parts of the Islamic world have led to a demand for making the veil optional. Muslim modernists pointed out that there is no clear indication in the Koran which makes the veil obligatory. Traditionalists point to the example of the Prophet, who ordered a partition (hijab) put up in his room, separating the women from the daily conduct of affairs of state. They point to a passage in the Koran, which says: “O Prophet! Tell thy wives and daughters, and the believing women, that they should cast their outer garments over their persons (when out of doors): That is most convenient, that they should be known (as such) and not molested” (33:59). And “Say to the believing women that they should lower their gaze and guard their modesty; that they should not display their beauty and ornaments except what (ordinarily) appear thereof; that they should draw their veils over their bosoms and not display their beauty except to their husbands, their fathers, their husbands’ fathers, their sons, their husbands’ sons, their brothers or their brothers’ sons. Or their sisters’ sons, or their women, or the slaves whom their right hands possess, or male attendants free of sexual desires [eunuchs], or small children who have no carnal knowledge of women” (24:31). The reference to women’s breasts seems to forbid the pre-Islamic practice of Arab women baring their breasts to incite their men to bravery in battle. There is widespread disagreement on the obligation of seclusion (purdah) and the wearing of the veil.

The Taliban, during their ill-fated tenure in Afghanistan, made the wearing of the all-covering chador (also called burqa) obligatory and wanted to confine women to their homes. Young women in many parts of the Middle East, and even Europe, have adopted “Islamic dress,” consisting of a kerchief that covers the hair, but leaves the face free.

VICEROYS AND GOVERNORS-GENERAL OF INDIA. See GOVERNORS-GENERAL AND VICEROYS OF INDIA.
VITKEVICH, CAPTAIN IVAN (VICKOVICH). A Russian agent, or adventurer, of Lithuanian descent who came to Kabul in December 1837 for the purpose of establishing commercial relations with Afghanistan. He had a letter from Count Simonich, the Russian ambassador to Tehran, and an unsigned letter purported to be from the tsar. Alexander Burnes was also at Kabul on a similar assignment for the British East India Company. Consulted by the amir, Burnes told him to receive Vitkevich and inform the British of his objective. Dost Mohammad wanted to regain Peshawar from Sikh control, but Burnes told him that he must surrender all claims to Peshawar and should make his peace with the Sikh ruler. Having gotten no help from the British, Amir Dost Mohammad negotiated with Vitkevich for Russian support. Vitkevich was later repudiated by the Russian government and, upon his return to St. Petersburg, committed suicide. The mission aroused fears in Britain that Dost Mohammad would ally himself with Russia, and the decision was made to depose the Afghan ruler. See FIRST ANGLO-AFGHAN WAR.

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WAHDAT. See HIZB-I WAHDAT.

WAHDAT. Meaning “unity,” the name of a weekly newspaper in Dari/Pashtu that was published and edited by the poet and calligrapher Khal Muhammad Khasta in 1966. It was the organ of Wahdat-i Milli (National Unity Party), which was headed by the poet Khalilullah Khalili. The paper closed after six months because of financial difficulties. An issue, dated January 31, 1966, published the party’s manifesto. It demanded the rule of law, constitutionalism, nonalignment, struggle for human rights, and peaceful coexistence. It asked for agricultural development and Afghan cultural revival, the expansion of medical and educational facilities, and equal rights for women. For a Hazara party with this name, see HIZB-I WAHDAT.

WAKHAN (37º0' N, 73º0' E). The extreme northeastern district of Badakhshan Province, extending from Ishkashim in the west to the borders of China in the east and separating Tajikistan from the
Indo-Pakistani subcontinent. The Anglo-Russian Boundary Commission awarded this area in 1895–1896 to Afghanistan to create a buffer between the two empires. Amir Abdul Rahman was reluctant to accept this gift, declaring he was not “going to stretch out a long arm along the Hindu Kush to have it shorn off.” But eventually the amir accepted the award when the gift was sweetened with a special annual subsidy of 50,000 rupees. The Wakhan was inhabited by some 6,000 Isma’ilis (Wakhis) and fewer than 2,000 Sunni Qirghiz. The latter emigrated to Turkey as a result of the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. The area was ruled by an independent mir (from A., amir, prince) until 1882 when it came under the administrative control of the governor of Badakhshan. The corridor consists of high valleys traversed by the Wakhan River, which flows into the Ab-i-Panj, as the upper Amu Daria is called there. The two-humped Bactrian camel and yak are the major beasts of burden. In the years before the Saur Revolt in 1978 the Wakhan Corridor attracted hunters for Marco Polo sheep and alpinists who explored its peaks. The Qirghiz herders lived in a symbiotic relationship with the agricultural Wakhis.

WALI MUHAMMAD. Afghan foreign minister 1922–1924, minister of war 1924–1925, and regent during King Amanullah’s journey abroad (1927–1928). He was a descendant of the royal family of Darwaz and became custodian of Amir Habibullah’s correspondence. He headed Amanullah’s mission to Moscow and major European capitals to establish diplomatic relations. In July 1922 the mission arrived in the United States but could not convince President Warren Harding to establish relations with Afghanistan. After the downfall of King Amanullah, Muhammad Wali was imprisoned. When Muhammad Nadir Shah ascended the throne, he was sentenced to eight years imprisonment but was executed with a number of supporters of King Amanullah in September 1933.

WARDAK. A community of Sayyids inhabiting a region that runs from the Hazara portion of the Ghazni Province to the western part of the Logar Valley. They are said to derive their name from an eponymic ancestor called Ward. In the late nineteenth century they numbered about 20,000 families.
WARDAK (34°15' N, 68°0' E). A province in east-central Afghanistan (formerly called Maidan) with an area of 3,745 square miles and a population of about 310,000 (1991 est. 363,000) of whom about 23,000 lived as refugees in Pakistan. The administrative center is the newly constructed town Maidanshahr with an estimated population of about 27,000 (replacing Kot-i Ashro), located a few miles west of the Kabul-Kandahar Highway. The province is mountainous, crossed by the Kabul-Kandahar Highway and the road west into the Hazarajat and northwest to Bamian Province. The inhabitants are Ghilzai and Durrani Pashtuns in the south and Hazara in the north and west. The province is 80 percent pastureland. About 60 percent of the farms comprise areas of less than five jarībs (one jarīb = about 0.5 acre) The province suffered considerably during the 1980s and has seen large-scale destruction of the infrastructure built during the 1970s.

WATAN. (Homeland) is a biweekly, liberal newspaper in Dari, published by Mir Ghulam Muhammad Ghobar and Mir Muhammad Siddiq Farhang from 1951–1952. It was closed by the government after the appearance of 48 issues.

WATANJAR, MUHAMMAD ASLAM. Held positions as minister of communications, interior, and, finally, defense in Prime Minister Fazl Haq Khaliqyar’s government of May 1990. A member of the Khalq faction of the Peoples Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA), he had a leading role in the coup of Muhammad Daud (1973) and the subsequent Saur Revolt (1978). In both events he rode the lead tank in the assault on the palace, and his tank was placed on a pedestal in the square facing the presidential palace in commemoration of the 1978 coup. In April 1978 he and General Abdul Qadir headed the Revolutionary Council that formed the government until Nur Muhammad Taraki was installed as president. In September 1979 he was said to have been involved in a plot to remove Hafizullah Amin from power and fled to the protection of the Soviet embassy in Kabul until the Parcham takeover. After the revolt of Shahnawaz Tanai in March 1990, Dr. Najibullah appointed Watanjar minister of defense, the position previously held by Tanai. Watanjar was born in 1946 in Paktia Province of an Andar Ghilzai family and
was educated in military schools at Kabul and in the Soviet Union. He fled abroad after the fall of the Marxist regime in April 1992 and died in November 2000.

WAZIRI. The Waziris (also called Darwish Khel) are Ghurghusht Pashtuns claiming descent from Wazir. Their original home was in Birmal (now Paktika Province) from where they gradually moved eastward in the fourteenth century and settled in the present Waziristan and across the border in Afghanistan. They are estimated to number about 250,000, most of them on the Pakistani side of the border. They are divided into two major branches: the Ahmadzai and Utmanzai. They supported Muhammad Nadir Khan (the subsequent king) in his war against Habibullah Kalakani and, under the command of Marshal Shah Wali and their leader Allah Nawaz Khan, captured Kabul and the royal palace in October 1929.

WEAPONS BAZAAR. See ARMS BAZAAR.

WISH ZALMAYAN. A liberal political organization (P., Awakening Youth) founded in 1947 in Kandahar by writers and Pashtun nationalists. It included such individuals as Abdul Hai Aziz, Gul Pacha Ulfat, Shamsuddin Majruh, Abdul Rauf Benawa, Mir Ghulam Muhammad Ghobar, Faiz Muhammad Angar, and Nur Muhammad Taraki. The organization wanted to reform Afghan society and aimed at the advancement of education, the eradication of corruption, the promotion of national welfare, understanding and respect among the people, and steadfastness in advancing toward their objectives. It was one of the earliest political groups in Afghanistan and subsequently divided on the issue of Pashtun nationalism. The nationalists supported the “Red Shirt” movement of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan.

WOLESI JIRGA. Literally “people’s council,” the name of the lower house (or House of the People) of Parliament, established by the Constitution of 1964. See CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT.

WOMEN. The position of women in Afghanistan and the rest of the Islamic world has been greatly influenced by historical precedence. In
the tribal society of pre-Islamic Arabia, women were part of the estate of their husbands, fathers, or close male relatives. The birth of a girl was considered a misfortune and it was common to have female infants buried alive. The Koran refers to it, saying: “When news is brought to one of them of (the birth of) a female (child), his face darkens, and he is filled with inward grief! With shame does he hide himself from his people, because of the bad news he has had. Shall he retain it on (sufferance and) contempt, or bury it in the dust? Ah, what an evil (choice) they decide on” (16:58, 59). Islam brought change: It gave women a right to inheritance and limited the number of wives to four (although as a result of wars and slavery there was no limit to the number of concubines). According to tradition, women have a soul, like men, but the functions of men and women differ: The woman is respected as a mother and the man is responsible for her support.

But even since the early period of Islam, women played important roles in society. Khadijah, the wife of Muhammad, conducted business with Syria in which Muhammad was employed for a time. Fatimah, the daughter of the Prophet, is the example of the virtuous woman, and ‘A’isha is the transmitter of a great number of hadith. She participated in the Battle of the Camel in 656 during the civil war against ‘Ali, the caliph. Shajar al-Durr (Tree of Pearls) was sultan of Egypt in the beginning of the Mamluk sultanate. Rabi’ah al-‘Adawiyyah is a much-revered female mystic.

Islamic law permits a man to punish a disloyal wife. Adultery requires four witnesses or a confession of the culprits to be punished, and an accusation of adultery by a husband can be voided if the woman swears to her innocence. It takes the testimony of two women for that of one man in a Shari’a court, but punishments and fines are half those for a man. A woman does not have to fight in war and does not share in the booty, and she is not to be killed in war.

Change came about in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. But the number of women in public life is still limited even in more Westernized states. Traditional occupations include the medical fields, education, business, and menial labor in the textile trades and agriculture. Although in urban areas a greater number of women attend public schools, illiteracy is much greater among women than men.
In Afghanistan, as elsewhere, urban women were veiled and more or less restricted to their homes, educating their children and caring for them, but nomad women did not wear the traditional veil (chador) and peasant women worked in the fields wearing only a kerchief as a head covering. During the period of King Amanullah (1919–1929), women were first permitted to abandon the veil. Traditional hostility ended that experiment in modernization, but in 1959 Prime Minister Muhammad Daud (1953–1963) took a major step in emancipating women, permitting them to discard the veil and enter the professions, politics and other public activities. Under the Constitution of 1964, women obtained the right to vote. Women like Shafiqa Ziayi and Kubra Nurzai attained ministerial rank, Anahita Ratibzad was a high-ranking minister of the Marxist government, and Dr. Suhaila Siddiq, a surgeon in the army hospital, was promoted to the rank of general and was permitted to work even during the Taliban regime. She became minister of health in Karzai’s interim and transitional governments.

The Taliban regime came in on a wave of reaction. They wanted to create the “purest” Islamic state in the world and proceeded to again restrict women. Girls schools were closed and women were prohibited from active participation in the economic life. This caused innumerable hardships because many women were the sole support of their families. Mulla Qalamuddin, head of the Ministry for the Promotion of Virtue and the Prevention of Vice, defined woman’s place, saying: “God Almighty declared women were created so a man can be intimate with them and be married and make a home with them.”

The defeat of the Taliban regime in December 2001 ended the severest discriminatory measures against women, and the gradual consolidation of the transitional government, which also includes women ministers, deputy ministers, five generals, and a dozen division chiefs, promises a new start in the emancipation of women.

–Y–

YANGI QAL’A. See URTA TAGAI.

YAQUBI, GENERAL GHULAM FARUQ. President of the State Security Services, KHAD (see also AFGHAN SECURITY SERVICE),
1980–1985, succeeding Dr. **Najibullah** in December 1985. His position was upgraded to that of minister of state security (WAD), a position he held in the 1988 and 1990 governments. He became a member of the **Peoples Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA)** Politburo in 1986 and was said to be an important ally of Najibullah. Born in 1938 in **Kabul**, the son of Khan Muhammad, and educated at **Najat School**, the Kabul police academy, and in West Germany, he began his career as a lecturer at the police academy in 1961. Subsequently, he served as director of operations and general director of the criminal department of the ministry of the interior. He committed suicide on April 16, 1992 or, according to one source, was assassinated by a **Parchami** rival.

**YAQUB KHAN, AMIR MUHAMMAD (r. February–October 1879).**

Born about 1849, Amir **Shir Ali**’s son and governor of **Herat**. Yaqub Khan also coveted **Kandahar** and was greatly disturbed when in 1868 the **amir** gave his favorite son Abdullah Jan that post. In 1871 Yaqub Khan rebelled and marched on **Kabul** but was forced to retreat to Herat. Amir Shir Ali forgave Yaqub Khan and reappointed him governor of Herat. Yaqub Khan came to Kabul under a promise of safe conduct, which the amir did not honor, holding him in confinement until December 1878, when British troops invaded Afghanistan. Amir Shir Ali fled to northern Afghanistan and appointed Yaqub his regent. The latter proclaimed himself amir in February 1879, after he learned of the sudden death of his father. Hoping to save his throne, Yaqub concluded the **Treaty of Gandomak** with Britain and accepted a mission under Sir **Louis Cavagnari** at Kabul. When the latter was assassinated during an insurrection of troops, the British took control of government powers and Yaqub was forced to abdicate in October 1879. He went to India and lived there until his death in 1923. See also **SECOND ANGLO-AFGHAN WAR**.

**YAR MUHAMMAD, WAZIR.** Wazir, prime minister of Prince **Kamran** (r. 1830–1842) who ruled **Herat** as an independent principality. He is said to have been an able but cruel man who eventually became the virtual ruler of Herat. He ably withstood Persian attempts to capture Herat and led the defense of two sieges in 1833 and 1837–1838 in which the Russian General Berovski participated on the Persian side and **Eldred Pottinger** on the side of the defenders. Yar Muhammad had
Prince Kamran assassinated in 1842 and embarked on an ambitious plan of conquest. He allied himself in marriage with Akbar Khan, son of Amir Dost Muhammad, and conquered the western Uzbek khanates of Afghan Turkistan. He died in 1851.

YAZDAN-BAKHSH, MIR. Born in 1790, the son of Mir Wali Beg, the chief of Behsud, Hazarajat. He expelled his older brother, Mir Muhammad Shah, who had become chief of Behsud after his father was assassinated by a minor chief. Mir Yazdan-Bakhsh consolidated his power to become the undisputed chief of the Hazaras from 1843–1863. Amir Dost Muhammad Khan called him to Kabul and had him imprisoned. He escaped and fled to Bamian where he was assassinated.

YOUSAF, MOHAMMAD (YUSUF, MUHAMMAD). Brigadier General Mohammad Yousaf, head of the Afghan Bureau of the Inter-Services Intelligence of the Pakistan military from 1983 to 1987. He claims to have held a pivotal position in the war of the Afghan mujahedin against the Soviet and Kabul forces. In his book The Bear Trap: Afghanistan’s Untold Story (coauthored with Mark Adkin), this “commander in chief” of the mujahedin forces controlled the distribution of weapons bought with Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and Saudi Arabian funds from the United States, Britain, China, and Egypt. He organized the training of rebels and planned missions of sabotage, ambushes, and assassinations inside Afghanistan and the Soviet Union. He was succeeded in 1978 by General Hamid Gul, at a time when the Soviet government had decided to end its involvement in Afghanistan.

YUNUS KHALES. See KHALES, MUHAMMAD YUNUS.

YUSUFZAI. A Pashtun tribe, originally settled in Peshawar, which migrated to the Helmand Valley and the Kabul region in the fifth century A.D. and in the sixteenth century returned to the northeastern corner of the Peshawar Valley. They now inhabit the Pakistan districts of Peshawar, Mardan, and Swat. They divided into two great branches: the Yusufzai and the Mandanr. They are agriculturists and usually dress in white clothes and shave their heads, leaving “a pair
of love locks” at their temples. They have been romanticized as the “Pashtuns of the Pashtuns” among whom the pashtunwali is still a living code of behavior. Khushhal Khan Khatak, not himself a Yusufzai, extols their sense of honor, saying:

The nobles of the Afghans are the Yusufzai’s,
Hard in battlefield and hospitable at home,
All Pakhtuns possess the sense of honor (nānā) None, however, can vie with them.

–Z–

ZABIHULLAH, ABDUL QADIR. A mujahedin commander affiliated with Jam’iat-i Islami who was a member of the Muslim Youth organization and operated successfully in the Mazar-i Sharif area. He was said to have been trained by Commander Ahmad Shah Mas’ud in Panjshir and subsequently cooperated with him. He was killed on December 14, 1984, when his jeep hit a land mine. Born in 1951 and educated in Mazar-i Sharif, he worked as a teacher and became a member of the Islamist movement. After the Saur Revolt in 1978, he adopted the nom de guerre Zabihullah. He operated with Ahmad Shah Mas’ud in the Panjshir Valley and later moved to Mazar-i Sharif where he coordinated the activities of commanders and administered the territory under his control. After his death, effective large-scale resistance collapsed in the Mazar-i Sharif area.

ZABUL (32°0' N, 67°15' E). A province in south-central Afghanistan with an area of 6,590 square miles and a population of 181,000 (1991 est. 221,000). The administrative center of the province is the town of Qalat (population about 20,000), located about 87 miles northeast of Kandahar. The province is arid with almost perpetual winds and agriculture is limited to the valleys of the Tarnak and Arghastan Rivers and a few areas that are irrigated by means of kariz. The province, however, abounds in almond trees, one of the major items of export. The Zabulis are noted as good horsemen and perform a game called “tent pegging” (nāïza bāzi) in which they spear pegs planted in the ground. The population is largely Pashtun in the south and Hazara in the north.
ZABULI, ABDUL MAJID. The most successful Afghan capitalist and financier, who in 1933 founded the Ashami Company that eventually developed into the Bank-i Milli (see BANKING). He became minister of national economy in 1936 and established industries in Pul-i Khumri, Kunduz, and Kabul. He was instrumental in charting the course of Afghan economic development in cooperation with German commercial and industrial enterprises. He was born in 1896 and educated in Herat and later at Tashkent. In 1917 he headed his father’s export-import company in Herat, trading with Iran and Russia. In 1922 he moved his firm’s office to Tashkent and from there to Moscow to operate a textile mill under the Soviet “New Economic Policy.” He moved to Germany in 1929 and devoted his activities to international investment. Invited by Muhammad Nadir Shah to return to Afghanistan, he founded the Ashami Company in 1933 with 80 percent private and 20 percent government shares. He issued paper money and founded the Da Afghanistan Bank, Industrial Bank, and Bank-i Milli branches in Berlin, London, Bombay, Karachi, Peshawar, and later in New York (Afghan-American Trading Company). Zabuli resigned in 1951 and went abroad. Zabuli was seen as having political ambitions: he favored a laissez-faire economy and cooperation with Germany in Afghan economic development. Disagreements with Prime Minister Shah Mahmud Ghazi led to his resignation, but members of his family continued to attend to family interests in Kabul. He retired and went to the United States where he died.

ZADRAN. See JADRAN.

ZADRAN, BACHA KHAN. See PACHA KHAN ZADRAN.

ZAHIR, AHMAD. Popular musician, born on June 13, 1946, in Laghman, the son of Abdul Zahir, prime minister 1971–1972. He was educated at Habibia School where he gave his first performance and obtained the title Bulbul-i Habibia (Nightingale of Habibia). He accompanied his father to India and continued his musical studies there. Upon his return to Afghanistan, he adopted a position with the Kabul Times and Afghan Films. He composed many of his songs and in the 1970s he was an internationally acclaimed star. He died on his 23rd
birthday on July 13, 1979, in a car accident According to rumors he was assassinated during the Khalqi regime because Hafizullah Amin’s daughter was one of his fans.

ZAHIR SHAH, MUHAMMAD. King of Afghanistan, 1933–1973. Born on October 15, 1914, the only surviving son of Muhammad Nadir Shah, he was educated at Kabul and in France. He was proclaimed king on November 8, 1933, a few hours after his father’s assassination and adopted the title al-Mutawakkil Alā’illah, Pairaw-i Din-i Maṭın-i Islam (Confident in God, Follower of the Firm Religion of Islam). During the early period of his reign (1933–1946), the young king reigned while his uncles Muhammad Hashim and Shah Mahmud Ghazi ruled, holding the powerful position of prime minister. His cousin, Muhammad Daud, succeeded as prime minister from 1953 until 1963, when Zahir Shah forced his resignation. In 1964 he promulgated a new constitution that excluded members of the royal family from certain government positions (see CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT), provided for a bicameral parliament, free elections, a free press, and the formation of political parties. It ushered in a period of unprecedented political tolerance that was marred only by the intransigence of parliamentary representatives who could not establish a working coalition. The law on political parties was never ratified by the king, but parties were tolerated although not legally permitted, and numerous groups published their manifestos in privately published newspapers and periodicals. Members of Parliament were elected as independents and not members of a party, but Parliament was stymied with political infighting. Foreign aid from East and West kept flowing into the country, and Kabul experienced considerable growth. However, not all sectors of Afghan society benefitted from the economic development.

Zahir Shah toured Afghanistan on several occasions and frequently traveled abroad. During one of his trips abroad, his cousin Muhammad Daud staged a coup and established a republican government with himself as president. Zahir Shah abdicated in August 1973 and lived in Italy until he returned to Afghanistan in March 2002 to hold the honorific title “Father of the Country.” He presided at the emergency Loya Jirga which elected Hamid Karzai head of the transitional government and shared quarters in the palace with him, but
the ex-king’s advanced age makes it doubtful that he would yet gain a leading role in the Afghan state.

ZAMAN SHAH. See SHAH ZAMAN.

ZHAWAR, BATTLE OF. Zhawar is a village in Khost Province south of Parachinar and about six miles from the Pakistan border. It was the major base along the mujahedin supply route for attacks on the Kabul garrison at Khost. The importance of the base can be seen from the fact that about 60 percent of mujahedin supplies passed through Zhawar and Ali Khel (Yousaf, 164). The base, built by a Pakistani construction company, had large underground facilities: seven tunnels housed living and medical quarters as well as depots of weapons and other facilities. Generators provided electricity and permitted radio communication. The base was defended by commanders of Yunus Khales, Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, Muhammad Nabi Muhammadi, and Sayyid Ahmad Gailani. Jalaluddin Haqani was one of the major commanders. Some 400 men provided close protection and administrative support, and some additional 10,000 mujahedin controlled positions between Zhawar and Ali Khel. Being close to the Pakistan border, reinforcements could quickly be obtained. The mujahedin had antiaircraft protection, including British Blowpipe missiles, Oerlikon guns, and shoulder-fired SA-7s. Antitank mine fields, mortars, and other heavy artillery provided for a formidable defense.

Destruction of the base and closure of the supply line had long been an object of the Kabul government, and in early 1986 it started a major offensive. Major-General Shahnawaz Tanai, who was a native of this area, was in tactical command, and Brigadier Abdul Ghafur led the Soviet/Kabul contingent. The Soviets deployed one air assault regiment of the 103rd Guards Airborne Assault Division, and the Afghan forces included units of the seventh and eighth Division in Kabul, the 12th Division of Gardez, and the 14th Division at Ghazni and Khost, numbering altogether about 12,000 men. After a slow and fiercely disputed advance the Soviet/Kabul forces reached Zhawar on April 11 and during the coming week succeeded in isolating the base and destroyed the underground structures with laser-guided bombs. A Soviet heliborne commando brigade, landing in an
open area, was destroyed to a man. The mujahedin fired 13 Blowpipe missiles without destroying an aircraft (Yousaf, 171); nevertheless, at the end of the battle the mujahedin claimed to have downed 13 helicopters and aircraft. The Kabul government captured the base but withdrew shortly thereafter and the mujahedin returned within 48 hours. The Kabul government claimed to have killed 2,000 and wounded 4,000 and the mujahedin claimed to have captured 100 Afghan soldiers and killed or wounded about 1,500. A mujahedin spokesman said only 300 mujahedin were killed. The Kabul campaign did not achieve its objective.
Appendix 1

Major Sections of the “Durand Agreement”

(I) Agreement signed at Kabul on the 12th November, 1893

Whereas the British Government has represented to His Highness the Amir that the Russian Government presses for the literal fulfilment of the Agreement of 1873 between Russia and England by which it was decided that the river Oxus should form the northern boundary of Afghanistan from Lake Victoria (Wood’s Lake) or Sarikul on the east to the junction of the Kokcha with the Oxus, and whereas the British Government considers itself bound to abide by the terms of this Agreement, if the Russian Government equally abides by them, His Highness Amir Abdur Rahman Khan, G.C.S.I., Amir of Afghanistan and its Dependencies, wishing to show his friendship to the British Government and his readiness to accept their advice in matters affecting his relations with Foreign powers, hereby agrees that he will evacuate all the districts held by him to the north of this portion of the Oxus on the clear understanding that all the districts lying to the south of this portion of the Oxus, and not now in his possession, be handed over to him in exchange. And Sir Henry Mortimer Durand, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Foreign Secretary to the Government of India, hereby declares on the part of the British Government that the transfer to His Highness the Amir of the said districts lying to the south of the Oxus is an essential part of this transaction, and undertakes that arrangements will be made with the Russian Government to carry out the transfer of the said lands to the north and south of the Oxus.

[Signed] H. M. DURAND
Kabul
12th November, 1893.

(Signed) AMIR ABDUR RAHMAN KHAN
[12th November, 1893 = 2nd Jamadi-ul-awal 1311]

(2) Agreement signed at Kabul on the 12th November, 1893

Whereas certain questions have arisen regarding the frontier of Afghanistan on the side of India, and whereas both His Highness the Amir and the Government of India are desirous of settling these questions by a friendly understanding, and of fixing the limits of their respective spheres of influence, so that for the future there may be no difference of opinion on the subject between the allied Governments, it is hereby agreed as follows:

1. The eastern and southern frontier of His Highness’s dominions; from Wakhan to the Persian border, shall follow the line shown in the map attached to this agreement.

2. The Government of India will at no time exercise interference in the territories lying beyond this line on the side of Afghanistan, and His Highness the Amir will at no time exercise interference in the territories lying beyond this line on the side of India.

3. The British Government thus agrees to His Highness the Amir retaining Asmar and the valley above it, as far as Chanak. His Highness agrees on the other hand that he will at no time exercise interference in Swat, Bajaur, or Chitral, including the Arnawai or Bashgal valley. The British Government also agrees to leave to His Highness the Birmal tract as shown in the detailed map already given to His Highness, who relinquishes his claim to the rest of the Waziri country and Dawar. His Highness also relinquishes his claim to Chageh.

4. The frontier line will hereafter be laid down in detail and demarcated, wherever this may be practicable and desirable, by Joint British and Afghan Commissioners, whose object will be to arrive by mutual understanding at a boundary which shall adhere with the
greatest possible exactness to the line shown in the map attached to this agreement, having due regard to the existing local rights of villages adjoining the frontier.

5. With reference to the question of Chaman, the Amir withdraws his objection to the new British Cantonment and concedes to the British Government the rights purchased by him in the Sirkai Tilerai water. At this part of the frontier the line will be drawn as follows:

From the crest of the Khwaja Amran range near the Psha Kotal, which remains in British territory, the line will run in such a direction as to leave Murgha Chaman and the Sharobo spring to Afghanistan, and to pass half-way between the new Chaman Fort and the Afghan outpost known locally as Lashkar Dand. The line will then pass half-way between the railway station and the hill known as the Mian Baldak, and, turning southwards, will rejoin the Khwaja Amran range, leaving the Gwasha Post in British territory, and the road to Shorawak to the west and south of Gwasha in Afghanistan. The British Government will not exercise any interference within half-a-mile of the road.

6. The above articles of agreement are regarded by the Government of India and His Highness the Amir of Afghanistan as a full and satisfactory settlement of all the principal differences of opinion which have arisen between them in regard to the frontier; and both the Government of India and His Highness the Amir undertake that any differences of detail, such as those which will have to be considered hereafter by the officers appointed to demarcate the boundary line, shall be settled in a friendly spirit, so as to remove for the future as far as possible all causes of doubt and misunderstanding between the two Governments.

7. Being fully satisfied of His Highness’s goodwill to the British Government, and wishing to see Afghanistan independent and strong, the Government of India will raise no objection to the purchase and import by His Highness of munitions of war, and they will themselves grant him some help in this respect. Further, in order to mark their sense of the friendly spirit in which His Highness the Amir has entered into these negotiations, the Government of India undertakes to increase by the
sum of six lakhs of rupees a year the subsidy of twelve lakhs now granted to His Highness.

[Signed] H. M. DURAND
[Signed] AMIR ABDUR RAHMAN KHAN
Kabul, 12th November, 1893.


[After compliments] When your Highness came to the throne of Afghanistan, Sir Lepel Griffin was instructed to give you the assurance that, if any foreign power should attempt to interfere in Afghanistan, and if such interference should lead to unprovoked aggression on the dominions of your Highness, in that event the British Government would be prepared to aid you to such extent and in such manner as might appear to the British Government necessary in repelling it, provided that your Highness followed unreservedly the advice of the British Government in regard to your external relations.

I have the honour to inform your Highness that this assurance remains in force, and that it is applicable with regard to any territory which may come into your possession in consequence of the agreement which you have made with me today in the matter of the Oxus frontier.

It is the desire of the British Government that such portion of the northern frontier of Afghanistan as has not yet been marked out should now be clearly defined; when this has been done, the whole of your Highness’s frontier towards the side of Russia will be equally free from doubt and equally secure.

NOTE: This is not the complete text. Some Afghans claim that the treaty was limited to 100 years but do not give any sources. Also note that parts of the Mohmand border were not demarcated because the tribes did not permit the demarcation team to enter.
A secret document found by this writer in the archives of the Oriental and India Office Collection of the British Library seems to indicate that the Afghan government could have engineered the annexation of the tribal area on its northeastern border “if the tribes had placed themselves under the protection of Afghanistan or if, with the consent of the tribes, the tribal areas had been annexed by Afghanistan.”

The British Foreign Office sought legal advice in the matter in case the frontier dispute was taken for arbitration to an international tribunal. Afghan nationalists would have liked to integrate all of the North-West Frontier Province of India and Baluchistan into “historical” Afghanistan, but London confined this issue to “the tribal area lying between the outer boundary of the Province and the line recognised by Article 2 of the Anglo-Afghan Treaty of 1921.” The area in question included the five Tribal Agencies: Malakand, Khaibar, Kurram, North Waziristan, and South Waziristan.

The British government considered this area to be “part of India, but not British India.” According to subsection (2) of Section 2 of the Indian Independence Act of 1947, “the tribal areas (over which on that day [15th August, 1947] His Majesty’s powers, rights, authority and jurisdiction lapsed by virtue of paragraph (c) of subsection (1) of section 7 of the India Independence Act) were not included in Pakistan.”

Therefore, “the tribal areas of the North-West Frontier became a sort of international limbo, not being part of any state. This being so and the tribal areas being independent of Pakistan, though having certain treaty relations with her as regards customs, communications and similar matters, it would appear that Pakistan could not have inherited either the frontier fixed by the Treaty with Afghanistan of 1921 or any right under Article 2 of that treaty.”
However, London felt that since the tribes did not request independence or union with Afghanistan and, in fact, voted for union with Pakistan, the matter has been legally resolved. This ignores the fact that the tribes were not given the right to vote for independence or union with Afghanistan—the choice was rather for union with Pakistan or India. Furthermore, Pashtun nationalists contend that a boycott by members of the Frontier Congress, a Muslim party allied with the Hindu Congress, resulted in a low voter turnout (68 percent)—given the choice to which the tribes were entitled they would not have voted for union with Pakistan.

When Amir Abdur Rahman (1880–1901) was forced to accept the Durand Line as the international border of Afghanistan, a British document declared the tribal areas as “not lying within the limits of India” and referred to the tribes as “independent tribes.” After the death of the “Iron Amir,” the London government, hoping for concessions in a new treaty, declared that the agreements concluded with Amir Abdur Rahman were personal and not with the state of Afghanistan. At the same time Britain insisted that the Durand Agreement was perpetual. The question was moot, because the government of India eventually renewed the agreements when it recognized Amir Habibullah (1901–1919) in 1905. In the peace treaty of Rawalpindi (August 8, 1919) a passage in Article V stated that “The Afghan Government accept the Indo-Afghan frontier accepted by the late Amir,” a pledge which was renewed in the Treaty of Kabul of 1921 (ratified on February 6, 1922) and subsequent renewals. London, however, felt that Afghanistan could have denounced the treaty “and thus annul Durand Line agreement and create Pashtunistan.”

It seems that Afghan diplomacy missed a chance to regain the Pashtun tribal belt, but it was a very slim chance. The Western governments discouraged irredentist movements and supported the legitimacy of boundaries drawn by the colonial powers, and it seemed easier to implement the union of the tribal areas with Pakistan.

The dream of Afghan nationalists of gaining the entire North-West Frontier Province of India, as well as Baluchistan to win access to the Arabian Sea, was not to come true. But there was a chance, no matter how small, that Afghanistan could have gained the unadministered areas of the tribal belt. Would the addition of this area have been an asset to the State of Afghanistan? The area was essentially independent because neither the British nor the Afghan government could rule the area
directly. Had it become part of Afghanistan, the preponderance of the Pashtun element would only have increased at the cost of the interests of the other ethnic groups. Although the heart of the frontier tribes was with Afghanistan, they could not resist the temptation of raiding Jalalabad during a British air raid in the Third Anglo-Afghan War. Could Kabul have controlled the tribal belt any better than any one else? The conservative influences from the tribal belt might well have changed the course of Afghan history: no democratization, emancipation of women, political revolution, or Marxist control. Afghanistan might have remained in its traditional mold—not much different from the state the Taliban planned to establish in Afghanistan.

28th April, 1949

SECRET

Dear Chancery,

We and the Commonwealth Relations Office recently thought it necessary to test our hitherto tacit assumption, based on the legal opinion contained in Afghan print section 1 of the 5th November, 1947, F14976/9774/97, that (if) the issues were submitted to an international tribunal, the court would without doubt find that Pakistan had inherited from the British Government the international frontier laid down by Article 2 of the 1919 Treaty. We stated our problem as follows.

First we noted that in the days of British rule in India the area described loosely and the North-West Frontier consisted of (i) the North-West Frontier Province, which was part of British India, and (ii) the tribal area lying between the outer boundary of the Province and the line recognised by Article 2 of the Anglo-Afghan Treaty of 1921, these areas being part of India, but not British India. The term “tribal area” is defined in sub-section (1) of section 311 of the Government of India Act, 1935 as “the areas along the frontier of India or in Baluchistan which are not part of British India, of Burma or of any Indian state or of any foreign state.” (There are, of course, tribal areas on the frontiers of India other than those on the North-West Frontier now in dispute.) Definition of “India” and “British India” to be found in the same subsection of the Government of India Act, 1935.

In the second place we noted the definition in sub-section (2) of Section 2 of the Indian Independence Act, 1947, of the territories of Pakistan
as created on the 15th August, 1947. From this sub-section it is seen that
the tribal areas (over which on that day His Majesty’s powers, rights, au-
thority and jurisdiction lapsed by virtue of paragraph of subsection (1) of
section 7 of the India Independence Act) were not included in Pakistan
which, [illegible]. . . Frontier Province, i.e., the area which was formerly
British India. Nor, of course, were these tribal areas included in the new
India, to which also former territories of British India were assigned.

On these grounds we asked the following questions. If Pakistan did
[not?] inherit the territory (i.e., the tribal areas) where the boundary line
de[marcated?] in Article 2 of the 1921 Treaty runs, can it be said that the
Pakistan Government inherited the international frontier laid down by
that Article [on?] frontier which does not touch the territories assigned to
Pakistan by the Indian Independence Act? In asking this question we
wondered whether the Legal Adviser, in giving his opinion which now
appears in the print section (of ) 5th November, 1947 under reference,
was aware of the fact that the whole of India is defined in sub-section (1)
of section 311 of the Government of India Act, 1935, was not parcelled
out between the new India and Pakistan and (that) both received only
British India territory which did not include the tribal areas.

We have found that in fact the Legal Adviser was not aware, when he
gave his opinion in 1947, of the fact that the North-West Frontier
Province of British India did not extend as far as the Afghan frontier and
that the tribal areas constituted a gap between the boundary of British In-
dia and the boundary of India. The Legal Adviser now considers there-
fore that the tribal area did not become part of Pakistan or India under
Article 2 of the Indian Independence Act, 1947. They were areas to
which Article 7(i)(c) and also the proviso to Article 7(i) applied. As from
the 15th August, 1947, all the rights and obligations of His Majesty with
respect to those areas ceased in accordance with Article 7(i)(c); under the
proviso Pakistan was to continue to give effect on a provisional basis to
certain agreements relating to customs, transit and communications,
posts, telegraphs and other like matters; but the proviso did not operate
to make the tribal areas part of Pakistan or to make Pakistan responsible
for their international relations. This interpretation of the Indian Inde-
pendence Act, 1947, is borne out by paragraph 17 of His Majesty’s Gov-
ernment statement of Policy in India of the 3rd June 1947 (Cmd.7136).

On the 15th August 1947, therefore, the tribal areas of the North-
West Frontier became a sort of international limbo, not being part of any
state. This being so and the tribal areas being independent of Pakistan,
though having certain treaty relations with her as regards customs, communications and similar matters, it would appear that Pakistan could not have inherited either the frontier fixed by the Treaty with Afghanistan of 1921 or any right under Article 2 of that treaty. This does not mean to say that the Durand line ceased to be the international frontier of Afghanistan. The new situation did not give Afghanistan any right to extend her territories to include the tribal areas without the consent of the tribes any more than it gave Pakistan the right to do so; but it may well be that Pakistan would not have been able to raise any legal objection if the tribes had placed themselves under the protection of Afghanistan or if, with the consent of the tribes, the tribal areas had been annexed by Afghanistan.

However in the view of our legal adviser the situation now brought to light does not affect the ultimate result of the substance of Pakistan’s case, though it may affect the way in which it should be put to an international tribunal. Whether or not there was a period following the division of India when Afghanistan could have accepted a voluntary request for incorporation from the tribal areas, the tribes did not make any such request and in fact, in the Jirgas described in Karachi telegram No. 530 to the Commonwealth Relations Office, requested and obtained affiliation with Pakistan. This gives Pakistan the conduct of their foreign relations and enables Pakistan to claim the observance of the boundary on their behalf. There was provision in Section 2 (3) of the Indian Independence Act for the inclusion in Pakistan at any time of areas additional to those parts of British India allotted to Pakistan under Section 2(2) of the Act.

Perhaps much greater care than we had supposed would be required in putting the Pakistan case, but our legal adviser still does not think there is any doubt that the Afghan claim that the Durand line is no longer valid is bad in law. It seems therefore that neither Pakistan nor we need have any hesitation on legal grounds about taking the frontier dispute to an international tribunal. Whether reference to an international tribunal is desirable on political grounds is of course a different question.

Copies of this letter are being sent to Washington, Moscow, Singapore and United Kingdom High Commissioners in Karachi and New Delhi.

Yours ever,

South East Asia Department
NOTES

1. Pol-Ext. 6912/49.
   Foreign Office, S.W. 1
3. IO, P&S, Despatch 155 (16-8-1892).
5. L/P&S/12/1822).
Appendix 2

Soviet Report on Intervention in Afghanistan in December 1979

After a coup d’etat and the murder of the CC PDPA General Secretary and Chairman of the Revolutionary Council of Afghanistan N. M. Taraki, committed by Amin in September of this year, the situation in Afghanistan has been sharply exacerbated and taken on crisis proportions. H. Amin has established a regime of personal dictatorship in the country, effectively reducing the CC PDPA and the Revolutionary Council to the status of entirely nominal organs. The top leadership positions within the party and the state were filled with appointees bearing family ties or maintaining personal loyalties to H. Amin. Many members from the ranks of the CC PDPA, the Revolutionary Council and the Afghan government were expelled and arrested. Repression and physical annihilation were for the most part directed toward active participants in the April revolution, persons openly sympathetic to the U.S.S.R., those defending the Leninist norms of intra-party life. H. Amin deceived the party and the people with his announcements that the Soviet Union had supposedly approved of Taraki’s expulsion from party and government. By direct order of H. Amin, fabricated rumors were deliberately spread throughout the DRA, smearing the Soviet Union and casting a shadow on the activities of Soviet personnel in Afghanistan, who had been restricted in their efforts to maintain contact with Afghan representatives.

At the same time, efforts were made to mend relations with America as a part of the “more balanced foreign policy strategy” adopted by H. Amin. H. Amin held a series of confidential meetings with the American charge d’affaires in Kabul. The DRA government began to create favorable conditions for the operation of the American cultural center; under H. Amin’s directive, the DRA special services have ceased operations against the American embassy.
In this extremely difficult situation, which has threatened the gains of
the April revolution and the interests of maintaining our national secu-

rity, it has become necessary to render additional military assistance to
Afghanistan, especially since such requests had been made by the pre-
vious administration in DRA. In accordance with the provisions of the
Soviet-Afghan treaty of 1978, a decision has been made to send the nec-

essary contingent of the Soviet Army to Afghanistan. Riding the wave
of patriotic sentiments that have engaged fairly large numbers of the
Afghan population in connection with the deployment of Soviet forces
which was carried out in strict accordance with the provisions of the
Soviet-Afghan treaty of 1978, the forces opposing H. Amin organized
an armed operation which resulted in the overthrow of H. Amin’s
regime. This operation has received broad support from the working
masses, the intelligentsia, significant sections of the Afghan army, and
the state apparatus, all of which welcomed the formation of a new ad-

ministration of the DRA and the PDPA. The new government and Rev-
olutionary Council have been formed on a broad and representative ba-

sis, with the inclusion of representatives from former “Parcham” and
“Khalq” factions, military representatives, and non-party members. In
its program agenda announcements, the new leadership vowed to fight
for the complete victory of the national-democratic, anti-feudalistic,
anti-imperialistic revolution, and to defend Afghan independence and
sovereignty.

[signed]

Yu. Andropov
A. Gromyko
D. Ustinov
B. Ponomarev

31 December 1979
Appendix 3

Interim Agreement

The participants in the UN Talks on Afghanistan in the presence of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Afghanistan,

Determined to end the tragic conflict in Afghanistan and promote national reconciliation, lasting peace, stability and respect for human rights in the country,

Reaffirming the independence, national sovereignty and territorial integrity of Afghanistan,

Acknowledging the right of the people of Afghanistan to freely determine their own political future in accordance with the principles of Islam, democracy, pluralism and social justice,

Expressing their appreciation to the Afghan mujahidin who, over the years, have defended the independence, territorial integrity and national unity of the country and have played a major role in the struggle against terrorism and oppression, and whose sacrifice has now made them both heroes of jihad and champions of peace, stability and reconstruction of their beloved homeland, Afghanistan,

Aware that the unstable situation in Afghanistan requires the implementation of emergency interim arrangements and expressing their deep appreciation to

His Excellency Professor Burhanuddin Rabbani for his readiness to transfer power to an interim authority which is to be established pursuant to this agreement,
Recognizing the need to ensure broad representation in these interim arrangements of all segments of the Afghan population, including groups that have not been adequately represented at the UN Talks on Afghanistan,

Noting that these interim arrangements are intended as a first step toward the establishment of a broad-based, gender-sensitive, multi-ethnic and fully representative government, and are not intended to remain in place beyond the specified period of time,

Recognizing that some time may be required for a new Afghan security force to be fully constituted and functional and that therefore other security provisions detailed in Annex I to this agreement must meanwhile be put in place,

Considering that the United Nations, as the internationally recognized impartial institution, has a particularly important role to play, detailed in Annex II to this agreement, in the period prior to the establishment of permanent institutions in Afghanistan,

Have agreed as follows:

THE INTERIM AUTHORITY

I. General provisions

1) An Interim Authority shall be established upon the official transfer of power on 22 December 2001.

2) The Interim Authority shall consist of an Interim Administration presided over by a Chairman, a Special Independent Commission for the Convening of the Emergency Loya Jirga, and a Supreme Court of Afghanistan, as well as such other courts as may be established by the Interim Administration. The composition, functions and governing procedures for the Interim Administration and the Special Independent Commission are set forth in this agreement.

3) Upon the official transfer of power, the Interim Authority shall be the repository of Afghan sovereignty, with immediate effect. As such, it
shall, throughout the interim period, represent Afghanistan in its external relations and shall occupy the seat of Afghanistan at the United Nations and in its specialized agencies, as well as in other international institutions and conferences.

4) An Emergency Loya Jirga shall be convened within six months of the establishment of the Interim Authority. The Emergency Loya Jirga will be opened by His Majesty Mohammed Zaher, the former King of Afghanistan. The Emergency Loya Jirga shall decide on a Transitional Authority, including a broad-based transitional administration, to lead Afghanistan until such time as a fully representative government can be elected through free and fair elections to be held no later than two years from the date of the convening of the Emergency Loya Jirga.

5) The Interim Authority shall cease to exist once the Transitional Authority has been established by the Emergency Loya Jirga.

6) A Constitutional Loya Jirga shall be convened within eighteen months of the establishment of the Transitional Authority, in order to adopt a new constitution for Afghanistan. In order to assist the Constitutional Loya Jirga prepare the proposed Constitution, the Transitional Administration shall, within two months of its commencement and with the assistance of the United Nations, establish a Constitutional Commission.

II. Legal framework and judicial system

1) The following legal framework shall be applicable on an interim basis until the adoption of the new Constitution referred to above:

   i) The Constitution of 1964, a/ to the extent that its provisions are not inconsistent with those contained in this agreement, and b/ with the exception of those provisions relating to the monarchy and to the executive and legislative bodies provided in the Constitution; and ii) existing laws and regulations, to the extent that they are not inconsistent with this agreement or with international legal obligations to which Afghanistan is a party, or with those applicable provisions contained in the Constitution of 1964, provided that the Interim Authority shall have the power to repeal or amend those laws and regulations.
2) The judicial power of Afghanistan shall be independent and shall be vested in a Supreme Court of Afghanistan, and such other courts as may be established by the Interim Administration. The Interim Administration shall establish, with the assistance of the United Nations, a Judicial Commission to rebuild the domestic justice system in accordance with Islamic principles, international standards, the rule of law and Afghan legal traditions.

III. Interim Administration

A. Composition

1) The Interim Administration shall be composed of a Chairman, five vice Chairmen and 24 other members. Each member, except the Chairman, may head a department of the Interim Administration.

2) The participants in the UN Talks on Afghanistan have invited His Majesty Mohammed Zaher, the former King of Afghanistan, to chair the Interim Administration. His Majesty has indicated that he would prefer that a suitable candidate acceptable to the participants be selected as the Chair of the Interim Administration.

3) The Chairman, the Vice Chairmen and other members of the Interim Administration have been selected by the participants in the UN Talks on Afghanistan, as listed in Annex IV to this agreement. The selection has been made on the basis of professional competence and personal integrity from lists submitted by the participants in the UN Talks, with due regard to the ethnic, geographic and religious composition of Afghanistan and to the importance of the participation of women.

4) No person serving as a member of the Interim Administration may simultaneously hold membership of the Special Independent Commission for the Convening of the Emergency Loya Jirga.

B. Procedures

1) The Chairman of the Interim Administration, or in his/her absence one of the Vice Chairmen, shall call and chair meetings and propose the agenda for these meetings.
2) The Interim Administration shall endeavour to reach its decisions by consensus. In order for any decision to be taken, at least 22 members must be in attendance. If a vote becomes necessary, decisions shall be taken by a majority of the members present and voting, unless otherwise stipulated in this agreement. The Chairman shall cast the deciding vote in the event that the members are divided equally.

C. Functions

1) The Interim Administration shall be entrusted with the day-to-day conduct of the affairs of state, and shall have the right to issue decrees for the peace, order and good government of Afghanistan.

2) The Chairman of the Interim Administration or, in his/her absence, one of the Vice Chairmen, shall represent the Interim Administration as appropriate.

3) Those members responsible for the administration of individual departments shall also be responsible for implementing the policies of the Interim Administration within their areas of responsibility.

4) Upon the official transfer of power, the Interim Administration shall have full jurisdiction over the printing and delivery of the national currency and special drawing rights from international financial institutions. The Interim Administration shall establish, with the assistance of the United Nations, a Central Bank of Afghanistan that will regulate the money supply of the country through transparent and accountable procedures.

5) The Interim Administration shall establish, with the assistance of the United Nations, an independent Civil Service Commission to provide the Interim Authority and the future Transitional Authority with shortlists of candidates for key posts in the administrative departments, as well as those of governors and uluswals, in order to ensure their competence and integrity.

6) The Interim Administration shall, with the assistance of the United Nations, establish an independent Human Rights Commission, whose responsibilities will include human rights monitoring, investigation of
violations of human rights, and development of domestic human rights institutions. The Interim Administration may, with the assistance of the United Nations, also establish any other commissions to review matters not covered in this agreement.

7) The members of the Interim Administration shall abide by a Code of Conduct elaborated in accordance with international standards.

8) Failure by a member of the Interim Administration to abide by the provisions of the Code of Conduct shall lead to his/her suspension from that body. The decision to suspend a member shall be taken by a two-thirds majority of the membership of the Interim Administration on the proposal of its Chairman or any of its Vice Chairmen.

9) The functions and powers of members of the Interim Administration will be further elaborated, as appropriate, with the assistance of the United Nations.

IV. The Special Independent Commission for the Convening of the Emergency Loya Jirga

1) The Special Independent Commission for the Convening of the Emergency Loya Jirga shall be established within one month of the establishment of the Interim Authority. The Special Independent Commission will consist of twenty-one members, a number of whom should have expertise in constitutional or customary law. The members will be selected from lists of candidates submitted by participants in the UN Talks on Afghanistan as well as Afghan professional and civil society groups. The United Nations will assist with the establishment and functioning of the commission and of a substantial secretariat.

2) The Special Independent Commission will have the final authority for determining the procedures for and the number of people who will participate in the Emergency Loya Jirga. The Special Independent Commission will draft rules and procedures specifying (i) criteria for allocation of seats to the settled and nomadic population residing in the country; (ii) criteria for allocation of seats to the Afghan refugees living in Iran, Pakistan, and elsewhere, and Afghans from the diaspora; (iii) criteria for inclusion of civil society organizations and prominent indi-
viduals, including Islamic scholars, intellectuals, and traders, both within the country and in the diaspora. The Special Independent Commission will ensure that due attention is paid to the representation in the Emergency Loya Jirga of a significant number of women as well as all other segments of the Afghan population.

3) The Special Independent Commission will publish and disseminate the rules and procedures for the convening of the Emergency Loya Jirga at least ten weeks before the Emergency Loya Jirga convenes, together with the date for its commencement and its suggested location and duration.

4) The Special Independent Commission will adopt and implement procedures for monitoring the process of nomination of individuals to the Emergency Loya Jirga to ensure that the process of indirect election or selection is transparent and fair. To pre-empt conflict over nominations, the Special Independent Commission will specify mechanisms for filing of grievances and rules for arbitration of disputes.

5) The Emergency Loya Jirga will elect a Head of the State for the Transitional Administration and will approve proposals for the structure and key personnel of the Transitional Administration.

V. Final provisions

1) Upon the official transfer of power, all mujahidin, Afghan armed forces and armed groups in the country shall come under the command and control of the Interim Authority, and be reorganized according to the requirements of the new Afghan security and armed forces.

2) The Interim Authority and the Emergency Loya Jirga shall act in accordance with basic principles and provisions contained in international instruments on human rights and international humanitarian law to which Afghanistan is a party.

3) The Interim Authority shall cooperate with the international community in the fight against terrorism, drugs and organized crime. It shall commit itself to respect international law and maintain peaceful and friendly relations with neighbouring countries and the rest of the international community.
4) The Interim Authority and the Special Independent Commission for the Convening of the Emergency Loya Jirga will ensure the participation of women as well as the equitable representation of all ethnic and religious communities in the Interim Administration and the Emergency Loya Jirga.

5) All actions taken by the Interim Authority shall be consistent with Security Council resolution 1378 (14 November 2001) and other relevant Security Council resolutions relating to Afghanistan.

6) Rules of procedure for the organs established under the Interim Authority will be elaborated as appropriate with the assistance of the United Nations.

This agreement, of which the annexes constitute an integral part, done in Bonn on this 5th day of December 2001 in the English language, shall be the authentic text, in a single copy which shall remain deposited in the archives of the United Nations. Official texts shall be provided in Dari and Pashto, and such other languages as the Special Representative of the Secretary-General may designate. The Special Representative of the Secretary-General shall send certified copies in English, Dari and Pashto to each of the participants.

For the participants in the UN Talks on Afghanistan:

Ms. Amena Afzali
Mr. S. Hussain Anwari
Mr. Hedayat Amin Arsala
Mr. Sayed Hamed Gailani
Mr. Rahmatullah Mousa Ghazi
Eng. Abdul Hakim
Mr. Houmayoun Jareer
Mr. Abbas Karimi
Mr. Mustafa Kazimi
Dr. Azizullah Ludin
Mr. Ahmad Wali Massoud
Mr. Hafizullah Asif Mohseni
Prof. Mohammad Ishaq Nadiri
Mr. Mohammad Natiqi
Mr. Aref Noorzay
Mr. Yunus Qanooni
Dr. Zalmai Rassoul
Mr. H. Mirwais Sadeq
Dr. Mohammad Jalil Shams
Prof. Abdul Sattar Sirat
Mr. Humayun Tandar
Mrs. Sima Wali
General Abdul Rahim Wardak
Mr. Azizullah Wasefi
Mr. Pacha Khan Zadran

Witnessed for the United Nations by:

Mr. Lakhdar Brahimi

Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Afghanistan

ANNEX I: INTERNATIONAL SECURITY FORCE

1. The participants in the UN Talks on Afghanistan recognize that the responsibility for providing security and law and order throughout the country resides with the Afghans themselves. To this end, they pledge their commitment to do all within their means and influence to ensure such security, including for all United Nations and other personnel of international governmental and non-governmental organizations deployed in Afghanistan.

2. With this objective in mind, the participants request the assistance of the international community in helping the new Afghan authorities in the establishment and training of new Afghan security and armed forces.

3. Conscious that some time may be required for the new Afghan security and armed forces to be fully constituted and functioning, the participants in the UN Talks on Afghanistan request the United Nations Security Council to consider authorizing the early deployment to Afghanistan of a United Nations mandated force. This force will assist in the maintenance of security for Kabul and its surrounding areas. Such
a force could, as appropriate, be progressively expanded to other urban centres and other areas.

4. The participants in the UN Talks on Afghanistan pledge to withdraw all military units from Kabul and other urban centers or other areas in which the UN mandated force is deployed. It would also be desirable if such a force were to assist in the rehabilitation of Afghanistan’s infrastructure.

ANNEX II: ROLE OF THE UNITED NATIONS DURING THE INTERIM PERIOD

1. The Special Representative of the Secretary-General will be responsible for all aspects of the United Nations work in Afghanistan.

2. The Special Representative shall monitor and assist in the implementation of all aspects of this agreement.

3. The United Nations shall advise the Interim Authority in establishing a politically neutral environment conducive to the holding of the Emergency Loya Jirga in free and fair conditions. The United Nations shall pay special attention to the conduct of those bodies and administrative departments which could directly influence the convening and outcome of the Emergency Loya Jirga.

4. The Special Representative of the Secretary-General or his/her delegate may be invited to attend the meetings of the Interim Administration and the Special Independent Commission on the Convening of the Emergency Loya Jirga.

5. If for whatever reason the Interim Administration or the Special Independent Commission were actively prevented from meeting or unable to reach a decision on a matter related to the convening of the Emergency Loya Jirga, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General shall, taking into account the views expressed in the Interim Administration or in the Special Independent Commission, use his/her good offices with a view to facilitating a resolution to the impasse or a decision.
6. The United Nations shall have the right to investigate human rights violations and, where necessary, recommend corrective action. It will also be responsible for the development and implementation of a programme of human rights education to promote respect for and understanding of human rights.

ANNEX III: REQUEST TO THE UNITED NATIONS BY THE PARTICIPANTS AT THE UN TALKS ON AFGHANISTAN

The participants in the UN Talks on Afghanistan hereby

1. Request that the United Nations and the international community take the necessary measures to guarantee the national sovereignty, territorial integrity and unity of Afghanistan as well as the non-interference by foreign countries in Afghanistan’s internal affairs;

2. Urge the United Nations, the international community, particularly donor countries and multilateral institutions, to reaffirm, strengthen and implement their commitment to assist with the rehabilitation, recovery and reconstruction of Afghanistan, in coordination with the Interim Authority;

3. Request the United Nations to conduct as soon as possible (i) a registration of voters in advance of the general elections that will be held upon the adoption of the new constitution by the constitutional Loya Jirga and (ii) a census of the population of Afghanistan,

4. Urge the United Nations and the international community, in recognition of the heroic role played by the mujahidin in protecting the independence of Afghanistan and the dignity of its people, to take the necessary measures, in coordination with the Interim Authority, to assist in the reintegration of the mujahidin into the new Afghan security and armed forces;

5. Invite the United Nations and the international community to create a fund to assist the families and other dependents of martyrs and victims of the war, as well as the war disabled;
6. Strongly urge that the United Nations, the international community and regional organizations cooperate with the Interim Authority to combat international terrorism, cultivation and trafficking of illicit drugs and provide Afghan farmers with financial, material and technical resources for alternative crop production.

ANNEX IV: COMPOSITION OF THE INTERIM ADMINISTRATION

Interim Administration of December 5, 2001:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Name</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chairman</td>
<td>Hamid Karzai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vice Chair &amp; Women’s Affairs</td>
<td>Dr. Sima Samar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vice Chair &amp; Defense</td>
<td>Muhammad Fahim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vice Chair &amp; Planning</td>
<td>Haji Mohammad Muhaqeq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vice Chair Water and Power</td>
<td>Shaker Kargar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vice Chair &amp; Finance</td>
<td>Hedayat Amin Arsala</td>
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Members

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<tr>
<th>Ministry</th>
<th>Name</th>
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</thead>
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<tr>
<td>Foreign Affairs</td>
<td>Dr. Abdullah Abdullah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interior</td>
<td>Yunus Qanuni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commerce</td>
<td>Sayyid Mustafa Kazemi</td>
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<td>Mines and Industries</td>
<td>Muhammad Alem Razm</td>
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<tr>
<td>Small Industries</td>
<td>Aref Nurzai</td>
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<td>Information and Culture</td>
<td>Rahin Makhdum</td>
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<tr>
<td>Communications</td>
<td>Ing. Abdul Rahim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labor and Social Affairs</td>
<td>Mir Wais Sadeq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hajj and Auqaf</td>
<td>Muhammad Hanif Balkhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martyrs and Disabled</td>
<td>Abdullah Wardak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Abdul Salam Azimi</td>
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<tr>
<td>Higher Education</td>
<td>Dr. Sharif Fayez</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Health</td>
<td>Dr. Suhaila Seddiqi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Works</td>
<td>Juma Muhammad Muhammedi</td>
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<td>Rural Development</td>
<td>Abdul Malik Anwar</td>
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<td>Urban Development</td>
<td>Haji Abdul Qadir</td>
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<tr>
<td>Reconstruction</td>
<td>Sardar Muhammad Roshan</td>
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<tr>
<td>Transport</td>
<td>Sultan Hamid Hamid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Repatriation of Refugees</td>
<td>Enayatullah Nazeri</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Agriculture: Sayyid Husain Anwari
Irrigation: Haji Mangal Husain
Justice: Abdul Rahim Karimi
Transport and Tourism: Rahim Wardak
Border and Tribal Affairs: Amanullah Dzadran

NA = Member of the Northern Alliance
Appendix 4

Military Technical Agreement

Between the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) and the Interim Administration of Afghanistan (‘Interim Administration’).

Preamble


The ISAF welcomes the Interim Administration’s commitment in the Bonn Agreement to co-operate with the international community in the fight against terrorism, drugs and organised crime and to respect international law and maintain peaceful and friendly relations with neighbouring countries and the rest of the international community.

Article I: General Obligations

1. The Interim Administration understands and agrees that the Bonn Agreement requires a major contribution on its part and will make strenuous efforts to co-operate with the ISAF and with the international organisations and agencies which are assisting it.

2. Interim Administration understands and agrees the Mission of the ISAF is to assist it in the maintenance of the security in the area of responsibility as defined below at Article I paragraph 4(g).
3. The Interim Administration agrees to provide the ISAF with any information relevant to the security and safety of the ISAF mission, its personnel, equipment and locations.

4. For the purposes of this Military Technical Agreement, the following expressions shall have the meaning described below:

1. ‘The Parties’ are the Interim Administration and the ISAF.
   - ‘ISAF’ includes all military personnel together with their aircraft, vehicles, armoured vehicles, stores, equipment, communications, ammunition, weapons and provisions as well as the civilian components of such forces, air and surface movement resources and their support services.

2. The ‘Interim Administration’ is the organisation as detailed in the Bonn Agreement.

3. ‘Military Units’ includes all Afghan factions, armed representatives or personnel with a military capability, to include all mujahidin, armed forces, and armed groups, other than the ‘Police Force’ defined at paragraph 4e. The definition of ‘Military Units’ in this context does not include the ISAF, Coalition Forces or other recognised national military forces.

4. The Interim Administration ‘Police Force’ means individuals who have been formally appointed as Police by the Interim Administration, are recognisable, and carry official identification. The Police Force includes the national security police, the criminal police, the uniform police, the traffic police and the border police.

5. ‘Host Nation Support’ (HNS) is the civil and military assistance rendered by the Interim Administration to the ISAF within Afghanistan.

6. Area of Responsibility (AOR) is the area marked out on the map attached at Annex B.

7. ‘Coalition Forces’ are those national military elements of the US-led international coalition prosecuting the ‘War on Terrorism’ within Afghanistan. The ISAF is not part of the ‘Coalition Forces’.
i. An ‘Offensive Action’ is any use of armed military force.

j. Designated Barracks to be agreed between the parties and to be detailed at Annex C.

5. It is understood and agreed that once the ISAF is established, its membership may change.

**Article II: Status of the International Security Assistance Force**

1. The arrangements regarding the Status of the ISAF are at Annex A.

**Article III: Provision of Security and Law and Order**

1. The Interim Administration recognises that the provision of security and law and order is their responsibility. This will include maintenance and support of a recognised Police Force operating in accordance with internationally recognised standards and Afghanistan law and with respect for internationally recognised human rights and fundamental freedoms, and by taking other measures as appropriate.

2. The Interim Administration will ensure that all Afghan Military Units come under its command and control in accordance with the Bonn Agreement. The Interim Administration agrees it will return all Military Units based in Kabul into designated barracks detailed at Annex C as soon as possible. Such units will not leave those Barracks without the prior approval of the Interim Administration and notification to the ISAF Commander by the Chairman of the Interim Administration.

3. The Interim Administration will refrain from all Offensive Actions within the AOR.

4. A Joint Co-ordinating Body (JCB) will meet on a regular basis. The JCB will comprise of designated Interim Administration officials and senior ISAF representatives. The purpose of the JCB will be to discuss current and forthcoming issues and to resolve any disputes that may arise.
Article IV: Deployment of the ISAF

1. UNSCR 1386 authorises the establishment for six months of an international force to assist the Interim Administration in the maintenance of security in the AOR. The Interim Administration understands and agrees that the ISAF is the international force authorised by UNSCR 1386 and may be composed of ground, air and maritime units from the international community.

2. The Interim Administration understands and agrees that the ISAF Commander will have the authority, without interference or permission, to do all that the Commander judges necessary and proper, including the use of military force, to protect the ISAF and its Mission.

3. The Interim Administration understands and agrees the ISAF will have complete and unimpeded freedom of movement throughout the territory and airspace of Afghanistan. The ISAF will agree with the Interim Administration its use of any areas or facilities needed to carry out its responsibilities as required for its support, training and operations, with such advance notice as may be practicable.

4. In consultation with the Interim Administration, the ISAF Commander is authorised to promulgate appropriate rules for the control and regulation of surface military traffic throughout the AOR.

5. The ISAF will have the right to utilise such means and services as required to ensure its full ability to communicate and will have the right to the unrestricted use of all of the electromagnetic spectrum, free of charge, for this purpose. In implementing this right, the ISAF will make every reasonable effort to co-ordinate with and take into account the needs and requirements of the Interim Administration.

Article V: Illustrative Tasks of the ISAF

1. The ISAF will undertake a range of tasks in Kabul and surrounding areas in support of its Mission. ISAF will make every reasonable effort to co-ordinate with and take into account the needs and requirements of the Interim Administration. Possible tasks, which
may be undertaken jointly with Interim Administration Forces, will include protective patrolling.

2. By mutual agreement between the ISAF Commander and the Interim Administration the ISAF may:

a. Assist the Interim Administration in developing future security structures.
b. Assist the Interim Administration in reconstruction.
c. Identify and arrange training and assistance tasks for future Afghan security forces.

3. The ISAF will liaise with such political, social and religious leaders as necessary to ensure that religious, ethnic and cultural sensitivities in Afghanistan are appropriately respected by the ISAF.

**Article VI: Identification**

1. ISAF personnel will wear uniforms and may carry arms if authorised by their orders. Police Force personnel, when on duty, will be visibly identified by uniform or other distinctive markings and may carry arms if authorised by the Interim Administration.

**Article VII: Final Authority to Interpret**

1. The ISAF Commander is the final authority regarding interpretation of this Military Technical Agreement.

**Article VIII: Summary**

1. The purposes of the obligations and responsibilities set out in this Arrangement are as follows:

   a. To provide the necessary support and technical arrangements for the ISAF to conduct its Mission.
   b. To outline the responsibilities of the Interim Administration in relation to the ISAF.
**Article IX: Final Provisions**

1. Certified copies of this Military Technical Agreement will be supplied in Dari and Pashto language versions. For the purposes of interpretation the English language version of this Military Technical Agreement is authoritative.

**Article X: Entry Into Force**

2. This agreement will enter into force upon signature by the Participants.

Signed: Yunus Qanuni
Minister of Interior
On behalf of Interim Administration

Gen. McColl
COMISAF
On behalf of International Security Assistance Force

Witnessed by BG DE Kratzer
for Lt. Gen. PT Mikolashek
Coalition Forces Land Component Commander

Annexes:
A. Arrangements Regarding the Status of the International Security Assistance Force.
B. Map of Area of Responsibility. Not provided.
C. Designated Barracks. Not provided.

ANNEX A

**ARRANGEMENTS REGARDING THE STATUS OF THE INTERNATIONAL SECURITY ASSISTANCE FORCE**

**SECTION 1: JURISDICTION**

1. The provisions of the Convention on the Privileges and Immunities of the United Nations of 13 February 1946 concerning experts on mission will apply mutatis mutandis to the ISAF and supporting personnel, including associated liaison personnel.

2. All ISAF and supporting personnel, including associated liaison personnel, enjoying privileges and immunities under this Arrangement
will respect the laws of Afghanistan, insofar as it is compatible with the UNSCR (1386) and will refrain from activities not compatible with the nature of the Mission.

3. The ISAF and supporting personnel, including associated liaison personnel, will under all circumstances and at all times be subject to the exclusive jurisdiction of their respective national elements in respect of any criminal or disciplinary offences which may be committed by them on the territory of Afghanistan. The Interim Administration will assist the ISAF contributing nations in the exercise of their respective jurisdictions.

4. The ISAF and supporting personnel, including associated liaison personnel, will be immune from personal arrest or detention. ISAF and supporting personnel, including associated liaison personnel, mistakenly arrested or detained will be immediately handed over to ISAF authorities. The Interim Administration agree that ISAF and supporting personnel, including associated liaison personnel, may not be surrendered to, or otherwise transferred to the custody of, an international tribunal or any other entity or State without the express consent of the contributing nation. ISAF Forces will respect the laws and culture of Afghanistan.

SECTION 2 ENTRY INTO AND DEPARTURE FROM AFGHANISTAN

5. The Interim Administration understands and agrees that the ISAF and supporting personnel, including associated liaison personnel, may enter and depart Afghanistan with military identification and with collective movement and travel orders.

6. The Interim Administration understands and agrees that the ISAF will have the unimpeded right to enter Afghan airspace without seeking prior diplomatic clearance.

SECTION 3 INDEMNIFICATION, CLAIMS AND LIABILITIES

7. ISAF will be exempt from providing inventories or other routine customs documentation on personnel, vehicles, vessels, aircraft, equipment, supplies, and provisions entering and exiting or transiting
Afghanistan territory in support of the International Security Force. The Interim Administration will facilitate with all appropriate means all movements of personnel, vehicles, aircraft or supplies, airports or roads used. Vehicles, vessels and aircraft used in support of the mission will not be subject to licensing or registration requirements, nor commercial insurance. ISAF will use airports, roads without payment of duties, dues, tolls or charges. However, ISAF will not claim exemption from reasonable charges for services requested and received, but operations/movements and access will not be allowed to be impeded pending payment for such services.

8. ISAF will be exempt from taxation by the Interim Administration on the salaries and emoluments and on any income received from outside the Interim Administration.

9. ISAF and their tangible movable property imported into or acquired in Afghanistan will be exempt from all identifiable taxes by the Interim Administration.

10. The ISAF and its personnel will not be liable for any damages to civilian or government property caused by any activity in pursuit of the ISAF Mission. Claims for other damage or injury to Interim Administration personnel or property, or to private personnel or property will be submitted through Interim Administration to the ISAF.

SECTION 4 FORCE SUPPORT

11. The ISAF will be allowed to import and export free of duty or other restriction, equipment, provisions and supplies necessary for the mission, provided such goods are for official use of ISAF or for sale via commissioners or canteens provided for ISAF and supporting personnel, including associated liaison personnel. Goods sold will be solely for the use of ISAF and supporting personnel, including associated liaison personnel, and not transferable to other participants.

12. The ISAF will be allowed to operate its own internal mail and telecommunications services, including broadcast services, free of charge.
13. The Interim Administration will provide free of cost, such facilities as the ISAF may need for the execution of the Mission. The Interim Administration will assist the ISAF in obtaining at the lowest rate, the necessary utilities such as electricity, water and other resources necessary for the Mission.

14. Nominated representatives of ISAF will be allowed to contract directly with suppliers for services and supplies in Afghanistan without payment of tax or duties. Such services and supplies will not be subject to sales or other taxes. ISAF Forces may hire local personnel who will remain subject to local laws and regulation. However, local personnel hired by ISAF will:

a. Be immune from legal process in respect of words spoken or written and all acts performed by them in their official capacity.

b. Be immune from National Service and/or national military service obligations.

c. Be exempt from taxation on the salaries and emoluments paid to them by the ISAF.

15. The Interim Administration will accept as valid, without tax or fee, drivers licences and permits issued to ISAF and supporting personnel, including associated liaison personnel, by their respective national authorities.

SECTION 5 MEDICAL AND DENTAL

16. The Interim Administration will permit the importation and carriage of controlled drugs as required by ISAF and as officially issued to individual personnel.

17. The Interim Administration will ensure that ISAF Forces and MEDEVAC aircraft, including helicopters, will be given the highest priority to transit to, within and from the relevant operation area and given unrestricted access to the airspace of Afghanistan to fulfill any emergency mission.
SECTION 6 APPLICATION

18. The protections hereby set out shall apply to the ISAF and all its personnel, and to forces in support of the ISAF and all their personnel. This will not derogate from additional protections, rights and exemptions other forces operating in connection with the ISAF may negotiate separately with the Interim Administration or the follow-on Government.

AO: KABUL AND ITS SURROUNDING AREAS
Appendix 5
Commission for Loya Jirga

Qasimyar, Ismail, Chairman
Huquqmal, Mahbuba, Vice Chairperson
Abdul Azizi, Al Haj, Vice Chairman
Ahang, Muhammad Kazim
Amir Muhammad Essa
Borgai, Muhammad Tahir
Hamidi, Muhammad Farid
Jabbarkhel, Haji Zahir Khan
Kamal, Enayatullah Uzbek
Karkin, Nur Muhammad
Mudaber, Dr. Sadiq
Mujahed, Prof. Sayyid Amin
Ne`mati, Humaira
Nidai, Prof. Muhd. Mahfuz
Parlika, Suraya
Rahimi, Abdul Salam
Sayyid Mas`ud, Ustad
Sebqatullah Sanjar, Colonel
Saljuqi, Rashid
Tawana, Dr. Sayyid Musa
Walwaliji, Asadullah
Appendix 5A

Procedures for Afghanistan’s Emergency Loya Jirga

In the name of Allah, the compassionate, the merciful

Chapter one
General provisions

Article one
1. The Loya Jirga has been the supreme manifestation of the will of the Afghan people and it represents the entire nation. Its decisions and endorsements are binding.
2. In keeping with the prevailing conditions and circumstances of the country, the Emergency Loya Jirga shall be convened from the 20th to 26th Jauza 1381, (equivalent to 10th to 16th June, 2002), in the center of Kabul.

Article two
Each member of the Loya Jirga, while expressing his or her views, and while voting, shall represent the interests of Afghanistan.

Article three
The Emergency Loya Jirga shall be held, based on the Bonn Agreement, with the purpose of ensuring the inherent right of the people, in freely determining their political destiny, based on the principles of Islam, restoration of peace, national reconciliation, the respect of human rights in the country, strengthening of independence, national sovereignty, territorial integrity, democracy, pluralism, and social justice.

Chapter two
Election of the members of the Emergency Loya Jirga
Article four
Taking into account the situation and special circumstances of the country, members of the Emergency Loya Jirga, who fulfill the requirements for election laid out in the relevant provisions of these procedures, (based on the Bonn Agreement, providing for the participation of women as well as the just inclusion of all ethnic and religious groups and sects of Afghanistan), shall be indirectly elected or selected.

Article five
Each administrative unit (municipal ward, district, provincial center without ward) shall be recognized as an electoral constituency.

Article six
The members of the Emergency Loya Jirga shall be elected from the electoral constituencies in proportion to the population, as follows:
1. From each administrative unit one member [shall be elected], regard-less of the size of the population.
2. From each administrative unit, in proportion to its population, according to attached table no. 1. [not shown]

Article seven
The Special Independent Commission for the Convening of the Emergency Loya Jirga, with the cooperation of the United Nations, shall adopt measures so that refugees, [internally] displaced persons and nomads shall be able to actively participate in the Emergency Loya Jirga, through appointing their own representatives, based on their allocated share, shown in attached table no. 2. [not shown]

Article eight
Representatives of civil society institutions, credible individuals, religious scholars, intellectuals, women’s representatives, traders, and religious minorities, within the country and abroad, shall be chosen according to the attached tables nos. 1, 2 and 3 [not shown] in the following way:
1. Representatives of civil society institutions shall be introduced by their institutions and confirmed by the Special Independent Commission for the Convening of the Emergency Loya Jirga, with the cooperation of the United Nations.
2. Representatives of religious scholars, credible individuals and intellectuals, after the collection of information within the country and
abroad, shall be chosen by the Special Independent Commission for the Convening of the Emergency Loya Jirga, with the cooperation of the United Nations.

3. Representatives of women shall be introduced by community members, women’s educational institutions and associations, and confirmed by the Special Independent Commission for the Convening of the Emergency Loya Jirga, with the cooperation of the United Nations.

4. Representatives of traders shall be introduced by the Chambers of Commerce and related organizations, within the country and abroad and confirmed by the Special Independence Commission for the Convening of the Emergency Loya Jirga, with the cooperation of the United Nations.

5. Representatives of religious minorities shall be chosen by their religious organizations, according to attached table no. 3. [not shown]

Chapter 3
Procedures for candidacy and conduct of the process of the indirect elections

Article nine
In the administrative units, subject to the published conditions for candidacy, any resident may present him- or herself as a candidate, irrespective of gender, sect or tribe, based on the following election procedures.

Article ten
Election of the members of the Emergency Loya Jirga shall take place in two stages, as set out below:

1. Each district and provincial center without wards, according to the table of seat allocations, shall choose its representatives who fulfill the terms for being elected under the observation of the Constituency Observation Team, and introduce them to the Regional Observation Center.

2. Every municipal ward shall choose 20 to 30 representatives from among themselves, who fulfill the terms for being elected, under the observation of the Constituency Observation Team, and introduce them to the Regional Observation Center.

Article eleven
1. In the second stage, the people who have been introduced by the community members shall elect the members of the Emergency
Loya Jirga from among themselves, under the observation of the Constituency Observation Team using a secret, direct, free ballot based on the table of the seat allocations.

2. In case conditions for conducting fair and equitable elections are absent in any constituency, a separate procedure for observation of the election of the members of the Emergency Loya Jirga shall be invoked, as laid out in the ‘Procedures for the observation of the elections of the members of the Emergency Loya Jirga and the audition of complaints arising from it,’ Article 7.

**Article twelve**

In all cases, the United Nations shall bear the responsibility for providing security and order.

**Chapter Four**

Terms for candidates and voters

**Article thirteen**

In the election of the members of the Emergency Loya Jirga, all those who fulfill the following qualifications may take part as voters:

1. have citizenship of Afghanistan by birth
2. be at least eighteen years old
3. be capable of exercising his/her full legal rights.

**Article fourteen**

People to be elected or selected as members of the Emergency Loya Jirga must fulfill the following requirements, in addition to those for voters as laid out in Article (13) [of these procedures] should:

1. be at least twenty two years old
2. subscribe to the principles and values of the Bonn Agreement
3. have no links with terrorist organizations
4. not have been involved in spreading and smuggling narcotics, abuse of human rights, war crimes, looting of public property and smuggling of cultural and archeological heritage
5. in the eyes of the people, not have been involved indirectly or directly in the killing of innocent people
6. be able to read and write at least one of the official languages.
Article fifteen
All forms of coercion, intimidation, bribery, corruption, use of force and weapons during the elections are banned. Anyone involved in resorting to these practices, in addition to his/her election being nullified, shall be subjected to legal proceedings based on electoral law.

Article sixteen
Anyone holding an official post in his/her administrative unit, who wants to become a candidate for membership of the Emergency Loya Jirga, must resign from his post by 20th Hamal [equivalent to 10th April].

Chapter Five
Final provisions

Article seventeen
Observation of the election process and consideration of complaints shall be conducted under the provisions of the relevant ‘Procedures for the observation of the elections of the members of the Emergency Loya Jirga and the audition of complaints arising from it.’

Article eighteen
These Procedures, consisting of five chapters and 18 articles, shall be implemented from and published by the date of adoption by the Special Independent Commission for the Convening of the Emergency Loya Jirga.

AFFIDAVIT

Declaration to be signed by all candidates for membership of the Emergency Loya Jirga

Before Almighty God, and in the presence of all those people here, I declare that I am fully cognizant of the electoral procedures for the Emergency Loya Jirga, that I subscribe to the values and principles of the Bonn Agreement, that I have no links to terrorist groups, that I am not involved in the spreading and smuggling of narcotics, abuse of human
rights, war crimes, plunder of public property, smuggling of archeological and cultural heritage, that I have not been directly or indirectly involved in the murder of innocent people. Therefore I consider myself to be entitled and deserving to be a candidate for the Emergency Loya Jirga. In case of any breach of this declaration I am responsible for giving an account of myself.

Signature

Name


Chapter one
General provisions

Article one
These procedures are enacted, according to the Bonn Agreement, to ensure the integrity of the elections, the free statement of the will of the people and the better organization of the affairs related to the observation of the elections of the members of the Emergency Loya Jirga, as well as to address complaints arising from it.

Article two
The observation of the elections and the audition of complaints shall take place through the following structures:
1. Constituency Observation Teams
2. Regional Observation Centers

Article three
A Constituency Observation Team consists of election observation officers, supported by one well-intentioned local person.

Article four
A Constituency Observation Team has the following duties and authorities:
1. to observe the timely introduction of the representatives of the people for the elections in the constituencies
2. it is presided over by, alternately, one of the election observation officials
3. to decide on a suitable and neutral place, free from interference, for the introduction of the representatives
4. to report on the activities to the Regional Observation Center
5. to implement the instructions of the Regional Observation Center
6. to prepare a list of the persons introduced by the people
7. to prepare and to issue identification documents for the introduced.

Article five
A Regional Observation Center consists of:
1. a member of the Special Independent Commission for the Convening of the Emergency Loya Jirga, as the head of the center
2. a member of the Special Independent Commission for the Convening of the Emergency Loya Jirga, or a member of the Commission’s secretariat, as the deputy head of the center
3. officers of the observation delegation who are confirmed by the Special Independent Commission for the Convening of the Emergency Loya Jirga, as members
4. an international observation delegation as witnesses, under the auspices of the United Nations.

Article six
The Regional Observation Center has the following duties and authorities:
1. to control the implementation of the provisions of the procedures for the election of the members of the Emergency Loya Jirga and of the rules of these procedures
2. to listen to the reports of the Constituency Observation Teams and to take decisions on them
3. to evaluate complaints about the activities of the observation delegations and about the election process and to take decisions on it
4. to assign and send Constituency Observation Teams to their places of duty
5. to register the names of the candidates
6. to prepare the ground for understanding between the candidates and the voters
7. to issue the affidavits for the candidates
8. to issue the letters of accreditation [to the introduced individuals]
9. to register the names of the individuals who are elected to the Emergency Loya Jirga.

Article seven
Whenever, under certain conditions and circumstances, the possibility to hold free and fair elections may not exist in one of the constituencies, on the basis of the proposal of those introduced by the people, or on the basis of the assessment and the decision of the Regional Observation Center:
1. the elections are held fairly at an appropriate venue
2. when there are no possibilities for holding an election, the representatives shall be appointed through selection by the Regional Observation Center.

Chapter two
Procedures of convening the elections and their observation

Article eight
The members of the Emergency Loya Jirga shall be elected indirectly in two stages as follows:
1. In the first stage, in each constituency and with the understanding of the Regional Observation Center, from 20 to 60 people are elected in the traditional way by the residents of this constituency and are then introduced to the observation team of that constituency.
2. In the second stage, the individuals introduced by the residents freely, secretly and directly elect the members of the Emergency Loya Jirga from amongst the candidates according to the quota table at the defined venue (the center of the constituency) in accordance with Article 7 [of these procedures].

Article nine
Each administrative unit (municipal ward, district, provincial center without ward) shall be recognized as an electoral constituency.

Article ten
The elections in the constituencies shall take place in such a way that the presence of the people and the observation by the constituency observation team is possible.
Article eleven
1. The complete lists of names of the people introduced in the constituencies shall be submitted to the Regional Observation Centers within three days after the completion of the introductory stage of the election of the representatives in the constituencies.
2. This list shall be submitted for dissemination at least five days before the commencement of the second electoral stage by the Regional Observation Centers.
3. The identification documents issued by the constituency observation team shall be registered, signed and stamped by the head of the Regional Observation Center.

Article twelve
After the announcement of the names of the individuals introduced in the constituencies, the Regional Observation Centers shall, within three days, assess written and documented complaints against the introduced individuals and issue their decision.

Article thirteen
The decision of the Regional Observation Center shall be final.

Article fourteen
Whenever a Regional Observation Center takes the decision, on the basis of its observations, that the election be repeated, the election shall be held within five days after the issuance of the decision according to the conditions stated in these procedures. These elections shall be final.

Article fifteen
In the second stage of the elections each candidate adopts an electoral symbol for his/her better recognition. This electoral symbol shall be printed next to the candidate’s name on the ballot-paper.

Article sixteen
Anyone eligible to take part in the second stage of the elections shall be given a sheet stamped and signed by the Regional Observation Center as described in Article 15 of the procedures, so that the individuals, after confirming the name of their desired candidate, can cast their vote into the ballot-box.
Article seventeen
After making sure it is empty, the ballot-box is locked and sealed in the presence of the candidates. After the voting, it shall be opened in the presence of at least two thirds of the members of the Regional Observation Center in front of the candidates and the votes shall then be counted.

Article eighteen
If two or more candidates get the same number of votes, the winner shall be chosen by drawing lots.

Article nineteen
Within one day after the completion of the second stage of the elections, the names of the individuals that have been chosen in the constituencies shall be announced by the Regional Observation Center.

Article twenty
Individuals that have complaints, or protests, against the elections can submit those to the Regional Observation Center within two days after the announcement of the results of the second stage of the elections. Objections and complaints must be written, documented and clear.

Article twenty-one
The Regional Observation Centers shall announce their decisions about the complaints within two days of receiving them. These decisions shall be final.

Chapter three
Final provisions

Article twenty-two
Election observation officers shall not put themselves forward as candidates in the constituencies.

Article twenty-three
There shall be eight Regional Observation Centers, to facilitate the electoral process, which shall be dissolved as soon as they have discharged their allotted duties.
Article twenty-four
Regional Observation Centers shall be established in the following cities:


Article twenty-five
The first and second stages of the elections of the members of the Emergency Loya Jirga shall, according to the time-table prepared by the Regional Observation Centers, start on 24th Hamal 1381 [equivalent to 13th April 2002] and shall end on 11th Jauza [equivalent to 1st June, 2002] of the same year.

Article twenty-six
The logistical services including the provision of security, salaries and transportation for the candidates and the representatives and all other necessary facilities shall be provided by the United Nations.

Article twenty-seven
These procedures in three chapters and 27 articles shall come into effect from the date of their approval by the Special Independent Commission for the Convening of the Emergency Loya Jirga and shall be published.
Appendix 6

Transitional Government

Hamid Karzai  President
Muhammad Fahim  Vice President
Abdul Karim Khalili  Vice President
Hedayat Amin Arsala  Vice President
Ne’matullah Shahrani  Vice President
Muhammad Fahim  Defense
Abdullah Abdullah  Foreign Affairs
Ashraf Ghani  Finance
Ali Ahmad Jalali  Interior
Muhammad Muhaqeq  Planning
Muhammad Masum Stanakzai  Communications
Muhammad Arif Nurzai  Borders and Tribal Affairs
Enayatullah Nazeri  Refugee Affairs
Muhammad Juma  Mines and Industries
Muhammad Alam Razm  Light Industries and Foodstuffs
Suhaila Siddiq  Public Health
Sayyid Mustafa Kazemi  Commerce
Sayyid Husain Anwari  Agriculture and Livestock
Abdul Rahim Karimi  Justice
Sayyid Makhdum Rahin  Information and Culture
Muhammad Amin Farhang  Reconstruction
Muhammad Amin Naziryar  Hajj and Endowments
Muhammad Yusuf Pashtun  Urban Development
Abdul Ali  Public Works
Nur Muhammad Qarqin  Social Affairs
Ahmad Shakar Kargar  Water and Power
Ahmad Yusuf Nuristani  Irrigation and Environment
Abdullah Wardak
Muhammad Sharif Fayez
Muhammad Mirwais Sadeq
Sayyid Muhammad Ali Jawid
Yunus Qanuni
Muhammad Hanif Atmar
Habiba Sorabi
Sima Samar
Fazl Hadi Shinwari
Yunus Qanuni

Martyrs and Disabled
Higher Education
Civil Aviation and Tourism
Transportation
Education
Rural Development
Women’s Affairs
Human Rights Commission
Chief Justice
Presidential Adviser on National Security

Minister Advisers

Taj Muhammad Wardak
Muhammad Ishaq Naderi
Mangal Husain
Yahya Ma’rufi
Muhammad Qasem Fazeli

Tribal Affairs
Economic Affairs
Minister Adviser
Minister Adviser
Minister Adviser and member of the Constitutional Drafting Commission

Qari Muhammad Alam
Minister Adviser

Administrative Divisions and Governors

Badakhshan
Badghis
Baglan
Balkh
Bamian
Farah
Fariab
Ghazni
Ghor
Helmand
Herat
Jozjan
Kabul
Sayyed Mohammad Amin
Gul Muhammad
Sayyid Muhammad Omar
Muhammad Ishaq Rahgozar
Abdul Rahim Ali Yarzada
Abdul Hay Na’mati
Enayatullah Enayat
Asadullah Khalid
Muhammad Ibrahim
Sher Muhammad
Muhammad Isma’il Khan
Sayyid Hasan
Taj Muhammad
Kandahar
Kapisa
Khost
Kunar
Laghman
Logar
Nangarhar
Nimruz
Nuristan
Oruzgan
Paktia
Paktika
Parwan
Kunduz
Rahgozar
Samangan
Sar-i Pul
Takhar
Wardak
Zabul

Gul Agha Shirzai
Sayyid Muhammad Haqbin
Abdul Hakim Taniwal
Sayyid Muhammad Yusuf
Muhammad Ibrahim Babakrkhel
Munshi Abdul Majid
Din Muhammad Abdul Karim Barahwi
Jan Muhammad Muhammadi
Raz Muhammad Dalili
Sayyid Muhammad Ali Jalali
Muhammad Aman Amani Abdul Latif
Sayyid Iqbal Munib
Taj Muhammad Kuhi
Sayyid Ikramuddin
Saifullah Ahmadzai
Hamidullah Khan

Diplomatic Representatives Abroad

Australia Amb. Mahmud Saikal
Austria Amb. Farid Amin
Bangladesh Amb. Abdul Satar Murad
Belgium & to EU Amb. Homayun Tandar
Bulgaria Muhammad Fazel Saifi
Canada Amb. Abdul Jalil Jamili
China Amb. Qyamuddin Rahi Barlas
Czech Republic Amb. Azizullah Karzai
Egypt Amb. Sayyid Fazilullah Fazil
France Amb. Zalmai Haqani
Germany Amb. Hamidullah Naser-Zia
Germany (Consulate, Bonn) Fazl Rahman Fazil
India Amb. Mas’ud Khalili
Indonesia Amb. Abdul Rahim
Iran Amb. Ahmad Mushahid
Iran (Consulate, Mashhad) Torialay Ghiyasi
Iraq Amb. Sayyid Ibrahim Ghafuri
Italy Amb. Mustafa Zaher
Japan Mohammad Nur Akbari
Kazakhstan Abdullah Himaque
Kuwait Amb. Naser Ahmad Nur
Kyrgyzstan Abdul Qader Dostum
Malaysia Aman Jaihun
Netherlands Consulate Amsterdam Nur Ahmad Sultani
Pakistan Amb. Nangialay Tarzi
Pakistan Consulate Karachi Abdul Qahar Abed
Pakistan Consulate Quetta Sadeq Daudzai
Pakistan Consulate Peshawar Abdul Khaleq
Poland Amb. Abdul Hayy Haidar
Qatar Asadullah Hanif Balkhi
Russian Federation Amb. Ahmad Zia Mas’ud
Saudi Arabia Amb. Anwar Neko Omar
Saudi Arabia Consulate Jeddah Sayyed Ahmad Ashrafi
Sudan Enaytullah Khalil
Switzerland UN, Geneva Amb. Shams Kazemi
Syria Amb. Muhammadullah
Tajikistan Amb. Daud Panjshiri
Turkey Amb. Abdul Ghafur Poya
Turkmenistan Amb. Shah Mardanqul
Ukraine Sayyid Muhammad Khairkhwa
United Arab Emirates Rashudin Muhammadi
United Kingdom Amb. Ahmad Wali Mas’ud
United States of America Amb. Muhammad Ishaq Shahryar
Consulate General in New York Sayyid Sardar Ahmad Ahmad
To UN Amb. Abdul Ghafur Rawan Farhadi
Uzbekistan Abdul Razaq Bakhshi
Appendix 7

Taliban Government

Maulawi Muhammad Omar Amir
Mulla Muhammad Rabbani Head, Kabul Governing Council
Mulla Muhammad Hasan Akhund Deputy Head (was gov. of Kandahar)
Mulla Muhammad Ghaus Foreign Minister
Sher Muhammad Stanakzai Deputy
Mullah Abdul Razzaq Defense (captured by Masud?)
Mulla Ahmadullah Intelligence (was Interior)
Maulawi Hazrat Mund Deputy of Investigation
Mulla Abdul Jalil Deputy of Investigation
Mulla Enayatullah Baligh Deputy of Promotion of Virtue
Mulla Khairullah Khairkha Interior
Haji Mulla Khaksar Deputy
Mulla Ahmad Shah Mutaqi Information and Culture
Maulawi Jalilullah Maulawizada Justice & Attorney General
Maulawi Hamdulla Numani Higher Education
Maulawi Sayyid Ghiasuddin Education
Shinwari Deputy of Religious Education
Maulawi Hafizullah Planning
Qari Din Muhammad Planning (Nov. 6, 1996)
Maulawi Isatullah Deputy
Maulawi Ahmad Jan Mines & Light Industries
Mulla Abdul Sattar Refugee Repatriation
Maulawi Abdul Raqib Refugee Repatriation (Nov. 6, 1996)
Maulawi Sayyid Ahmad Ghafuri Red Crescent Society, Pres.
Maulawi Abdul Bakh Martyrs and Disabled
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Department/Position</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maulawi Muhammad Rustam</td>
<td>Urban Reconstruction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maulawi Abdul Salam</td>
<td>Deputy of Labor and Social Affairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mulla Mashar</td>
<td>Commerce</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mulla Baluchi</td>
<td>Health</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mulla Muhd. Abbas Akhund</td>
<td>Health</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr. Abdul Sattar Paktis</td>
<td>Depty. Health</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mulla Hamdullah</td>
<td>Depty. Civil Aviation &amp; Tourism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maulawi Ihsanullah</td>
<td>Head, Administration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maulawi Pasani</td>
<td>Chief Justice</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mulla Muhammad Fazal</td>
<td>Security</td>
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**Governors**

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Location/Position</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mulla Khairullah Khairkhwa</td>
<td>Kabul</td>
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<tr>
<td>Maulawi Karamatullah</td>
<td>Paktia</td>
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<td>Maulawi Shamsuddin</td>
<td>Paktika</td>
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<tr>
<td>Maulawi Abdul Salam</td>
<td>Oruzgan</td>
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<tr>
<td>Abdul Qayyum</td>
<td>Oruzgan</td>
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<tr>
<td>Maulawi Muhd. Hasan</td>
<td>Kandahar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maulawi Abdul Muhammad</td>
<td>Helmand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maulawi Yar Muhammad</td>
<td>Herat (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mulla Abdul Razzaq</td>
<td>Herat (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maulawi Shafiq</td>
<td>Herat, Director of Info &amp; Culture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maulawi Nurullah Nuri</td>
<td>Laghman</td>
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<tr>
<td>Maulawi Muhd. Kabir</td>
<td>Logar</td>
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<tr>
<td>Maulawi Abdul Ghani</td>
<td>Zabul</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mulla Turabi</td>
<td>Wardak</td>
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<tr>
<td>Maulawi Abdul Kabir</td>
<td>Nangarhar</td>
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<tr>
<td>Maulawi Muhammad Zahir</td>
<td>Commander, 4th Armored Div.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maulawi Bor Jan</td>
<td>Commander, Kabul Front</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muhd. Ashram Sadiq</td>
<td>Head, Olympic Committee For. Rel.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. C. Hasanyar</td>
<td>Rector, Kabul University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maulawi Pir Mund. Ruhani</td>
<td>Rector, Kabul University (Mar. 22, 1997)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H. Mustased</td>
<td>President, Academy of Sciences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maulana Abdurrahman Zahid</td>
<td>Muhtamim</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Maulawi Jalaluddin Shinwari Procurator General (?)

**Inner Shura**

1. Maulawi Muhammad Rabbani
2. Maulawi Ihsanullah
3. Maulawi Abbas
4. Maulawi Muhammad
5. Maulawi Pasani

**Central Shura**

1. Maulawi Muhammad Hasan
2. Maulawi Nuruddin
3. Maulawi Wakil Ahmad
4. Maulawi Shir Muhammad Malang
5. Maulawi Abdul Rahman
6. Maulawi Abdul Hakim
7. Sardar Ahmad
8. Haji Muhammad Ghaus
9. Mas’um Afghani

Liaison Officer in NWFP Abdul Rahman (Rashid) Zahid
Liaison Officer in Quetta Muhammad Mas’um

**Kabul Supervisory Council**

Mullah Muhammad Hasan Akhund, Vice Chair
1. Mulla Muhammad Rabbani
2. Mulla Muhammad Hasan
3. Mulla Muhammad Ghaus
4. Mulla Sayyid Ghiasuddin Agha, Education
5. Mulla Gazil Muhammad
6. Mulla Abdul Razzaq, Customs
Frontier Post, Feb. 24, 1995
Chronology

ca. 2000-1000 B.C.  Aryans move from northern Afghanistan to northern India.

522–486  Darius I rules and Afghan territory becomes part of the Acheamenid Empire.

330–327  Alexander the Great rules Bactria (Balkh), which becomes province of empire.

305  The Seleucids are defeated and Maurians establish rule.

ca. 250  Maurian kingdom under Asoka.

250–128  Graeco-Bactrian kingdom at Balkh.

ca. 50 A.D.-250  Afghanistan area is part of Kushanid Empire.

ca. 225–600s  Sassanids establish control.

652–664  First Muslim-Arab conquests.

8th–10th cent.  Hindushahis rule Kabul and eastern part of Afghan territory.

871  Yaqub b. Laith, Saffarid, defeats Hindushahis.

997-ca. 1150  Ghaznavid rule.

1186  Ghorids succeed Ghaznavids.

1221-1222  Genghis Khan devastates Balkh, Bamian, and Herat.

1227-1350  Kurt dynasty in Balkh, Ghazni, and Sarakhs.

1370  Timur-i Lang crowned in Balkh.

1405–1506  Timurid rule in Herat and Balkh.
1504–1525 Babur invades; establishes capital in Kabul.

1600 British East India Company founded.

1648 Persians take Kandahar.

1713 Mir Wais revolt on Kandahar.

1716 Abdali revolt in Herat.

1709-1738 Ghilzais establish a dynasty that also rules Iran.

1747 Ahmad Shah crowned, begins 26-year rule during which he united Afghan tribes under the Sadozai dynasty.

1748 Durranis move against Lahore. In November Ahmad Shah begins third invasion of India.

1757 January. Khutba read in name of Ahmad Shah at Delhi, India, and coins are struck in his name, making him suzerain ruler of India.

1761 Afghans defeat Maratha confederacy at Battle of Panipat, marking greatest extent of Ahmad Shah’s empire, which included Kashmir, the Panjab, and parts of Baluchistan.

1769-1770 Ahmad Shah moves into Khorasan.

1772 16–17 October: Ahmad Shah dies at Toba Maruf.

1773 Timur Shah begins 20-year rule. Moves capital from Kandahar to Kabul. Campaigns in Sind and Bukhara.

1793 Zaman Shah begins six-year rule.

1798 Britain, fearing Afghan invasions of India, initiates policy of containment, enlisting Persia to keep Afghanistan in check.

1800 Shah Mahmud deposes Shah Shuja, rules for three years.

1803 Shah Shuja deposes Shah Mahmud.

1805 Persian attempt to take Herat fails.

1807 At Tilsit, Alexander II and Napoleon plan joint Russian-French invasion of India through Persia.

1809 British envoy Mountstuart Elphinstone and Shah Shuja sign defensive alliance in first official contact between Afghanistan and a Eu-
European power. Shah Mahmud defeats Shah Shuja at Gandomak and rules until blinding of Fateh Khan, his Barakzai wazir, causes Barakzai revolt and Shah Mahmud’s downfall in 1817.

1816  Persian attempt to capture Herat fails.

1818  Civil war results in division of Afghanistan into virtually independent states until 1835. Ranjit Singh seizes Peshawar.

1819  Ranjit Singh conquers Kashmir.

1826  Dost Muhammad, ruler of Ghazni, takes Kabul.

1833  Persians besiege Herat.

1834  Dost Muhammad defeats Shah Shuja and captures Kandahar.

1835  Dost Muhammad begins his first rule of Afghanistan.


1838  26 April: Burnes leaves Kabul. 26 June: Tripartite Treaty signed by Ranjit Singh, the British East India Company, and Shah Shuja to restore the latter to the Afghan throne. 9 September: Siege of Herat raised. 1 October: British break relations with Dost Muhammad and declare war.

1839  First Anglo-Afghan War: 25 April: Sir John Keane’s force arrives at Kandahar. 23 July: British capture Ghazni. 2 August: Amir Dost Muhammad flees. 7 August: Kabul occupied by the Army of the Indus. 15 October: Bengal troops begin return march to India. 18 October: Bombay troops begin return march to India.

1840  August: Dost Muhammad escapes from Bukhara. 2 November: Surrender of Amir Dost Muhammad. 12 November: Dost Muhammad leaves for India.

1841  2 November: Assassination of Burnes. 7 November: Return of Akbar Khan to Bamian. 18 November: Macnaghten recommends holding


**1855** Treaty of Peshawar reopens diplomatic relations between Britain and Afghanistan.

**1856 October**: Persians capture and hold Herat for a few months.


**1863** Dost Muhammad takes Herat and dies. Shir Ali ascends Afghan throne. During next two years Shir Ali put down revolts by half brothers, Azam and Afzal, and his brother, Muhammad Amin. Abdur Rahman and his uncle, Azam, attack Kabul, liberate Afzal, Abdur Rahman’s father.

**1866** Afzal becomes Amir. Shir Ali flees to Kandahar.

**1867** Amir Afzal dies.

**1868** Azam becomes amir.

**1869** Shir Ali defeats Azam. Abdur Rahman goes into exile in Russia. British recognize Shir Ali as amir but refuse to recognize his son, Abdullah Jan, as successor. **March**: Ambala Conference held between Amir Shir Ali and Lord Mayo, viceroy of India.

**1872** In Granville-Gorchakoff Agreement Russia assures Britain that Afghanistan is outside Russia’s sphere of influence. British commission marks Sistan boundary.
1873  Abdullah Jan named heir to Afghan throne. Shir Ali’s oldest son, Yaqub Khan, revolts, flees to Herat. Russia takes Khiva.

1874  Yaqub Khan imprisoned in Kabul.

1876  British occupy Quetta.


1879 12 January: General Donald Steward occupies Kandahar and takes Qalat-i Ghilzai on January 21. 21 February: Amir Shir Ali dies at Mazar-i Sharif, Yaqub Khan proclaimed king. 26 May: Treaty of Gandomak signed by Sir Louis Cavagnari and Amir Yaqub Khan. 24 July: Cavagnari arrives at Kabul to assume post of British envoy to amir. 3 September: Cavagnari and his staff are killed. 6 October: General Roberts’s Army of Retribution wins battle of Charasia. 12 October: General Roberts occupies Kabul. 28 October: Amir Yaqub abdicates, British take over the government of Kabul. 14 December: General Thomas Baker driven from Asmai hills with losses. General Roberts abandons the Bala Hisar and Kabul city and stations his forces at Sherpur. 15-22 December: Muhammad Jan cuts Roberts’s communications and lays siege to Sherpur. 23 December: Muhammad Jan’s forces are defeated and Roberts returns to Bala Hisar the next day.

1880  ca. 15 June: Sardar Ayub Khan moves from Herat against Kandahar. 10 July: A brigade under General Burrows moves against Ayub. 22 July: Britain recognizes Sardar Abdur Rahman as Amir of Kabul and its Dependencies. 27 July: General G. R. S. Burrows is
totally defeated in Battle of Maiwand, and the remnant of his brigade forced to seek security in Kandahar. 6 August: Ayub Khan invests Kandahar. 8 August: General Roberts begins march from Kabul to Kandahar. 11 August: General Steward withdraws from Kabul and Amir Abdur Rahman moves in. 16 August: Sortie of the British garrison of Kandahar is repulsed with great losses. 31 August: Sir Roberts arrives at Kandahar. 1 September: Sir Roberts defeats Ayub Khan at Baba Wali Kotal. 9 September: British troops return to India from the Paiwar Kotal and the Kurram Valley and begin withdrawal from Jalalabad.

1881 21 April: British troops withdraw from Kandahar. End of Second Anglo-Afghan War.

1882 Muslim agent appointed to represent British in Kabul.

1883 Russia occupies Tejend Oasis. Britain annexes Quetta district. Abdur Rahman occupies Shignan and Roshan. Britain grants Abdur Rahman subsidy of 12 lakhs (1,200,000 rupees).


1885 Russians occupy Zulfikar and Akrobat and take Panjdeh.

1886 British construct Bolan railway to Quetta. October: British boundary mission returns to India by way of Kabul.

1887 Russia occupies Karki. Britain and Russia make final settlement and demarcation of Afghan-Russian frontier. Ayub Khan escapes from Persia, but rebellion in Afghanistan fails; he surrenders at Mashhad and is exiled to India.


1891 Abdur Rahman introduces oath of allegiance on the Koran among his councillors.

1892 Uprising of Hazaras suppressed.

1893 12 November: Afghanistan and Britain sign Durand Agreement that sets eastern and southern boundaries. British increase Amir Abdur
Rahman’s subsidy by six lakhs and permit Afghanistan to import munitions. British occupy New Chaman as railway terminus.


1896 Kafiristan brought under Afghan control by Amir Abdur Rahman; renamed Nuristan.

1900 Russia presses for direct Afghan-Russian relations along northern Afghan border in memorandum of February 6 to Britain.

1901 1 October: Abdur Rahman dies. 3 October: Habibullah proclaimed amir, rules 18 years.

1902 British envoy, Sir Henry Dobbs, supervises reerection of boundary pillars on Afghan-Russian border during 1902 and 1903.


1905 British agreements of 1880 and 1893 with Abdur Rahman confirmed by treaty with Amir Habibullah.

1906 Shah of Iran rejects McMahon arbitration award.

1907 January: Amir Habibullah visits India. 31 August: Britain and Russia sign convention concerning spheres of influence in Afghanistan, Persia, and Tibet.

1909 Plot on Amir Habibullah’s life fails.

1910 First telephone line in Afghanistan built between Kabul and Jalalabad.

1911 Mahmud Tarzi begins publishing the newspaper Seraj al-Akhbar.

1914 General Muhammad Nadir Khan named commander in chief of the Afghan Army. Habibullah declares Afghanistan’s neutrality in World War I.

1915 September: Hentig-Niedermayer mission from Germany arrives in Kabul and remains nine months.
1918 Kabul Museum opened.

1919 20 February: Amir Habibullah assassinated in Laghman. Nasrullah Khan named amir in Jalalabad. 25 February: Amanullah proclaimed amir in Kabul. 28 February: Nasrullah arrested. 3 March: Amanullah suggests new Anglo-Afghan agreement to viceroy of India. 13 April: Amanullah proclaims Afghanistan independent. 1 May: Saleh Muhammad Khan, the commander in chief, moves to the Indian border with two companies of infantry and two guns, for the ostensible purpose of inspecting the border. Third Anglo-Afghan War. 3 May: An escort of British Khaibar Rifles accompanying a caravan is stopped in the disputed area between Landi Kotal and Torkham. 4 May: Afghan uniformed troops occupy Bagh and begin to cut the water supply to Landi Kotal. A fatwa proclaimed jihad. 7 May: Afghan forces at Bagh strengthened, and Nadir Khan moves to Khost. 8 May: Peshawar uprising suppressed. 9 May: First Battle of Bagh, British forces stopped. 11 May: Second Battle of Bagh. 13 May: British occupy Dakka. 24 May: Kabul bombed by Royal Air Force. 21 May: General Nadir Khan crosses Indo-Afghan boundary, marches on Thal. Decision made to evacuate the militia posts on the Waziristan front. 27 May: Battle of Spin Buldak. 28 May: Wali Muhammad Khan arrives at Tashkent on way to Moscow and Europe as Amanullah’s envoy. 2 June: Armistice. 8 August: Preliminary Anglo-Afghan treaty signed at Rawalpindi peace conference. End of Third Anglo-Afghan War. September: Soviet envoy arrives at Kabul. 10 October: Muhammad Wali Khan arrives in Moscow.

1920 17 April: Mussoorie Conference opens. Mahmud Tarzi represents Afghanistan and Henry Dobbs, Britain. 18 July: Mussoorie Conference ends.

1921 Amir of Bukhara seeks asylum in Afghanistan. 20 January: Kabul Conference between Afghanistan and Britain opens. 28 February: Treaty of friendship signed by Afghanistan and the Soviet Union. 1 March: Treaty of friendship signed by Afghanistan and Turkey. 30 May: Fundamental law of government of Afghanistan goes into force. 3 June: Treaty of friendship signed by Afghanistan and Italy. 22 June: Treaty of friendship signed by Afghanistan and Persia. 22 November: Anglo-Afghan Treaty of 1921 is signed. 2 December: Kabul Conference ends. Britain recognizes Afghanistan as independent in internal and external relations. Diplomatic relations established between the two states.
1922  28 April: Treaty establishes diplomatic and commercial relations between France and Afghanistan.  
9 September: Agreement gives France rights to conduct archaeological excavations in Afghanistan. 

1923  January: Istiqlal Lycee founded. 10 April: First Constitution adopted.  
5 June: British-Afghan trade convention signed.  
September: French legation opened in Afghanistan.  
October: Criminal code adopted.  
November: Statute governing marriage issued.  
December: Statute on civil servants confirmed. German legation opens in Afghanistan. 

1924  January: Amani (Najat) high school founded. First hospital for women and children opened in Kabul.  
March: Uprising of tribes in Khost. 

1925  January: Khost rebellion defeated. 

1926  Afghani introduced as new monetary unit. Ten afghanis equal 11 Kabuli ropea.  
3 March: Treaty of friendship signed by Afghanistan and Germany.  
7 June: Amanullah adopts title of “king.”  
15 August: Soviet Union agrees to cede Urta Tagai Islands in Amu River to Afghanistan.  
31 August: Treaty of neutrality and mutual nonaggression signed by Afghanistan and Soviet Union. 

1927  Anis founded as fortnightly, later major national daily newspaper.  
27 November: Treaty of neutrality and mutual nonaggression signed by Afghanistan and Persia.  
December: King Amanullah visits India, Egypt, and Europe. 

1928  25 May: Treaty of friendship and collaboration signed by Afghanistan and Turkey. 
July: King Amanullah returns to Afghanistan. 
July-September: Amanullah introduces reforms in dress. 
November: Uprising of Shinwari near Jalalabad. 
December: Habibullah Kalakani leads uprising in Kohistan. 

1929  Islah newspaper founded.  
14 January: Amanullah renounces the throne. His brother, Enayatullah, abdicates after three days.  
18 January: Habibullah Kalakani proclaimed amir.  
14 October: Kabul seized by Nadir Khan’s troops. 
17 October: Nadir Khan proclaimed king.  
3 November: Habibullah Kalakani caught and shot. 

1930  May: Nadir Shah confirms validity of 1921 and 1923 Anglo-Afghan Agreements and other international treaties. 
20 September: Nadir
Shah confirms statute governing elections of members of National Assembly.


1932 Medical school founded; other schools closed by Habibullah Kalakani reopened. 5 May: Treaty of friendship signed by Afghanistan and Saudi Arabia. 24 August: Statute setting up new administrative divisions issued. Five major and four minor provinces formed. October: Uprising begins in Khost. 8 November: Ghulam Nabi executed on charge of complicity in Dari Khel Ghilzai revolt.

1933 Road over Shibar Pass to north completed. 6 June: Muhammad Aziz, Afghan minister to Germany, assassinated in Berlin. 8 November: Nadir Shah assassinated. His son, Muhammad Zahir, becomes king, and brother of Nadir Shah, Muhammad Hashim, prime minister. The cabinet is composed of the following:

- Shah Mahmud: Minister of War
- Faiz Muhammad: Foreign Affairs
- Muhammad Gul Khan: Interior
- Fazl Ahmad Mujaddidi: Justice
- Mirza Muhd. Yaftali: Finance
- Ahmad Ali Sulaiman: Education
- Mirza Muhd. Yaftali: Commerce
- Allah Nawaz: Public Works
- Muhammad Akbar: Health
- Rahimullah: PTT


1935 April-May: W. H. Hornibrook accredited as nonresident American minister to Kabul. May: Turks arbitrate Afghanistan’s boundary dispute with Persia.
1935  **8 June**: National Assembly session opened by Zahir Shah. **September**: Mohmand uprising.

1936  **Pashtu** proclaimed national language of Afghanistan. **March**: Treaty on commerce and noninterference signed by Afghanistan and Soviet Union. **26 March**: Treaty of friendship signed by Afghanistan and United States.

1937  **Lufthansa** starts weekly service between Berlin and Kabul: first regular air link between Afghanistan and Europe. Turkish military mission arrives at Kabul. **7 July**: Treaty of Saadabad signed by Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, and Turkey.

1938  **May**: Afghan Air Force expanded by purchase of planes from Italy and Britain. Officers sent to Britain, Soviet Union, and Italy for training. Arms bought from Britain and Czechoslovakia.

1939  **3 September**: Beginning of World War II and Afghan armed forces mobilized as precautionary measure.

1940  **12 January**: All men over 17 obliged to do national service. Special taxes imposed to pay for arms, build radio station. Radio Kabul gets 20 kilowatt medium wave transmitter. **May**: Joint stock company founded to handle ginning, spinning, and weaving of cotton. Sugar beet raising to be encouraged. **29 July**: Trade agreement between Afghanistan and Soviet Union signed. **17 August**: Zahir Shah declares Afghanistan’s neutrality in World War II in statement to National Assembly.

1941  **28 July**: Afghanistan reaffirms its neutrality in World War II. **19 October**: Afghanistan agrees to expel German and Italian residents at demand of Britain and the Soviet Union.

1942  **27 April**: Cornelius van Engert, consul-general in Beirut, named resident U.S. minister to Afghanistan. **5 November**: Afghanistan reaffirms neutrality in World War II.

1943  **16 May**: Afghan consulate opened in New York. **5 June**: Abdul Husain Aziz, first Afghan minister to United States, presents credentials. **28 December**: Saadabad pact reported automatically renewed after five years.

1944  **5 March**: Treaty of friendship signed by Afghanistan and
China.

1946  Kabul University established by combining already existing faculties, such as medicine and law. 22 January: King Zahir orders election of deputies for session of National Assembly to meet April 21. 9 May: Muhammad Hashem Khan resigns as prime minister, citing poor health as reason. Mahmud Khan, minister of defense, asked to form new government:

Ali Muhammad  Foreign Affairs
Muhammad Daud  War (Defense)
Ghulam Faruq Osman  Interior
Mir Ata Muhammad  Justice
Mir Mud. Haidar Husaini  Finance
Najibulla Torwayana  Education
Abdul Majid Zabuli  National Economy
Muhammad Kabir  Public Works
Ahmad Ali Sulaiman  Health
Abdullah Malikyar  Information
Ghulam Muhd. Sherzad  Mines
Muhd. Atiq Rafiq  Agriculture
Sayyid Qasim Reshtia  Press


1947  24 April:  Afghan delegation arrives in Tashkent to start demarcation of Afghan-Soviet border. 13 June: Afghanistan sends note to British and Indian governments saying that inhabitants of region between Afghan-Indian border and Indus River are Afghans and must decide themselves whether to join Afghanistan, Pakistan, or India or become independent. 3 July: Britain replies it holds to Treaty of 1921 by which boundary was recognized by both nations and asks Afghanistan to abstain from any act of intervention on northwest frontier at time of transfer of powers to Indian government. 10 July: Afghanistan reiterates views on Pashtuns in second note to Britain. 26 July: Prime Minister Mahmud arrives in London. 3 August: Prime Minister Mahmud arrives in New York City. 18 September: Iran says diversion of Helmand waters in Afghanistan causes crop failures in Sistan. 30 Septem-
**ber:** Afghanistan casts only vote against admitting Pakistan to United Nations on grounds that Pashtuns have not had fair plebiscite.

**1948**  
1 April: Muhammad Naim named Afghan ambassador to United States.  
23 April: Sir Giles Squire named British ambassador to Afghanistan.  
6 May: Faiz Muhammad named Afghan ambassador to Britain.  
16 June: Pakistan arrests Abdul Ghaffar Khan and other Khuda-i Khetmatgar leaders. Afghanistan begins press and radio campaign for independent Pashhtunistan.  
29 September: Afghan-Soviet mission completes demarcation of border. Agreement signed fixing revised boundary.

**1949**  
24 March: Foreign ministry says statement of Pakistani governor general that tribal territory is integral part of Pakistan is contrary to pledges of Jinnah in 1948.  
2 April: Chargé d’affaires in Karachi recalled after Pakistani bombing in Waziristan.  
20 April: Louis G. Dryfus named U.S. ambassador to Afghanistan.  
4 June: Afghanistan restricts movement of vehicles along border with Pakistan.  
12 June: Pakistani plane bombs Moghalgai (inside Afghan territory), killing 23.  
20 June: Alfred Gardener named British ambassador to Afghanistan.  
30 June: Afghan National Assembly opens 7th Session, known as “Liberal Assembly.”  
11 July: Pakistani foreign minister says Pakistan will discuss economic cooperation with Afghanistan but rejects Afghanistan’s claims to tribal territory.  
26 July: Afghan National Assembly repudiates treaties with Britain regarding tribal territory.

**1950**  
4 January: Treaty of peace and friendship signed by Afghanistan and India.  
13 January: Afghanistan recognizes People’s Republic of China (PRC).  
8 March: Zahir Shah begins visit to Europe.  
26 May: Recall of Pakistan embassy staff member for violating Afghan laws, requested by Afghanistan.  
18 July: Four-year trade agreement signed by Afghanistan and Soviet Union.  
October: Emigration of Afghan Jews to Israel authorized by Afghan government.  
14 October: New cabinet announced by Prime Minister Shah Mahmud:

- Muhammad Daud
- Ali Muhammad
- Abdul Ahad Malikyar
- Muhammad Nauruz
- Mir Sayyid Kasim
- Abdul Majid

Defense  
Foreign Affairs  
Interior  
Finance  
Justice  
Education

1952 15 January: United States suspends economic and technical aid to Afghanistan until bilateral agreement under Mutual Security Act signed. 23 September: Soviet note expressing concern over activities of UN technical assistance experts in areas near Afghan-Soviet border rejected by Afghan government.

1953 8 January: United States extends loan of $1.5 million for emergency purchase of wheat and flour. 18 March: Sultan Muhammad named foreign minister to succeed Ali Muhammad who remains deputy prime minister. 6 September: Shah Mahmud resigns as prime minister, citing poor health. Zahir Shah asks cousin, Muhammad Daud, present defense and interior minister, to form new cabinet. 20 September: Prime Minister Muhammad Daud announces cabinet members:

- Ali Muhammad, Deputy Prime Minister
- Muhammad Arif, Defense
- Muhammad Naim, Foreign Affairs
- Abdul Malik, Actg. Finance
- Abdul Hakim, Public Works
- Abdul Majid, Education
- Ghulam Faruq, Health
- Muhammad Yusuf, Mines
- Shamsuddin Majruh, Tribal Affairs
- Mir Muhd. Yusuf, Agriculture
- Salahuddin Saljuqi, Press

26 October: Muhammad Hashim, prime minister from 1929 to 1946, dies. November: U.S. Export-Import Bank makes loan of $18.5 million for development of Helmand Valley. 30 December: Prime Minister Daud describes proposed U.S. military aid to Pakistan as a “grave danger to security and peace of Afghanistan.”
1954  27 January: Soviet Union makes loan of $3.5 million for construction of two grain mills and two silos. Soviet technicians to help carry out projects.  8 February: Muhammad Atiq Rafiq named Afghan ambassador to Pakistan. Abdul Husain Aziz named Afghan ambassador to India.  20 April: Afghanistan becomes member of United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East.  17 September: Foreign Minister Naim arrives in Karachi to continue talks begun in Kabul on improving relations between Afghanistan and Pakistan.  7 November: Foreign Minister Naim says Pashtunistan issue is not question of territorial adjustment but of giving Pashtuns an opportunity to express their wishes.

1955  14 January: Former Prime Minister Shah Mahmud meets Pakistan prime minister.  19 January: Afghanistan and the People’s Republic of China establish diplomatic relations at embassy level.  25 January: Legislation strengthening armed forces approved by upper house of parliament.  2 March: Fine arts college opened under A. G. Breshna.  29 March: Prime Minister Daud warns Pakistan of “grave consequences” if Pashtun areas of the Northwest-Frontier Province are included in unified West Pakistan.  30 March: Demonstrators march on Pakistani embassy and ambassador’s residence in Kabul.  31 March: Demonstrators march on Pakistani consulate in Kandahar.  1 April: Demonstrators march on Pakistani consulate in Jalalabad. Afghan consulate in Peshawar attacked.  4 April: Britain, Turkey, and United States protest attack on Pakistan embassy in Kabul.  12 April: Pakistan rejects Afghan replies to its protests, evacuates families of diplomats and nationals, closes Jalalabad consulate.  18 April: Foreign Minister Naim goes to Bandung Conference.  29 April: Gamal Abdul Nasser, prime minister of Egypt, visits Afghanistan. Afghanistan says it is willing to apologize, pay compensation for damage, and make amends for the insult to Pakistani flag if similar amends are made for the insult to its flag.  1 May: Pakistan demands closing of all Afghan consulates in Pakistan, says it will close its consulates in Afghanistan.  4 May: Afghanistan mobilizes troops.  13 May: Afghanistan and Pakistan accept Saudi Arabian offer of mediation.  21 June: Five-year agreement signed with Soviet Union allowing goods of each nation free transit across territory of other.  28 June: Saudi Arabian mediator announces his proposals have been rejected.  5 July: Thin Kuo Yu, PRC ambassador to Afghanistan, presents credentials.  14 July: Afghanistan tells Pakistan it will be held responsible for any
loss or damage to goods held up in transit to Kabul or Quetta. **14 July:** Afghani stan becomes member of International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank. **28 July:** State of emergency ended; Afghan army demobilized. **14 August:** Postal agreement signed by Afghanistan and Soviet Union. **9 September:** Foreign Minister Naim and Pakistan ambassador negotiate agreement to stop hostile propaganda. **13 September:** Pakistan flag raised over Pakistani embassy in Kabul. **15 September:** Afghan flag raised over consulate in Peshawar. **11 October:** Afghan leaders request meeting with Pakistani leaders on condition one-unit act can be postponed. Pakistan says postponement impossible. **17 October:** Afghanistan recalls ambassador from Karachi. **18 October:** Pakistan recalls ambassador from Kabul. **8 November:** Afghanistan protests further restrictions by Pakistan on transit of goods to Afghanistan. **20 November:** During five-day session, Loya Jirga gives its approval to resolutions calling for plebiscite to decide future of Pashtun area disputed with Pakistan, recommending government find means to reestablish balance of power upset by Pakistan’s decision to accept arms from the United States, and refusing to recognize Pashtunistan as part of Pakistan. **6 December:** Defense Minister Muhammad Arif resigns. **15-18 December:** Soviet Prime Minister Bulganin and Soviet Communist Party Secretary Nikita Khrushchev make official visit to Kabul. **16 December:** Soviet Union backs Afghanistan in Pashtunistan dispute. **18 December:** Three agreements signed by Afghanistan and Soviet Union: a loan of $100 million; a protocol extending 1931 treaty of neutrality and nonaggression; and a statement of foreign policy matters. Foreign Minister Naim says agreements do not weaken Afghan determination to remain neutral. **21 December:** United States confirms it has offered to mediate Pashtunistan dispute between Afghanistan and Pakistan.

**1956 8 January:** Afghan consul in Quetta recalled at request of Pakistan. Pakistan military attaché requested to leave Afghanistan. **24 January:** Soviet economic delegation begins talks with Afghan government on use of $100 million loan. The following cabinet changes are announced:

- Abdul Hakim: Interior
- Sayyid Abdullah: Actg. Justice
- Abdul Zahir: Actg. Health
- Muhammad Hashim: Deputy Foreign Affairs
30 January: Soviet Union presents an Ilyushin 14 plane to Zahir Shah. 18 February: Technical cooperation agreement signed by Afghanistan and the United States for 1956. 1 March: Technical assistance agreement signed by Afghanistan and the Soviet Union for building of hydroelectric plants, highway through Hindu Kush, airfields, motor repair shop, and reservoirs. 6 March: SEATO powers declare region up to Durand Line is Pakistani territory and within treaty area. 21 March: Afghanistan formally protests SEATO decision to uphold Durand Line as Afghan-Pakistani border. 26 March: United States International Cooperation Administration announces grant of $997,000 to Teachers College of Columbia University to set up English language program for Afghan secondary schools and train English teachers. 31 March: Gift of 15 buses and equipment for 100-bed hospital to Kabul municipality from Soviet Union arrives. 4-18 April: Afghan military mission visits Czechoslovakia. 7 May: Regular air service available to Europe through Karachi, after air agreement signed by Afghanistan and Pakistan. 27 June: Agreement for $14 million to develop Afghan civil aviation signed by Afghanistan and United States. 26 July: Soviet Union agrees to carry out Nangarhar irrigation project. 7-11 August: Pakistan President Iskander Mirza visits Kabul. 25 August: Prime Minister Daud announces military arms agreements with Czechoslovakia and Soviet Union. 12 September: Pan American Airlines to supervise pilot and ground crew training of Ariana Afghan Airlines. A $2.5 million contract to be part of $14 million program announced earlier, which also includes $5.5 million for Kandahar airport. 24 September: Air service to Iran inaugurated. 27 September: First installment of arms from Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia arrives. 17-30 October: Prime Minister Daud visits Soviet Union. 28 October: Afghan Air Force receives 11 jet planes from Soviet Union. 5 November: Afghans call attention of United Nations to Israeli-British-French attack on Suez as violation of Charter. 10 November: Gen. Muhammad Omar named Afghan ambassador to India. 16 November: Afghanistan offers troops for UN police force in Suez. 24 November: Prime Minister Daud discusses Pashtunistan question with Pakistani leaders during visit to Karachi.

10 February: Radio Moscow inaugurates Pashtu program. 
31 March-3 April: U.S. Ambassador to the Middle East James P. Richards visits Kabul. Joint Afghan-U.S. statement says Afghanistan welcomes President Dwight D. Eisenhower’s program of economic aid to the Middle East. 14 April-19 May: Prime Minister Daud visits Turkey, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Austria, and Egypt. Foreign Minister Naim visits Turkey and Pakistan. 8-11 June: Pakistani Prime Minister Suhrawardy visits Kabul. Afghanistan and Pakistan agree to restore diplomatic relations. 30 June: United States makes loan of $5,750,000 for Helmand Valley Authority and $2,860,000 for building roads and training personnel. 17-31 July: Communique says Soviet Union will aid Afghanistan in prospecting for oil, that a special commission to regulate boundary questions will be created, and that an agreement was reached regarding use of waterways crossing the two countries. 28 July: Trade agreement signed by Afghanistan and People’s Republic of China. 31 August: Foreign Minister Naim says Afghanistan to receive about $25 million in military assistance under arms agreement signed with Soviet Union in 1956. 22 October: Prime Minister Daud begins visit to People’s Republic of China. 21 December: Andrei Gromyko, Soviet foreign minister, meets Afghan mission in Moscow to negotiate new frontier agreement.


1959 1-6 January: Foreign Minister Naim visits the USSR. 12 January: United States agrees to ship 50,000 tons of wheat to Afghanistan.
20 January: Henry A. Byroade named U.S. ambassador to Afghanistan. 5–13 February: Prime Minister Daud visits India. 9 March: Prime Minister Daud calls Baghdad Pact aggravation of international tension. 23 April: Afghanistan and Soviet Union sign protocol on exchange of goods. 18–22 May: Prime Minister Daud visits USSR. 28 May: Afghanistan and Soviet Union sign agreement on building of 750-km. Kandahar-Herat-Kushka Highway. 15 July: Afghan military mission visits Turkey and United Arab Republic. 23 August: Soviet Union agrees to provide assistance to complete Nangarhar irrigation project. 31 August: Afghan women appear unveiled in public at Jashen celebration. 5 September: Foreign Minister Naim begins visit to PRC. 14 September: Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru visits Afghanistan. Afghan women appear without veils at dinner for Nehru. Henceforth veil is no longer obligatory. 28 October: Afghan-Soviet Friendship Society founded. 1 December: Afghanistan and Soviet Union to begin joint survey of Amu Daria for construction of dam to provide electricity and water for irrigation. 9 December: U.S. President Eisenhower spends six hours in Kabul. Assures Afghanistan of continued economic support. 21 December: Police and army units suppress rioting in Kandahar.

1960 19 January: Afghanistan and Soviet Union sign agreement for construction of irrigation and power project on Kabul River. 2-5 March: Soviet Prime Minister Nikita Khrushchev visits Kabul. Inspects Soviet aid projects, signs cultural cooperation agreement, assures Afghanistan support on Pashtun question. 6 March: Pakistan calls Soviet support of Afghanistan on Pashtun question interference in Pakistan’s internal affairs. 7 March: Prime Minister Daud says Pakistan is putting out propaganda against reforms in Afghanistan such as the emancipation of women. Says Afghan monarchy has decided to give Afghans complete freedom to choose form of government and to organize political parties. 3 April: Construction work begins on Kandahar-Herat-Kushka Highway. 26 April: Former King Amanullah dies in Switzerland. 13 May: Prime Minister Daud meets Soviet Prime Minister Khrushchev while in Moscow for medical treatment. 15 July: Soviet prospecting team announces discovery of petroleum and natural gas deposits in northern Afghanistan. 10 August: Two-year Afghan-Soviet barter agreement signed. 18 August: Darunta Canal opened. Built with Soviet assistance. 21-26 August: Chen Yi, PRC foreign minister, visits
Afghanistan. **26 August:** Treaty of friendship and nonaggression signed by Afghanistan and People’s Republic of China. Commercial and payments agreement renewed. **3 December:** Agreements on trade and transit signed with Iran during visit of Iranian prime minister to Kabul.

**1961 5 April:** Prime Minister Daud confers with Soviet Prime Minister Khrushchev in Moscow on return from Rome where Daud underwent a spinal operation. Pravda article says Pashtun situation is not a matter of indifference to Soviet Union. **18 April:** Cultural agreement signed by Afghanistan and Federal Republic of Germany. **19 May:** Afghanistan denies Pakistani reports that Afghan soldiers are taking part in border fighting. **6 June:** Prime Minister Daud says Pakistan has savagely bombarded Afghan populations with aid of arms furnished by United States and has confined more than 1,200 leaders of Pashtunistan in Peshawar in past five days. Denies that Afghanistan has pushed Pashtun tribes to revolt. **8 June:** King Zahir opens National Assembly session with speech stressing economic development and self-determination for Pashtunistan. Dr. Abdul Zahir named president of the Assembly. **15 June:** Pakistan protests acts of provocation and aggression in note to Afghan government. **22 June:** Pakistan says nomads will no longer be allowed to enter Pakistan without valid passports, visas, and international health certificates. **23 June:** Pakistan says friendlier atmosphere should exist between Afghanistan and Pakistan before any summit meeting held. **26 June:** Prime Minister Daud confers with British Foreign Secretary Lord Home and is received by Queen Elizabeth during visit to London. **28 June:** Foreign Minister Naim tells news conference that Pashtun self-determination is only problem in Afghan-Pakistani relations that requires negotiation. **23 July:** Muhammad Hashem Maiwandwal, ambassador to the United States, expresses his government’s grave concern over Pakistan’s use of American arms against Pashtun tribes during meeting with President John F. Kennedy. **23 August:** Pakistan announces it is closing Afghan consulates and trade offices in Pakistan and is considering prohibiting transit facilities given to Afghanistan. **30 August:** In reply to Pakistani note of August 23, Afghanistan says it considers decision to close consulates an inimical act and threatens to break diplomatic relations. Prime Minister Daud leaves for Belgrade Conference of Nonaligned Nations. **3 September:** Afghanistan seizes border. Transfer of merchandise suspended between Afghanistan and Pakistan. **6 September:** Afghanistan breaks diplo-
matic relations with Pakistan. **12 September**: Islamic Congress of Jerusalem appeals to Afghanistan and Pakistan to resolve their differences. **16–20 September**: Foreign Minister Naim visits Soviet Union. **18 September**: Pakistan accepts Iranian offer of mediation in dispute. **19 September**: Saudi Arabia agrees to look after Pakistani interest in Afghanistan. **21 September**: United Arab Republic agrees to look after Afghan interest in Pakistan. **27 September**: Foreign Minister Naim says Afghanistan will not allow its transit trade to pass through Pakistan unless its trade offices and consulates in Pakistan are reopened. **29 September**: Pakistani President Ayub Khan rejects possibility of reopening Afghan consulates and trade offices, says they were used for subversive activities. **4 October**: U.S. President Kennedy sends message to Zahir Shah and Pakistan President Ayub Khan, suggesting the United States might make proposals to help improve relations. **11 October**: Soviet delegation arrives in Kabul for 11-day visit. **16 October**: Afghan-Soviet technical and economic cooperation agreement signed. **19 November**: Supplementary transit agreement, providing expansion of facilities for Afghan foreign trade, signed with Soviet Union.

**1962 23 January**: Four-year agreement signed with Soviet Union to develop Afghan meteorological services. **24 January**: John M. Steeves named U.S. ambassador to Afghanistan. **29 January**: Afghanistan opens border with Pakistan for eight weeks to allow entry of U.S. aid goods. **14 April**: Prime Minister Daud announces Second Five-Year Plan. Calls for spending Afs. 31.3 billion for economic development. **20 April**: Five-year transit agreement signed by Iran and Afghanistan. **6 May**: Pul-i Khumri power station opened. Built with Soviet assistance. **1 July**: Pakistan accepts Shah of Iran’s offer to mediate its dispute with Afghanistan. **12 July**: Afghanistan accepts Shah of Iran’s offer to mediate its dispute with Pakistan. **27–31 July**: Formal talks held in Kabul between Shah of Iran and Zahir Shah and in Rawalpindi between the Shah and President Ayub Khan in effort to settle Afghan-Pakistani dispute. **6 August**: During meeting in Quetta, Pakistani President Ayub Khan suggests a confederation of Afghanistan, Iran, and Pakistan. **6–15 August**: Zahir Shah makes visit to Soviet Union.

**1963 5 February**: Cabinet approves establishment of nation’s second university—Nangarhar University, to be started in Jalalabad with a medical school. **12 February**: United States decides to ship all its foreign
aid goods to Afghanistan via Iran because of the continuing dispute between Afghanistan and Pakistan. **25 February:** Trade and assistance agreement signed by Afghanistan and Soviet Union. **10 March:** Resignation of Prime Minister Daud announced. **14 March:** King Zahir Shah asks Muhammad Yusuf, former minister of mines and industries, to form new government. Prime Minister Yusuf’s first cabinet includes:

- **Ali Ahmad Popal**  
  Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Education
- **Abdullah Malikyar**  
  Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance
- **Sayyid Abdullah**  
  Interior
- **Gen. Khan Muhammad**  
  Defense
- **Shamsuddin Majrüh**  
  Justice
- **Gul Pacha Ulfat**  
  Tribal Affairs
- **Abdul Hai Aziz**  
  Planning
- **Abdul Rahim**  
  Health
- **Sayyid Qasim Reshtia**  
  Press

Prime Minister Yusuf to serve as own foreign minister. **28 March:** Constitutional Review Committee named, headed by Minister of Justice Majrüh. **18 April:** At press conference Prime Minister Yusuf says introducing democracy and improving economic conditions are major aims of the government. He estimates that the United States has furnished about $252 million and the Soviet Union an equivalent amount plus arms. **26 April:** United States grants loan of $2,635,000 for purchase of a DC–6 and two convairs for Ariana Afghan Airlines. Purchase will bring Ariana’s fleet to nine planes. **29 April:** Cultural cooperation agreement signed by Afghanistan and Soviet Union. **11-15 May:** Indian President Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan visits Afghanistan. **25 May:** Afghan and Pakistani representatives begin meetings in Tehran to resolve dispute over Pashtunistan. **28 May:** Shah of Iran announces that Afghanistan and Pakistan have agreed to reestablish diplomatic and commercial relations. **29 May:** Joint Afghan-Pakistani communique confirms reestablishment of relations. **14 June:** Prime Minister Yusuf says at press conference that United States was asked to contribute $60 million to Second Plan, but has promised $16 million. **18 July:** Afghan delegation, led by Dr. Abdul Zahir, president of the National Assembly, visits United States. Dr. Zahir tells press conference that Afghanistan is
planning a new form of government with distinct separation of legislative, executive, and judicial powers. 20 July: Afghan consuls reopen consulates in Peshawar and Quetta. Communication reestablished on Afghan-Pakistani border. 25 July: First trucks cross Afghan-Pakistani border in 22 months. Ariana Afghan Airlines resumes flights halted the same period. 12 August: Afghanistan and Pakistan exchange ambassadors. 15 August: Shah of Iran says confederation of Afghanistan, Iran, and Pakistan is good idea but cites many obstacles. 2-19 September: Zahir Shah and Queen Homaira visit United States. 6 September: Afghanistan and Soviet Union sign agreement for construction of atomic reactor in Afghanistan and training of specialists in peaceful use of atomic energy. 12-17 October: Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev visits Afghanistan; lays cornerstone for new polytechnic institute in Kabul. 16 October: Agreement signed with Soviet Union for technical assistance in extraction and exploitation of natural gas in northern Afghanistan. 2 December: Border treaty signed by Afghanistan and PRC.

1964 29 February: Consultative Constitutional Commission, headed by Abdul Zahir, begins sessions, which last through May 14. 31 May: Zahir Shah opens new Aliabad campus of Kabul University, built with U.S. assistance. 29 June-14 July: Afghan military delegation visits Soviet Union. 1 July: During one-day stay in Kabul, Pakistani President Ayub Khan discusses ways to improve Afghan-Pakistani relations with King Zahir Shah and Prime Minister Yusuf. 4-5 July: Anastas Mikoyan, deputy prime minister of Soviet Union, visits Kabul. 8 July: Dr. Muhammad Anas, ambassador to India, named minister of education, replacing Ali Ahmad Popal who becomes ambassador to Federal Republic of Germany. Sayyid Qasim Reshtia named minister of finance, replacing Abdullah Malikyar. 13 July: Soviet Union makes loan of $25.2 million for Pul-i Khumri-Mazar-i Sharif-Shiberghan Highway. 21 July: Zahir Shah sets Loya Jirga session for September 9. Its 450 members will include members of National Assembly, Cabinet, High Judicial Council, and Constitutional Commission, 173 specially elected representatives, and 27 members appointed by king. 26 July: Prime Minister Yusuf cautions students against engaging in political activity. 27 July: Cabinet approves new Constitution. It allows freedom of speech and press and formation of political parties, calls for two-house parliament and independent judiciary, and bars members of royal family...
from serving as prime minister, cabinet member, chief justice, or parliament members. King appoints prime minister and commands armed forces. 3 September: Zahir Shah and Soviet Deputy Prime Minister Alexei Kosygin open Kabul-Doshi Highway over Salang Pass, built with Soviet assistance. 6 September: Delegation returns from demarcating 90-km. border with People’s Republic of China. 9-19 September: Loya Jirga debates and approves Constitution after adding that members of royal family cannot become members of political parties nor renounce their titles to participate in politics. 1 October: Zahir Shah endorses new Constitution. National Assembly dissolved. Transitional government to govern for a year. 27 October: Soviet Union agrees to loan $6.2 million to build polytechnic institute in Kabul. 29 October-12 November: Zahir Shah, accompanied by Queen Homaira, makes first visit to People’s Republic of China by any Afghan head of state. 18 November: Discovery of first Greek city to be found in Afghanistan announced by French archaeological team. 22-29 November: Walter Scheel, West German minister for economic cooperation, visits Afghanistan. Assures Afghanistan of expanding economic assistance, particularly on Paktia regional project, and urges protocol to improve atmosphere for foreign investment. 19 December: Muhammad Hashim Maiwandwal, ambassador to Pakistan, named minister of press and information.

and Soviet Prime Minister Dimitri Polyansky open Nangarhar irrigation
and power project, built with Soviet assistance. **22–25 March**: Chen Yi, 
PRC deputy prime minister and foreign minister, confers with Zahir 
Shah and Prime Minister Yusuf during a three-day visit. Boundary pro-
tocol, cultural agreement, and economic and technical cooperation 
agreement signed. **5 April**: High schools start requiring entrance exams 
to give all students equal chance, avoid overcrowding, and keep educa-
tional standards high. **18–20 April**: Cultural agreement signed by 
Afghanistan and Britain during visit of Lord Walston, British parlia-
mentary under secretary of state for foreign affairs. **21–30 April**: Prime 
Minister Yusuf makes official visit to Soviet Union. Gets assurance of 
Soviet help with Third Plan. **11 May**: New electoral law, providing for 
universal, direct vote by secret ballot for all Afghan men and women 
over 20, goes into effect. **23 May**: Ariana Airlines begins weekly flight 
to Tashkent, its first to Soviet Union. **5 June**: Mazar-i Sharif airport 
completed. Built with U.S. assistance. **6 June**: First of three regional 
appellate courts established in Kabul. Others to be in Mazar-i Sharif and 
Kandahar. **22 June**: Jangalak smelts its first iron ore mined in 
Afghanistan. **1 July**: Land survey and statistics law goes into effect. 
**7 July**: King Zahir Shah announces plan to rebuild old city of Kabul. 
**15 July**: United States agrees to help increase wheat and provides cred-
its for several projects. **18 July**: Prime Minister Yusuf lays cornerstone 
for Jangalak Polytechnic Institute for 700 students being built with So-
viet assistance. **20 July**: Cadastral survey of Kabul begins. Direct tele-
phone link between Kabul, Rawalpindi, and Lahore inaugurated. **24 
July**: Soviet Union agrees to build 97-km. pipeline from Shiberghan 
gas fields to Soviet border and 88-km. line from fields to fertilizer and 
power plants in Balkh Province. **28 July**: Soviet Union agrees to extend 
payment on loans to Afghanistan by 30 years and provide teachers for 
Polytechnic Institute. **3–14 August**: Zahir Shah and Queen Homaira 
visit USSR. Afghanistan and Soviet Union agree to extend treaty on 
neutrality and mutual nonaggression of 1931 for 10 years. **8 August**: 
First census of Kabul finds population of 435,203. **26 August–28 Sep-
tember**: Election of parliament members held. Over 1,000 run for 216 
seats in Wolesi Jirga (House of the People) and 100 for 28 elective seats 
in Meshrano Jirga (House of Elders). All run as independents. **9 Sep-
tember**: New press law goes into effect allowing Afghan citizens free-
dom of expression while safeguarding the fundamental values of Islam
and the principles embodied in the Constitution. 12 October: Dr. Abdul Zahir elected president of Wolesi Jirga. Zahir Shah names Abdul Hadi Dawai president of Meshrano Jirga. 13 October: Zahir Shah’s appointees to Meshrano Jirga announced. Prime Minister Yusuf presents report of interim government and offers resignation. King asks him to form new government. 19 October: Wolesi Jirga decides proposed cabinet members should submit lists of property they hold before vote of confidence is taken. 24 October: Prime Minister Yusuf’s presentation of his cabinet to Wolesi Jirga postponed when spectators crowd into deputies’ seats and refuse to leave. 25 October: Wolesi Jirga decides 191–6 to hold vote of confidence in secret session. Student demonstrations are dispersed by force by police and army; three persons are killed. Schools are closed and public meetings banned. Wolesi Jirga approves Prime Minister Yusuf’s cabinet. Vote reported to be 198 in favor and 15 abstaining. Ministers are:

- Sayyid Shamsuddin Majruh Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs
- Gen. Khan Muhammad Defense
- Muhd. Husain Masa Interior
- Abdullah Yaftali Finance
- Muhammad Anas Education
- Mir Muhd. Akbar Reza Agriculture
- Ghulam Dastagir Azizi Public Works
- Muhd. Hashem Waiwandwal Press, Information
- Nur Ali Commerce
- Abdul Samad Hamid Planning
- Abdul Majid Health
- Muhammad Haidar Communications

Justice, mines and industries, and tribal affairs left to be filled later. 27 October: King Zahir Shah receives cabinet. 29 October: In wake of demonstrations, Prime Minister Yusuf resigns, giving poor health as reason. King Zahir Shah asks Muhammad Hashem Maiwandwal to form cabinet. 2 November: Prime Minister Maiwandwal presents cabinet to Wolesi Jirga and gets vote of confidence of 190 to 7 with 3 abstaining and 16 absent. The entire proceedings are broadcast over Radio Afghanistan. Cabinet members are:
Maiwandwal is to act as his own minister of education and press and information. Planning and tribal affairs to be filled later. **4 November:** Prime Minister Maiwandwal makes unexpected appearance at condolence ceremony on Kabul University campus for those killed during October 25 demonstrations. Brings king's message of sympathy and promises to consider student demands. Toryalai Etemadi elected president of Kabul University by university senate. **6 November:** Ministry of Interior announces three people died during demonstrations on October 25. **7 November:** List of property belonging to ministers debated and accepted by Wolesi Jirga members. **27 November:** Kabul University senate refuses to accept student demands for a lower passing grade and postponement of exams. **1 December:** Prime Minister Maiwandwal announces five cabinet appointments:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Ministry</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Muhd. Osman Anwari</td>
<td>Education</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mis Kubra Nurzai</td>
<td>Health</td>
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<tr>
<td>Muhd. Osman Sidqi</td>
<td>Press, Information</td>
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<tr>
<td>Abdul Hakim Ziayi</td>
<td>Planning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muhammad Khalid Roshan</td>
<td>Tribal Affairs</td>
</tr>
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**13 December:** Kabul University's college of science closed because of continued disturbances. **14 December:** Ministry of Interior forbids public gatherings after two days of demonstrations.

**1966 1-2 January:** President Ayub Khan of Pakistan makes stop in Kabul on way to Tashkent talks. **14-15 January:** Soviet Prime Minister Alexei Kosygin stops in Kabul for talks on way from Delhi to Moscow. **17 January:** Kabul University's college of education graduates its first 58 students. **31 January:** Wahdat publishes first edition. The Dari and Pashtu weekly edited by Khal Muhammad Khasta is the first privately
owned newspaper published in Kabul in 14 years. **1-10 February:** Prime Minister Maiwandwal visits Soviet Union. **10 February:** Ghulam Muhammad Sulaiman named Afghan ambassador to Pakistan. **11 February:** Payam-i Imruz, a twice weekly newspaper published by Ghulam Nabi Khater, first issued. **15 February:** Dr. Muhammad Asif Sohail named Afghan ambassador to People’s Republic of China. **23 February:** Nasir Zia named Afghan ambassador to India. **2 March:** New Kabul University constitution approved by cabinet. **15 March:** Khalilullah Khalili named Afghan ambassador to Saudi Arabia. **4-9 April:** Liu Shao-Chi, PRC president makes official visit to Kabul. **5 April:** Afghān Mīllāt, a Pashtu newspaper owned by Ghulam Muhammad Farhad, starts publication. **11 April:** Khalq, a Pashtu and Dari newspaper published by Nur Mohammad Taraki, puts out first issue. **13 April:** Wolesi Jirga begins consideration of political parties draft law. **4 May:** After debate on Khalq, Meshrano Jirga passes resolution saying any publication against values of Islam should be halted. **22 May:** Wolesi Jirga passes resolution, asking government to take action against Khalq for not following values of constitution. **23 May:** Government bans distribution of Khalq under Art. 48 of the press law. **20 June:** Prime Minister Maiwandwal names Foreign Minister Etemadi and Interior Minister Shalizi first and second deputy ministers, respectively. **19 July:** Wolesi Jirga approves political parties draft law. **17 August:** Prime Minister Maiwandwal appoints Muhammad Haidar minister of justice and Abdul Karim Hakimi minister of communications. **20 August:** Supreme judiciary committee set up as foundation of future supreme court. **24 August:** Prime Minister Maiwandwal gives speech on eve of Jāshen on Radio Afghanistan in which he explains his philosophy of progressive democracy. **28 August:** Former Prime Minister Yusuf named Afghan ambassador to the Federal Republic of Germany. **20 September:** Abdul Rahman Pazhwak, Afghan representative to the United Nations, elected president of the UN General Assembly.

**1967 25 January:** Prime Minister Maiwandwal reshuffles cabinet, names Abdullah Yaftali minister without portfolio, Abdul Karim Hakimi minister of finance, and Muhammad Husain Masa minister of the interior. **12 February:** Abdullah Malikyar named Afghan ambassador to United States. Abdul Majid named Afghan ambassador to Britain. **25 March-9 April:** Prime Minister Maiwandwal visits United States. **10 May:** Protocol on export of natural gas signed by
Afghanistan and Soviet Union. **30 May-2 June:** Nikolai Podgorny, chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, visits Afghanistan. **13 June:** Abdul Rauf Benawa named minister of information and culture. Muhammad Osman Sidqi named secretary general in Foreign Ministry. **27 July:** Prime Minister Maiwandwal appoints Abdullah Yaf-tali minister of planning, Dr. Muhammad Anas minister without port-folio, and Muhammad Ehsan Rostamel minister of justice. **20 August:** Direct telephone link between Kabul and Herat completed. **11 October:** Prime Minister Maiwandwal resigns because of poor health. King Zahir Shah names Abdullah Yaftali acting prime minister. **15 October:** Zahir Shah inaugurates supreme court. **1 November:** Zahir Shah asks Nur Ahmad Etemadi to form new government. **13 November:** Etemadi submits cabinet to Wolesi Jirga:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Office Held</th>
<th>Name</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First Deputy and Minister of Education</td>
<td>Ali Ahmad Popal</td>
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<tr>
<td>Second Deputy</td>
<td>Abdullah Yaftali</td>
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<tr>
<td>Defense</td>
<td>Gen. Khan Muhammad</td>
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<tr>
<td>Interior</td>
<td>Muhd. Omar Wardak</td>
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<td>Justice</td>
<td>Muhammad Asghar</td>
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<td>Finance</td>
<td>Muhd. Anwar Ziayi</td>
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<td>Commerce</td>
<td>Nur Ali</td>
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<td>Public Works</td>
<td>Muhd. Husain Masa</td>
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<td>Information</td>
<td>Muhammad Anas</td>
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<td>Communications</td>
<td>Muhd. Azim Gran</td>
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<td>Health</td>
<td>Mis Kubra Nurzai</td>
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<td>Mines, Industries</td>
<td>Abdul Samad Salim</td>
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<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>Mir Muhd. Akbar Reza</td>
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<tr>
<td>Planning</td>
<td>Abdul Samad Hamid</td>
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<tr>
<td>Without Portfolio</td>
<td>Abdul Wahid Sorabi</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tribal Affairs</td>
<td>Said Masud Pohanyar</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**15 November:** Prime Minister Etemadi gets vote of confidence 173 to 7 with 6 abstentions after three-day debate. Etemadi pledges to work against bribery and corruption.

**1968 7 January:** Yugoslav president and Mrs. Tito arrive for an off-icial four-day visit. **25 January:** Education commission organized to decide national education policy for Afghanistan. **31 January:** Soviet Prime Minister Kosygin stops in Kabul to discuss economic questions. **4 February:** Chakhansur Province renamed Nimruz, name given to the
area in Pahlavi literature. **22 April:** Shiberghan gas pipelines officially opened. **13 June:** King Muhammad Zahir ends a ten-day visit to the USSR. **23 August:** The country celebrates the 50th anniversary of its independence.

**1969 25 May:** U.S. Secretary of State Willaim Rogers pays a brief visit to Kabul for talks with government leaders. **10 June:** Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi ends a five-day official visit. **22 June:** Afghan government ordered closing of all primary and secondary schools in Kabul, after a wave of student unrest and a student boycott of the Kabul University. **17 July:** Soviet military delegation begins a visit. **17 November:** New cabinet announced as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Position</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nur Ahmad Etemadi</td>
<td>Prime Minister</td>
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<tr>
<td>Abdullah Yaftali</td>
<td>First Deputy</td>
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<tr>
<td>Abdul Qayyum</td>
<td>Second Deputy and Minister of Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khan Muhammad</td>
<td>Defense</td>
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<tr>
<td>Muhd. Bashir Lodin</td>
<td>Interior</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abdul Wahid Sorabi</td>
<td>Planning</td>
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<tr>
<td>Abdul Satar Sirat</td>
<td>Justice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muhd. Akbar Omar</td>
<td>Commerce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muhammad Aman</td>
<td>Finance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahmud Habibi</td>
<td>Information</td>
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<tr>
<td>Muhd. Azim Gran</td>
<td>Communication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ibrahim Majid Siraj</td>
<td>Health</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amanullah Mansuri</td>
<td>Mines, Industries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abdul Hakim</td>
<td>Agriculture</td>
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Ministers without portfolio are Shafiqa Ziayi and Ghulam Ali Ayin. **25 December:** Soviet military delegation led by Defense Minister Andrei Grechko arrives for an official visit.

**1970 21 January:** The USSR signs a protocol for the export of 2.5 billion cubic meters of Afghan natural gas in 1970. **26 January:** Defense Minister Khan Mohammed begins an official visit to the United States. **20 September:** King Muhammad Zahir leaves for a state visit to Czechoslovakia. **20 October:** King Muhammad Zahir arrives in Moscow for an “unofficial friendly” visit.

**1971 17 May:** It was announced that the government of Prime Minister Nur Ahmad Etemadi has resigned. King Zahir Shah accepts the resignation and requests him to stay in office until a new government can
be formed. **8 June:** Former ambassador to Italy, Abdul Zahir, is asked to form a new cabinet:

- Dr. Abdul Zahir Prime Minister
- Dr. Abdul Samad Hamid First Deputy
- Gen. Khan Muhammad Defense
- Muhammad Musa Shafiq Foreign Affairs
- Amanullah Mansuri Interior
- Muhd. Anwar Arghandiwal Justice
- Dr. Ghulam Haidar Dawar Finance
- Hamidullah Enayat Siraj Education
- Muhd. Aref Ghausi Commerce
- Khwazak Khan Public Works
- Muhd. Ibrahim Abbasi Information
- Eng. Nasratullah Malikyar Communications
- Dr. Ibrahim Majid Siraj Health
- Abdul Hakim Agriculture, Irrigation
- Dr. Abdul Wahid Sorabi Planning
- Mrs. Shafiqa Ziayee Without Portfolio
- Dr. Abdul Wakil Without Portfolio
- Abdul Satar Sirat Without Portfolio
- Dr. Abdul Samad Hamid Tribal Affairs

**13 June:** Muhammad Zahir Shah ends visit to the USSR with a joint communiqué reaffirming their mutual allegiance to the principles of peaceful coexistence. **26 July:** The National Assembly gives Abdul Zahir a vote of confidence after a 17-day debate, and he takes office along with his cabinet. **August:** Afghanistan suffers the worst drought in its recorded history.

**1972 3 January:** The USSR signs an agreement for expanding natural gas refining and collection centers in the north. **11 January:** Pakistan President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto arrives in Kabul for official talks. **3 April:** Indian Foreign Affairs Minister Swaran Singh leaves after a three-day visit and talks on economic aid and cooperation. **15 April:** It is announced that Minister of Education Enayat Siraj has resigned for “health reasons.” **16 May:** Kabul Radio broadcasts a demand for Pashtunistan’s independence from Pakistan. **21 July:** United States special envoy John Connally tells the government that the United States...
cannot make any further commitment of aid. **25 August:** A natural gas discovery at Jarquduq is estimated to be the second largest in the country. **25 September:** Premier Abdul Zahir tenders his resignation, but it is refused by the king. **5 December:** Muhammad Zahir Shah accepts the resignation of Prime Minister Abdul Zahir who agrees to remain in office until a new prime minister can be appointed. **9 December:** Musa Shafiq appointed to form a new government. **11 December:** A new cabinet is announced with Muhammad Musa Shafiq prime minister and foreign affairs minister. Members of cabinet include the following:

- Gen. Khan Muhammad: Defense
- Nematullah Pazhwak: Interior
- Muhammad Khan Jalalar: Finance
- Khwazak Zalmai: Health
- Sabahuddin Kushkaki: Information
- Nasratullah Malikyar: Communications
- Ghulam Dastagir Azizi: Mines, Industries
- Abdul Wahid Sorabi: Planning

**1973 17 January:** It is announced that diplomatic relations will be established with the German Democratic Republic. **13 March:** Iranian Prime Minister Amir Abbas Hoveyda and Prime Minister Muhammad Musa Shafiq of Afghanistan sign a formal settlement of the Helmand River dispute. **21 April:** A royal decree is issued setting general parliamentary election dates. **11 May:** The border with Pakistan is ordered closed for two weeks for “administrative reasons.” **8 July:** Zahir Shah arrives in Italy for a vacation. **17 July:** Sardar Muhammad Daud deposes his cousin, the king, and proclaims a republic. **18 July:** Muhammad Daud proclaimed president and defense minister. **19 July:** The Soviet Union and India extend diplomatic recognition of the new government. **27 July:** President Daud abrogates the Constitution of 1964 and dissolves Parliament. **2 August:** New cabinet announced with Muhammad Daud holding the portfolios of prime minister, defense, and foreign affairs:

- Muhd. Hasan Sharq: Deputy Prime Minister
- Abdul Majid: Justice
- Abdulillah: Finance
- Faiz Muhammad: Interior
24 August: Deposed king, Muhammad Zahir, announces his abdication.

23 September: It is announced that a plot to overthrow the government was discovered and a number of senior army officers arrested. Pakistan is accused of supporting the group. 30 October: Indian Foreign Minister Swaran Singh arrives for an official visit.

1974 5 April: It is reported that a new trade and payments agreement between Afghanistan and the Soviet Union was concluded after a visit to Moscow by Minister of Trade Muhammad Khan Jalallar. 7 July: A trade protocol is signed with India. 19 July: Soviet assistance in the development of the Jarquduq natural gas field and in oil exploration is reported. 24 July: Iran and Afghanistan sign a protocol for cooperation in a large-scale development program in the “joint region of the Helmand River.” 1 November: U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger arrives and meets with Premier Muhammad Daud.

1975 26 February: The government issues a statement protesting the U.S. decision to lift the arms ban on Pakistan. 13 March: President Muhammad Daud concludes an official visit to India. 1 May: The government announces the nationalization of all banks and banking affairs. 11 July: Deputy Foreign Minister Wahid Abdallah flew to Saudi Arabia to attend the Islamic Foreign Ministers Conference. 28 July: Afghan security forces capture a “terrorist” group in Panjshir that was allegedly armed by Pakistan. 17 October: Iran signs an agreement to provide aid and technical assistance to construct a railroad system and Kabul airport and to build a meat processing plant. 21 November: New cabinet was appointed in October:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Position</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Muhammad Daud</td>
<td>President, Prime Minister, Minister of Defense, and Foreign Affairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muhd. Hasan Sharq</td>
<td>First Deputy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sayyid Abdullah</td>
<td>Second Deputy and Minister of Finance</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Abdul Qadir Interior
Abdul Tawab Asefi Mines, Industries
Azizullah Wasefi Agriculture
Abdul Karim Atayi Communications
Ali Ahmad Kurram Planning
Nazar Muhd. Sikandar Health
Abdul Majid Justice
Abdul Rahim Nawin Information
Faiz Muhammad Frontier Affairs

2 December: Afghanistan denies Pakistani charges that it has mobilized troops along its border with Pakistan.

1976 2 January: An agreement is concluded with the Soviet Union for the development of the Jarqduq gas fields and the provision of gas production and processing facilities. 23 April: The League of Red Cross Societies says that about 100,000 people in Afghanistan have been left homeless by earthquakes, torrential rains, and floods. 7 June: Pakistani President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto begins a visit to Afghanistan. 8 June: Pakistani President Bhutto meets with President Muhammad Daud. 4 July: Indian Premier Indira Gandhi arrives in Kabul for a three-day visit. 8 August: U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger meets with President Daud in Kabul. 9 December: According to reports, more than 50 people have been arrested and accused of a plot to overthrow the government.

1977 30 January: President Muhammad Daud convenes the Loya Jirga, to approve the draft of a new constitution. 14 February: The new constitution is approved by the Loya Jirga. 15 February: Muhammad Daud is sworn in, and the Loya Jirga is dissolved. 24 February: President Muhammad Daud promulgates a new constitution. 26 February: President Daud disbands the cabinet and the central revolutionary committee. 13 March: The Afghan government announces formation of a new cabinet:

Ghulam Haidar Rasuli Defense
Sayyid Abdullah Finance
Abdul Majid Without Portfolio
Wafiyullah Sami’i Justice
Abdul Qadir Interior
Ghulam Siddiq Muhibi Higher Education
23 March: A Soviet trade delegation begins a trip to Afghanistan to hold talks on bilateral trade. 29 March: An agreement is reached in Kabul to resume air links between Pakistan and Afghanistan. 22 June: Pakistani Premier Zulfikar Ali Bhutto arrives in Kabul for talks with President Muhammad Daud. 29 July: Afghanistan and the USSR conclude a six-year consumer goods agreement in Kabul. 11 October: Pakistani Chief Martial Law Administrator Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq meets with President Daud at the Presidential Palace. 7 November: President Daud appoints the following to the central council: Abdul Majid, State; Ghulam Haidar Rasuli, Defense; Sayyid Abdullah, Finance; and Abdul Qayyum, Frontier Affairs. 16 November: Minister of Planning Ali Ahmad Khurram is assassinated in Kabul.

1978 19 February: Sayyid Abdulillah is appointed vice president. 21 February: President Muhammad Daud leaves Kabul for Belgrade on an official visit to Yugoslavia. 24 February: A trial of 25 people accused of plotting to assassinate President Daud begins in Kabul. 4 March: President Daud meets with Indian Premier Morarji Desai in New Delhi. 17 April: Mir Akbar Khaibar, one of the founders of the PDPA, is assassinated in Kabul. 20 April: Thousands turn Khaibar’s funeral into an antigovernment demonstration. 26 April: President Daud has PDPA leaders arrested. 27 April: Communist Coup. Members of the PDPA gain power in a coup led by insurgents in the armed forces. The military Revolutionary Council forms a new government. 29 April: The government radio reports that Defense Minister Ghulam Haidar Rasuli, Interior Minister Abdul Qadir Nuristani, and Vice President Sayyid Abdulillah have been killed in the coup along with President Daud and his brother.
Muhammad Naim. 30 April: A “Revolutionary Council” is proclaimed. Nur Muhammad Taraki is named president and premier of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. The Revolutionary Council selects the following leading ministers:

- Babrak Karmal: Deputy Prime Minister
- Hafizullah Amin: Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister
- Muhd. Aslam Watanjar: Deputy Prime Minister and Communications
- Abdul Qadir: National Defense
- Shah Wali: Health
- Nur Ahmad Nur: Interior
- Dastagir Panjshiri: Education
- Sultan Ali Keshtmand: Planning
- Sulaiman Layeq: Radio, Television
- Saleh Muhd. Zirai: Agriculture
- Abdul Karim Misaq: Finance
- M. Hasan Bareq-Shafi’i: Information, Culture
- Abdul Hakim Shara’i: Justice, Attorney General
- Anahita Ratebzad: Social Affairs
- Abdul Quddus Ghorbandi: Commerce
- Muhd. Ismail Danesh: Mines, Industries
- Muhammad Rafi’i: Public Works
- Muhd. Mansur Hashimi: Water, Power
- Mahmud Suma: Higher Education
- Nizamuddin Tahzib: Tribal Affairs

1 May: Shah Muhammad Dost and Abdul Hadi Mokamel are named deputy ministers of foreign affairs. 6 May: Premier Taraki says Afghanistan is “nonaligned and independent.” 18 May: Foreign Minister Hafizullah Amin leaves Kabul for Havana for a meeting of nonaligned countries. May–June: First mujahedin camp set up in Pakistan. 5 July: Kabul Radio says that Interior Minister Nur Ahmad Nur has been named ambassador to Washington and that Vice President and Deputy Prime Minister Babrak Karmal has been named ambassador to Czechoslovakia. 17 August: The central committee of the Peoples Democratic Party decides that president of the Revolutionary Council, Nur Muhammad Taraki, will assume the duties of minister of defense.
18 August: Kabul Radio announces that a plot to overthrow the government has been foiled and Defense Minister Abdul Qadir has been arrested for his role in the plot. 23 August: The politburo of the PDPA orders the arrest of Planning Minister Sultan Ali Keshtmand and Public Works Minister Muhammad Rafi’i for their parts in the conspiracy. 28 August: The following appointments were announced:

- Dastagir Panjshiri: Public Works
- Abdul Rashid Jalili: Education
- Sahibjan Sahrayi: Frontier Affairs

9 September: Pakistani Chief Martial Law Administrator Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq meets with President Taraki of the Revolutionary Council at Paghman, near Kabul. 17 September: The government announces it is breaking diplomatic relations with South Korea. 19 September: Indian External Affairs Minister Anal Bihari Vajpayee meets with Taraki in Kabul. 22 September: Taraki dismisses six ambassadors who had been appointed in July. All were members of the Parcham section of the PDPA. 19 October: Afghanistan adopts a red flag as its new national emblem. 3 December: President Nur Muhammad Taraki arrives in Moscow for talks with Soviet leaders. 5 December: Afghanistan and the Soviet Union sign a 20-year treaty of friendship and cooperation in Moscow.

1979 28 January: Guerrillas fight government troops in the eastern provinces bordering Pakistan. 2 February: It is reported that Afghan dissidents are undergoing guerilla training at a Pakistan military base north of Peshawar. 14 February: U.S. Ambassador to Afghanistan Adolph Dubs is taken hostage by terrorists in Kabul. Afghan forces rush the building in which he is held, and he is slain. The United States protests the use of force by the Afghan government to free the ambassador. 19 February: Foreign Minister Hafizullah Amin rejects a U.S. protest over the incident leading to the slaying of the U.S. ambassador as “completely baseless.” 22 February: President Jimmy Carter orders American aid to Afghanistan to be reduced. 16 March: Revolt and uprising in Herat with the participation of the military garrison. Thousands are said to have been killed in recapture of town by government troops. 23 March: A U.S. spokesman says Washington expects that the “principle of noninterference” in Afghanistan will be respected by all parties in the area “including the Soviet Union.” 27 March: Foreign Minister
Hafizullah Amin is named prime minister. **1 April:** The new Afghan government is announced: Hafizullah Amin, prime minister and foreign affairs; Shah Wali, deputy prime minister. Others included:

- Saleh Muhd. Zirai: Agriculture
- Dastagir Panjshiri: Public Works
- Abdul Karim Misaq: Finance
- Mahmud Suma: Higher Education
- Aslam Watanjar: Defense
- Abdul Rashid Jalili: Education
- Abdul Hakim Shara’i: Justice, Attorney General
- Mahmud Hashemi: Water and Power
- Khial M. Katawazi: Information, Culture
- Muhd. Ismail Danesh: Mines, Industries
- Abdul Quddus Ghorbandi: Commerce
- Hasan Bareq-Shafi’i: Transport
- Sahibjan Sahra’i: Frontier Affairs

**2 April:** Washington denies Soviet charges that America is arming Afghan guerrillas. **8 April:** Soviet Vice Minister of Defense Aleksey Yepishev meets with President Nur Muhammad Taraki in Kabul. **30 April:** Taraki says Pakistani President Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq was “involved” in attacks on border positions in eastern Afghanistan. **June:** Soviet special forces occupy Bagram air force base. **13 June:** Afghanistan accuses Pakistan of involvement in a rebellion against the Afghan government. **23 June:** Kabul Radio reports that antigovernment demonstrators (Hazaras) in Kabul had been “annihilated and arrested” during the day. **28 July:** The cabinet is reshuffled: Hafizullah Amin, prime minister and vice president of the Revolutionary Council; Shah Wali deputy prime minister and foreign minister. Others included:

- Muhammad Gulabzoi: Post, Telegraph, Telephone
- Muhd. Aslam Watanjar: Interior
- Abdul Rashid Jalili: Agriculture
- Muhd. Siddiq Alemyar: Planning
- Saleh Muhd. Zirai: Health
- Muhd. Salim Masudi: Education
- Abdul Quddus Ghorbandi: Commerce
- Muhd. Hasan Bareq-Shafi’i: Transport
5 August: Heavy fighting breaks out in Kabul between loyal troops and a rebellious army unit at the Bala Hissar Fort. The rebellion is crushed and a curfew imposed on the city. 19 August: Premier Hafizullah Amin says there are “no more than 1,600 Soviet advisers” in Afghanistan. 15 September: Radio Kabul reports that Interior Minister Aslam Watanjar and Frontier Affairs Minister Sherjan Mazduryar have been removed from their posts. It is reported that gunfire and explosions had occurred in Kabul following the announcement of the cabinet dismissals. 16 September: Radio Kabul reports that President Taraki has asked to be relieved of his government positions because of “bad health and nervous weakness.” Premier Amin assumes the additional post of president. Other appointments include: Faqir Muhd. Faqir, Interior and Sahibjan Sahra’i, Frontier Affairs. 23 September: President Amin says that former President Taraki is “alive but definitely sick.” 8 October: Kabul announces that President Amin has commuted death sentences of former Defense Minister Abdul Qadir and former Planning Minister Sultan Ali Keshtmand to 15 years imprisonment. Rebel tribesmen say they have cut the road leading from Kabul to Gardez during fighting with government troops. 9 October: Radio Kabul announces that Taraki has died. President Amin publishes a list of 12,000 killed by Taraki regime. 14 October: Heavy fighting takes place at Rishkhur barracks southwest of Kabul. 16 October: It is reported that the government has crushed an army mutiny near Kabul. Soviet forces take command of Shindand air force base. 9 November: It is reported that several ambush attacks have been launched on government troops near Kabul, killing 200 persons. 21 December: U.S. officials say that the Soviet Union has moved three army divisions to the border with Afghanistan and has sent about 1,500 combat soldiers to an air base near Kabul. 26 December: A U.S. government spokesman says that in the past 24 hours there has been “a large-scale Soviet airlift” to Kabul,
raising Soviet military involvement in Afghanistan to “a new threshold.”  

27 December: Fighting breaks out in Kabul and President Hafizullah Amin is overthrown and assassinated. Former Deputy Premier Babrak Karmal assumes the post of president. It is reported that Soviet troops have taken part in the fighting in Kabul.  

28 December: President Karmal says the Soviet Union has agreed to supply Afghanistan “urgent political, moral and economic aid, including military aid.” U.S. President Jimmy Carter calls the Soviet military intervention “a grave threat to the peace” and a “blatant violation of accepted rules of international behavior.” A cabinet is formed with Babrak Karmal as prime minister; chairman, Revolutionary Council; and secretary general, Central Committee. Other members include:

- Asadullah Sarwari: Deputy Prime Minister
- Sultan Ali Keshtmand: Deputy Prime Minister and Planning
- Muhammad Rafi’i: National Defense
- Sayyid Muhd. Gulabzoi: Interior
- Shah Muhammad Dost: Foreign Minister
- Anahita Ratebzad: Education
- Abdul Wakil: Finance
- Sherjan Mazduryar: Transport
- Faiz Muhammad: Frontier Affairs
- Muhammad Khan Jalalar: Trade


1 January: Afghanistan says it has invited Soviet troops into the country “in view of the present aggressive actions of the enemies of Afghanistan.”  

2 January: Karmal addresses government leaders near Kabul and calls on the Afghan people to “come together and support our glorious revolution.”  

5 January: The UN Security Council opens a debate on Afghanistan.  

7 January: The Soviet Union vetoes a UN resolution that called for the immediate withdrawal of “all foreign troops in Afghanistan.” The vote is 13 to 2 in favor of the resolution.  

9 January: The Security Council votes 12 by 2 with one abstention for a resolution to move the issue of Afghanistan to the General Assembly.  

10 January: The Afghan cabinet is expanded as follows:
14 January: The UN General Assembly votes 104 to 18 with 18 abstentions for a resolution that “strongly deplored” the “recent armed intervention” in Afghanistan and called for the “total withdrawal of foreign troops” from the country. 23 January: President Carter announces sanctions against the Soviet Union, including a grain embargo. 27 January: A conference of Islamic Foreign Ministers opens in Islamabad to consider the situation in Afghanistan. 29 January: The conference adopts a resolution that condemns “the Soviet military aggression against the Afghan people.” 13 February: Egyptian Defense Minister Kamal Hasan ‘Ali says that Egypt is providing assistance to Afghan rebels and is “training some of them.” 14 February: The UN Human Rights Commission votes 27 to 8 with 6 abstentions to condemn the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan as “an aggression against human rights.” 15 February: The New York Times cites “White House officials” as saying the United States had begun an operation to supply light infantry weapons to Afghan insurgent groups. 19 February: Foreign ministers of the European Economic Community (EEC) propose that Afghanistan be declared a neutral country under international guarantees if the Soviet Union withdraws its troops. 22 February: Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev says that the Soviet Union will withdraw its troops from Afghanistan “as soon as all forms of outside interference” were “fully terminated.” Demonstrations and rioting against the government and the Soviet Union take place in Kabul. 25 February: Shops remain closed in Kabul. 26 February: It is reported that mass arrests have been made in Kabul during the day. 28 February: Almost all shopkeepers open for business in Kabul. It is reported that striking civil servants have returned to work. 3 March: The Hizb-i Islami of Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, one of six Afghan insurgent groups negotiating an alliance, says it has withdrawn from the alliance. 7 March: Soviet soldiers
appear on the streets of Kabul. Soviet fighter planes and helicopter gunships fly over the city. **10 March**: Justice Minister Abdul Rashid Arian says that 42 associates of former President Hafizullah Amin are being held for trial. **12 March**: It is announced that the following ministers have been appointed: Muhd. Khan Jalalar, commerce and Fazl Rahim Mohmand, agriculture. **13 March**: Foreign Minister Shah Muhammad Dost arrives in Moscow on a “friendly visit.” **April**: Status of Soviet Armed Forces Agreement signed. **18 May**: Indian Foreign Secretary R. D. Satha meets with President Babrak Karmal in Kabul. **22 May**: A conference of Islamic foreign ministers, meeting in Islamabad, adopts a resolution that demands the “immediate, total and unconditional withdrawal of all Soviet troops from Afghanistan” and decides to establish a committee that will open “appropriate consultations” to seek a solution to the crisis in Afghanistan. **24 May**: Demonstrators protesting the Soviet presence in Afghanistan march in Kabul. **8 June**: Radio Kabul announces that 10 supporters and aides of slain former President Hafizullah Amin have been executed. **14 June**: Kabul news service reports that former Communications Minister Muhammad Zarif, former Frontier Affairs Minister Sahibjan Sahra’i, and former Planning Minister Muhammad Siddiq Alemyar have been executed. **July**: Sixty countries boycott the Moscow Olympics in protest over the invasion of Afghanistan. **2 July**: The Soviet Communist Party newspaper Pravda says that for a political settlement of the situation in Afghanistan to take place, armed incursions by the “mercenaries of the imperialist and reactionary forces from the territory of neighboring states” must first be ended. **16 August**: Radio Kabul reports that Justice Minister Abdurashid Arian has been named to the additional post of deputy prime minister. **14 September**: Frontier Affairs Minister Faiz Muhammad is killed earlier in the week while trying to enlist the support of Afghan tribes. **October**: The CIA provides some SAM–7 portable surface-to-air missiles to Ahmad Shah Mas’ud. **15 October - 5 November**: President Karmal and other high officials leave Kabul on a visit to the Soviet Union. **13 November**: President Karmal says that those who are not working for the good of the party will be expelled “even if they had been heroes in the past.” **20 November**: The UN General Assembly votes by 111 to 22 with 12 abstentions for a resolution that calls for the “unconditional” pullout of “foreign troops” from Afghanistan. **21 November**: Foreign Affairs Minister Shah Muhammad Dost says the UN
resolution is “a flagrant interference in Afghanistan’s internal affairs.”

25 December: Egyptian President Anwar al-Sadat says that he has “sent weapons” and would “send more weapons” to Afghan insurgents.

27 December: Deposed King Muhammad Zahir says in exile that he prays to God “to aid the Afghan people in its heroic struggle and its legitimate war for independence.”

1981 Pakistan government declares that henceforth it will recognize only six Pakistan-based resistance organizations. 18 February: President Babrak Karmal arrives in Moscow for talks with Soviet leaders.

9 March: U.S. President Ronald Reagan says that if Afghan “freedom fighters” who are fighting Soviet forces ask for weapons, it will be something “to be considered.” 7 April: Saudi Arabia announces it is severing diplomatic relations with “the current illegal regime” in Afghanistan.

9 May: Pakistani officials estimate the number of Afghan refugees in Pakistan at two million. 11 May: Sultan Ali Keshtmand becomes prime minister. 11 June: President of the Revolutionary Council Babrak Karmal turns the post of prime minister over to Sultan Ali Keshtmand and removes Abdul Rashid Arian as deputy prime minister. 13 June: The Revolutionary Council elects as its vice presidents Nur Ahmad Nur and Abdul Rashid Arian.

12 July: Member of the national committee of the National Fatherland Front Gen. Fateh Muhammad is killed by rebels. 22 July: Diplomatic sources in Kabul report heavy fighting between the rebels and Soviet forces in Paghman, 16 miles from the capital.

6 August: Foreign Minister Shah Muhammad Dost meets with UN Representative Javier Perez de Cuellar. 12 August: Radio Kabul announces changes in the land distribution program that lift restrictions on acreage held by religious and tribal leaders.

22 August: Five Afghan resistance groups form an alliance and create a 50-member advisory council. 9 September: Foreign Minister Dost meets with Prime Minister Indira Gandhi in New Delhi. 22 September: Egyptian President Anwar al-Sadat says in a U.S. television interview that the United States has been buying old Soviet-made arms from Egypt and sending them to rebels fighting Soviet forces in Afghanistan. U.S. officials have no comment.

18 November: By a vote of 116 to 23 with 12 abstentions the UN General Assembly votes for the third time that the Soviet Union must withdraw its troops from Afghanistan. 15 December: President Karmal begins a visit to Moscow.
1982 6 January: In Washington, military analysts say Soviet troops in Afghanistan have grown to between 110,000 and 120,000. 20 February: The Afghan government rejects the appointment of Archer K. Blood, designated U.S. chargé d’affaires to Kabul. In response, the U.S. State Department imposes travel restrictions on Afghan diplomats in Washington. 10 March: President Reagan proclaims March 21 “Afghanistan Day.” 1 April: The revolutionary council presidium announces new appointments: Khalil Ahmad Abawi, vice chairman of council of ministers; Muhammad Yassin Sadiqi, director, local organizations committee and director, council of ministers; Mehrabuddin Paktiawal, director, central bank. The UN World Food Program announces additional $18.5 million in food aid to Afghan refugees in Pakistan. 8 June: Soviet and Afghan troops regain control of the key Panjshir Valley in a major offensive against mujahedin forces. 16 May: A two-day PDPA conference ends in Kabul with the 841 delegates endorsing resolutions aimed at purging dissidents and continuing a program of land reform. 16–25 June: The first UN-sponsored direct talks between Afghanistan and Pakistan begin in Geneva. 2 August: The Afghan government amends the conscription law, lengthening the term of service. 28 August: President Karmal approves four appointment changes:

- Abdul Ghaffar Lakanwal, Agriculture, Land Reform
- Abdul Samad Qayyum, Local Government
- Fazl Rahim Mohmand, Central Statistics
- Najibullah Masud, Secretary, Council of Ministers

12 September: Minister of Education Guldad and Minister of Information and Culture Abdul Majid Sarbuland are removed from their posts but retain their positions as deputy prime ministers. 30 October: An explosion in the Salang Tunnel north of Kabul kills more than 1,000 people, including 700 Soviet troops. November: The UN General Assembly approves a resolution demanding “the immediate withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan” by a vote of 114 to 21 with 13 abstentions. December: It is reported that the CIA was ordered to provide the Afghan insurgents with bazookas, mortars, grenade launchers, mines, and recoilless rifles.

1983 19 January: UN Deputy Secretary General Diego Cordovez begins a peace mission to Geneva, Tehran, Islamabad, and Kabul to resolve the Afghan crisis. 16 February: The UN Human Rights Com-
mission votes 29 to 7 with 5 abstentions for an immediate Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan. **15 June:** The foreign ministers of Afghanistan and Pakistan arrive in Geneva for a third series of talks on the withdrawal of foreign troops. **24 June:** UN-sponsored talks on Soviet troop withdrawal end in Geneva without progress. **23 November:** The UN General Assembly calls for the immediate withdrawal of Soviet troops by a vote of 116 to 20 with 16 abstentions. **27 December:** The Afghan government says it will request the departure of 105,000 Soviet troops if it receives international guarantees that all opposition would end.

**1984 24 January:** President Karmal has replaced his three top military advisers. Chief of Staff Gen. Baba Jan is replaced by Lt. Gen. Nazar Muhammad; Deputy Defense Minister Maj. Gen. Khalilullah by Maj. Gen. Muhammad Nabi Azimi; and Chief of Operations Gen. Nuristani by Maj. Gen. Ghulam Qadir Miakhel. **11 April:** The Kabul government orders the expulsion of Third Secretary Richard S. Vandin of the U.S. embassy in Kabul on charges of espionage. The United States denies the charge. **14 May:** The National Olympic Committee announces that Afghanistan will boycott the Summer Olympics in Los Angeles. **17 May:** U.S. Vice President George Bush visits the Khaiber Pass, where he condemned the Soviet invasion and expresses support for the Afghan resistance. **7 July:** Radio Kabul announces nomination of Muhammad Kabir as minister of finance. **26 July:** The U.S. House of Representatives Appropriations Committee approves $50 million in covert aid to Afghan, according to intelligence sources. **27 August:** The foreign ministers of Afghanistan and Pakistan meet separately in Geneva with a UN intermediary in talks on a political settlement to the Afghan war. **30 August:** The third round of talks between Afghanistan and Pakistan adjourns in Geneva with no sign of progress. **31 August:** A bomb explosion occurs at the Kabul airport. **4 November:** Nine people are executed for the bomb explosion at Kabul airport. **3 December:** Radio Kabul reports that President Karmal has appointed Army Chief of Staff Brig. Gen. Nazar Muhammad to replace Lt. Gen. Abdul Qadir as defense minister.

**1985 18 January:** The U.S. announces it will increase its aid to Afghan mujahedeen in 1985 to approximately $280 million. Saudi Arabia, Israel, and China are also reportedly assisting the rebels. **26 January:** The
Afghan mujahedin leader, Khan Gul, is sentenced to death in Paktia Province. 29 January: Zabiullah, a leader of the Jam’iat-i Islami, is killed when his jeep hits a mine. 3 March: According to reports from Iran, four Shi’a mujahedin groups have merged: the Sazman-i Nasr, the Pasdaran, Guards, the Islamic Movement of Afghanistan, and the United Front of the Islamic Revolution. 8 April: Maulawi Abdul Wali is appointed minister of Islamic affairs. 23 April: President Karmal opens a grand tribal assembly (Loya Jirga) in Kabul in an effort to gain popular support in the government’s war against the mujahedin. 10 May: Leaders of three of the main mujahedin groups in Peshawar denounce the attempt by Abd al-Rasul Sayyaf to appoint himself for another term as head of the seven-member Alliance of Afghan Mujahedin. 17 June: U.S. and Soviet officials meet in Washington to discuss the war in Afghanistan. 20 June: UN-sponsored “proximity talks” begin in Geneva between Afghan and Pakistan governments regarding the war in Afghanistan. 30 August: UN mediator Diego Cordovez says progress has been made on three of four points in the UN plan for ending the Afghan war. The two sides remain divided on the question of withdrawing Soviet troops. 23 October: Afghan authorities order all males of up to 40 years of age to enlist for three years of military service. Afghan Foreign Minister Shah Muhammad Dost says Afghanistan cannot reach agreement on the withdrawal of Soviet troops unless Pakistan enters direct negotiations. 13 November: By a vote of 122 to 19 with 12 abstentions, the UN General Assembly adopts a Pakistani resolution calling for the immediate withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. 22 November: Three senior members of the PDPA are removed from the Politburo: Maj. Gen. Abdul Qadir, Ghulam Dastagir Panjshiri, and Isma’il Danesh. 30 November: Sayyid Muhammad Nasim Maihanparast is appointed deputy chairman of the council of ministers. 6 December: Radio Kabul announces that Ghulam Faruq Yaqubi has been named director of the KHAD, Afghanistan’s secret police. 13 December: The U.S. State Department notifies the United Nations that the United States is ready to act as guarantor of a peace settlement in Afghanistan that would involve a Soviet troops withdrawal and an end to U.S. aid to the mujahedin. 19 December: In Geneva, Afghanistan and Pakistan suspend their latest round of peace talks to study new UN proposals for a timetable for Soviet withdrawal. 26 December: The council of ministers makes the following new appoint-
ments: Sayyid Amanuddin Amin vice chairman, council of ministers; Sarjan Khan Zazai, tribal and nationalities affairs; Abdul Wahid Sorabi, social and cultural affairs; Abdul Ghaffar Baher, Islamic affairs; Fazl Haq Khaliqyar, economic affairs. 31 December: The Afghan government presents an informal timetable for the withdrawal of Soviet troops as part of an overall accord, during UN-sponsored Geneva talks December 16 to 19, according to the State Department.

1986 11 January: President Babrak Karmal rejects the U.S. offer to serve as guarantor of a peace settlement. 4 February: Guerrilla activity near Kandahar has reportedly declined in recent days after former rebel leader Asmatullah Achakzai Muslim and his militia decided to back the Kabul government. 20 February: The Revolutionary Council Presidium appoints a 74-member commission to draft a constitution. 17 March: The Foreign Ministry rejects a UN report on human rights violations in Afghanistan as “a collection of groundless slanders and accusations.” 20 March: Pakistan lodges a “strong protest” over Afghan attacks on a border post and refugee camp in Khurram Agency that killed six people on March 16 and 18. 2 April: The United States reportedly agrees to supply hundreds of Stinger missiles to Afghan mujahedin. 4 May: Babrak Karmal resigns as secretary general of the PDPA because of “ill health,” according to Kabul Radio. He is replaced by Najibullah, former head of KHAD, the secret police. Babrak retains the post of chairman of the Revolutionary Council and a seat in the seven-member politburo. 5 May: The seventh round of peace talks between the foreign ministers of Afghanistan and Pakistan opens at UN headquarters in Geneva. 15 May: Najibullah announces a collective leadership including himself as party leader, Babrak as head of the Revolutionary Council Presidium, and Prime Minister Sultan Ali Keshtmand. 28 May: Najibullah announces that a bicameral parliament will be established “within a few months,” on the basis of “free and democratic elections.” 16 June: President Ronald Reagan meets with Afghan mujahedin in Washington and promises an “unshakable commitment” to their cause. 17 June: Mujahedin leaders Gulbuddin Hekmatyar and Rasul Sayyaf criticize the four other Peshawar leaders for the Washington visit. 21 July: It was reported that hundreds of idealistic Arab men have joined the Afghan resistance. 28 July: Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev announced the withdrawal of six Soviet regiments by the end of the year. 8 August: UN-sponsored negotiations between Afghanistan and Pakistan
are suspended because of the issue of timing of Soviet troop withdrawal. **5 November:** The UN General Assembly passed its eighth annual resolution calling on the Soviet Union to withdraw from Afghanistan. **20 November:** Babrak Karmal resigns as president of the Revolutionary Council and chairman of the Presidium. **23 November:** Muhammad Chamkani is appointed acting president. **12 December:** Mujahedeen have begun using U.S. Stinger missiles. **23 December:** Najibullah is elected president by the Revolutionary Council Presidium.

1987 **1 January:** President Najibullah offers a six-month “seize-fire and peace plan.” **3 January:** Mujahedeen groups reject peace plan as a trap. **5 January:** Soviet Foreign Minister Edward Shevardnadze and Anatoliy Dobrynin arrive in Kabul on a two-day visit at the invitation of the Afghan government. **15 January:** President Najibullah announces an amnesty for army deserters and calls on Afghan refugees to come home and live in peace. **17 January:** The High Council of the Mujahedin Alliance issues a communiqué, calling for the withdrawal of Soviet forces, the defeat of the communist regime, and the establishment of an interim government by the mujahedin, which will prepare free elections and the formation of a parliament and independent judiciary. **18 February:** Prime Minister Sultan Ali Keshtmand arrives in Moscow for talks. **23 February:** Pakistan’s Foreign Minister Yaqub Khan meets with Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze in Moscow to discuss Afghanistan. **26 February:** The tenth round of negotiations aimed at ending the war in Afghanistan opens in Geneva. **4 March:** Mujahedeen stage rocket attacks into Soviet territory from Imam Sahib in Kunduz Province. **20 July:** Afghan leader Najibullah meets with Soviet leader Michail Gorbachev. **11 August:** Felix Ermacora, the UN special human rights investigator, is allowed to visit three Afghan prisons and interview political prisoners. **September:** Najibullah elected president in a special session of the Revolutionary Council. **10 October:** Najibullah authorizes the purchase of weapons from mujahedin who put down their arms. **13 October:** Yunus Khales, leader of the Hizb-i Islami, denies reports that his commanders have sold Stinger missiles to Iranian Pasdaran. **18 October:** Maulawi Yunus Khales is elected spokesman of the seven-party mujahedin alliance. **24 October:** Shi’a groups headquartered in Iran announce a new coalition of mujahedin groups in Iran. **10 November:** Kabul Radio announces that the Revolutionary Council Presidium endorses a decree providing for the forma-
tion and registration of political parties. **24 November:** Lt. Gen. Muhammad Nabi Azimi, first deputy of defense, is reported to have committed suicide after an offensive he led ended in failure. **29 November:** A Loya Jirga has been called to approve a new constitution. **30 November:** The Loya Jirga confirms Najibullah as president under the new “Islamized” constitution. **6 December:** Mujahedin leader Yunus Khales says the seven-party alliance will not accept communist participation in any future Afghan government. **10 December:** UN envoys Diego Cordovez is reported to have opened negotiations between exiled King Muhammad Zahir and mujahedin leaders regarding formation of a transitional coalition government.

**1988 6 January:** In an interview with Afghan News Agency, Shevardnadze says the Soviet Union hopes to be out of Afghanistan by the end of 1988 regardless of the type of rule established there. He, however, links troop withdrawal to the cessation of U.S. aid to the mujahedin. **12 January:** Pakistani President Zia-ul-Haq and Prime Minister Muhammad Khan Junejo say in separate interviews that members of the pro-Moscow government must be allowed to participate in any future government as a condition for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from the country. **17 January:** Mujahedin leader Yunus Khales rejects statements by Pakistani leaders that the mujahedin would have to “coexist with remnants of a communist regime.” **20 January:** At a press conference Najibullah states that his government will be committed to nonalignment, following the withdrawal of Soviet forces, and that Kabul is willing to accept aid from any country willing to give it. **22 January:** In Jalalabad at least 17 people are killed when two bombs explode at the public funeral of Khan Abd al-Ghaffar Khan, who died on January 20. **8 February:** Soviet leader Michail Gorbachev says Soviet troops will begin pulling out of Afghanistan on May 15 if a settlement can be reached by mid-March. **11 February:** Sayyid Bahauddin Majruh, head of the Afghan Information Office in Peshawar, is assassinated in Peshawar city. **23 February:** The mujahedin alliance announces the formation of an interim government. **4 March:** The Reagan administration says it will not halt aid to the mujahedin until Moscow stops its supply to the Afghan government. **14 March:** Gulbudin Hekmatyar is appointed spokesman of the mujahedin alliance. **23 March:** Nikolai Egorchev is reported to have replaced Pavel Mojayev as Soviet ambassador to Afghanistan after Mojayev suffers a
heart attack. **26 March:** The Reagan administration is reported to be ending its supply of Stinger missiles to the mujahedín in anticipation of a Geneva settlement. **29 March:** President Najibullah promises opposition groups 54 of the 229 lower house seats and 18 out of 62 in the senate if they will participate in the coming parliamentary elections. **30 March:** The mujahedín reject President Najibullah’s offer to form a coalition government. **3 April:** The Kabul government creates Sar-i Pol Province and appoints Gharib Husain as governor. The new province is part of the Hazarajat. **9 April:** A mujahedín leader says that the mujahedín “[will] not be bound by the outcome of the Geneva agreements.” **14 April:** Afghanistan, Pakistan, the Soviet Union, and the United States sign the Geneva accords. Under the agreement the Soviet Union will withdraw its troops within nine months. The United States and the Soviet Union will be the guarantors of the agreement, which also provides for the return of Afghan refugees and a halt to military aid by both sides. **21 April:** President Najibullah says that 1.55 million voted in the Afghan elections. **25 April:** A UN “implementation assistance group, headed by the Finnish Maj. Gen. Rauli Helminnen, arrives in Islamabad to monitor the Geneva accords. **28 April:** President Najibullah says that Soviet military advisors will remain after the Soviet troop withdrawal. **11 May:** The United Nations appoints Sadrūddin Agha Khan as coordinator for relief and resettlement in Afghanistan. **15 May:** The Soviet Union begins withdrawing troops from Afghanistan. **25 May:** The Soviet Union announces the following casualties in the Afghan war: 13,310 dead, 35,478 wounded, and 311 missing. **26 May:** Muhammad Hasan Sharq is appointed prime minister, replacing Sultan Ali Keshtmand who becomes secretary of the PDPA central committee. **31 May:** A U.S. State Department official says U.S. aid to the mujahedín will continue because the Soviet Union plans to leave $1 billion worth of equipment in Afghanistan. **3 June:** The National Assembly approves the appointment of four vice presidents by presidential decree: Abdul Hatef, Defense Minister Muhammad Rafi’i, Deputy Prime Minister Abdul Hamid Mohtat, and Minister of Higher and Vocational Education Abdul Wahid Sorabi. **7 June:** President Najibullah addresses the UN General Assembly, complaining that Pakistan continues to violate the Geneva accords. **9 June:** President Najibullah says, according to the Bakhtar news agency, that 243,900 soldiers and civilians have died in 10 years of war. **15 June:**
Pir Sayyid Ahmad Gailani, head of the National Islamic Front, becomes spokesman of the seven-member mujahedin alliance.  

**16 June:** President Najibullah announces the formation of a new government:

- **Muhammad Hasan Sharq**  
  Prime Minister
- **Abdul Wakil**  
  Foreign Affairs
- **Sayyid Muhammad Gulabzoi**  
  Interior
- **Ghulam Faruq Yaqubi**  
  State Security
- **Hamidullah Tarzi**  
  Finance
- **Muhammad Bashir Baghlani**  
  Justice
- **Shah Muhammad Dost**  
  UN Representative
- **Muhd. Aslam Watanjar**  
  Communications
- **Muhd. Khan Jalallar**  
  Commerce
- **Abdul Ghafur**  
  Returnees Affairs
- **Sulaiman Layeq**  
  Tribal Affairs
- **Sultan Husain**  
  Planning
- **Muhd. Asef Zaher**  
  Rural Development
- **Muhammad Ghofran**  
  Agriculture, Land Reform
- **Abdul Fatah Najm**  
  Public Health
- **Ghulam Rasul**  
  Education
- **Nur Ahmad Barits**  
  Higher Education
- **Muhd. Ishaq Kawa**  
  Mines, Industries
- **Muhammad Aziz**  
  Transportation
- **Nazar Muhammad**  
  Construction
- **Pacha Gul Wafadar**  
  Civil Aviation
- **Dost Muhd. Fazl**  
  Light Industries, Foodstuffs
- **Raz Muhammad Paktin**  
  Water, Power

Without Portfolio: Nematullah Pazhwak, Ghulam Faruq Yaqubi, Fazl Haq Khaliqyar, Shah Muhammad Dost, Sarjang Khan Jaji.  

**9 July:** Ahmad Bashir Ruigar is appointed minister of information and culture.  

**18 July:** Sebghatullah Mujaddidi’s National Front for the Liberation of Afghanistan joins Pir Sayyid Ahmad Gailani’s National Islamic Front of Afghanistan in expressing support for UN envoy Diego Cordovez’s peace plan to establish a neutral government.  

**23 July:** President Najibullah approves the formation of a political organization called the Self-Sacrificing Afghan People’s Solidarity Movement (Nahjat-i Hambastagi-yi Mardom-i Afghanistan Fedaiyan).  

**27 July:** The Kabul government announces the permission for formation of a new party, the
Union of God’s Helpers (Ittehadia-ye Ansarullah).

1 August: The Constitution Council is set up to examine the constitutionality of laws and compliance of treaties and laws. 8 August: Soviet troops begin withdrawing from Kabul. 17 August: Lt. Gen. Shahnawaz Tanai is appointed defense minister and Maj. Gen. Muhammad Asef Delawar is appointed chief of the Armed Forces General Staff. 13 October: Yuli Vorontsov, Soviet first deputy foreign minister, is appointed ambassador to Kabul. 17 October: Burhanuddin Rabbani, head of the Jam’iat-i Islami, becomes spokesman of the seven-member mujahedin alliance. 21 October: Diego Cordovez calls on ex-King Muhammad Zahir to assist in establishing a national reconciliation government. 26 October: Herat Governor Khaliqyar is also appointed governor of Badghis and Ghor Provinces. 2 November: The Kabul government makes the following new appointments: Nizamuddin Tahzib, chief justice and Abdul Karim Shadan, Special Court of National Security. 16 November: The appointment of Muhammad Aslam Watanjar as interior minister is approved. 19 November: Soviet military command in Afghanistan warns if guerrillas escalate war, they will jeopardize the withdrawal of Soviet troops. 3 December: Alliance leaders, headed by Burhanuddin Rabbani, meet in Ta’if, Saudi Arabia, for talks with Soviet Deputy Minister Vorontsov. 25 December: Soviet Deputy Yuri Vorontsov meets with ex-King Muhammad Zahir in Rome (at the request of Moscow).

1989

1 January: The newspaper Haqiqat-i Saur Inqilab (Truth of the April Revolution) appears for the first time under the new name Payam. 2 January: Sebghatullah Mujaddidi succeeds Rabbani as spokesman of the alliance. 13 January: Soviet Foreign Minister Edward Shevardnadze arrives in Kabul. 18 January: Sebghatullah Mujaddidi returns from Iran where he unsuccessfully tries to invite the Shi’a mujahedin groups to join an interim government. 25 January: The United States decides to close its embassy. 26 January: A mujahedin delegation, headed by Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, meets with Iranian Foreign Minister Ali Akbar Velayati in Tehran. 27 January: Britain, France, Japan, and Italy announce their decision to withdraw their diplomats from Kabul. 28 January: Soviet Defense Minister Dimitri Yazov ends two days of talks with President Najibullah. He says Moscow will “not abandon its friends.” 30 January: The United States formally closes its embassy. 2 February: President Najibullah denounces the closing of Western embassies as “psychological war.” In Peshawar some 500 Afghans demonstrate for the return of ex-King
Muhammad Zahir. **7 February:** A mujahedin commander says that the “Pakistanis are pushing us now to do an all-out attack on Jalalabad,” but the mujahedin want to wait to prevent a bloodbath. **13 February:** President George Bush signs a National Security Directive pledging continued financial and military support. **14 February:** The last Soviet soldier leaves Kabul airport. **15 February:** The United States rejects a Soviet call for an end to arms shipments to Afghanistan. **18 February:** The government declares a nationwide state of emergency. President Najibullah appoints new cabinet members:

- Burhanuddin Ghiasi: Commerce
- Sherjan Mazduryar: Civil Aviation
- Abdul Baher: Light Industries, Foodstuffs
- Ismail Danesh: Higher and Vocational Education
- Sayyid Amin Zara: Public Health
- Sayyid Akram: Returnees’ Affairs
- Abdul Ghafur Baher: Islamic Affairs, Endowments
- Nur Ahmad Barits: Without Portfolio

Muhammad Nabi Muhammadi becomes spokesman of the mujahedin alliance. **20 February:** Prime Minister Sharq resigns. **21 February:** Sultan Ali Keshtmand is appointed chairman of the executive committee of the council of ministers. **23 February:** Mujahedin leaders elect Abdul Rasul Sayyaf as acting prime minister and Sebghatullah Mujaddidi as acting president of the interim government. The portfolios are distributed as follows:

- Muhd. Nabi Muhammadi: Defense
- Muhd. Shah Fazli (Harakat): Scientific Research
- Maulawi Islamuddin (Harakat): Agriculture
- Gulbuddin Hekmatyar (Hizb): Foreign Affairs
- Ali Ansari (Hizb-H): Frontier Affairs
- Qazi Najiulla (Hizb-H): Justice
- Yunus Khalis (Hizb-K): Interior
- Haji Din Muhd. (Hizb-K): National Security
- Maulawi Abdul Razzaq (H-K): Religious Affairs
- Burhanuddin Rabbani (Jam): Reconstruction
- Najibullah Lafra’i (Jam): Islamic Guidance
- Ishan Jan (Jam): Mining, Industries
- Ahmad Shah (Ittihad): Communications
- Sayyid Nadir Khurram (Jabha): Health
Pir Sayyid Ahmad Gailani challenges the legitimacy of the government.  

5 March: The mujahedin launch an offensive against Jalalabad. 

16 March: Afghan Army Chief of Staff Lt. Gen. Asef Delawar is reported to be in Jalalabad supervising its defense. 

20 March: Mujahedin attempt to capture Jalalabad fails. 

24 March: An 85-truck government convoy breaks through to Jalalabad. 

27 March: President Najibullah offers mujahedin commanders autonomy if they end the war. A council of 35 commanders rejects the offer. 

6 April: U.S. Secretary of State James Baker recommends Peter Tomsen as special envoy to the mujahedin with the rank of ambassador. 

12 April: The mujahedin cabinet begins a three-day session in Afghan territory. 

24 April: Afghan Foreign Minister Abdul Wakil accuses Pakistan of aggression. 

6 May: Valentin I. Varennikov, Soviet deputy minister of defense, ends a four-day visit to Kabul. 

9 May: Pir Sayyid Ahmad Gailani challenges the legitimacy of the interim government. 

16 May: KHAD chief Abdul Rahman is said to have defected to Yunis Khalis mujahedin group. 

17 May: Government troops reopen Jalalabad-Kabul road. 

21 May: President Najibullah invites mujahedin leaders and commanders to take part in the Loya Jirga. 

24 May: President Najibullah offers regional autonomy to mujahedin commanders if they agree to stop fighting. A convoy of Soviet-made tanks and artillery arrives in Kabul. 

24 June: President Najibullah appoints Mahmud Baryalai as first deputy prime minister. 

5 July: Government troops recapture Tor Kham. 

19 July: Units of Burhanuddin Rabbani and Muhd. Nabi Muhammad are fighting over turf in Helmand Province. 

24 July: Defense Minister Shahnawaz Tanai is said to be under house arrest. 

26 July: Najmuddin Kawiani, head of foreign relations committee of the national assembly and politburo member, reports secret peace talks with the “opposition.” 

29 July: Nur Ahmad Nur is appointed ambassador and permanent representative to the United Nations. 

1 August: Defense Minister Tanai is reported to be implicated in coup attempt. 

8 August: Two bodyguards of Abdul Latif who confessed to killing him are executed. 

11 August: Abdul Rasul Sayyaf, prime minister, rejects Gulbuddin Hekmatyar’s suggestion that the rebels should take control by backing an army coup. 

14 August: Government spokesman Muhammad Nabi Amani says 183 civilians were killed in Kabul by rockets in one week. 

25 August: Jam’iat-i Islami Commander Ahmad Shah Mas’ud accuses Hizb-i-Islami of collusion with Kabul government. 

29 August: Fighters of Sayyaf and Muhammad battle over control of a bridge in Helmand Province that produces
lucrative tax and toll revenues. **30 August:** Gulbuddin Hekmatyar’s Hizb-i Islami withdraws from the mujahedin alliance. **11 October:** Muhammad Asghar becomes president of the 15-member National Salvation Society, which was formed to seek a peaceful solution to the war. **17 October:** Boris Nikolayevich Pastukhov, Soviet ambassador, presents his credentials. **7 November:** Lt. Gen. Ali Akbar is killed in fighting in Kandahar. **14 November:** Mujahedin launch a three-pronged attack on Jalalabad that is repulsed. **21 November:** President Najibullah extends the state of emergency for another six months. **30 November:** Mujahedin leaders Burhanuddin Rabbani and Gulbuddin Hekmatyar announce a cease-fire and exchange of prisoners and captured land. **2 December:** The Kabul government arrests 127 people suspected of plotting a coup. Brig. Gen. Ghulam Haidar is killed in fighting at Jalalabad. **21 December:** Jam’iat executes four members of Hizb, including Sayyid Jamal, who had ambushed Jam’iat commanders. **31 December:** President Najibullah calls for PDPA to change its name.

**1990 24 January:** President Najibullah says that he will step down if his government is defeated in UN-supervised elections. **2 February:** Some 10,000 refugees demonstrate in favor of the return of Zahir Shah in Quetta. **12 February:** Farid Ahmad Mazdak is appointed acting chairman of the National Front’s central council, replacing Abdur Rahim Hatif. **5 March:** Trials begin of some 124 Afghans arrested in December and charged with plotting a coup. **6 March:** Defense Minister Shahnawaz Tanai launches a coup against President Najibullah. **7 March:** Gulbuddin Hekmatyar says his forces are supporting the Tanai coup. **9 March:** Government troops recapture the Bagram air base. Other mujahedin groups refuse to support the Tanai coup. **6 April:** Two generals and 11 other people are killed at a ceremony when a mujahedin group that promised to surrender opens fire on government troops. Fazl Haq Khaliqyar, governor of Herat, is wounded. **14 April:** The Kabul government accuses the United Nations of failing to monitor alleged violations of the Geneva accords. **21 May:** The new Prime Minister Khaliqyar presents his new cabinet:

- Mahmud Baryalai
- Abdul Wahid Sorabi
- Nematullah Pazhwak
- Abdul Qayyum Nurzai
- Sarwar Mangal

First Deputy Prime Minister
Deputy Prime Minister
Deputy Prime Minister
Deputy Prime Minister
Deputy Prime Minister
Mahbubullah Kushani  Deputy Prime Minister
Nur Ahmad Barits   Adviser
Faqir Muhd. Yaqubi  Adviser
Shah Wali          Adviser
Sayyid Akram Peigir Adviser
Muhd. Aslam Watanjar Defense
Raz Muhd. Paktin    Interior
Abdul Wakil        Foreign Affairs
Muhammad Hakim     Finance
Abdul Wahid Sorabi Planning
Mas`uma Esmati Wardak Education
Anwar Shams        Higher and Vocational Education
Faqir Muhd. Nikzad Construction
Zakim Shah         Commerce
Bashir Ruigar      Information, Culture
Mehr Muhd. Ejazi    Health
Sayyid Nasim Alawi Communications
Anwar Dost         Light Industries, Foodstuffs
Muhd. Siddiq Sailani Islamic Affairs
Khalilullah        Transport
Hamidullah Tarzi   Civil Aviation
Hayatullah Azizi   Reconstruction, Rural Development
Ghulam Faruq Yaqubi State Security
Sarjang Zazai      Border Affairs
Muhammad Ghufran   Agriculture, Land Reform
Ghulam Muhyiuddin  Justice
Shahbaz            Statistics
Saleha Faruq Etemadi Social Affairs
Fath Muhammad Tarin Repatriation
Abdul Samad Saleh  Mines, Industries
Abdul Ghafur Rahim Water, Power

28 May: Kabul government convenes a Loya Jirga in preparation for amending the constitution. 16 June: Nine Shi’a mujahedin parties unite in the Hizb-i Wahdat, Party of Unity. 22 June: Conference of mujahedin commanders in Paktia Province. 27 June: Opening of the second party congress that reelects Dr. Najibullah and changes the name of the party to “Homeland Party” (Hizb-i Watan). 30 June: Meeting of former prominent government officials at the invitation of President Mujaddidi. Members invited include:
Muhammad Yusuf, prime minister
Abdul Samad Hamed, minister
Rawan Farhadi, minister and diplomat
Sabbahuddin Kushkaki, minister and writer
Abdul Hakim Tabibi, minister and diplomat
Nangyalai Tarzi, diplomat
Humayun Asefi, diplomat
Agha Jan Barakzai
Sayyid Ishaq Gailani, mujahedin leader
Sayyid Makhdum Rahin, poet and writer
Abdul Ahad Karzai, member of parliament
Abdul Hai Tokhi (Tukhay)
Abdur Rahman Ulfat, adviser
Ihsanullah Mayar
Sayyid Asadullah Nuktadan
Abdul Aziz Firogh
Abdul Qadir Nurzai
Wali Ahmad Sherzai
Enayatullah Iblagh
Ishaq Akhlaqi
Muhammad Akram, scholar and diplomat
Muhammad Anwar Sherzai
Siddiq Rashid Saljuqi
Muhammad Gulab Nangarhari, minister and poet
Muhammad Hashim Mujaddidi, educator and senator
Muhammad Yahya Nauruz, general

Members of the Shi’a Wahdat alliance of mujahedin groups also participated. 9 July: Nizamuddin Tahzib, a Parjami, is relieved from his post as chief justice of the supreme court. 25 July: Beginning of UN-assisted repatriation of refugees from Pakistan. 29 July-25 August: Najibullah visits the Soviet Union; Abdur Rahim Hatef is acting president. 5 September: Kabul government removes unruly militias from the city. 11 September: Najibullah decrees legalization of political parties. 30 September: Alliance of democratic parties of the left dissolves itself. 5 October: Tirin Kot, administrative center of Oruzgan Province, captured by mujahedin forces. 15 October: Mas’ud, the Jam’iat commander, visits Islamabad where he meets the Pakistani head of state and Gulbuddin Hekmatyar. 25 October: The U.S. Congress reduces its aid to the Afghan resistance. 19 November:
President Najibullah arrives in Switzerland for discussions with Afghan personalities.

1991 7 February: President Najibullah appoints new ministers: Ghulam Muyiuddin Shahbaz, planning; Muhammad Nazir Shahadi, statistics; Wadir Safi, civil aviation and tourism. 8 February: Afghan resistance sends 300 mujahedin to Saudi Arabia in war with Iraq. Sayyaf and Hekmatyar protest. 31 March: Khost captured by mujahedin forces headed by Commander Haqani, 2,200 prisoners taken and seven generals (including Col. Gen. Muhammad Zahir Solamal, deputy minister of Defense; Maj. Gen. Ghulam Mustafa, chief of political affairs of the armed force; Maj. Gen. Muhammad Qasim, commander of artillery, special guards; Major Muhammad Azam, an air force commander; Lt. Gen. Shirin, commander of the Khost militia units). 2 April: Kabul government declares a “Day of Mourning.” 6 April: Muhammad Nurzad elected mayor of Kabul to replace Abdul Karim Misaq who defected and moved to Germany. 10 April: Vice President Sultan Ali Keshtmand is dismissed. 16 April: President Najibullah offers a new amnesty to all Afghans living abroad who return to Afghanistan. 20 April: Explosion at Jamilurrahman’s Asadabad (Wahhabi) headquarters in Kunar province results in some 500 killed and 700 wounded. 22 April: Afghan Foreign Minister Abdul Wakil to visit Moscow and New York. 26 April: Representatives of the Pakistani military intelligence service (ISI) meet in Geneva with representatives of the Kabul government. 21 May: Javier Perez de Cuéllar, UN secretary general, issues a five-point proposal for a political settlement in Afghanistan. 27–28 May: Soviet-Pakistan talks in Moscow about Afghanistan. 20 June: Babrak Karmal returns to Afghanistan from exile in the Soviet Union. 1 July: The Kabul regime omits all references to the Saur Revolt from official documents. 22 July: Mas’ud takes Ishkashem and shortly afterwards the Wakhan Corridor. 13 September: USSR and United States agree to end delivery of weapons to the Afghan combatants as of January 1, 1992. 14 October: The supreme justice of Kabul declares that all legal decisions must conform to Islamic law. 4 November: Former King Zahir is slightly wounded in an assassination attempt. 5 December: The United Nations agrees on solution for transfer of government. 15 December: Soviet Union stops arms deliveries to Afghanistan.

1992 14 January: Najibullah annuls Decree 14, depriving the royal family of its property. 6 February: Generals Dostum, Shah Nasir
Naderi, and Momen rebel against Najibullah government. 15 March: Mujahedin seize Samangan Province. 18 March: President Najibullah agrees to resign as soon as interim government is installed. 29 March: Wahdat party takes Sar-i Pol. 8 April: General Dostum takes over Mazar-i Sharif. 12 April: Masud takes control of Salang Tunnel. 15 April: Dostum militia takes Kabul airport. 16 April: Najibullah takes refuge in UN compound. Ghazni and Gardez taken by the resistance. 18 April: Kunduz and Jalalabad fall to the resistance. Rahim Hatef nominated as interim president. 21 April: Pul-i Alam in Logar taken by Hizb-i Islami. 22 April: Gardez taken by Jalaluddin Haqani. 24 April: Resistance leaders set up interim Islamic council of 51 members. Sebghatullah Mujaddidi assumes provisional control. Jalalabad taken by mujahedin. 25 April: Resistance enters Kabul, partisans of Mas’ud and Hekmatyar fight. 26 April: Mas’ud takes presidential palace and takes barracks from Hizb-i Islami. Shi’a Harakat-i Islami takes missile base of Darulaman. 28 April: Mujaddidi arrives in Kabul, proclaims Islamic State of Afghanistan, and announces general amnesty. 29 April: Hizb-i Islami fighters ejected from interior ministry. Mas’ud arrives in Kabul. 3 May: Egypt recognizes Islamic State of Afghanistan. Hekmatyar threatens to attack if Dostum does not leave Kabul. 6 May: First session of the Jehad Council under the presidency of Prof. Rabbani. 10 May: Sayyid Ahmad Gailani arrives at Kabul. 14 May: Mujaddidi nominates Dostum general (setar genral, 4 stars) and Naderi general (dagar genral, 3 stars). 21 May: Mas’ud and Hekmatyar conclude cease-fire. Yunus Khales arrives at Kabul. 30 May: Dostum and Hekmatyar fight for control of Karte Nau district. 19 June: Dostum militia and Mas’ud’s forces clash. 28 June: Mujaddidi surrenders presidency to Rabbani. 4 July: Violent artillery combat between forces of Dostum and Hekmatyar. 2 August: Khales resigns from Jehad Council. 27 August: Cease-fire concluded between Rabbani and Hekmatyar. 5 September: Uzbek militia quits Kabul. 17 September: Agreement of Paghman between Rabbani and Hekmatyar, designation of an assembly for choosing the successor of Rabbani. 27 October: Leadership Council, headed by President Rabbani, elected to extend Rabbani’s term by two months. 12 December: Interim President Rabbani announces that he will hold his post beyond his term until a successor is chosen. 30 December: The Resolution and Settlement Council voted to keep Rabbani in power. Five of the nine mujahedin factions refused to participate.
1993 2 January: Rabbani steps down as head of the Jami’at Party. 3 January: During swearing-in ceremonies of President Rabbani six rockets hit Kabul. The Resolution and Settlement Council is dissolved as its duties have been completed. 3 February: The United Nations suspends its aid shipments by way of south and eastern Afghanistan. 6 February: General Dostum is nominated deputy minister of defense. 11 February: The imam of al-Azhar University calls on the mujahedin to stop fighting and direct their efforts to areas where Muslims are still oppressed. 16 February: Shooting in Kabul stopped for the first time since January 19. 7 March: The Islamabad Accord between Afghan parties (except Khales and Dostum) nominates Rabbani president for 18 months and Hekmatyar prime minister. A defense council of all parties is to be in charge of the ministry of defense; all heavy weapons are to be removed from the capital; a council to be elected in eight months, and presidential and legislative elections to be held in mid–1995. The Organization of the Islamic Conference, the Afghan parties, and Pakistan should supervise the cease-fire. 8 March: Hizb-i Islami and Wahdat fire 70 missiles on Kabul. 11 March: The leaders assemble at Mecca to fix the details of the prerogatives of the prime minister, the control of the defense council, and the power of the Uzbek militia. The accord is countersigned by King Fahd. 19-20 March: Reunion at Jalalabad fails to achieve agreement. 22 March: Fighting between Wahdat and Ittihad continues in Kabul. 23 March: Hizb-i Islami captures Naghlu dam from Harakat-e Inqilab-i-Islami. Pakistani militia seize Stinger missiles from Mulla Abdul Salam (Mulla Roketi), and the mulla takes 27 hostages in reprisal. 28 March: General Fauzi, a spokesman of Dostum, declares that there will not be any peace without representation of Dostum in the Kabul government. 1 April: Jam‘iat and Hizb form a committee to resolve their problems. 2 April: Jam‘iat and Wahdat agree to release prisoners and restore quiet. 7 April: Afghan defense minister claims that Hekmatyar and Sayyaf supply weapons to Tajik Islamists. 9 April: First break in the cease-fire between Jam‘iat and Wahdat. 15 April: The governors of Herat and Khorasan, Iran, sign an accord of cooperation against drug traffic. 9-10 May: Heavy fighting between forces of Ittihad and Wahdat in Kabul. 11 May: Kabul Museum burns. 12 May: Bombardment of Kabul resumed. 13 May: Mas‘ud gains help of Dostam against Hizb-i Islami forces. 19 May: Rabbani and Hekmatyar agree to a cease-fire. 20 May: Mas‘ud resigns as defense minister.
6 June: Hekmatyar presides at the first meeting of his government at Charasiab. 17 June: Government meets in Paghman. 21 June: Council of ministers meets in Darulaman. 23–28 June: Fighting between Wahdat and Mas’ud forces. 3 July: President Rabbani receives General Dostum. 12 July: Dostum and Hekmatyar meet and agree to a cease-fire. 15 July: Mas’ud and Hekmatyar forces fight near airport. 26 July: Mas’ud’s forces take Bagram air base from Ittihad. 31 August: Cease-fire between Ittihad and Wahdat. 14 September: Hizb-i Islami bombards eastern Kabul. 15 September: The Afghan Communist party is said to have had a meeting in Microrayon and elected Mahmud Baryalai to head the party. 19 October: Kabul-Jalalabad Highway is reopened for traffic. 24 October: Afghanistan and Tajikistan sign an agreement to export natural gas to Tajikistan. 2 November: A Russian plane bombards Badakhshan. 9 November: Ms. Robin Raphel, American under-secretary of state for South Asia, visits Kabul regarding economic and humanitarian aid. She meets Rabbani, Hekmatyar, Mas’ud, and Dostum. 21 November: Islamist ideologue Hasan Al-Turabi visits Kabul. 3 December: Telephone connection with Kabul restored. 23 December: General Dostum regains Sher Khan Bandar without a fight.

1994 1 January: Forces of Dostum and Hekmatyar attack Kabul forces. 5 January: Rabbani forces take Kabul airport. General Momen killed in helicopter accident. 6 January: Fighting around Bala Hisar and Microrayon. Mujaddidi supports Dostum-Hekmatyar alliance. 10 January: Pul-i Khishti mosque destroyed. 2 April: M. Mestiri, UN emissary, arrives in Kabul and meets with Rabbani, Mas’ud, and Hekmatyar. 4 April: Mas’ud’s forces attack Pul-i Khumri, held by Dostum and Isma’ili forces. 6 April: Mestiri leaves Kabul without obtaining a cease-fire between the belligerents. 19 April: Rabbani announces his intention to extend his mandate until December 1994, because his adversaries did not respect the accords of Jalalabad. 24 April: Mulla Salam, also called Mulla Roketi, holds two Chinese engineers and 10 Pakistanis and demands that Pakistan free his brother and return the three Stingers captured from him. 27 April: According to the International Red Cross, the civil war in Kabul has resulted in 2,500 deaths, 17,000 wounded, and 632,000 refugees from Kabul since January 1, 1994. At least 20,000 houses were destroyed. 1 May: Offensive of Hekmatyar forces against Kabul is stopped. 9 May: Kabul air force bombards Mazar and Pul-i Khumri. 13–14 May: Dostum bombards the 10th
Division at Qargha near Kabul. **17–18 May**: Sayyaf takes Maidan Shahr from Hekmatyar forces. **21–22 May**: General Dostum indicates having used six Stinger missiles to down two of Rabbani’s aircraft. Dostum’s head of the air force, General Jalil, claims to have 32 operational planes, more than 22,000 bombs, and 100 pilots. **28 May**: Conflict within Wahdat between supporters of Muhammad Akbari and Abdul Ali Mazari. **3 June**: Dostum and Isma’il Khan forces clash in Shindand. Dostum bombs Herat. **8 June**: Rabbani proposes that his successor be chosen by a Loya Jirga. **10 June**: Fighting resumes in Kabul. **15 June**: Rabbani extends his “mandate,” which was to expire in June, for another six months. **19 June**: Isma’il Khan escapes an assassination attempt. **25 June**: Harakat recaptures control of Darulaman palace from Hizb-i Islami. **26 June**: Rabbani’s forces expel Dostum’s forces from the Bala Hisar and Maranjan hill. **17 June**: Yunus Khales declares himself interim president. **8 July**: The parties of Gailani, Hekmatyar, Mujaddidi, Muhammadi, Muhseni, Mazari, and Dostum form a commission to negotiate with Rabbani and Sayyaf. **14 July**: Pakistani minister of foreign affairs threatens to close the offices of Sayyaf’s party if Mulla Roketi does not liberate his hostages. They are freed on July 21. **20 July**: Official opening of the Herat assembly in the presence of 700 participants. **24 July**: Rabbani arrives at Herat, but does not participate in the assembly. **August**: Mulla Mohammad Omar founds Taliban movement. **7 August**: Rabbani receives Muhammadi, Muhseni, and Gailani at Kabul. **8 September**: Hizb-i Islami takes control of Khenjan north of the Salang Pass. **12 September**: Fighting breaks out between Wahdat and Harakat for control of Darulaman. Akbari defects from Wahdat. **25 September**: Iranian intermediaries help in establishing a cease-fire between the Shi’a parties. **2 October**: Pakistan holds goods destined for Afghanistan in Karachi. **11 October**: According to the International Red Cross, 1,100 people were killed and 23,000 wounded in Kabul in September. **2 November**: A Pakistani convoy of goods destined for Turkmenistan is stopped by commanders between Spin Boldak and Kandahar. Taliban clash with commanders. **5 November**: The Taliban capture Kandahar; the commander of the Muslim group is hanged. **7 November**: A spokesman of Rabbani accuses Uzbekistan of interference in Afghan internal affairs for having delivered 30 Russian tanks to Dostum. **8 November**: Visit to Kabul by a UN delegation for the first time in seven months. **13 November**: Having re-
pelled the commanders Lalay (Mahaz) and Sarkateb (Hizb-i-Hekmatyar), the Taliban take control of Kandahar. **17 November:** The Pakistani minister of the interior announces that Pakistan will start to repair the route from Kandahar to Herat. Kabul calls this an invasion of Afghanistan. **25 November:** Taliban take control of Helmand Province. **5 December:** Arrival at Kabul of the first aid convoy in six months, 32 trucks for Rabbani and 32 for his opponents. **6 December:** Return to Pakistan of the convoy from Turkmenistan. **13 December:** Arrival of a UN aid convoy in Kunduz, the first in two years. **20 December:** Dostum arrives in Islamabad. **28 December:** Mestiri arrives in Islamabad to restart his peace effort.

**1995 1 January:** Some 3,000 Pakistani Taliban leave for Afghanistan. M. Mestiri arrives in Kabul during an unofficial ceasefire. Yunus Khales returns to Jalalabad after an absence of 19 years. **4 January:** Mestiri opens a new UN office in Jalalabad and meets with Hekmatyar. The American ambassador to Pakistan meets Rabbani at Kabul. **22 January:** The access roads to Kabul are again closed by the Hizb-i Hekmatyar. **24 January:** The Taliban take Ghazni. **30 January:** Dostum’s forces capture Kunduz. **10 February:** Taliban capture Maidan Shahr. Mestiri announces a power transfer for February 20, at which Rabbani is to transfer power to a committee of 20 persons. **11 February:** The Taliban claim capture of Pul-i Alam and control of the entire Logar Province. **14 February:** Hekmatyar withdraws his forces from the Kabul area to Sarobi, abandoning his heavy weapons. **15 February:** The Taliban occupy Pul-i Charkhi and expel the Hizb-i Islami from Khost. **16 February:** Rabbani’s forces retake Kunduz. **17 February:** Kabul airport reopens after being closed for more than a year. **19 February:** The Taliban take Sharan, center of Paktika, and Gardez, center of Paktia. **20 February:** Jam’iat forces fight Wahdat. Mestiri admits failure of his plan for transfer of power in Kabul. **25 February:** The Taliban threaten to attack Kabul if Rabbani does not lay down his arms. **5 March:** Mazari declares his readiness to recognize the Kabul government if the Hazara get 25 percent representation. **6 March:** Jam’iat forces attack the positions of Wahdat at Kabul. **7 March:** Mazari threatens to use SCUD missiles if Rabbani’s forces will not stop their attacks. **9 March:** Wahdat surrenders its position south of Kabul to the Taliban. **10 March:** Nabi Muhammadi deserts
Rabbani for the Taliban. Sayyaf sells his arms depot at the Pakistani border to a Trimangal tribal chief. 11 March: Kabul forces capture all the territory held by Wahdat, including the SCUD missile base at Darulaman and Kabul Museum. 13 March: Mazari and a number of Wahdat leaders are killed while in Taliban captivity. 14 March: The Taliban claim conquest of Nimruz Province. 19 March: Mas’ud’s forces take Charasiab from the Taliban. 1 April: Mujaddidi replaces Hekmatyar as head of the four-party opponents of Rabbani. 4 April: Taliban attack the Shindand air base and Herat. Also fight Jam’iat forces in Maidan Shahr. 7 April: Iran prohibits commercial transit to Afghanistan. 12 April: Jam’iat emissary Abdur Rahman meets Dostum in Tashkent. 13 April: Taliban demand that foreign states not reopen their embassies in Kabul. 19 April: The Taliban block the delivery of fuel to Kabul. Hizb and Taliban establish contacts. 27 April: The Taliban free 300 captives of Dostum’s forces. 28 April: Taliban defeated in the Farah area. 9 May: The Pakistani ambassador returns to Kabul. Forces of Isma’il Khan take Farah. 15 May: Forces of Rabbani capture Zaranj from the Taliban. 24 May: Continuation of stalled negotiation between representatives of Dostum and Rabbani. Questions raised are opening of the Salang route and lifting of the fatwa proclaiming holy war against Dostum. 20 June: Jam’iat forces take control of Bamian from the Shi’a Wahdat. 29 June: Sardar Abdul Wali, son-in-law of ex-King Zahir Shah, arrives in Islamabad at invitation of Pakistan government. 20 August: Abdul Wali returns to Rome. 26 August: Taliban take Girishk. 31 August: Taliban take Delaram. 2 September: Taliban take Shindand. 5 September: Taliban take Herat and Islam Qala. Isma’il Khan flees to Iran. 6 September: Kabuli crowds attack Pakistan embassy, one is killed and 20 persons wounded, including the ambassador. 7 September: Taliban take Ghor Province. 15 September: Explosion in Herat by enemies of Taliban. 10 November: UNICEF suspends educational assistance to Taliban-controlled areas because of the closing of girls’ schools.

1996 3 April: About 1,000 members of the ulama choose Taliban Mulla Muhammad Omar as Amir al-Mu’minin. 24 May: Hekmatyar concludes an anti-Taliban treaty with Rabbani. Hekmatyar rejoins Kabul government as prime minister; upon arrival in Kabul orders all cinemas closed and forbids music to be broadcast on Kabul Radio and Television. He advises women to observe Islamic code of dress and orders government officials to perform their noon prayers in their places.
of work. **1 June**: Taliban take Chaghcharan, capital of Ghor Province. **18 June**: Taliban take a government base at Nimruz. **26 June**: In a deal with Rabbani, Gulbuddin Hekmatyar becomes prime minister. **6 July**: Prime Minister Hekmatyar forms new cabinet:

- Wahidullah Sabawun (of Hizb) Defense
- Abdul Hadi Arghandiwal (of Hizb) Finance
- Muhammad Yunus Qanuni (of Jam’iat) Interior
- Ahmad Shah Ahmadzai (of Ittihad) Education
- Qayamullah Kashaf (of Ittihad) Information and Culture
- Sayyid Ali Javid (Harakat of Muhsini) Planning
- Sayyid Husain Anwari (of Harakat) Work and Social Affairs
- Maulawi Samiullah Najibi (of Kunar Jama’at Tauhid) Martyrs and Disabled
- Sayyid Husain Alami (of Akbari Wahdat) Commerce
- Qutbuddin Helal (faction not known) deputy prime minister

**10 July**: Norbert Holl, a German diplomat, is nominated as special representative of the United Nations for Afghanistan. **17 July**: Sayyid Gailani announces creation of a new alliance, including Mujaddidi, Dostum, Khalili (Wahdat), Muhammad Nabi, and the Jalalabad Shura, headed by Haji Qadir. **27 July**: Norbert Holl arrives at Kabul. **11 September**: Taliban capture Jalalabad from Shura and prepare for attack on Sarobi. **12 September**: Taliban capture Laghman Province and its capital, Mehterlam. **22 September**: Taliban capture Kunar Province. **25 September**: Taliban capture Sarobi. **27 September**: Taliban capture Kabul, torture and execute ex-President Najibullah and his brother Shapur Ahmadzai. They also kill General Jaffar and M. Tokhi who shared UN shelter with Najibullah. Taliban announce establishment of an Islamic state. Taliban take Baghris and Charikar. **28 September**: Sebghatullah Mujaddidi announces his support for the Taliban. Taliban close girls’ schools, ban women from working in public. Women must wear the chador (burqa) and be accompanied in public by a close male relative. **29 September**: Taliban take Jabal-us-Siraj. M. Holl, special UN envoy for Afghanistan, arrives in Kabul. **3 October**: Men ordered to wear turbans and grow fist-length beards. **10 October**: A defensive alliance is concluded between General Dostum, Ahmad Shah Mas’ud, and Abdul Karim Khalili. **12 October**: Forces of Mas’ud retake Jabal-us-Siraj. **13 October**: Mas’ud retakes Charikar. **15 October**: Mas’ud
forces retake Bagram. **25 October:** Taliban claim to have captured Qala-i Nau in Badghis Province. **27 October:** Forces of Dostum retake Badghis Province. **31 October:** Troops of Isma’il Khan flown from Iran to Maimana to fight Taliban forces. **5 November:** General Tanai, minister of defense under the Najibullah regime, gives his support to the Taliban. **24 November:** Taliban take Kalakan village. **27 November:** Taliban take Istalif. **1 December:** Babrak Karmal dies.

1997 **4 January:** Mulla Omar orders the people to pray for rain or snow. **6 January:** The medical faculty of Jalalabad University opens without female students. Forces of General Dostum attack Taliban troops in Badghis. **7 January:** An American delegation meets with Mulla Hasan, vice president of the Taliban council, to discuss the elimination of drug trafficking and the termination of international terrorism. **12 January:** The Afghani has fallen to 28,200 for one dollar. **16 January:** Taliban take Bagram and Charikar. **17 January:** Taliban move into Kapisa Province, take Mahmud Raqi. **2 February:** Taliban delegation visits the United States. **15 February:** Government officials and military are not permitted to smoke. **27 February:** Taliban government forbids the possession of foreign magazines and books. Kabul University opens without female students. **March:** Taliban government declines to extradite Osama bin Laden. The Taliban take Kunduz. **20 March:** General Abdul Malik captures Badghis, Faryab, and Sar-i-Pol Provinces, surrenders 700 prisoners and Isma’il Khan to the Taliban. Taliban prohibit New Year (њурژ) celebrations. **13 May:** Afghan opposition forms new government in Mazar-i Sharif. **19 May:** General Abdul Malik revolts, forces General Dostum to flee to Turkish exile. **24 May:** Taliban enter Mazar-i Sharif with the support of Abdul Malik. **25 May:** Pakistan recognizes the Taliban government. **26 May:** Saudi Arabia recognizes the Taliban government. **28 May:** Taliban want to disarm Abdul Malik’s forces, he turns against them and, with the help of the Shi’ite Hizb-i Wahdat, defeats Taliban who suffer hundreds killed. **2 July:** The Taliban take Khanabad. **4 July:** General Malik closes the Pakistan consulate in Mazar-i Sharif. **11 August:** The principal leaders of the opposition, including Masud, Abdul Malik, Rabbani, and Khalili, meet at the Salang Pass for strategy discussions. **14 August:** United States decides to temporarily close the Afghan embassy in Washington to avoid recognizing the Taliban government. **21 August:** Abdur Rahim Ghafurzai, newly elected prime minister of the Northern
Alliance, is killed in Bamian in an airplane accident. **5 September:** Abdullah Abdullah, deputy foreign minister of the Rabbani government, represents Afghanistan at the UN General Assembly. **9 September:** The Taliban take Mazar-i-Sharif. General Malik is expelled with the support of the Pashtun Hizb-i Islami. **12 September:** The Taliban are expelled from Mazar-i-Sharif. **4 October:** The opposition takes Mazar-i-Sharif from the Taliban. **14 October:** General Dostum returns to Mazar-i-Sharif, forces Abdul Malik to flee. **19 October:** Sick women are removed from Wazir Akbar Khan and Karte Se hospitals. Women are to be kept in a separate hospital. **26 October:** The Taliban change the name of Afghanistan to The Islamic Emirate (Amirat) of Afghanistan. **November:** General Malik flees into exile. **16 November:** General Dostum reveals mass graves of 2,000 Taliban. **16 December:** A UN spokesman confirms that hundreds of Taliban were massacred in September and their bodies thrown into well pits.

**1998 6 January:** President Rabbani visits Iran, Pakistan, and Tajikistan to gain support for a regional conference on Afghanistan. The Taliban are accused of having massacred 600 civilians in Fariab Province. **4 February:** Earthquake in northeastern Afghanistan kills 4,000 and renders 15,000 homeless. **23 February:** Creation in Peshawar of the “World Front of Jihad against Jews and Crusaders.” Osama bin Laden is one of the founders. **26 February:** Three men accused of sodomy are put against a wall in Kandahar, which is toppled over them. One man who survived is freed. Mulla Muhammad Omar, head of the Taliban, and a large number of spectators attend the event. **5 March:** The Taliban government adopts the lunar calendar as the official means of reckoning time. **7 April:** Osama bin Laden participates at public prayers in Kandahar on the occasion of the Feast of Sacrifice. **23 April:** American diplomats arrive in Kabul for discussion about the increase in poppy cultivation. **24 May:** The Taliban government punishes 490 men for cutting their beards and 110 women for being insufficiently veiled. **25 May:** The department for “Enjoining the Good and Forbidding Evil” is elevated to the rank of ministry. **27 May:** In a press conference in Khost, Osama bin Laden calls for a new jihad against the American forces stationed in Saudi Arabia. **29 May:** Mulla Omar cancels the amnesty granted to former communists. **16 June:** The Taliban orders all girls schools in private homes closed. **8 July:** The Taliban order all television sets destroyed and testing of individuals on their knowledge of
Islam.  **9 July:** Taliban forbid conversions of Afghan Muslims to another religion.  **7 August:** Car bombs destroy U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania. The attacks are blamed on Osama bin Laden.  **9 August:** A force of 5,000 Taliban captures Mazar-i Sharif. Iran accuses the Taliban of having assassinated 10 Iranian diplomats and one journalist.  **18 August:** U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright demands that the Taliban deliver Osama bin Laden, form a broad-based government, and improve the human rights condition in Afghanistan as a precondition to recognition by the United States.  **20 August:** The United States fires cruise missiles on camps of bin Laden and groups held responsible for attacks on American embassies in Kenya and Tanzania.  **13 September:** Taliban capture Bamian.  **22 September:** Saudi Arabia recalls its chargé d’affaires at Kabul.  **27 September:** Mulla Omar announces that any believer who cannot recite correctly the five prayers will be punished.  **14 October:** Lakhdar Bahimi holds talks with Mulla Muhammad Omar.  **22 October:** The Taliban government orders Hindus to wear yellow distinguishing marks on their clothing.  **4 November:** The United States offers $5 million for the capture of Osama bin Laden.  **13 November:** Muhammad Akbari, a chief of the Shi’a Hizb-i Wahdat, surrenders to the Taliban.  **23 December:** Taliban government changes the name of Pashtunistan Square to Ahmad Shah Baba Square.

**1999 2 February:** U.S. Deputy Secretary of State Strob Talbott meets with Taliban in Islamabad, demands surrender of Osama bin Laden. Taliban reject demand.  **19 February:** The Taliban order the destruction of all heroin laboratories.  **21 April:** Hizb-i Wahdat captures Bamian.  **26 April:** Afghan Shi’ites celebrate their traditional Ashura ceremonies at Kabul. But public celebrations are prohibited.  **30 April:** Ex-king Muhammad Zahir Shah proposes formation of a Loya Jirga to restore peace in Afghanistan.  **25 June:** Ex-king Zahir Shah convenes a meeting of personalities in Rome to explore ways to solve the Afghan crisis.  **6 July:** President Clinton orders commercial and financial sanctions against Afghanistan because of their support for Osama bin Laden.  **14 July:** Abdul Ahad Karzai, chief of the Popalzai tribe, is assassinated in Quetta with two other persons.  **5 August:** Ex-king Zahir Shah firmly condemns the involvement of foreign forces in Afghanistan.  **8 August:** Former President Mujaddidi leaves Pakistan after protesting Pakistani interference in Afghan affairs.  **15 August:** At the call of Muhammad Omar, some 5,000 Afghan and Pakistani madrasa students have entered
Afghanistan. 18 August: The governments of Pakistan and Afghanistan sign an agreement for cooperation in the field of post and communications. 9 September: Taliban spokesman Mulla Mutawakil says that war is the only solution for the conflict in Afghanistan. 19 September: According to a UN study, poppy cultivation was increased from 64,000 to 91,000 hectares in 1999 and the opium production increased from 2,100 to 4,600 tons. 15 September: The opposition announces formation of a new council, headed by Rabbani and including Sayyaf (vice president), Karimi (secretary), Massoud, Haji Qadir, Qurban Ali Erfani, Sabaoun, Nurullah Emad, and Abdullah Wardak. 12 October: Military coup in Pakistan overthrows government of Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif and General Pervez Musharraf takes over. 15 October: UN Security Council votes economic sanctions against the Taliban, effective 14 November, if they do not surrender Osama bin Laden. It also prohibits international flights of Afghan aircrafts and imposes a freeze on Taliban financial resources. 19 October: A high American official meets with Taliban representatives to warn them of consequences if they do not conform to the UN demands. 27 October: Mulla Mutawakil named minister of foreign affairs, replacing Mulla Hasan Akhund. 14 November: UN sanctions on Afghanistan begin. 17 November: The Taliban government decrees Chechnya separatism is an Islamic cause. 21 November: The Taliban accept the reopening of the Iranian consulate in Herat. 22 November: At the initiative of Ex-king Zahir Shah, 55 Afghan personalities assemble in Rome to prepare holding a Loya Jirga. 28 November: The Taliban government announces the formation of hundreds of Islamic councils to supervise judicial and administrative affairs in the provinces. 11 December: General Malik, coming from the United States, rejoins Massoud’s forces and General Dostum enters Afghanistan from Turkey. 14 December: U.S. government lets it be known that it will make the Taliban responsible for attacks organized by bin Laden. 19 December: UN Security Council adopts a resolution to broaden its sanctions if the Taliban do not hand over bin Laden, close alleged terrorist camps, and halt “illegal drug activities.” 21 December: The Taliban and Turkmenistan governments signed a contract for providing electricity for Faryab, Chiberghan, and Mazar-i Sharif.

2000 7 January: Mulla Omar accuses the United States of hostility to Islam and Muslims. 16 January: Moscow accuses the Taliban of supplying weapons and men to Chechnya. The government of Chechnya
opens an embassy at Kabul. **27 January:** The American news agency CNN and Al-Jazira are authorized to open information offices in Kabul. **27 February:** According to the International Drug Enforcement Agency, 75 percent of world production of opium is produced in Afghanistan. **6 March:** The Taliban destroy 355 kilos of heroin and 4,350 kilos of hashish in Kandahar Province. **20 March:** The Taliban prohibit the celebration of the new year at Kabul. **27 March:** Isma’il Khan, the former governor of Herat, escapes from a prison in Kandahar. **31 March:** Generals Abdul Malik and Dostum form a common front against the Taliban. **9 April:** Pakistan demands the closure of terrorist training camps in Afghanistan and the extradition of Pakistanis responsible for religious attacks in Karachi. **15 April:** The Taliban government permits Shi’ite Muharram celebrations. **19 April:** Iran and Afghanistan resume postal relations via Herat, which had been interrupted for eight years. **17 May:** A delegation representing the ex-king visits the United States to promote the creation of a Loya Jirga for the formation of an Afghan government. The delegation is headed by Sultan Mahmud Ghazi and includes Hamid Karzai, Ishaq Naderi, Runa Yusuf Mansuri, and Zalmai Rasul. **24 June:** Leaders of the Pakistani Jama’at-i Islami visiting Afghanistan urge the Taliban government not to extradite Osama bin Laden. **28 July:** Mulla Omar forbids the cultivation of poppy in Afghanistan. **4 September:** Isma’il Khan recruits soldiers from Iranian refugee camps. **7 October:** Commander Mas’ud meets Dostum and Isma’il Khan in Meshhed to open a new front against the Taliban. **6 November:** Mulla Muhammad decrees that men without beards are not permitted to find work. According to a report, the Afghan foreign ministry demands the return of the Koh-i Noor from Britain. **18 November:** The Taliban government refuses to extradite 23 Pakistanis accused of confessional killings. **1 December:** A resolution of the European Parliament demands that the European Union break all relations with the Taliban government. **18 December:** The United Nations decides to evacuate all its expatriate personnel. **19 December:** The UN Security Council imposes new sanctions on the Taliban government.

**2001 2 January:** Mulla Muhammad Omar decrees that conversions from Islam to Christianity are to be punishable by death. **4 January:** Abdul Sattar, Pakistan’s minister of foreign affairs, says that Pakistan will comply with the UN sanction on Afghanistan. **6 January:** Rabbani promises to end the veil requirement after the fall of the Taliban. **8 Janu-
January: UN sanction come into force in the absence of Taliban cooperation. 2 February: The United Nations publishes a list of 54 Taliban dignitaries whose accounts are frozen. 7 February: The Pakistani minister of interior, Muinuddin Haidar, visits Kabul to demand the extradition of some 60 Pakistanis wanted for criminal activities in Pakistan. 13 February: The United States orders the Taliban offices in New York closed. 26 February: Mulla Omar orders the destruction of all statues. 1 March: Taliban government begins destruction of the grand Buddha statues. 5 March: In a broadcast of Radio Sharia, Mullah Omar justifies the destruction of “idols.” 20 March: Taliban prohibit Nowruz (new year) celebrations. 28 March: The religious police in Kabul orders the wearing of white turbans for primary students and black ones for secondary students. 31 March: Seventy-five men were punished for cutting their beards. 3-7 April: On his first visit to Europe, Mas’ud meets with the French minister of foreign affairs, the president of the European Parliament, and other dignitaries. He wants assistance against the Taliban government and pressure on the Pakistan government to stop its interference in Afghanistan. 10 April: Pakistani religious parties hold a conference in which friendly messages of Osama bin Laden and Mullah Omar of Afghanistan were read. 16 April: Mulla Rabbani, head of the Taliban council of ministers, dies of cancer in Pakistan. 1 May: In its annual report on terrorism, the U.S. State Department accuses Pakistan of providing military support to the Taliban. 5 May: Taliban issue a ruling to ban foreigners from drinking alcohol, eating pork, listening to loud music, and being in contact with members of the opposite sex. 17 May: Isma’il Khan returns to Afghanistan from Iran to head a western front against the Taliban. 18 May: The Islamic ministry of Enjoining the Good and Forbidding Evil closes a hospital financed by Italy, because male and female nurses were eating together. 21 May: A decree of Mullah Omar demands that Hindus place a yellow mark on their clothing and homes and prohibits them from wearing a turban. 23 May: An unmarried couple accused of sexual relations receives 100 lashes each. 24 May: The Taliban government orders Afghan Hindus to wear a yellow sign on their dress and their women to wear the Afghan burqa. 29 May: The Taliban burn thousands of photos of women. 31 May: The Taliban prohibit foreign women from driving. 3 June: The Taliban government approves a budget of $81 million and expenditures of $82.5 million, of which $43 million are placed at the disposal of Mullah
Omar, $1 million for the religious police force (amr bi‘l ma‘ruf), $343,000 for public works, $200,000 for the ministry of refugees, $14 million for religious primary education, and $1.14 million for secondary education. 4 June: The Taliban prepare a code which forces foreigners in Afghanistan to obey Islamic rules that impose prohibitions on adultery, conducting missionary activities, playing music, watching television, eating pork or drinking alcohol, and wearing immoral clothing. 20 June: U.S. Senate resolution condemns Taliban policies of discrimination of minorities and women. 21 June: Pervez Musharraf, Pakistani chief executive, adopts the title “president.” 26 June: The Taliban government appoints Mulla Muhammad Taher minister of planning, Mulla Sa‘duddin Sa‘id minister of public works, and Ahmatullah Matih minister of agriculture. 27 June: As a result of international criticism, the Taliban government revokes its compulsion for Hindus to wear yellow distinguishing marks. 29 June: The American government warns the Taliban government about any possible attack by Osama bin Laden. It claims to have proof of Pakistani support for the Taliban. 2 July: U.S. Ambassador to Pakistan, Wendy Chamberlain, and Undersecretary of State Richard Armitage meet with the Taliban ambassador at Islamabad to threaten reprisals if bin Laden attacks any American interests. 4 July: The Taliban recall their representatives in Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates. 12 July: The Taliban prohibit the use of the Internet, except for its high council in Kandahar. All state employees are ordered to wear black turbans. 5 August: The Taliban close the Shelter Now International and arrest its 24 employees, accusing them of missionary activities. 7 August: Dostum resumes his attacks on Taliban forces. 13 August: Commander Abdul Haq demands the formation of a national union government in Afghanistan. 7 September: In a sermon, the Taliban minister of justice tells Afghans not to associate with foreigners and that Islam prohibits friendship with infidels. 9 September: Ahmad Shah Masud is killed in a suicide attack by two Arabs posing as journalists. 11 September: A terrorist attack destroys the World Trade Center in New York and part of the Pentagon in Washington, D.C. Masud dies and General Muhammad Fahim succeeds as commander of the Northern Alliance forces. 13 September: The United States mobilizes forces for action against the Taliban. President Musharraf supports American military action from Pakistani territory. 17 September: A Pakistani government delegation at Kandahar demands the surrender of
Osama bin Laden within three days. Mulla Omar refuses. **18 September:** President George W. Bush declares that the United States wants bin Laden “dead or alive.” **20 September:** An assembly of mullas asked Mulla Muhammad Omar to “invite” Osama bin Laden to leave Afghanistan. **22 September:** The United Arab Emirates break relations with the Taliban government. **24 September:** The United States government freezes the accounts of individuals and organizations accused of supporting terrorism. Pakistan withdraws its diplomatic personnel from Afghanistan. **25 September:** Saudi Arabia ends diplomatic relations with Afghanistan. **28 September:** A United Front delegation, headed by Yunus Qanuni, meets with Zahir Shah in Rome. Rabbani says that he sees no role for the ex-king. **29 September:** The United States announces that special American and British forces have been operating in Afghanistan since mid-September. **1 October:** Zahir Shah and the United Front reach an accord for constituting a Loya Jirga of 120 members, nominated by both parties. **6 October:** Zahir Shah calls for UN participation in forming a new government. **7 October:** First attack by American and British aircraft on Taliban and al Qaeda military bases at Kabul, Kandahar, Kunduz, Farah, Mazar, and Jalalabad. **10 October:** The American government announces control of Afghan airspace. **15 October:** Abdullah Abdullah, foreign minister of the Rabbani government, declares that the Alliance forces would not enter Kabul until an interim government is established. **24 October:** Pir Sayyid Ahmad Gailani convenes a meeting of tribal chiefs in Peshawar. **26 October:** Commander Abdul Haq is executed by the Taliban when trying to raise a force of Pashtuns against the Taliban. **2 November:** Hamid Karzai fights Taliban forces in the north of Kandahar. **6 November:** The United Front publishes a list of 60 representatives for a Loya Jirga, most of them from their own party. **9 November:** Hundreds of prisoners are massacred after they attempted a revolt. Forces of Generals Dostum and Muhaqiq take Mazar-i-Sharif. **12 November:** Isma’il Khan’s forces take Herat. The United States demands that the United Front forces not enter Kabul. **13 November:** Jami’at forces enter Kabul. **14 November:** United Front forces take Ghazni and most of western Afghanistan. Forces of Haji Qadir and Hazrat Ali take Jalalabad. **15 November:** General Dostum’s forces take Taluqan. Northern Alliance troops enter Kabul, Abdullah Abdullah declares that there is no need for international forces. Northern Alliance takes Jalalabad. **16 November:** Britain deploys one
hundred troops at Bagram airport. **17 November:** Ex-president Rabbani arrives in Kabul. Forces of Isma‘il Khan take Farah Province. Iran opens its embassy at Kabul. **18 November:** Afghan television begins transmission, featuring two female announcers. **21 November:** Pakistan orders the closing of Taliban consulates. **25 November:** Northern Alliance captures Kunduz, the last Taliban base in northern Afghanistan. **27 November-5 December:** An Afghan delegation, consisting of members of the Rome, Peshawar, and Cyprus representatives, meets under UN auspices in Bonn to agree on an interim government. Hamid Karzai is nominated as interim leader. The accord stipulates: creation of a 21-member commission to organize a Loya Jirga; establishment of an interim administration; formation of an international force for the maintenance of peace in Kabul; drafting of the ex-king to preside at the Loya Jirga; establishment of a commission to draft a constitution in 2003. **9 December:** Kandahar comes under Kabul control. **13 December:** Hamid Karzai arrives in Kabul. **22 December:** Interim government begins its tenure. **24 December:** General Dostum is nominated deputy minister of defense.

**2002 11 January:** The first contingent of Taliban/al Qaeda prisoners arrives at the American base at Guantanamo (Cuba). **17 January:** U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell arrives in Kabul, promises long-term American assistance. **21 January:** An international conference in Tokyo agrees to provide $4.5 billion for the reconstruction of Afghanistan. **24 January:** First publication of UNESCO-financed Kabul Weekly. **25 January:** A 21-member commission, headed by Ismail Qasimyar, is charged with selecting members for a Loya Jirga to be convened in June. **27 January:** The interim government adopts the national banner of the 1964 constitution. **10 February:** The offices of Hekmatyar in Meshed are closed by the Iran government. **14 February:** Abdur Rahman, minister of transportation, is killed, purportedly by members of the Northern Alliance. **26 February:** Gulbuddin Hekmatyar leaves Iran. **8 April:** General Fahim survives an attack during a trip to Jalalabad to meet with tribal chiefs and local commanders. **18 April:** Ex-king Muhammad Zahir Shah returns to Afghanistan. **22 April:** Muhammad Nabi Muhammadi dies. **26 April:** Ex-president Rabbani offers his loyalty to the Loya Jirga. **28 April:** Ahmad Shah Rabbani is proclaimed “National Hero.” **29 April:** General Fahim is proclaimed “Marshal.” **20 May:** The interim government decrees formation of a
voluntary national army. **23 May:** The UN Security Council extends the mandate of the international peace force for six months. **27 May:** The ex-king expresses his willingness to serve as head of state, if the Loya Jirga demands. **11 June:** The Loya Jirga, composed of 1,598 delegates (including 190 women) begins its deliberations. **13 June:** Hamid Karzai is elected head of the provisional government. **18 June:** New transitional government chosen which leaves General Fahim minister of defense and Dr. Abdullah Abdullah foreign minister. Yunus Qanuni, the third of the Panjshiri leaders, is moved from interior to education and also named special adviser on national security. Taj Muhammad Wardak becomes minister of interior, and Ashraf Ghani Ahmadzai becomes minister of finance. **20 June:** Turkey succeeds Great Britain to head the International Security Force for Afghanistan (ISFA). **22 June:** The transitional government is established with 29 members. **25 June:** Sima Samar loses the ministry of women’s affairs, but is nominated president of the human rights commission. **30 June:** Queen Humaira is buried in Kabul. **July 6:** Vice President Haji Abdul Qadir and minister of public works is assassinated in Jalalabad. **13 August:** The Iranian President Muhammad Khatami makes an official visit to Kabul, the first by an Iranian chief of state in 40 years. **August 14:** A ceremony is held in Kabul on the formation by France of the second battalion of the Afghan army. It is attended by Mr. Brahimi, representative of UN Secretary General Kofi Annan. **3 September:** The French Minister of Foreign Affairs Dominique de Villepin makes an official visit to Kabul. Assures Afghanistan of continued support. **4 September:** Hekmatyar proclaims jihad against American forces. **5 September:** Karzai escapes an assassination attempt in Kandahar. **13 September:** President Bush announces a major road-construction project, supported by a $180 million donation from the United States, Saudi Arabia, and Japan. **22 September:** The American General McNeil organizes a meeting at Herat of Isma’il Khan and Gul Agha Sherzai to prevent clashes between their forces. The Afghan government nominates Nagyalai Tarzi as ambassador to Pakistan. **25 September:** Ariana Afghan airlines resumes weekly flights from Kabul to Frankfurt with a stop in Istanbul. **7 October:** Afghan government introduces a new currency, exchanging one new Afghani for one thousand old ones. **23 October:** General Fahim makes an official visit to London. According to a UN report, Afghanistan is again the major producer of opium in the world. **26 October:** The ex-
king returns to Afghanistan. 3 November: Curfew in existence since 1978 in Kabul is ended. The ex-king inaugurates the constitutional drafting commission, headed by Ne’matullah Shahrani. Human Rights Watch claims that Isma’il Khan has created a ministate in Herat in which civil rights are not respected. 11–12 November: Students, most of them Pashtuns, protest the inadequate conditions at Kabul University. Police open fire, killing one student (four, according to some sources) and wounding ten others. 27 November: The UN Security Council unanimously renews the ISAF mandate for the year. December: A message, purported to be from Mulla Muhammad Omar, called on the Afghans to wage holy war against the United States. 12 December: The supreme court, headed by Fazl Hadi Shinwari, prohibits cable television in Jalalabad. 23 December: India donates a second Airbus 300-B4 to Afghanistan. 27 December: Turkmenistan, Afghanistan, and Pakistan sign an accord for construction of a gas duct to export Turkmen gas to the Indian Ocean. The 1,500-km. pipeline is estimated to cost $2 billion for which financing, as yet, has not been assured.

2003 January: Isma’il Khan, governor of Herat, prohibits male teachers in girls’ schools. 4 January: About 400 Pashtun chiefs arrive in Kabul to protest the arrest of an Achakzai chief by American forces. 7 January: The American army completes the formation of 400 recruits for the new Afghan army. 21 January: The supreme court prohibits cable television in Afghanistan. 28 January: General Ali Ahmad Jalali replaces Taj Muhammad Wardak as minister of interior. 30 January: A Black Hawk crashes near the Bagram airbase, killing six of its occupants. Since October 2001, the United States has lost 25 men in combat and 22 to other causes. 10 February: Germany and the Netherlands replace Turkey in command of the International Security Force for Afghanistan (ISFA). 22 February: Gulbuddin Hekmatyar calls on the people of Iraq to resist the American invasion. 24 February: The Afghan minister of mines and industries, Juma M. Muhammadi, and three of his colleagues die when a chartered plane crashes into the ocean off the coast of Karachi. 15 March: Afghan finance minister presents the budget for the year beginning March 21, amounting to $500 million. 31 March: Mulla Omar, head of the Taliban government, calls for jihad against the American forces in Afghanistan and their supporters.
The sources presented in the following sections are a representative selection of books and articles, with special emphasis on materials in English. Because French and German scholars have been pioneering in certain fields (archaeology and the sciences) a number of sources in French and German are also listed.

The reader who desires a comprehensive survey may refer to the bibliographies listed below, especially the one by Keith McLachlan and William Whittaker (1983). An excellent, though dated, bibliography is the two-volume Bibliographie der Afghanistan-Literatur (1968 and 1969), which also lists sources in Dari and Pashtu. The most recent bibliographical compilation is the work by Muhammad Akram (1990), which is available on microfiche at the Bibliotheca Afghanica in Liestal, Switzerland.

Scholars may obtain access to the library of the Bibliotheca Afghanica, founded by Paul Bucherer-Dietsche, which is located in the founder’s home in Liestal, Switzerland. The Afghanistan Archiv of the Institut für Entwicklungsforschung und Entwicklungspolitik of the Ruhr University of Bochum has a considerable amount of material in the fields of economics and the sciences. Probably the best library for Dari/Pashtu sources in the United States is at the Center for Afghanistan Studies, at Omaha, Nebraska, headed by Thomas E. Gouttierre. The center published two catalogs of its sources in 1995, compiled by Shaista Wahab, entitled Arthur Paul Afghanistan Collection Bibliography Vol. 1, Pashto and Dari Titles; and Bibliography of the Arthur Paul Afghanistan Collection at the University Library, University of Nebraska at Omaha. Both are available from the center. The Centre de Recherches et d’Études Documentaires sur l’Afghanistan in Paris, France, published in 1994 a bibliography of its sources by Xavier Pette, entitled Afghanistan: Catalogue des Livres, Monographies, Périodiques.
The most important sources for archival materials are the National Archives of India at New Delhi, India; and the British Library Oriental and India Office Collection in London, England. German foreign ministry archives exist on microfilm from about 1867 to 1945. Catalogs of files and microfilms of the German foreign ministry archives are available in the United States at major university libraries. Microfilm copies of German sources may be obtained from the United States National Archives in Washington, D.C. The Washington archives also have American consular reports and studies by various American agencies. Most foreign political archives are closed for a period of 25 years; but with special permission a scholar may obtain access to closed materials.

The reader may notice that we still have to rely on older studies in subjects where extensive fieldwork is required. The reason for this is that for almost 30 years unrest and war has not permitted that kind of research. On the other hand, we have a proliferation of publications on the politics of war and critical analyses of various regimes.

Of general surveys up to the end of the monarchy, Vartan Gregorian’s *The Emergence of Modern Afghanistan*, 1969, and Louis Dupree’s *Afghanistan*, 1973, are the most comprehensive. Afghanistan’s foreign relations to the 1960s are discussed in this author’s *Afghanistan’s Foreign Affairs to the Mid-Twentieth Century: Relations with the USSR, Germany, and Britain*. The Marxist period and the subsequent wars are superbly examined by Anthony Arnold in *Afghanistan: The Soviet Invasion in Perspective and Afghanistan’s Two-Party Communism*. Oliver Roy is one of the foremost experts on Afghan society and Islam and his latest publication *From Holy War to Civil War* is a penetrating analysis of this period of transition. Barnett Rubin, a sociologist, published *The Fragmentation of Afghanistan*. Other publications of these authors are listed below. Also mentioned must be the works of Mark Galeotti, Fred Halliday, Selig Harrison, Henry S. Bradsher, William Maley, Asta Olsen, and Ahmed Rashid. Military history is covered by David C. Isby, Scott McMichael, Mark Urban, Edgar O’Ballance, and by this author’s *Historical Dictionary of Afghan Wars, Revolutions, and Insurgencies*. A number of books have recently appeared about al Qaeda, the most au-
Authoritative of which is Rohan Gunaratna’s *Inside Al Qaeda: Global Network of Terror*.

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Ludwig W. Adamec (B.A., political science; M.A., journalism; Ph.d., Islamic & Middle East studies, UCLA) is a professor of Middle Eastern studies at the University of Arizona and was director of its Near Eastern Center for ten years. Widely known as a leading authority on Afghanistan, he is the author of a number of reference works on Afghanistan and books on Afghan history, foreign policy, and international relations, including: Afghanistan 1900–1923: A Diplomatic History; Afghanistan’s Foreign Affairs to the Mid-Twentieth Century; a six-volume Political Gazetteer of Afghanistan; Dictionary of Afghan Wars, Revolutions, and Insurgencies; The Historical Dictionary of Islam; and The A to Z of Islam.