

## **The Role of Political Civil *Jihād* after Soviet Withdrawal in *Afghānistan* to Establish Peace in Contemporary Situation**

\*Muhammad Umair,

\*\*Dr. Farhat Naseem Alvi,

### **Abstract**

Not much changed after USSR departure from *Afghānistan*. There remained series of civil wars between 1989–1996 and then Tālibān appeared on the scene. The scale of fighting between the Afghāns themselves even increased and so many people joined the majority. Apparently, that bloodshed benefited those who had benefited greatly from war and those who had been receiving dividends. Meanwhile, an entire Afghāns generation had come of age to whom fighting was a highly lucrative profession. Having survived for three years after the end of military assistance and support from the USSR, the *Najībullah* regime nevertheless ended on April 1992. It seemed that the war had ended as all Mujāhid leaders proclaimed unanimously to establish peace. But the war broke out with new vigour between the *Mujāhidīn* and the rivals groups. The Mujāhid leadership was totally unable to share power. The country was divided into zones where this or that Mujāhid gourd would manage the affairs. The political and territorial integrity of *Afghānistan* was virtually shattered. The situation among the militant groups became so horrible that the Afghānis grew utterly hopeless of establishment of peace. There had not occurred as horrible devastation in *Afghānistan* at the hands of Soviet Forces as it was due to war between *Hizb Islāmi* and *Jamiat Islāmi* and their allies.

Under the peace agreement between United State of America and *Afghānistan* on 29 February, 2020, USA will evacuate *Afghānistan* in fourteen months. After withdrawal, the US forces the Afghān’s political and *Jihād* parties need to move ahead politically and democratically learning a lesson from the political crisis created by the Post-Soviet civil war.

**Keywords:** *Afghānistan*, Soviet Troop, *Jihād*, Tālibān, Territory.

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\*PhD Scholar, Department of Islamic Studies, University of Sargodha, Sargodha

\*\*Assistant Professor, Department of Islamic Studies, University of Sargodha, Sargodha

## **Introduction**

The USSR Forces entered *Afghānistan* on December 27, 1979, the Afghān president *Hafeezullah Amīn* was killed and *Babrik Karmal* who was leading a life of exile in Mosco was made to ascend the throne of Kabul. Millions of people were forced to migrate to Pakistan and Iran and a new era of devastation ignited in *Afghānistan*. Then the *Mujāhidīn*, with the cooperation of Pakistan, America, Arab countries and USSR antagonist bloc started resistance.<sup>1</sup>

The Afghāns Resistance Movement which started in the form of “*Jamiat Islāmi*” under the leadership of professor Burhan-ud-Din kept splitting into different groups with the passage of time. The *Mujāhidīn* kept making different organizations due to personal differences or to receive more and more foreign aid. *Jamiat Islāmi* was established in 1972. Its first group under the leadership of Gulbadin Hikmat Yar separated from it and those people established a new organization named *Hizb Islāmi* which became a very effective and the biggest organization of the *Mujāhidīn* in a very short time which was entitled to Pakistani and American aid but it also played the most effective role in opposition to the Soviet Forces. Maulvi Yunus Khālis of Paktia also established a separate organization the same year named “*Hizb Islāmi (Khālis)*”. Professor Abd-ur-Rab Rasūl Sayāf who could speak Arabic fluently also reached Pakistan in 1990 after his release and established his own organization named “*Ittehad Islāmi*”. It gained an effective *Jihād* position in a very short time on the basis of Saudian aid. Sibghatullah Mujaddedi, the leader of mystic chain in Southern *Afghānistan*, also established his own organization “*The Afghān National Liberation Front*” in 1980. Maulvi Muhammad Nabi Muhammadi from Southern *Afghānistan* also established a separate organization “*Harkat Inqilab Islāmi*” in 1990. This organization comprised most of Ulama and leaders of prayers in Masājdi. It gained maximum popularity with people in Qandhār, Hilmand and Paktia. Most of the leaders of the Tālibān Movement had remained attached with it. Syed Ahmad Gilāni whose family is deemed the bearer of Spiritual chain also established an organization named “*Mahāz Milli Afghānistan*.” Shiah leader, Abdul-Ali Mazāri of Mazār Sharif belonging to the Shiah Sect also established an organization for the Shiah community named “*Hizb Wadat*” supported by Iran. Later on, it was divided into two groups: “*Hizba Wahdat (Khalili)*” and “*Hizb Wahdat (Karmi)*.” In the same way, another Shiah leader Asif Mohsini also established his own organization named “*Harkat Islāmi*” which remained a part of resistance movement to the last moments. In order to increase their direct

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<sup>1</sup> Alamgeer Aafreedi, *The Afghān Case and Pakistān*, Daily “Aaj” 23 January, 2013

influence in *Afghānistan*, Saudi Arabia, UAE and Kuwait also established their organization to propagate Salfi ideas named “Jamā’at-ud-Da’wah Ilal Qur’ān and Sunnah” under the leadership of Maulvi Jamāl-ur-Rahmān.<sup>2</sup> All the above organizations remained at war with the USSR. At last Genoa Pact between Pakistan and *Afghānistan* was signed in 1988 under America and USSR as surety according to which Pact, USSR and America promised not to back up the fighting groups. The Soviet forced left *Afghānistan* in February 1989 according to the Pact. According to a general calculations, 14500 Soviet soldiers and one million Afghānis were killed in the Afghān war. The Mujāhid organizations were neither members of the Genoa Pact nor were they willing to acknowledge it.<sup>3</sup> So they became active to come into power which created a long political crisis and civil war in *Afghānistan*. Historical analytical study of that long tale is the subject of this research thesis so that *Afghānistan* may emerge as a stable political and democratic state after American evacuation learning a lesson from historical facts.

**Historical Analysis of Afghān Civil War and Political Crisis from the End of Soviet War till the End of Najībullah Regime (1989 – 1992)**

The Soviet war ended in 1989. While leaving, the USSR handed over the Afghān government to her ally party PDPA (People’s Democratic Party *Afghānistan*) letting it fight the *Mujāhidīn*. The CIA thought that the said government would end up in three to four months but it took nearly three years to fall. Meanwhile, civil war between the government and *Mujāhidīn* started which lasted from February 15, 1989 to April 1992 till the end of *Najībullah* regime.<sup>4</sup> In order to increase their regional pressure, Saudi Arabia and Iran kept helping the militant groups. According to Human Rights Watch, Iran supported Abdul-Ali’s organization “Hizb Wahdat” and Saudi Arabia that of Abdur-Rasūl Sayāf.<sup>5</sup> The Mujāhid organizations comprising *Hizb Islāmi* (Hikmat Yar) and *Ittehād Islāmi Sayāf* invaded Jalālabād in 5<sup>th</sup> March, 1989. In the beginning, the *Mujāhidīn* advanced hurriedly and occupied Samar Khail and Jalālabād. The government forces began to capture the *Mujāhidīn* but the Hikmat Yar and Sayāf forces tortured the common people even. During that period, the government forces shelled nearly 400 missiles at Jalālabād which discouraged the *Mujāhidīn* and Hikmat Yar, consequently Sayāf had to retreat whereas the weaponry with

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<sup>2</sup> Saleem Safi, Monthly “*Ishraq*” Vol.14, Issue.11, Nov.2002, P.36

<sup>3</sup> Ibid

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

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

*Mujāhidīn* ended till mid-May so they could not defend Jalālabād more. The Najībullah government took over the control of Jalālabād again in July 1989. Nearly 3000 *Mujāhidīn* and 12000–15000 common people got killed in that war whereas thousands emigrated.<sup>6</sup> The ISI officer Muhammad Yusuf says, “The Afghān situation after the Jalālabād campaign was never again controlled.”<sup>7</sup> The forces of Ahmad Shah Masood who were fighting in some areas of Northern and central *Afghānistan* very dexterously occupied the Bagrām Airbase and blocked the outer route to Kabul, the Sling Highway.<sup>8</sup>

The *Mujāhidīn* conquered Khost in March 31, 1991 due to which, they were again encouraged. This conquest also proved the fact that the *Mujāhidīn* had full power to conquer the Najīb territory. The *Mujāhidīn* laid hands at a lot of weapons as the spoils in this conquest because America had stopped supporting *Mujāhidīn* till then so they faced lack of weapons. After the conquest of Khost, the *Mujāhidīn* began to advance to Kabul. Then the Peshawar Pact was signed by the *Jihād* organizations but *Hizb Islāmi* neither signed it nor recognized it.<sup>9</sup>

The control of *Najībullah* government had weakened till 1992. Russia decided to withhold the supply of weapons and other aid to *Najībullah* government, consequently, he began to lose control by April 1992. General Abdur-Rasheed Dostam began to advance to Kabul whereas Ahmad Shah Masood occupied Charikār and Jabl-as-Sarāj after a campaign in April 14, 1992.<sup>10</sup>

General Nabīl sent new forces to recover the Bagrām Airbase from Azimi Masood but the entire force surrendered before Ahmad Shah Masood till mid-April and in this way, Kabul was totally out of control. Najībullah gave out that he would resign till March 18. After that, he had lost control over internal affairs of the government. Ahmad Shah Masood and Dostam forces had already occupied Bagrām and other prominent points. They took Khāwja Rosh Airport, Radio Station, TV Station and ministry of Defence under their control on 25<sup>th</sup> April. On the other hand, the *Hizb Islāmi* troops entered the city and occupied many important points including the President House and interior ministry. The *Jamiat Islāmi* and *Hizb Islāmi* occupied almost the whole city by afternoon. In the

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<sup>6</sup> 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

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

<sup>8</sup> Afghānistan – the Squandered Victory, BBC. 1989

<sup>9</sup> Muhammad Shafiq Malik, *Contemporary Jihād Movements* (Lahore: Navid Sahar Publications, 2015) P.275

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

evening, the international media began to clamour that the Russian ally *Najībullah* had also been defeated. *Najībullah* tried to escape from Kabul but the Dostam soldiers who were guarding the Internal Kabul Airport captured him. Then he kept staying in the UN emigrants camp till 1995.<sup>11</sup>

**From the End of *Najībullah* Regime to *Mujaddidi* Regime (1992)**

With the fall of Pro-Communist government of *Najībullah* in 1992, Kabul came under the control of local militants and a new civil war broke out. The leaders of all the *Jihād* organizations gathered in Peshawar on April 24, 1992 and signed a pact known as the Peshawar pact in history. In was settled to make interim government unless elections are held in the country. Sibghatullah Mujaddedi would be made president for two months. Then *Burhān-ud-Din Rabbāni* of *Jamiat Islāmi* would become president whereas Hikmat Yar of Hazib Islāmi would become Prime Minister. Hikmat Yar refused to sign the pact saying that he could not work as Prime Minister under Rabbāni. Opposing the government. *Gulbadin Hikmat Yar* began to shell at the city which gave heinous results and the country was again plunged into civil war.<sup>12</sup>

Kabul had been conquered but it was not under the control of a single government. Major part of Kabul was under the control of *Hizb Islāmi* and *Jamiat Islāmi*. It would have been better for the heads of both the organizations to make sacrifices at that occasion and come to a unanimous decision but alas! It could not happen. The delights of the conquest of Kabul which the Muslims had got due to fourteen years’ *Jihād* and sacrifices were smashed due to the dissensions between Ahmad Shah Masood and Hikmat Yar. Hikmat Yar was adamant to his point pronouncing immediately after the conquest of Kabul that as *Mujāhidīn* have occupied Kabul, there is no scope for the Peshawar Pact. They said that if Sibghatullah tried to enter Kabul, they would shoot down his plane. This obdurate but distinguished stance of Hikmat Yar deprived him of the sympathies of many *Mujāhidīn*. Ahmad Shah Masood made full use of that opportunity. After the conquest of Kabul, he contacted the commanders of the new interim government in Peshawar and roused them to fight Hikmat Yar.

After fourteen hours of conquest of Kabul, encounters between *Hizb Islāmi* and *Jamiat Islāmi* started. The territory of “Wazir Akbar Khān” remained the battlefield on Sunday April 26, 1992. Haizb Islāmi threatened that if Dostam Militants did not evacuate Kabul, fierce invasion would be made at Kabul. The encounters continued on 27<sup>th</sup> April also. Khāwaj Rosh Airport and Bagrām

<sup>11</sup> Marshall, Phased Withdrawal, *Conflict Resolution and State Reconstruction*, (Conflict research Studies Centre, 2006), p.7

<sup>12</sup> Tariq Ismail Sagar, *What Happened in Afghanistan* (Lahore: Sagar Publications, 2007) P.150

Airport both were under the control of *Jamiat Islāmi* and Dostam Militants. The communist Airmen would fly planes from there to attack the Haizb Islāmi whereas the fighters of Ahmad Shah Masood kept advancing and pushing *Hizb Islāmi* back from the President House and occupied most part of the city very rapidly. Then the encounters continued to the South of the city. The city was so badly destroyed during the last fourteen years hence thousands of people from Bil-Ihsār and other hamlets were fleeing from the city.<sup>13</sup> The position of *Hizb Islāmi* weakened much in Kabul with the Passage of the day of 27<sup>th</sup> April, so he agreed to ceasefire saying that both the parties should forego the important military points in the city. *Hizb Islāmi* also stressed to make Hikmat Yar Prime Minister not to make *Burhān-ud-Din Rabbāni* and exile Dostam militants from the city. Although it was settled that Sibghatullah Mujaddedi would be made president for two months only and then *Burhān-ud-Din Rabbāni* would be made president, Hikmat Yar did not consent to Mujaddedi's timely appointment. Ahmad Shah Masood tried to call himself the king-maker and uniting the Northern Mujāhid organizations with the rest of the communist forces, he presumed that he had been using the communists for his own ends. In the same way, Hikmat Yar also tried to make General Shah Nawaz and General Rafique tools for the fulfilment of his designs whereas the fact was that the actual game was played by the communists but others were being used as balls in the game of chess.<sup>14</sup>

Kabul was conquered and the government was in the hands of the organization framed by the *Mujāhidīn* but the system of Electricity, Water and Communication in the city was completely smashed. The fight with *Hizb Islāmi* was going on. The Shiah and the Communists were trying their best to subdue the weak government of the *Mujāhidīn*. Kabul city which was somewhat safe during Soviet occupation was now changed into rubbles in fight between *Hizb Islāmi* and *Jamiat Islāmi*. A few of those signs are still discernible.

Prefessor Sibghatullah Mujaddedi with his caravan reached Kabul from Peshawar on Tuesday, April 28, 1992 and took over charge of the interim government from foreign minister Abdul Wakil. Pakistani Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif and Saudi Prince Turkey-al-Faisal, special representative of Shah Fahad, reached Kabul on April 29, 1992 and congratulated Sibghatullah Mujaddedi. Nawaz Sharif also presented a cheque for 250 million rupees to the new Afghāns\

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

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

ruler. On that day, encounters between *Jamiat Islāmi* and *Hizb Islāmi* were also going on in a few parts of Kabul. *Jamiat Islāmi* and Dostam both pushed back *Hizb Islāmi* from Interior ministry whereas an unknown group hit the Airport with missiles a few minutes after Nawaz Sharif’s plane took off. Sibghatullah Mujaddedi delivered a speech on Friday 1<sup>st</sup> May, and surprised the Muslims by announcing general pardon for Doctor *Najībullah* who was killer of thousands of Afghāns\ Muslims. He had said in his address a few days before that he could not forgive *Najībullah*. It was upto the masses to forgive him or not but now he announced opposite.<sup>15</sup>

Days passed but peace could not be established in Kabul. Rockets were again and again fired at the city from trenches of *Hizb Islāmi* in the vicinities of the city. This war began to spread to other provinces also. Maulvi Muhammad Nabi Muhammadi and Maulāna Nasrullah Mansūr who belonged to two separate groups of Harkat Inqilāb Islāmi got united once again because this alliance was direly needed to counter *Hizb Islāmi* which was ready to occupy other provinces. At last, war between Harkat Inqilāb and *Hizb Islāmi* broke out on May 3, 1992 killing fifty individuals and injuring more than one hundred. *Hizb Islāmi* prevailed snatching away the province of Paghmān from Harkat Inqilāb Islāmi.<sup>16</sup>

Peace could not be restored even after a week after the conquest of Kabul. The situation was that the entire area from North Eastern Kabul to central places was under the occupation of *Jamiat Islāmi* and Dostām Militants. These forces were now termed as government forces. The actual force of *Hizb Islāmi* was centred in Chahār Asyab in the North and Sarūbi in the East. A large number of workers of Maulāna Yunus Khālis were also present in Sarūbi. A Shiah organization *Hizb Wahdat* was entrenching in the west which had a fierce encounter with Ittehād Islāmi of Ustaz Sayāf on 1<sup>st</sup> May which continued till 5<sup>th</sup> May. At last ceasefire was signed on Saturday in the month of May. On the other hands, Dostam militant soldiers were more in number in Kabul then the *Mujāhidīn*. The *Mujāhidīn* government had no practical power to push them out rather that government was at their mercy. The encounters continued. *Hizb Islāmi* occupied “Tappah Nādir Khan” on May 4, 1992. On the other hand, *Burhān-ud-Din Rabbāni*, the head of *Jamiat Islāmi* reached *Afghānistan* from Peshawar. Joining Hikmat Yar in Logar, they agreed to ceasefire.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>15</sup> 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

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

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

President Mujaddedi was very apprehensive of the increasing influence of Ahmad Shah Masood. The fact was that Sibghatullah Mujaddedi was the ruler just in papers. Masood and Dostam could dethrone him whenever they willed. As soon as president Mujaddedi’s plane reached Kabul from Peshawar, it was hit with missiles. The front part of the plane was smashed but Sibghatullah Mujaddedi had a hair’s breadth escape. It was generally presumed that it was operation of *Hizb Islāmi*, the opponent of the interim government but Mujaddedi revealed that it was conspiracy of his own people. It meant that Dostam militants and Ahmad Shah Masood were involved in it.<sup>18</sup>

Gul badin Hikmat Yar and Ahmad Shah Masood gathered at the headquarters of the *Hizb Islāmi* to the South of Kabul on 25<sup>th</sup> May. That was the first time during fourteen years *Afghān Jihād* that both the rival leaders were negotiating sitting face to face. The peace treaty named “Zia-ul-Haq Treaty” was signed. It was written in the treaty that the objectives of *Jihād* had been realized after the retreat of the Soviet forces and end of the Najib puppet government so ceasefire was signed. Now all the disputes would be solved through negotiations. A pure Islāmic government would be established without extension in the interim government. Elections would be held within six months. The Militants coming from the North would go back according to a settled policy. The management of the capital would be in the hands of the local commanders.<sup>19</sup>

Two months’ presidency of Sibghatullah Mujaddedi were going to complete on June 28, 1992. He had to hand over the presidency to professor Burhān-ud-Din according to the Peshawar Pact but before that Sibghatullah Mujaddedi began to issue statements showing that he wanted to remain in power. This thing was vexatious for Ahmad Shah Masood who would say that Mujaddedi should resign at the fixed time whereas Sibghatullah Mujaddedi said that it was public demand for him to rule for two years more. However, his dream of extension could not be realized. His steps deprived him of the support of *Mujāhidīn* who were still a big power. At last, Sibghatullah Mujaddedi after completing two months’ rule resigned.<sup>20</sup>

#### **From Rabbani Regime to Emergence of Tālibān (1992 – 1996)**

Professor *Burhān-ud-Din Rabbāni*, the head of *Jamiat Islāmi*, took over charge of the Interim government from Sibghatullah Mujaddedi for four months.

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

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

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



His duty was just to conduct elections within four months and hand over the powers to the elected government.<sup>21</sup> Ahmad Shah Masood was the military commander of that government whereas Kabul was its capital. After the end of the communist government in April 1992, Mujaddedi government came into being for two months and then the Rabbāni government for four months according to the Peshawar Pact in which it was settled that all the *Jihād* organizations would share the power with mutual cooperation. Professor *Burhān-ud-Din Rabbāni* from *Jamiat Islāmi* would be the president with Gul badin Hikmat Yar from *Hizb Islāmi* Prime Minister. But Hikmat Yar refused to work in coalition with Rabbāni and started bombing at Kabul, the capital of *Afghānistān* which gave birth to a new war which continued till the emergence of Tālibān in 1996. In that war, different organizations kept fighting changing sides and sympathies. According to the UN report millions of lives were lost in that civil war which war forced the Tālibān to arise. That war ended in September 27, 1996 when Tālibān occupied Kabul.<sup>22</sup>

*Jamiat Islāmi*, the supporter of the Rabbāni regime from 1992–1996 was the biggest party included in the government and Rabbāni, the head of that government, was the president of *Afghānistān*. Ittehād Islāmi Sayāf was the only party which sided with the government from beginning to the end. Hizb Wahdat (Mazāri and Khalīli) supported the government till 1992 but war between Hizb Wahdat and Ittehād Islāmi soon broke out consequently it separated from the government in December 1992 and joined Hikmat Yar. The Junbush Milli of General Abd-ur-Rasheed Dostam remained with the government from 1992–1993 but it changed its policy, joined Hikmat Yar in January 1994 and turned against the government. *Hizb Islāmi* (Khalīli) sided with the government in 1992 but as soon as civil war broke out, it got separated from the government and shifted to Jalālabād. Mahāz Milli (Gīlāni) supported the government in the beginning of 1992 but deserted the government as soon as civil war broke out. Harkat Inqilāb Islāmi (Nabi Muhammad) supported the government in 1992 but it got separated as soon as civil war started and the joined the Tālibān in 1995. Jubbah Nijāt Milli *Afghānistān* (Mujaddedi) sided with the government in 1992 but as soon as civil war broke out, it got separated, joined Hikmat Yar, the group antagonist to the government. *Hizb Islāmi* (Hikmat Yar) was the biggest and the most important organization antagonistic to the government. That organization remained at war

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<sup>21</sup> Ibid

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

with the government form 1992–1996 but after facing defeat at the hands of the Tālibān in 1996, it joined the government.

The world estimated the power of *Hizb Islāmi* in August 1992 when a big operation against the Dostam Militants was launched from the headquarters of the *Hizb Islāmi* situated in Chahār Asyab. That battle was known as the battle of “Asad Sunbalah.” Dostam Militants met a great loss in it after which the Communists became sure they would not succeed as long as there is the situation of peace between Rabbāni and Ahmed Shah Masood. Formerly, they had framed a front against *Hizb Islāmi* making a coalition with Masood and Rabbāni. Now they took a U turn and began to gather around Hikmat Yar so that fight against *Jamiat Islāmi* might be ignited by making them realize that they were in an overwhelming majority.<sup>23</sup>

‘Abd-ul-Ali, the head of the Hizb Wahdat broke with “the Shurai Nazzār” and hatched friendship with *Hizb Islāmi* Owing to the availability of new allies, the force of *Hizb Islāmi* was enhanced a great but those allies left no stone unturned in misguiding the *Hizb Islāmi* from the right path and distorting its relations with other organizations. The well-armed troops of Hizb Wahdat which occupied very important places in Kabul would receive full succour from Iran in the form of weapons and currency. There were certainly dissensions between the leaders of Hizb Wahdat like ‘Abd-ul-Ali Mazāri, Karīm Khalili and Ayetullah Mohsani still they wanted to have a lion’s share in the government contrary to the proportion of their population. Besides Hizb Wahdat, the government of Iran was supporting the Communist General Rasheed Dostam also. Dostam had also been acting upon the instructions of America to establish Uzbek state in the Northern *Afghānistan*. England and Iran were also included in that plan. In short, Dostam Militants kept pestering Professor Rabbāni and ruling over Kabul by threatening of division of the country. So Professor Rabbāni could not make use of his authority properly.<sup>24</sup>

Following in the footsteps of president Mujaddedi, *Burhān-ud-Din Rabbāni* also wanted to prolong his regime therefore he tried to increase links with the foreign agencies which were already active to enter *Afghānistan* and were opponent to any Islāmic government in Kabul. India was at the top of that list. Rabbāni won the position of a friend in the eyes of India and the Indian government always remained his supporter. The period of interim presidency of Burhān-ud-Din was going to end on October 28, 1992 but he extended it to December under one pretext or the other. Then the extended period also ended.

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

<sup>24</sup> Weekly “*Takbeer*”, 18 June, 1992

Now, it was obligatory to him to hold elections and transfer the powers to the elected government but Rabbāni prevaricated and was not inclined to leave the government. Gulbadin Hikmat Yar protested strongly at this breach of promise. He began to mount pressure on Rabbāni to leave presidency.<sup>25</sup> On the other hand, president and his right hand man Ahmad Shah Masood became allies in order to evade the demand of election. The forces of the Rabbani government began to attack the trenchers of *Hizb Islāmi* situated to the north of Kabul all of a sudden. The troops of Shūrai Nazzār and General Bāba Jām kept advancing on the first day of war. But the next day, *Hizb Islāmi* resisted strongly, took back the usurped areas and even occupied Chehl Stoon. In this way, the war between *Jamiat Islāmi* and *Hizb Islāmi* also broke out in the north of Kabul. Ahmad Shah Masood’s troops invaded the quarters of Hikmat Yar in Kāpisa and Parwān provinces and occupied them. Then advancing forward, they reached Sarūbi which was special headquarter of *Hizb Islāmi*. Launching counter operations, *Hizb Islāmi* rushed at General Baba Jām and General Mo’min in Kabul and occupied Dar-ul-‘Amān including two military divisions.

Hizb Wahdat sided with Hikmat Yar’s “*Hizb Islāmi*” in opposition to Rabbani’s “*Jamiat Islāmi*” and Sayāf’s “*Itteḥād Islāmi*” in the civil war of 1992–1996. Hizb Wahad occupied a few parts of Kabul and the Kabul University in 1993. ‘Abd-ur-Rasūl Sayāf’s *Itteḥād Islāmi* sided with Professor Rabbāni’s *Jamiat Islāmi* and launched a vast scale invasion at district Afshār to push out Hizb Wahdad from Kabul. Hundreds of civilians also got killed in it. The ministry of defence and allied forces massacred the inhabitants of Hazārah during the Rabbāni regime in February 1993. This general massacre was named “the Afshār Massacre” in history. When the people of the district Afshar were enjoying sound asleep on the night of February 11, 1993, the Institute of Social Sciences was invaded from three sides like North, South and West. After that invasion, the soldiers massacred the people of the District Aashār for the next twenty-four hours setting the houses on fire and captivating the young boys and girls.<sup>26</sup>

Another pact between the Mujāhid leaders was signed in Islambad as a result of the efforts of prime minister of Pakistan Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif, General Hameed Gull, the head of the ISI and Qazi Hussain Ahmad, the chief of the Jamā’at Islāmi Pakistan. The actual parties then were also the *Hizb Islāmi* and *Jamiat Islāmi*. In that pact. Gulbadin Hikmat Yar was recognized the authorized

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

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

prime minister of *Afghānistan*. He could frame cabinet of his own choice. Only a few days after “the Islamabad Pact” the *Jihād* organizations again stood up against one another. In order to avoid the breaking out of war under the deteriorating situation, the heads of the *Jihād* organizations once again gathered to finalize the affairs. Professor Rabbāni, Gulbadin Hikmat Yar, Maūlvi Yunus Khālis, Maūlvi Nabi Muhammad, Pr Syed Ahmed Gilāni and Ustād ‘Abd-ur-Rasūl sayāf specially attended that meeting. In that twenty-one day’s longest political meeting, the detailed treaty of formation of government was signed according to which Hikmat Yar was recognized Prime Minister and Burhān-ud-Din as president of the state on June 28, 1994. When the problem of formation of government confronted, dissension between Mujāhid organizations again arose on the issue of Rasheed Dostam. Harkat Inqilāb Islāmi and Ittehād Islāmi would deem the participation of Dostam in government unbearable. President Rabbāni’s *Jamiat Islāmi* was mysteriously silent at this issue whereas *Hizb Islāmi* strongly stressed the participation of Dostam in the government. Sibghatullah Mujaddedi was also in favour of the stance of *Hizb Islāmi*. At last, it was settled after a long discussion that Gulm Jim Malasia Force of Dostam should deposit all its weaponry to the government and quit Kabul. Two Mujāhid leaders would be given representation in the government from the side of Dostam. The job of formation of government in Kabul started after unanimous decision and the Afghāns\ people had a sigh of relief.<sup>27</sup>

Squabble between *Jamiat Islāmi* and *Hizb Islāmi* would have ended after the Jalālabād negotiations but a fire was still igniting in the hearts. The fighters of Masood had occupied the headquarters of the *Hizb Islāmi* in Parwān and Kāpisa during the Jalalabad negotiations and those areas were not evacuated even after negotiations. This situation was greatly vexing for Hikmat Yar. The communist lobby and some foreign agencies had been trying to make Hikmat Yar become the sole ruler of *Afghānistan* assuring him of their cooperation. In this situation, Hikmat Yar who had won trust of ‘Abdul ‘Ali of Hizb Wahdat and Rasheed Dostam in the north began to search out new ways to increase his influence. In this way, *Hizb Islāmi*, Hizb Wahdat and Gulām Jim Malasia framed a Communicative Council unanimously, and, at last, assessing their power, Hikmat Yar and his allies planned to occupy Kabul. All the three forces included in the Rābitah Council rushed at Kabul on the night of December 31, 1993. *Hizb Islāmi* advanced from Chahar Asyāb and began to shell at Kabul from “Pul Mahmād” the low lying area of Bil-Ihṣār. On the other hand, Gulām Jim Malasia present in Nādir Khān also advanced and joined the troops of the *Hizb Islāmi*. Hizb Wahdat

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

also began to invade from the north and warriors of the Rābitah Council occupied the Kabul Airport, Radio Station and other important buildings. But launching a fierce operation, Ahmad Shah Masood, the defence minister, pushed out *Hizb Islāmi*, Hizb Wahdat and Gulm Jin Malasia and took back the Airport by evening. A large number of soldiers of both the parties and hundreds of civilians got killed in the encounter. Consequently, the field was in the hands of Rabbāni. After this victory, the Kabul government branded the *Hizb Islāmi*, Hizb Wahdat and Dostam Militants as traitors. In this way, the situation between the militant groups became so tense that people were completely disappointed of any reconciliation and establishment of peace.<sup>28</sup> Junbush Milli of Rasheed Dostam joined *Hizb Islāmi* of Hikmat Yar in 1994 and Kabul witnessed a fierce battle, vast scale massacre of the civilians and ruination of most part of the city. The patriot and Islam loving Afghāns who had sacrificed their lives and property on the basis of sincerity and devotion to the Afghān *Jihād* began to say that so great devastation was not perhaps made at the hands of the Soviet Forces as was made due to fight between *Hizb Islāmi* and Jamait Islāmi.

The northern areas like Chahārikar, Punjsher, Badakhshān and Takhār under the Kabul administration were in occupation of Burhān-ul-Din Rabbāni and Ahmad Shah Masood whereas Gulbadin Hikmat Yar and his allies were occupying the province Nangarhār of Eastern *Afghānistan*, northern Kāpisa, vicinities of Kabul like Logar, Dardark, Chahār Asyāb and Sarabi. Balkh, Mazār Sharif, Jozjān, Fāryāb and Qundāz of northern *Afghānistan* were under occupation of Rasheed Dostam. There was rule of Ismael Khān over Haraāt, Bādghis, Farāh and Nīmroze. There was the rule of Maulāna Jal-ul-Din Haqqāni over Khost and its surroundings attached to Pakistani borders. The area of Bāmiān was under the occupation of Hizb Wahdat which was representative of the Hazārah tribes. Darrah Kiān and Pul Khumri was under the occupation of Agha Khāni leader Mansūr Nādiri. The province of Kunnharr in the eastern *Afghānistan* had been the centre of the Ulamā and *Mujāhidīn*. The scholars (Ulamā) had played an important part in the initiation of *Jihād* against Soviet Union. A saint Maulāna Jamīl-ur-Rahmān here is called the pioneer of *Jihād* in the eastern *Afghānistan*. The Soviet Forces had not been able to occupy this land for twelve years.<sup>29</sup> Disappointed of the unending encounters between *Jamiat Islāmi* and *Hizb Islāmi* in Kabul, the ‘Ulamā of Kunharr had established their own free rule over

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

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

there. Its head was Maūlanā Jamīl-ur-Rahmān. As this rule was free of the capital, it remained the butt of persecution of both *Jamiat Islāmi* and *Hizb Islāmi*. Maūlanā Jamīl-ur-Rahmān was mysteriously killed after a few years. His supporters blamed the *Hizb Islāmi* of it. This government remained established till 1996. The encounters between *Hizb Islāmi* and *Jamiat Islāmi* had become a daily routine in Kabul. Rockets from the trenches of the *Hizb Islāmi* were fired at the city daily and the Rabbāni forces also shelled in retaliation. Meanwhile, the young men disappointed of war against Russia were returning to their homes but their leaders were waiting for a big decision. Hence they presented their agenda under the leadership of Mulla Muhammad ‘Umar. Its important points were establishment of peace, recovery of weaponry from the people, enforcement of the law of Shari’a and strengthening of Islam. The Talibān had occupied most part of southern *Afghānistan* till 1995. Now they were advancing to Kabul. The *Jamiat* of *Hizb Islāmi*, *Hizb Wahdat* and *Junbush Milli* etc. turned down the Tālibān demand for laying down arms. On the other hand, the Tālibān turned down the offer of joining peaceful political process during general elections. Ahmad Shah Masood ordered his soldiers to retreat in the mid of 1996 so that another fierce battle might be avoided. Occupying Kabul in September 1996, under the leadership of Mulla Muhammad ‘Umar, the Tālibān established their rule.<sup>30</sup> The president *Najībullah* and his brother were captured and hanged openly. The fight between all the other militants stopped with the Tālibān occupation. Burhan-ud-Din Rabbani, Gulbadin Hikmat Yar, Abd-ur-Rasheed Dostam, Ahmad Shah Masood and all the others fled from the city. Tālibān had occupied 95% area of *Afghānistan* till 2000. The influence of Pakistan in *Afghānistan* increased during the Tālibān regime and peaceful and congenial atmosphere, for the first time, was established over the Pak-Afghān borders during the fifty years. America attacked *Afghānistan* on October 2020 and dethroned the Tilban.

Now the need of the hour in 2020 is that USA will evacuate Afghanistan in fourteen months under the peace agreements with Taliban on 29 February, 2020 named “Agreement for bringing peace to Afghanistan between the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan which is not recognized by United States as a state and is known Taliban and the United State of America”. Learning a lesson from political crisis and historical facts of civil war after the USSR evacuation of *Afghānistan*; the Afghān political and *Jihād* organizations will have to advance forward in a

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<sup>30</sup> Safdar Sial, Monthly “*Tajziat*” Vol.1, No.12, Dec.2019, P.45

better political and democratic way after the departure of America from *Afghānistān*.

### **Conclusion**

The sum total of the above historical and analytical discussion is that the Soviet Forces attacked *Afghānistān* on December 27, 1979. In that long era of destruction and devastation, one million Afghāns\is got killed besides millions constrained to migrate to Pakistan and Iran. America, Saudi Arabia, Iran and Pakistan opposed this invasion openly as a result, the Soviet Forces quit *Afghānistān* under the Geneva Pact in February 1988 but the Soviet antagonistic resisting movements began to fight to take over the charge of the government due to which severe political crisis and civil war broke out in *Afghānistān*.

While leaving, Soviet union handed over the government to her ally party “PDPA” (People’s Democratic Party *Afghānistān*). In order to topple this government, there had been civil war between the government and the Mujāhid organizations like Hizb Wahdat, *Hizb Islāmi* (Hikmat Yar) Ittehad Islāmi (Sayāf), Ahmad Shah Masood and troops of Abd-ur-Rasheed Dostam from February 15, 1989 to April 30, 1992 till dethronement of *Najībullah*. During the three years’ war between the government and *Jihād* groups, the country was devastated.

Kabul came under the occupation of local militants with the end of Pro-communist *Najībullah* regime and the country fell prey to a new civil war. All the *Jihād* organizations gathered in Peshawar and signed the Peshawar Pact in which it was settled that there would be interim government till the conduct of elections in which Sibghatullah Mujaddedi would work as president for two months and after that *Burhān-ud-Din Rabbāni* (*Jamiat Islāmi*) would take over charge as president and Gulbadin Hikmat Yar as prime minister. According to that Pact, professor Sibghatullah Mujaddedi took over charge of the interim government on April 28, 1992. The prime minister of Pakistan Mian Nawaz Sharif and Shah Fahad’s special representative Turkey-al Faisal reached Kabul on April 29, 1992 to congratulate Sibghatullah Mujaddedi but Gulbadin Hikmat Yar opposed Sibghatullah Mujaddedi’s temporary appointment as president and later on himself taking over the post of Prime Minister under Rabbāni. Fierce encounters between Dostam militants, Harakt Inqilāb and *Hizb Islāmi* of *Jamiat Islāmi* (Hikmat Yar against Ittehad Islam of Hizb Wahdat in the western areas started. In that civil war, the system of Electricity, Water Supply and Communication was destroyed and Kabul was reduced to rubbles.

According to the Peshawar pact, Sibghatullah Mujaddedi resigned from the post of president on June 28, 1992 after the completion of two months’ tenure and handed over the powers to Professor *Burhān-ud-Din Rabbāni*. According to

“the Peshawar Pact” Gulbadin should have been prime president of Rabbāni but he refused to work with Rabbāni. However, the duty of the government was to conduct elections within four months and transfer the powers to the elected members but president Rabbāni and his right hand man Ahmad Shah Masood got united to prolong their government and to escape from elections. This discussion gave birth to a new political crisis and civil war. The *Hizb Islāmi* (Hikmat Yar) remained at war with *Jamiat Islāmi* (Rabbāni) from 1992 to 1996. Other organizations kept fighting changing support or opposition. Ittehād Islāmi sided with the government from beginning to the end whereas *Hizb Wahdat* (Mazāri and Khalīli) separated from the government and joined Hikmat Yar. Junbush Milli (General Abdur-Rasheed Dostam) remained ally of the government till 1993 but became ally of Hikmat Yar in January 1994. In the same way, “Jubbah Nijāt Milli” was in the beginning with the government and then joined Himat Yar whereas *Hizb Islāmi*(Khālis), Mahāz Milli (Gilāni) and Harkat Inqilāb Islāmi deserted the government in the beginning of the civil war. In the beginning, Harkat Inqilāb Islāmi sided with the government but joined the Tālibān in 1995. The efforts of Prime Minister of Pakistan Mian Nawaz Sharif, the head of the ISI General Hameed Gull and Chief of Jama’at Islāmi Pakistan Qazi Hussain Ahmad succeeded in getting “the Islamabad Pact” between *Hizb Islāmi* and *Jamiat Islāmi* signed on March 07, 1993. According to the pact, Gulbadin Hikmat Yar was acknowledge authorised Prime Minister of *Afghānistan* who could frame cabinet of his choice. But a few days after the Islamabad pact, the allied and *Jihād* organizations again came face to face. In view of war dangers the heads of *Jihād* organizations like Professor Rabbāni, Gulbadin Hikmat Yar, Maūlvi Yunus Khālis, Maūlvi Nabi Muhammad, Pir Syed Ahmad Gilāni and ‘Abd-ur-Rasūl Sayāf again laid head together. In twenty-one days’ long political meeting named Jalālabād Negotiations, Gulbadin Hikmat Yar was acknowledged Prime Minister and Professor *Burhān-ud-Din Rabbāni* President but there arose a severe dissension on the issue of Rasheed Dostam in the formation of government. Harkat Inqilāb Islāmi and Ittehād Islāmi opposed Rasheed Dostam’s participation in government whereas *Hizb Islāmi* (Hikmat Yar) stressed in favour of him. *Jamiat Islāmi* was observing mysterious silence at it. At last, it was settled after long discussions that Gulm Jim Malasia should deposit the weaponry with the government and vacate Kabul. Consequently, two Mujāhid leaders of Dostam were to be given representation in the government. The process of formation of government started and the Afghān people had a sigh of relief. During the Jalālabād Negotiations, Minister of Defence (Ahmad Shah Masood) had occupied many headquarters of *Hizb Islāmi* which were not vacated even after negotiations



which was greatly troubling Hikmat Yar. In this situation, *Hizb Islāmi* (Hikmat Yar), *Hizb Wahdat* (Mazari) and Gulm Jim Malsia framed a “Rābita Council” and rushed at Kabul all of a sudden on December 31, 1993. But the result was in favour of the government and all the three organizations of “the Rābita Council” were branded as traitors. In this way, the atmosphere between the Afghān militant groups grew so tense that the Afghāns were disappointed of any possibility of reconciliation and peace. So vast scale devastation was perhaps not occurred in *Afghānistan* at the hands of the Soviet Forces as it occurred during encounters between *Hizb Islāmi* and *Jamiat Islāmi* and their supporters.

Meanwhile, the young men disappointed of war against Russia took to their homes. They put forth their brief agenda before Mulla Muhammad ‘Umar. Its important points were restoration of peace, recovery of weapons from the people and enforcement of the Shari’ah. Tālibān succeeded in winning support of the majority on the basis of that agenda. At last, Tālibān established their supremacy over Kabul but no one except Pakistan and Saudi Arabia recognized this government. Capturing *Najībullah*, the Tālibān hanged him. *Burhān-ud-Din Rabbāni Gulbadin Hikmat Yar, Abdu-ur-Rasheed Dostam, Ahmad Shah Masood* and other fighting leaders escaped. The atmosphere of peace prevailed over *Afghānistan*. A congenial atmosphere at the Pak Afghān borders was created. But America attacked *Afghānistan* in 2001 and dethroned the Tālibān. Now, a peace contract has been signed on 29 February, 2020 between United State of America and *Afghānistan* named “Agreement for bringing peace to *Afghānistan* between the Islamic Emirate of *Afghānistan* which is not recognized by United States as a state and is known Tālibān and the United State of America”. Under this agreement the United States will evacuate *Afghānistan* in fourteen months. Now Afghān political and *Jihād* organizations should learn a lesson from past the civil war after departure of USSR from *Afghānistan* and advance forward politically and democratically after the departure of America from *Afghānistan*.