

Afghanistan's Political Civil Jihad's Purpose In The Present Context Of Peace After The Soviet Withdrawal

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Abstract:

Following the USSR's withdrawal from Afghanistan, not much changed. Between 1989 and 1996, there were still several civil battles until Tālibān entered the picture. The number of Afghāns battling among themselves even rose, and a large number of individuals joined the majority. It seems that those who had profited immensely from the conflict and those that had been getting profits were the ones who gained from that carnage. In the meantime, fighting had become a very profitable vocation for a whole generation of Afghāns. Despite enduring for three years following the cessation of military aid and backing from the the Soviet Union, the Najībullah administration came to an end in April 1992. With the unified proclamation of peace by all Mujāhid leaders, it appeared that the conflict was over. However, the conflict between the competing factions and the Mujāhidīn erupted with renewed vigor. The Mujāhid leadership had no capacity at all to delegate authority. The nation was split up into regions, each overseen by a different Mujāhid ruler. Afghanistan's political and geographical integrity was all but destroyed. The state of affairs among the armed factions deteriorated to such an extent that the Afghans lost all hope of a peaceful resolution. The destruction caused by the battle among Hizb Islāmi plus Jamiat Islāmi & its supporters was unlike anything that had ever happened in Afghanistan at the command of the Soviet Union. As per the terms of the peace deal signed on February 29, 2020, the United States of America would withdraw from Afghanistan in a period of fourteen months. Following withdrawal, the US troops will need to learn from the political crises brought on through the Post-Soviet civil conflict in order to

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help Afghanistan's political and Jihād parties advance democratically and politically.

Keywords: *Afghanistan, Soviet Union, Jamhād, Turkmenistan, Region*

Introduction

On December 27, 1979, USSR forces invaded Afghanistan. Following the assassination of Afghan President Hafeezullah Amīn, Babrik Karmal, who had been living in exile in Moscow, was forced to take the throne in Kabul. A new age of destruction started in Afghanistan as millions of Afghans were forced to escape to Pakistan and Iran. Then the Mujāhidīn began resistance, assisted by America, Pakistan, the Arab world, and the USSR's adversary bloc¹.

With time, the Afghāns Resistance Movement that began as "Jamiat Islāmi" under the direction of professor Burhan-ud-Din—kept dispersing into several organizations. Whether it was because of personal discord or an increasing amount of foreign funding, the Mujāhidīn continued to form new groups. In 1972, Jamiat Islāmi was founded. Its initial group, led by Gulbadin Hikmat Yar, broke away from it and founded a new group called Hizb Islāmi, which quickly grew to become the largest and most powerful organization within the Mujāhidīn. This group was eligible for aid from Pakistan and the United States and was also very successful in fighting the Soviet Forces. In the same year, Maulvi Yunus Khālis of Paktia founded a different group called "Hizb Islāmi (Khālis)". After his release in 1990, Professor Abd-ur-Rab Rasūl Sayāf, who was proficient in Arabic, also made his way to Pakistan and founded "Itteḥād Islāmi," his own organization. With the help of Saudi assistance, it quickly established a solid Jihād standing. In 1980, Sibghatullah Mujaddedi, the head of the mystic chain of Southern Afghanistan, founded "The Afghan National Liberation Front," his own group. In 1990, Maulvi Muhammad Nabi Muhammadi of Southern Afghanistan also founded "Harkat Inqilab Islāmi," a distinct organization. The majority of this group was made up of Masājdi prayer leaders and Ulama. It was most popular among the inhabitants of Paktia, Hilmand, and Qandhār. The majority of the Tālibān Movement's leaders had continued to be involved with it. The family ofyed

¹ Alamgeer Aafreedi, The Afghān Case and Pakistān, Daily "Aaj" 23 January, 2013

Ahmad Gilāni, who is considered the keeper of the spiritual line, also founded the group Mahāz Milli Afghānistān.

The leader of the Shiah sect, Abdul-Ali Mazāri from Mazār Sharif, also founded the Iranian-backed group "Hizb Wadat" to represent the Shiah community. It was then split into "Hizba Wahdat (Khalīlī)" and "Hizb Wahdat (Karīmi)." Similarly, Asif Mohsini, another prominent Shiah figure, founded his own group called "Harkat Islāmi" and continued to support the resistance effort until its very end. Under the direction of Maulvi Jamīl-ur-Rahmān, Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, and Kuwait also founded "Jamā'at-ud-Da'wah Ilal Qur'ān and Sunnah," an organization dedicated to advancing Salafi beliefs, in an effort to strengthen their direct influence in Afghanistan².

Every one of the aforementioned groups continued to be at war with the USSR. Finally, in 1988, Pakistan and Afghanistan formed the Genoa Pact, which was backed by the USSR and America as sureties. In this agreement, they pledged not to support the armed organizations. In accordance with the Pact, the Soviet Union forcibly departed Afghanistan in February 1989. A typical figure states that one million Afghans and 14,500 Soviet soldiers died in the Afghan conflict. The Mujāhid groups refused to recognize the Genoa Pact and were not willing to be members of it³. As a result, they started acting to seize power, which led to a protracted political unrest and civil war throughout Afghanistan. This research thesis explores the historical analytical examination of that lengthy narrative in order to draw lessons from historical facts and help Afghanistan become a stable political and democratic state following American exit.

AN ANALYSIS OF AFGHANISTAN'S HISTORY OF POLITICAL AND CIVIL WAR, FROM THE DISSOLUTION OF THE USSR TILL THE DEMISE OF ISLAMIST NAJĪBULLAH REGIME (1989–1992)

1989 saw the conclusion of the Soviet War. As it was departing, the USSR gave the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA), an ally, control over the Afghan government so that it could combat the Mujāhidīn.

² Saleem Safi, Monthly "Ishraq" Vol.14, Issue.11, Nov.2002, P.36

³ Ibid

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Though it took over three years for the regime to fall, the CIA had predicted that it would do so in a period of three to four months. Concurrently, a civil war broke out between the governing bodies and Mujāhidīn, lasting from February 15, 1989, until April 1992, when the Najībullah rule came to an end⁴. Saudi Arabia & Iran continued to provide support to these extremist organizations in an effort to exert further regional pressure. Human Rights Watch claims that Saudi Arabia backed Abdur-Rasūl Sayāf's outfit and Iran Abdul-Ali's "Hizb Wahdat."⁵ On March 5, 1989, Jalālabād was attacked by the Mujāhid groups, which included Hizbullah Islāmi (Hikmat Yar) as well as Itteḥād Islāmi Sayāf. Initially, the Mujāhidīn rushed forward and took over Samar Khail with Jalālabād. The Mujāhidīn were being captured by government forces, but the common people were being tortured by the soldiers of Hikmat Yar and Sayāf. As Mujāhidīn didn't conclude until the middle of May, they were unable to continue defending Jalālabād. In July 1989, Jalālabād came under the authority of the Najībullah administration once more. That fight claimed the lives of about 3000 Mujāhidīn and 12000–15,000 ordinary people, while thousands of others fled⁶. "The Afghān situation following the Jalālabād campaign could never again controlled," states ISI officer Muhammad Yusuf⁷. With great skill, Ahmad Shah Masood's soldiers, who were engaged in combat in several parts of northern then central Afghanistan, took control of the Bagrum Airbase and closed the Sling Highway, which leads to Kabul⁸. On March 31, 1991, the Mujāhidīn defeated Khost, which gave them newfound encouragement. This victory further demonstrated the Mujāhidīn's complete authority to subjugate the Najīb region. As part of their victory, the Mujāhidīn amassed a large cache of firearms because, up until that point, America had not provided any help to them, leaving them without any weaponry. When Jihād groups signed

⁴ Kaplan, Robert D, *Soldiers of God: With Islamic Warriors in Afghānistan And Pakistān* (New York: Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group, 2008), p.166

⁵ Amin Saikal, *Modern Afghānistan: A History of Struggle and Survival*, (London: I.B. Tauris & Co Ltd, 2006), p.352

⁶ Roy Gutman, *How We Missed the Story: Osama Bin Laden, the Tālibān and the Hijacking of Afghānistan*, (Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2008), p.304

⁷ Mohammad Yousaf and Mark Adkin, *Afghānistan - The bear trap-Defeat of a superpower*, (Afghanistan: Leo Cooper, 2007), p.7

⁸ *Afghānistan – the Squandered Victory*, BBC. 1989

the Peshawar Pact, Hizb Islāmi did not sign it and did not acknowledge it⁹. Up to 1992, the administration of Najībullah had little power. With Russia's decision to stop providing Najībullah's administration with weapons and other help, he started to lose power by April 1992¹⁰. After a campaign on April 14, 1992, Ahmad Shah Masood took control of Charikār and Jabl-as-Sarāj, while General Abd-ur-Rasheed Dostam started to push on Kabul. General Nabīl dispatched more troops to retake Bagrām Airbase off Azimi Masood, but all of the army submitted to Ahmad Shah Masood until the middle of April, leaving Kabul completely unmanageable. Najībullah announced his resignation till March 18. Following that, he was no longer in charge of the internal affairs of running government. Baghrām and other important locations had already been taken over by the armies of Dostam and Ahmad Shah Masood. On April 25, they seized control of Khāwja Rosh the airport, Broadcasting Station, TV Station, and Ministry of Defence. Conversely, the Hizb Islāmi forces advanced into the city and took control of several significant locations, including as the interior ministry and the President House. By the afternoon, nearly the entire city was taken by the Jamiat Islāmi & Hizb Islāmi. Later that night, the world press started screaming that Najībullah, Russia's friend, had also lost. When Najībullah attempted to flee Kabul, he was apprehended by Dostam forces stationed at the Internal Kabul Airport. After that, he remained in the UN camp for immigrants until 1995.¹¹

FROM THE END OF THE NAJĪBULLAH REGIME Following THE MUJADDIDI ADMINISTRATION (1992)

A fresh civil war erupted out when the pro-Communist administration of Najībullah fell in 1992 and local militants took control of Kabul. On April 24, 1992, the heads of all Jihād organizations met in Peshawar and signed what is known to be the Peshawar Pact. It was decided to appoint an interim administration until the nation holds elections. For a period of two months, Sibghatullah Mujaddedi will hold the office of president. Then,

⁹ Muhammad Shafiq Malik, Contemporary Jihād Movements (Lahore: Navid Sahar Publications, 2015) P.275

¹⁰ Phillip Corwin, Doomed in Afghānistān: A.U.N. Officer's memoir of the Fall of Kabul and Najībullah's Failed Escape, (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1992), p.70

¹¹ Marshall, Phased Withdrawal, Conflict Resolution and State Reconstruction, (Conflict research Studies Centre, 2006), p.7

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Hikmat Yar from Hazib Islāmi would serve as prime minister and Burhān-ud-din Rabbāni from Jamiat Islāmi would get president. Hikmat Yar declined to sign the agreement, claiming he couldn't serve as Rabbāni's prime minister, opposing the administration. Gulbadin Hikmat Yar started to shell the city, which had horrible consequences and sent the nation back into civil war¹². Although it had been taken over, Kabul was not governed by a single entity. Hizb Islāmi & Jamiat Islāmi controlled a significant portion of Kabul. Sadly, it was not the best time for the leaders of the two groups to compromise and reach a conclusion as a group. It was not possible. Ten years of Jihād and sacrifices brought the Muslims the joy of conquering Kabul, but the differences among Ahmad Shah Masood as well as Hikmat Yar destroyed their happiness.

Following the liberation of Kabul, Hikmat Yar said categorically that the Peshawar Pact had no place because the Mujāhidīn had taken control of the city. They threatened to shoot down Sibghatullah's jet if he attempted to reach Kabul. Many Mujāhidīn did not sympathize with Hikmat Yar because of his obstinate yet noble position. Ahmad Shah Masood seized the chance with both hands. He urged the leaders of the emerging interim administration in Peshawar to oppose Hikmat Yar after gaining control of Kabul. After taking control of Kabul for fourteen hours, combat between Hizb Islāmi with Jamiat Islāmi began. On Sunday, April 26, 1992, "Wazir Akbar Khān" land remained a battleground. Haizb Islāmi promised to launch a ferocious attack on Kabul if the Dostam Militants would not leave the city. The conversations carried up into April 27. Jamiat Islāmi as well as Dostam Militants controlled both Khāwaj Rosh Airport and Bagrām Airport. Communist Airmen would launch planes from that location to launch attacks against Haizb Islāmi, while Ahmad Shah Masood's forces continued to advance, forcing Hizb Islāmi to retreat into the President House before quickly taking over much of the city. Then the encounters moved to the city's southern region. Since the previous fourteen years have seen such severe destruction of the city, thousands of residents from Bil-

¹² Tariq Ismail Sagar, What Happened in Afghanistan (Lahore: Sagar Publications, 2007) P.150

Ihsār and surrounding hamlets have been fleeing the city¹³. After the events of April 27, Hizb Islāmi's position in Kabul significantly deteriorated. As a result, he consented to a truce, stipulating that both sides give up key military locations within the city. Removing Dostam militants out the city and appointing Hikmat Yar as prime minister instead of Burhan-ud-din Rabbāni was another priority emphasized by Hizb Islāmi. Hikmat Yar refused to agree to Sibghatullah Mujaddedi's prompt appointment, even though it was agreed that he would serve as president for just two months until Burhan-ud-din Rabbāni took over. Presuming that Ahmad Shah Masood had been exploiting the communists over his own purposes, he attempted to identify himself as the king-maker by unifying the Northern Mujāhid groups with the rest of the communist forces. Similar to this, Hikmat Yar attempted to use Generals Shah Nawaz and Rafique as instruments to carry out his plans, but in reality, the communists were the ones playing the game and everyone else was just the chess pieces¹⁴.

Professor Sibghatullah Mujaddedi arrived in Kabul from Peshawar on Tuesday, April 28, 1992, accompanied by his caravan. He succeeded Foreign Minister Abdul Wakīl in leading the temporary administration. On April 29, 1992, Saudi Prince Turkey-al-Faisal, a special envoy of Shah Fahad, and Pakistani premier Nawaz Sharif arrived in Kabul and congratulated Sibghatullah Mujaddedi. Additionally, Nawaz Sharif sent the newly appointed Afghan monarch a check for 250 million rupees. In certain areas of Kabul, there were also confrontations between Jamiat Islāmi as well as Hizb Islāmi that day. Although Hizb Islāmi from the Interior Ministry was forced back by Jamiat Islāmi and Dostam, a few minutes after Nawaz Sharif's jet took off, an unidentified group attacked the airport with missiles. In a speech on Friday, May 1, Sibghatullah Mujaddedi shocked the Muslim community by declaring a general amnesty for Doctor Najībullah, who had killed hundreds of thousands Afghāns\ Muslims. A few days prior, he had stated in his speech that he was

¹³ Muhammad Maqsood Ahmad, *Mein Ne Kabul Bastay Dekha* (Lahore: Dar-al-Mahmood, 1427AH) P.56-57

¹⁴ Amin Saikal, *Modern Afghānistan: A History of Struggle and Survival*, (London: I.B Tauris & Co, 2012), p.211

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incapable of forgiving Najibullah. He stated that the people will decide whether or not to forgive him¹⁵. Even after years, Kabul was unable to achieve peace. From Hizb Islāmi's trenches near the city, rockets were repeatedly launched against the city. The conflict started to extend to further provinces.

Maūlāna Nasrullah Mansūr and Maulvi Muhammad Nabi Muhammadi, who belonged to two different parties within Harkat Inqilāb Islāmi, came together once more because they needed to form an alliance in order to combat Hizb Islāmi, who were preparing to take over additional provinces. Finally, on May 3, 1992, a conflict broke out between Hizb Islāmi and Harkat Inqilāb, inflicting over a hundred injuries and murdering fifty people. After Hizb Islāmi had the upper hand, Harkat Inqilāb Islāmi lost control of the province of Paghmān. Not barely a week after the invasion of Kabul could be restored¹⁶. Jamiat Islāmi and Dostām Militants occupied the whole region, spanning from North Eastern Kabul to central areas.

These units were dubbed government units from this point on. The center of Hizb Islāmi's real army was located in Sarūbi in the direction of the east and Chahār Asyab towards the north. Sarūbi was also the home of a sizable Maūlāna Yunus Khālis labor force. The Shiah group Hizb Wahdat was well established in the west when it engaged in a bloody conflict with Ittehad Islāmi from Ustaz Sayāf on May 1st, which lasted until May 5th. On Saturday, the fifth of May saw the signing of the final ceasefire. However, there were more Dostam militant soldiers in Kabul than there were Mujāhidīn. The Mujāhidīn administration was exhibiting mercy rather than having the ability to force them away. The conversations went on. On May 4, 1992, Hizb Islāmi took over "Tappah Nādir Khan."

¹⁵ Amitav Acharya, Amin Saikal, *Democracy and Reform in the Middle East and Asia: Social Protest and Authoritarian Rule After the Arab Spring* (London: I.B Tauris & Co, 2013), p.321

¹⁶ Mofakar Ahmad, *Afghānistan Ki Kahani Haqiqat Ki Zubani* (Lahore: Hira Publications, 1996) P.84

On the other side, Burhan-ud-din Rabbani, the leader of Jamiat Islāmi, traveled from Peshawar to Afghanistan. A truce was agreed upon when they joined Hikmat Yar in Logar. President Mujaddedi was deeply concerned about Ahmad Shah Masood's growing authority¹⁷. Actually, Sibghatullah Mujaddedi was just the ruler on paper. At any time, Masood and Dostam may overthrow him. President Mujaddedi's jet was attacked by missiles as soon as it took off from Peshawar and arrived in Kabul.

Although the front portion of the aircraft was destroyed, Sibghatullah Mujaddedi managed to escape with only a hair's breadth. Although Mujaddedi disclosed that it was a plot by his own people, it was widely assumed that Hizb Islāmi, the opposition to the interim government, was behind the operation.

It implied that Ahmad Shah Masood and Dostam insurgents were engaged¹⁸. On May 25, badin Hikmat Yar and Ahmad Shah Masood convened at the Hizb Islāmi headquarters south of Kabul. For the first time in Afghān Jihād's fourteen years, the opposing leaders were bargaining in person at that time. The "Zia-ul-Haq Treaty," a peace agreement, was signed. The ceasefire was struck because the contract stated that Jihad's goals had been achieved following the Soviet Union's withdrawal and the fall of the Najib a puppet regime. Negotiations would now be used to resolve every disagreement. Without modification, the temporary administration would give way to a genuine Islamic government. There would be elections in half a year.

The North's militants would retreat in accordance with established policy. The local commanders would be in charge of overseeing the capital¹⁹. On June 28, 1992, Sibghatullah Mujaddedi's presidency was about to come to an end. According to the terms of the Peshawar Pact, he had to give

¹⁷ Muhammad Ismail Khan Rehan, History of Afghānistan (Karachi: Bait-ul-Islam, 2011) P.137

¹⁸ Muhammad Maqsood Ahmad, Mein Ne Kabul Bastay Dekha (Lahore: Dar-al-Mahmood, 1427AH) P.59

¹⁹ Mofakar Ahmad, Afghānistan Ki Kahani Haqiqat Ki Zubani (Lahore: Hira Publications, 1996) P.71-73

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professor Burhan-ud-din the presidency, but not before Sibghatullah Mujaddedi started making declarations indicating his desire to hold onto power. Ahmad Shah Masood found this matter to be aggravating, as he would argue that Mujaddedi ought to step down at the designated period, but Sibghatullah Mujaddedi maintained that the public wanted him to continue in office for an additional two years. His wish for an extension, nevertheless, was not fulfilled. His actions cost him the backing of Mujāhidīn, who remained a formidable force. After serving for two months, Sibghatullah Mujaddedi finally tendered his resignation²⁰.

FROM 1992 TO 1996: THE RABBANI SYSTEM UNTIL THE TĀLIBĀN EMERGENCE

Sibghatullah Mujaddedi relinquished control of the Interim administration to Prof Burhān-ud-Din Rabbāni, the leader of Jamiat Islāmi, for a four-month period. All he had to do was hold elections under four months and transfer authority to the chosen administration²¹. The center of such administration was Kabul, and Ahmad Shah Masood served as its military chief. Following the collapse of the communist regime in April 1992, the Mujaddedi government was in place for two months, followed by the Rabbāni government for four months. This was due to the Peshawar Pact, which established the shared authority among all Jihād organizations through mutual cooperation. The president would be Professor Burhān-ud-Din Rabbāni of Jamiat Islāmi, and the prime minister would be Gul badin Hikmat Yar of Hizb Islāmi. However, Hikmat Yar declined to cooperate with Rabbāni and began attacking Afghanistan's capital, Kabul, which sparked a new conflict that lasted until the formation of Tālibān in 1996. Various groups continued to fight in the conflict, switching sides and loyalties.

²⁰ Muhammad Ismail Khan Rehan, History of Afghānistan (Karachi: Bait-ul-Islam, 2011) P.139

²¹ Muhammad Ismail Khan Rehan, History of Afghānistan (Karachi: Bait-ul-Islam, 2011) P.139

Millions of people died in the civil conflict, which pushed the Tālibān to emerge, according to a UN assessment. When Turkey invaded Kabul on September 27, 1996, the conflict came to a conclusion²². The largest political group in the country was Jamiat Islāmi, which backed the Rabbāni dictatorship from 1992 to 1996. Rabbāni served as the supreme leader of Afghanistan. The only party that consistently supported the government was Ittehād Islāmi Sayāf. Hizb Wahdat, which is composed of Mazuri and Khalīli, backed the government until 1992. However, a conflict between them and Ittehād Islāmi shortly ensued, leading to Hizb Wahdat's separation from the administration in December of 1992 and their joining of Hikmat Yar. General Abd-ur-Rasheed Dostam's Junbush Milli supported the government from 1992 until 1993, when it shifted its allegiance, joined Hikmat Yar in the beginning of 1994, and started to work against it. In 1992, Hizb Islāmi (Khalīli) supported the government, but as soon as the civil war started, it broke away from it and relocated to Jalālabād. When the civil war broke out in 1992, Mahāz Milli (Gīlāni) abandoned the government, despite having previously backed it. When the civil war broke out in 1992, Harkat Inqilāb Islāmi (Nabi Muhammad) broke away from the government and joined the Tālibān in 1995.

In 1992, Jubbah Nijāt Mili Afghānistan (Mujaddedi) supported the government. However, as soon as the civil war started, it broke apart and joined Hikmat Yar, a group that opposed the government. Against the regime, Hizb Islāmi (Hikmat Yar) became the largest and most influential opposition group. That group continued to fight the government from 1992 until 1996, but in 1996 it conceded to the Tālibān, and as a result, it merged with the government. When the Hizb Islāmi headquarters in Chahār Asyab started a major offensive targeting the Dostam Militants in August 1992, the entire world took notice of the organization's might. The conflict was referred to as the "Asad Sunbalah battle." Following the Dostam Militants' significant defeat, the Communists realized that they would not prevail as long as Rabbāni as well as Ahmed Shah Masood were in a state of peace.

²² Mofakar Ahmad, *Afghanistan Ki Kahani Haqiqat Ki Zubani* (Lahore: Hira Publications, 1996) P.88-91

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They had previously formed a front opposing Hizb Islāmi forming an alliance with Rabbāni and Masood. They now made a U-turn and gathered near Hikmat Yar in an attempt to launch a conflict against Jamiat Islāmi by letting them know that they constituted an overwhelming majority²³.

Even though there were disagreements amongst Hizb Wahdat leaders like 'Abd-ul-Ali Mazāri, Karīm Khalīli, and Ayetullah Mohsani, they still desired a majority position in the administration in contrast to the size of their community. In addition to Hizb Wahdat, the Iranian government also backed Rasheed Dostam, a Communist. Additionally, Dostam had been carrying out American directives to create the Uzbek state in Northern Afghanistan. That proposal also involved Iran and England. In summary, Dostam Militants persistently harassed Professor Rabbāni and maintained authority over Kabul by threatened to split the nation. As a result, Professor Rabbāni was unable to appropriately use his authority²⁴.

Following in the footsteps of President Mujaddedi, Burhan-ud-din Rabbāni likewise aimed to extend his rule; consequently, he made an effort to strengthen ties with international organizations that were hostile to any Islamic authority in Kabul and were actively seeking to infiltrate Afghanistan. On that ranking, India was first. India now saw Rabbāni as a friend, as well as the Indian government has consistently stood by him. Burhan-ud-din's tenure as temporary president was scheduled to expire on October 28, 1992, but he used various excuses to prolong it until December. Then the extra time also came to an end. He now had an obligation to call elections and hand over authority to the chosen administration, but Rabbāni hesitated and showed no desire to step down from the position. Gulbadin Hikmat Yar objected vehemently to this betrayal of trust. He initiated a growing assault on Rabbāni to step down as president²⁵. However, in order to avoid having to hold elections, the

²³ Muhammad Ismail Khan Rehan, History of Afghānistan (Karachi: Bait-ul-Islam, 2011) P.133

²⁴ Weekly "Takbeer", 18 June, 1992

²⁵ Muhammad Maqsood Ahmad, Mein Ne Kabul Bastay Dekha (Lahore: Dar-al-Mahmood, 1427AH) P.62-62

president and Ahmad Shah Masood, his right-hand man, formed an alliance. Suddenly, the soldiers loyal to the Rabbani government launched an assault on the Hizb Islāmi trenches north of Kabul. On the first day of the fight, the forces of Shūrai Nazzār with General Baba Jām continued to advance. But Hizb Islāmi put up a fierce fight the following day, regaining the regions that had been stolen and even taking over Chehl Stoon. Thus, the conflict between Jamiat Islāmi and Hizb Islāmi also emerged in Kabul's northern region. The forces of Ahmad Shah Masood stormed and took control of Hikmat Yar's quarters in the provinces of Kapisa and Parwān. They continued along and arrived at Sarūbi, the special headquarters of Hizb Islāmi. Hizb Islāmi launched counteroffensives, advancing on General Baba Jām as well as General Mo'min in Kabul as well as seizing Dar-ul-'Amān, encompassing two military divisions. In the 1992–1996 civil war, Wahdat supported Hikmat Yar's "Hizb Islāmi" against Rabbani's "Jamiat Islāmi" as well as Sayāf's "Itteḥād Islāmi". In 1993, Hizb Wahad took control of some areas of Kabul including the Kabul University. In order to drive Hizb Wahdad out of Kabul, 'Abd-ur-Rasūl Sayāf's Itteḥād Islāmi allied with Professor Rabbāni's Jamiat Islāmi as well as launched a massive attack at district Afshār. In it, hundreds of people also lost their lives. The Rabbāni regime's Hazārah residents were slaughtered in February 1993 by the ministry of defense and its allies. The Afshār Massacre is the historical term for this widespread slaughter.

On February 11, 1993, as residents of the Afshar area were enjoying a restful night's sleep, the Institute for Social Sciences was besieged from three directions: the north, south, and west. Following that assault, the troops burned houses and abducted young boys and girls while slaughtering the residents of District Aashār over the following twenty-four hours²⁶. The agreement between the leaders of the Mujāhid was reached at Islambad thanks to the efforts of Pakistan's prime minister, Premier Muhammad Nawaz Sharif, the head of the ISI, General Hameed Gull, as well as Qazi Hussain Ahmed, the chairman of a Jamā'at Islāmi Pakistan. In

²⁶ Ashutosh Misra, Michael E. Clarke, *Pakistan's Stability Paradox: Domestic, Regional and International Dimensions* (Abingdon: Routledge Press, 2013), P.78-79

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that agreement, the real parties were also Hizb Islāmi along with Jamiat Islāmi. It was acknowledged that Gulbadin Hikmat Yar were Afghanistan's legitimate prime minister. He might choose the frame for the cabinet. Just a few days after "the Islamabad Pact," the Jihād groups confronted one another once more. The leaders of the various Jihād organizations convened once more to settle matters and prevent a conflict from breaking out in light of the rapidly worsening circumstances. Special attendees at that conference were Professor Rabbāni, Gulbadin Hikmat Yar, Maūlvi Yunus Khālis, Maūlvi Nabi Muhammad, Pīr Syed Ahmad Gīlāni, and Ustād 'Abd-ur-Rasūl sayāf. Following the lengthy twenty-one-day political gathering, a comprehensive treaty of government formation was concluded, recognizing Hikmat Yar as prime minister and Burhān-ud-din as state president on June 28, 1994. When the subject of government formation arose, disagreements over Rasheed Dostam emerged amongst Mujāhid organizations once more. Itteḥād Islāmi and Harkat Inqilāb Islāmi would find it intolerable for Dostam to be involved in politics. Hizb Islāmi emphasized Dostam's involvement in the administration while President Rabbāni's Jamiat Islāmi remained enigmatic on the subject. Sibghatullah Mujaddedi supported Hizb Islāmi's position as well. After much debate, the Gulm Jim Malasia Force of Dostam was finally able to agree to give up all of its weapons to the government and leave Kabul. Dostam's side would provide two Mujāhid leaders with participation in the cabinet. With the unanimous agreement, the work of forming the administration in Kabul began, and the people of Afghanistan breathed a sigh of joy²⁷.

After the Jalālabād discussions, the conflict among Jamiat Islāmi as well as Hizb Islāmi might have come to an end, but the flames in people's hearts continued to burn. During the Jalalabad discussions, Masood's forces had taken over the Hizb Islāmi's headquarters in Parwān and Kāpisa, and those territories remained unvaccinated even after the agreements. Hikmat Yar found this scenario to be quite frustrating. Assuring Hikmat Yar of their collaboration, the communist lobby alongside certain foreign agencies have

²⁷ Muhammad Ismail Khan Rehan, History of Afghānistan (Karachi: Bait-ul-Islam, 2011) P.137

been attempting to establish him as the only ruler of Afghanistan. In this scenario, Hikmat Yar started looking for new strategies to broaden his influence after gaining the confidence of Rasheed Dostam in northern Afghanistan and Abdul ‘Ali from Hizb Wahdat. In this way, Hizb Islāmi, Hizb Wahdat, and Gulām Jim Malasia unanimously created a Communicative Council. Finally, Hikmat Yar and his supporters prepared to capture Kabul after evaluating their power. On the evening of December 31, 1993, all three of the forces that were part of the Rābitah Committee rushed toward Kabul. After moving forward from Chahar Asyāb, Hizb Islāmi started shelling Kabul from “Pul Mahmād,” the low-lying region of Bil-Ihsār. However, Gulām Jim Malasia, who was in Nādir Khān, also advanced as well as joined the Hizb Islāmi's forces. In addition, Hizb Wahdat started to attack from the north, and fighters from the Rābitah Council took control of the radio station, the airport, and other significant structures in Kabul. However, the defense minister, Ahmad Shah Masood, launched a vigorous offensive that drove away Hizb Islāmi, Hizb Wahdat, and Gulm Jin Malasia, regaining control of the airport by nightfall. Hundreds of people as well as several troops from both sides lost their lives in the conflict. Consequently, Rabbāni held control of the field. Following this triumph, the Dostam Militants, Hizb Wahdat, and Hizb Islāmi were labeled as traitors by the Kabul administration. In this way, tensions between the militant factions increased to the point that people lost all hope of a peaceful resolution and reconciliation²⁸. In 1994, unbush Milli for Rasheed Dostam met Hizb Islāmi for Hikmat Yar, and Kabul saw a bloody conflict, a massive killing of people, and the destruction of much of the city. The Islam-loving and patriot Afghāns who had given up their lives and belongings out of genuine love and loyalty to Afghān Jihād started to claim that the fighting between Hizb Islāmi as well as Jamait Islāmi was more likely to have caused most of the destruction than the Soviet forces. Burhan-ul-Din Rabbāni and Ahmad Shah Masood occupied northern areas under the Kabul administration, such as Chahārikar, Punjsher, Badakhshān, and Takhār, while Gulbadin Hikmat Yar and his allies occupied the

²⁸ Mofakar Ahmad, *Afghānistan Ki Kahani Haqiqat Ki Zubani* (Lahore: Hira Publications, 1996) P.165

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province of Nangarhār in Eastern Afghanistan, northern Kapisa, and the Kabul vicinity, including Logar, Dardark, Chahār Asyāb, and Sarūbi. Rasheed Dostam occupied the areas of Balk, Mazār Sharif, Jozjān, Fāryāb, and Qundūz in northern Afghanistan. Ismael Khān ruled over Nīmroze, Farāh, Bādghis, and Haraāt. Maūlāna Jlal-ul-Din Haqqāni ruled over Khost and the areas around it that were bordered by Pakistan. Hizb Wahdat, a group that represented the Hazārah tribes, occupied the region of Bāmiān. Mansūr Nādiri, the leader of the Agha Khāni, occupied Darrah Kiān as well as Pul Khumri.

The hub of the Ulamā and Mujāhidīn had been the region of Kunnharr in eastern Afghanistan. The Ulamā academics had a significant role in the start of Jihād against the Soviet Union. In this region of eastern Afghanistan, the saint Maūlāna Jamīl-ur-Rahmān is referred to be the pioneer of Jihād. It had been twelve years since the Soviet Forces had been unable to seize this territory²⁹. Disappointed with the ceaseless clashes between Jamiat Islāmi and Hizb Islāmi within Kabul, the 'Ulamā of Kunharr had set up their own independent government in that region. Maūlanā Jamīl-ur-Rahmān was its leader. Since this regulation was unaffected by the capital, Jamiat Islāmi and Hizb Islāmi continued to face persecution as a result. Maūlanā Jamīl-ur-Rahmān died inexplicably a few years later. His defenders accused Hizb Islāmi of being behind it. This government was in place until 1996. In Kabul, the meetings between Hizb Islāmi as well as Jamiat Islāmi were becoming the norm. Every day, rockets were launched at the city from the Hizb Islāmi trenches, and in return, the Rabbāni troops bombarded as well. While their leaders waited for a major decision, the young men who had been disillusioned by the fight against Russia were going back to their homes. Thus, they announced their plan while Mulla Muhammad 'Umar served as their head. Establishing peace, regaining weapons from the populace, upholding Shari'a law, and bolstering Islam were among its key objectives. Up until 1995, the majority of southern Afghanistan was inhabited by the Talibān.

²⁹ Muhammad Ismail Khan Rehan, History of Afghānistan (Karachi: Bait-ul-Islam, 2011) P.147-148

They were moving closer to Kabul now. The Tālibān demanded that the Jamiat of Hizb Islāmi, Hizb Wahdat, and Junbush Milli, among others, lay down their guns. However, the Tālibān declined to participate in a nonviolent political process during the general elections. In the middle of 1996, Ahmad Shah Masood gave the order for his forces to withdraw in order to prevent another bloody conflict. Under Mulla Muhammad 'Umar's leadership, the Tālibān took control of Kabul in September 1996 and established their reign³⁰. Najibullah, the president, and his younger brother were taken into custody and publicly executed. With the conquest of Tālibān, all other militant fighting ceased. All of the others, including Ahmad Shah Masood, Gulbadin Hikmat Yar, Abd-ur-Rasheed Dostam, and Burhan-ud-din Rabbani, left the city. Up to the year 2000, 95% of Afghanistan was occupied by Taliban. During the Tālibān era, Pakistan's influence in Afghanistan rose, and over the course of the fifty years, a tranquil and amicable environment was built across the borders between Afghanistan and Pakistan for the first time. In October 2020, America launched a war on Afghanistan, overthrowing the Taliban.

The United States of America and the Taliban signed the "Agreement for providing harmony to Afghanistan among the Islamic Emirate for Afghanistan that is not recognized through United States to be a state as well as known as the Taliban as well as the United States of America" on February 29, 2020. According to this agreement, the United States of America must leave Afghanistan within fourteen months. Having learned from the political crises and historical realities of the civil war that followed the USSR's withdrawal from Afghanistan, the Afghan political & Jihād organizations will need to progress in a more democratic and political manner following the withdrawal of the United States from Afghanistan.

CONCLUSION

The historical as well as analytical discussion presented above boils down to the fact that on December 27, 1979, Soviet forces invaded Afghanistan.

³⁰ Safdar Sial, Monthly "Tajziat" Vol.1, No.12, Dec.2019, P.45

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A million Afghans lost their lives during that protracted period of devastation and destruction, in addition to the millions who were forced to move to Pakistan and Iran. Since America, Saudi Arabia, Iran, and Pakistan publicly opposed this invasion, the Soviet Union withdrew its forces from Afghanistan under the terms of the Geneva Pact within February 1988. However, the Soviet Union's antagonistic resistance movements then started battling for control of the government, which led to a serious political crisis and the outbreak of civil war in Afghanistan. After the Soviet Union left, the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA), an ally, took over as government. The Mujāhid organizations, such as Hizb Wahdat, the Hizb Islāmi (Hikmat Yar), Ittehad Islāmi (Sayāf), Ahmed Shah Masood, and the troops of Abd-ur-Rasheed Dostam, had waged a civil war against the government from February 15, 1989, to April 30, 1992, until Najībullah was overthrown. The nation was destroyed throughout the course of the three-year conflict between Jihād factions and the government. Following the overthrow of the pro-communist Najībullah administration, the nation was plunged into a fresh civil war and Kabul came under the control of local rebels. The Peshawar Pact, which was signed by all the Jamiat Islāmi organizations in Peshawar, stipulated that there would be an interim government until elections were held. Sibghatullah Mujaddedi would serve as president for two months, and Burhān-ud-Din Rabbāni (Jamiat Islāmi) would assume the presidency and Gulbadin Hikmat Yar would serve as prime minister. Professor Sibghatullah Mujaddedi assumed leadership of the provisional administration on April 28, 1992, in accordance with that agreement. On April 29, 1992, Pakistan's prime minister Mian and colleagues Nawaz Sharif as well as Shah Fahad's special envoy Turkey-al Faisal traveled to Kabul to congratulate Sibghatullah Mujaddedi. However, Gulbadin Hikmat Yar objected to Mujaddedi's temporary appointment as president and his subsequent assumption of the prime ministership under Rabbāni. In the western territories, fierce clashes broke out between Dostam militants, Harakt Inqilāb, and Hizb Islāmi of Jamiat Islāmi (Hikmat Yar) against Ittehad Islam from Hizb Wahdat. Kabul was devastated to ruins during the civil war, which also ruined the communication, water supply, and electricity systems. In accordance with the terms of the Peshawar Pact,

Professor Burhān-ud-Din Rabbāni became the presidency on June 28, 1992, after Sibghatullah Mujaddedi resigned after serving for two months. As per "the Peshawar Pact," Gulbadin was supposed to be Rabbāni's premier president; however, he declined to collaborate with Rabbāni. The administration was tasked with holding elections in less than four months and handing over authority to the elected officials; but, President Rabbāni as well as his right-hand man, Ahmad Shah Masood, banded together to extend their rule and avoid having to hold elections. This conversation sparked a fresh political upheaval and civil conflict. From 1992 to 1996, both Hizb Islāmi (Hikmat Yar) and Jamiat Islāmi (Rabbāni) remained at odds with one another. Other groups persisted in their battle, shifting their allegiance or opposition. While Hizb Wahdat (Mazāri along with Khalīli) broke away from the government as well as joined Hikmat Yar, Itteḥād Islāmi remained loyal to the government throughout. General Abdur-Rasheed Dostam, also known as Junbush Milli, was the government's supporter until 1993. However, in January 1994, he switched allegiance to Hikmat Yar. Similarly, Hizb Islāmi (Khālis), Mahāz Milli (Gilāni), and Harkat Inqilāb Islāmi left the government at the start of the civil war, while "Jubbah Nijāt Milli" first worked for the government before joining Himat Yar. Harkat Inqilāb Islāmi initially supported the government but in 1995 joined the Tālibān. The signing of "the Islamabad Pact" between Hizb Islāmi as well as Jamiat Islāmi on March 7, 1993, was made possible via the efforts of Pakistan's Prime Minister Mian Nawaz Sharif, General Hameed Gull, the head of the ISI, and Qazi Hussain Ahmad, the Chief for Jama'at Islāmi Pakistan. As per the agreement, Gulbadin Hikmat Yar became recognized as the authorized prime minister of Afghanistan, with the authority to form a government of his choosing. However, shortly after the agreement in Islamabad, the allied and Jihād organizations confronted one other once more. The leaders of Jihād groups that includes Professor Rabbāni, Gulbadin Hikmat Yar, Maūlvi Yunus Khālis, Maūlvi Nabi Muhammad, Pir Syed Ahmad Gilāni, and 'Abd-ur-Rasūl Sayāf, convened once more in response to the threat of war. Gulbadin Hikmat Yar was recognized as Prime Minister and Professor Burhān-ud-din Rabbāni as President during the twenty-one-day Jalālabād Negotiations political conference; nevertheless, a serious disagreement emerged about Rasheed

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Dostam's role in the government's creation. While Hizb Islāmi (Hikmat Yar) emphasized in favor of Rasheed Dostam's involvement in government, Harkat Inqilāb Islāmi & Itteḥād Islāmi were against it. There was an enigmatic quiet at Jamiat Islāmi. After much deliberation, it was finally decided which Gulm Jim Malasia ought to flee Kabul and turn in his weapons to the authorities. As a result, two Dostam Mujāhid leaders were to be represented in the administration. The people of Afghanistan breathed a sigh of relief as the process of forming a government began. As this was going on, the young soldiers who had lost hope in the battle with Russia went home. They presented their agenda in short to Mulla Muhammad 'Umar. The restoration of peace, the seizure of firearms from the populace, and the application of Shari'ah were its main objectives. Based on that program, Tālibān was able to get the backing of the majority. When Tālibān finally consolidated their dominance over Kabul, only Saudi Arabia and Pakistan acknowledged this new authority. After Najībullah was captured, the Tālibān hung him. Ahmad Shah Masood, Abdu-ur-Rasheed Dostam, Burhān-ud-din Rabbāni Gulbadin Hikmat Yar, and other combatants managed to flee. There was a general sense of calm across Afghanistan. A pleasant environment on the Pak Afghān boundaries was created. But the United States assaulted Afghānistan in 2001 as well as dethroned the Tālibān. Now, a peace agreement has been agreed upon on 29 the month of February, the year 2020 among the United States as well as Afghānistan identified as "Contract for bringing harmony to Afghānistan among the Islamic the Emirates of Afghānistan that is not acknowledged by United States as a condition and is referred to Tālibān as well as the United States of America. Under this consensus the United States may leave Afghānistan within fourteen months. Now Afghān politics alongside Jihād groups ought to understand an important lesson from previous the end of the civil war following departure of the Soviet Union about Afghānistan and progress forward political as well as democratically following leaving of America coming from Afghānistan."³¹