Why did Pakistan not support non-Pashtun rebel factions in taking power in Afghanistan upon the fall of the Najibullah regime?

An analysis of the Afghanistan War and its outcome

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# Table of Contents

Introduction ........................................................................................................................................... 2

1. Historical Context of Afghanistan ........................................................................................................... 5
   1.1. Political relations of the USSR and Afghanistan prior to the Soviet Union invasion ......................... 10

2. The Soviet Invasion (1979) ....................................................................................................................... 16
   2.1. The reason behind the Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan ............................................................. 17
       A. Brezhnev doctrine revolved around three fundamental elements .......................................... 18
       B. Security-strategic concerns ...................................................................................................... 19
       C. Impacts of internal events in Afghanistan ............................................................................... 19
   2.2. Geneva Accords (1988) ................................................................................................................. 20
   2.3. Soviet Withdrawal ........................................................................................................................ 21
   2.4. U.S.-Pakistan Cooperation with Mujahedin ................................................................................. 22

3. Rise and fall of the Najibullah regime .................................................................................................... 24
   3.1. Internal Factors ............................................................................................................................. 26
       A. Domestic affairs .......................................................................................................................... 26
       B. The party’s opposition and the national reconciliation ........................................................... 26
       C. Najibullah Policy ....................................................................................................................... 27
   3.2. External Factors ............................................................................................................................. 28
       A. Withdrawal of Soviet troops and lack of support for the regime ........................................... 28
       B. Pakistan and the US interfere in Afghanistan government internal affairs ............................ 28

4. Why did Pakistan not support non-Pashtuns rebel factions in taking power in Afghanistan upon the fall of the Najibullah regime? ................................................................................. 30
   4.1. Problems of Pakistan with Ahmad Shah Massoud ......................................................................... 32
   4.2. Reasons Pakistan supported Pashtuns ........................................................................................ 34
   4.3. Durand Line .................................................................................................................................. 35

Conclusion .................................................................................................................................................. 44

Bibliography ............................................................................................................................................... 46
Introduction

The thesis why did Pakistan not support non-Pashtuns rebel factions in taking power in Afghanistan upon the fall of the Najibullah regime? Is the output of extensive research, based on an extraordinarily broad set of sources – English, Hungarian, Persian, etc. – of different origin, archival, personal and official documents.

Throughout its history, Afghanistan has witnessed several fundamental changes in its political systems. These fundamental changes in the political system, were caused by various internal and external factors. The most important ones are: 1. International and regional factors: a great power rivalry between the East and West blocks enter the region to play and compete among the countries of the region. 2. Sociological changes in society. 3. The emergence of different currents of thought during this 20th century.

The intellectual and political currents that emerged in Afghanistan during this century included nationalism, constitutionalism, liberal minded thinking, communism, Islamism, Talibanism and Taliban fundamentalism, and ethnic nationalism.

Afghanistan aided by the impassable mountains and rugged terrain, had a good strategic position, and for many years had attracted many historical civilizations. In the nineteenth century it served as a border buffer between the two great superpowers, namely Great Britain and Russia. However, in the twentieth century Afghanistan became the context of a dispute between the two contemporary superpowers, the USA and the Soviet Union.

Russian intervention in Afghanistan began long ago at the time that Amir1 Dost Mohammad Khan2 (King of Afghanistan from 1826 to 1839 and then from 1843 to 1863). He sent a delegate to Saint Petersburg in an attempt to earn Russian support and consolidate political power against his rival Shah3 Shujah Durrani (The ruler of Afghanistan from 1839 to 1842). In this case Russian was willing of support.

Later during the times of Sher Ali Khan (The ruler of Afghanistan from 1863 to 1866 and from 1868 until his death in 1879) and Amir Abdur Rahman Khan (The ruler of Afghanistan from 1880 to 1901), Russian influence in Afghanistan was stronger than ever before. However, eventually during the time of Amanullah Khan (The ruler of Afghanistan from 1919 to 1929) in 1919, Russian recognized Afghanistan as

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1 Amir is a title usually used to refer to a leader or commander
2 Khan is a title given to rulers and officials in central Asia, Afghanistan, and certain other Muslim countries
3 Shah is a title given to the emperors, kings, princes and lords
independent country. Later in 1921 a friendship contract was written between Russia and Afghanistan in order to have a close relationship and for Russia to support the government of Amanullah. They also contributed gifts to Afghanistan such as military consolidation, armaments, money etc. This was the beginning of a long history of Russia influence in modern Afghanistan. This led to the forty-year reign of Mohammad Zahir Shah (The last king of Afghanistan from 1933 to 1973). During this time, the Soviet Union thought it was a good chance to erect colonization bases in the country. Also in this period, the Soviets created a sentiment for the people by supporting the case of Pashtunistan. That lead to soured relations between Afghanistan and Pakistan.

However, there was a short turning point in Russia and Afghanistan’s political relationship from 1963-1973. It was referred to as the decade of Democracy in Afghanistan. In these years, Afghan officials took steps to prevent Soviet influence in the country. This turning point was extremely important in the history of Afghanistan. However, the Soviet Union, realizing their loss of influence, soon revised their approach and tactics in Afghanistan.

It began in 1973 when Mohammed Daoud Khan (The Prime Minister of Afghanistan from 1953 to 1963 and later became the President), executed a bloodless coup and got control of the power. Instead of a kingship, he installed a republic political system in the country. Daoud was a strong nationalist with leftist ideology from the beginning. He had a close relationship with Parcham a faction of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA). This faction was very helpful in his coup, and therefore, he gave elite member key roles in his new government. Things changed in the last years of Daoud’s presidency. He kept away from both Moscow and the PDPA. He even tried to end the leftist elites in Afghanistan. Because of this, the PDPA, led a coup d’état against him. He was killed in the presidential palace with 18 members of his family in 1978. Then Nur Mohammed Taraki came to power as the first Communist president in Afghanistan.

After getting power, the Khalq a faction of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA), began the socialization and secularization of the country. However, a surge of the people, especially the rural people, were not interested, and

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4 Pashtunistan is the geographic region inhabited by the indigenous Pashtun people of modern-day Afghanistan and Pakistan
5 The main factions of the PDPA were the Khalq and the Parcham, each of which claimed to represent the “true” PDPA
6 The main factions of the PDPA were the Khalq and the Parcham, each of which claimed to represent the “true” PDPA
radically showed their dissidents against this trend. As a result of people dissident of socialism, the regime became unstable. Crises between president Taraki and minister of defense Hafizullah Amin (leftist politician who briefly served as the president of Afghanistan in 1979) got much worse. This resulted in Taraki being killed and Hafizullah Amin becoming president. After that Amin killed, Babrak Karmal (Afghan politician who backed by the Soviet Union and was president of Afghanistan from 1979 to 1986) took power. During the Karmal period, the war with Mujahideen escalated.

After Karmal, in late 1986, Najibullah (The late socialist president of Afghanistan from 1987 to 1992) took power as president of Afghanistan. During his presidency, he insisted that Afghanistan should be an allied union, and that the PDPA be dismantled and he would change it to Watan party. Then in 1992, after the Russian’s stopped their support, Najibullah peacefully transmitted the power to the interim government of Mujahideen. The Najibullah’s regimes fall was unbelievable for the people and for the world, because nobody imagined that Russia might stop supporting the Najibullah regime. After the fall of the Najibullah regime, all of the Mujahideen movement except for Gulbuddin Hekmatyar (Afghan politician and warlord) agreed on the distribution of power. Hekmatyar tried to take the power in Kabul alone. Thankfully, Hekmatyar and his total desire for power didn’t succeed, Ahmad Shah Massoud (Afghan political and military leader, who was a central figure in resistance against Soviet Union and Taliban) stood against him as an opponent to thwart his plan. Unfortunately, this was the beginning of the civil war in Afghanistan. As a result of ruinous war, The Mujahideen split, especially between Massoud and Hekmatyar. Later because of the Taliban, this split subsided and marginalized somewhat. With the support of Pakistan, and with remarkable speed, the Taliban conquered Kabul in 1996. Then tragically, they found Najibullah in the UN central office in Kabul and hanged him in public.

After the World Trade Center attack, the United States came to Afghanistan, and with the help of Mujahideen defeated the Taliban. Unfortunately, still to this day, the Taliban have control of a small, different part of Afghanistan. They have created a challenge for the withdrawal of foreign troops from the country. Unfortunately, the Taliban survived from modern weapons, troops, and attacks. It seems to be that in 2017, the Taliban is going to have an influential power in the region.

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7 The Watan Party of Afghanistan (Persian: حزب وطن افغانستان) was an Afghan reformist socialist political party

8 Kabul is the capital of Afghanistan
1. Historical Context of Afghanistan

In the history of Afghanistan, the location has served a very crucial significance. Due to the territorial policy and geography, it was a vast commercial highway between the East and West, and between immigration movements. This also led to many invasions and multiple violations in the East, West and South.

Throughout the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, Afghanistan endured a long history of invaders. This includes the Mongol Invaders and the Persian Empire. More recently, invaders of Iran and Greece passed through this area, then again during the Islamic conquests and Turks. Throughout its history, Afghanistan turned into a battlefield of empires.

In the nineteenth century (1813 until 1917), Afghanistan was under the pressure of two great powers: Russia and Great Britain. During this famous time of history, the two powers were said to be playing the great game. The Great Game for Central Asia was about to burst into open warfare, with India the prize and Afghanistan the playing field. (Tanner, 2002)

In this above-mentioned game the British Empire and Russia were struggling for influence along the unsettled northern frontier of British India. They also fought for the entire region between Russia and India, which is currently the territory of Afghanistan. This contested area between the two empires directly affected Afghanistan.

In the first Anglo-Afghan war, British India forces invaded Afghanistan and the Great Game spilled into the country. The First Anglo-Afghan War, 1839–1842, was about blocking the Russian influence from the Indian border and extending British influence into Central Asia. (Collins, 2011)

The British Empire started the war with a massive invasion to topple the ruler Dost Mohammad Khan and to occupy Kabul and other major cities in central Afghanistan.

According to Britain, the reason behind the invasion was to stop and counter the growing influence of Russia in Afghanistan and Central Asia. The British forces withdrew after a hard and difficult fight. However, the Russian empire continued their expansion and reached the banks of the Amu Darya\(^9\) (Oxus) river the north-eastern border of Afghanistan by 1869. This caused additional British concern.

The Second Anglo-Afghan war started in 1878. The cause of war was the arrival

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\(^9\) The Amu Darya (أمودريا) historically known by its Latin name, Oxus, is a major river in Central Asia
of a special Russian diplomatic mission to Kabul which led to another British invasion. In the Second Anglo-Afghan War, 1878–1880, disputes over potential Russian influence on Kabul again produced a British ultimatum, a rapid and successful invasion, a troubled occupation, a murdered British envoy, and subsequent maneuver warfare. (Collins, 2011)

In the Second Anglo-Afghan War, the British government planned for a permanent occupation of Afghanistan with their military inside the country, by taking more victims, and by spending millions of pounds to defeat the Afghan people. However, they were not able to defeat the Afghan people and they returned back. After that, the British Empire accepted that they would never colonize Afghanistan for a long period of time. So rather than military struggle, the focus was given to the political struggle. In the military struggle all of people of Afghanistan were against them, but in the political struggle, there was only one person, Abdur Rahman Khan, Amir of Afghanistan. So the British Empire opened communication with Abdur Rahman Khan, in hopes of easily overcoming him.

Abdur Rahman Khan was officially selected by the British government as the new Amir of Kabul. At the same time, he was recognized by the British as the legitimate ruler of the northern and eastern regions of Afghanistan. After long deliberations as to whether to accept the offer from Britain, he accepted the proposal of Amirship\(^\text{10}\) and worked toward mutual understanding with the British authorities.

In the late nineteenth century with the signing of the Treaty of Gandamak,\(^\text{11}\) Afghanistan become a protectorate of England from 1879 until 1919. The treaty was signed on the 26th of May 1879. The signatories were Mohammad Yaqub Khan (Amir of Afghanistan during the second Anglo-Afghan war) of Afghanistan and Sir Pierre Louis Napoleon Cavagnari (British military administrator from 1841 to 1879) of British’s Government of India. The infamous treaty was signed at a British army camp near the village of Gandamak. Gandamak was about seventy miles east of Kabul. The ratification of the treaty was made possible by Lord Edward Robert Bulwer Lytton, Viceroy of India, on 30 May 1879.

The treaty of Gandamak was one of the most important and notable treaties in the history of Afghanistan. The Afghan-Anglo war consisted of many important phases,

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\(^{10}\) The rank or office of an Amir

\(^{11}\) Gandamak is a village of Afghanistan located between Kabul and Peshawar, 35 miles (56 km) from Jalalabad on the old road to Kabul
which are considered vital and significant to the current state of Afghanistan. The second Afghan-Anglo war, according to some historians, was a vital part of the history of the Afghan nation. The Gandamak treaty is the product of these interactions between British Empire and Afghanistan.

Two parties signed the Gandamak treaty, Afghanistan and the British Empire. In order to prevent invasion of further areas of the country, Afghanistan ceded various frontiers to the British Empire to protect its remaining territories. The Second Afghan-Anglo war officially ended by the signing of this treaty. This agreement allowed for Afghanistan to be turned into a state dependent on England. Afghanistan lost its conduct in the area of international relations and independent foreign relations. In effect, the England resident in Kabul got control over all the country’s internal affairs.

According to a number of previous studies and scholarly articles written about the history of Afghanistan, the Gandamak Treaty fixed the country as a buffer state between Russia and British India. In the aforementioned treaty, Amir Yaqub Khan a previous ruler of Afghanistan, not only ceded various territories but he also handed over diplomatic rights to the British Empire. In short, Afghanistan was virtually a British protectorate until 1919. It is also well known that Afghanistan later became a major political battlefield between the United States and the Soviet Union during the Cold War era in the latter half of the twentieth century. If the situation and security of Afghanistan continues as it is today, it is likely that Afghanistan will once again be turned into a buffer state between Russia and the United States.

After Gandamak treaty, in 1893, the Durand Agreement formalized the eastern boundary of Afghanistan with British North-West India. The impact of this accord on Afghanistan’s history was profound. The Durand Agreement not only ceded considerable Afghan territory to British India, it also granted Britain authority over the important border passes. (Lyon Peter, 2006)

During the rule of Amir Abdur Rahman Khan, the boundary line between Afghanistan and India was determined by Great Britain as the international border between the two countries. However, after the creation of Pakistan, the interim government in Afghanistan refused to recognize the line. A critic to not recognize this boundary line was Najibullah. Still today there are disputes between Afghanistan and Pakistan over the line which sometimes causes serious problems between the two countries. The Afghan government attempted to solve the issue through the United
Nations with relative votes on both sides of the border, but the government of Pakistan escaped from the case by claiming the line was recognized by the Afghan government. Due to signing the treaty, Amir Abdur Rahman is considered a traitor by the people of Afghanistan.

This line divided Afghan Pashtun population on both sides of the border. The Durand line is just one of the agreements between Abdur Rahman khan and Mortimer Durand the representative from the British India in the late nineteenth century. He was the one who determined the border territory between the two countries. The old lands located in eastern part of Afghanistan had always been disputed territories between India and Colonial Britain rulers and several agreements have been made for the delimitation of these countries which resulted in further loss of Afghan land.

Most people believe that the validity of the Durand Line agreement was a one-hundred-year deal, however, contrary to the prevailing thought a century long agreement was never mentioned in any of the seven article of the Durand Line Agreement. In fact, according to historical documents, the Durand Line Agreement, could only be valid during the life of Amir Abdur Rahman Khan. Furthermore, the British Indian authority concluded the Treaty of Rawalpindi (1919) in which the Afghan rulers recognized the Durand Line as boundary between British India and Afghanistan. (Shamra, et al., 2011)

In the Treaty of Rawalpindi, the government of Great Britain recognized the Afghan sovereignty, the borders of the country, and declared that all the previous agreements with the Amir of Afghanistan were null and void. However, in relation to the Durand Line, the five article Treaty of Rawalpindi explicitly says that the Afghan government and the Afghan border with India will be as it was accepted by Amir Habibullah Khan (The ruler of Afghanistan from 1901 until 1919).

The Treaty of Rawalpindi is important in the sense that for the first time the sovereign Afghan government recognized the Durand Line as an international border between Afghanistan and British India.

After the Second World War the changing political situation in Europe, liberation movements, and the increasing pressure against British colonial policy, Great Britain granted India freedom on the Indian subcontinent. For this reason, in 1947 the

\[\text{Pashtun is an ethnic group in Afghanistan and North-Western Pakistan}\]
\[\text{A border line between Afghanistan and Pakistan, which was established after an agreement in 1893 between Mortimer Durand of British India and Afghan Amir Abdur Rahman Khan}\]
\[\text{Rawalpindi is capital city of Islamabad, in the province of Punjab}\]
Indian subcontinent was divided into the two independent states of India and Pakistan. The people living on the border (The Durand Line was also included) were told that they must declare accession into India or Pakistan. Accession to India was hard due to the low number of Muslim. As a result, the Muslim people were integrated into Pakistan because Pakistan was a Muslim country.

The division of the Indian subcontinent into two independent states, India and Pakistan coincided with the tenure Shah Mahmud Khan (Prime Minister of Afghanistan from 1946 to 1953). During this time, instead of recognizing the political and territorial sovereignty of the formation of independent Pakistan, and announcing the Durand Line as an international border between Afghanistan and Pakistan, the Afghan government proceeded in the opposite direction. With the misunderstanding of the mental, tribal, and political circumstances of the world and region, and under the influence of clan-oriented politics the "Pashtun claim" was unwisely proposed and the seeds of cynicism, hatred and mistrust between the two countries was established. As a result, political opposition and hostility between Pakistan and Afghanistan escalated and the political and economic stability was endangered in the region.

In September 1947, when Pakistan wanted to join the United Nations, Afghanistan was the only country that didn’t want them to join the United Nations on account of the Durand Line disagreement. For this reason, they abstained from voting. So far, no country except India and the former Soviet Union supported the position of Afghanistan in relation to the issue of the Durand Line. In contrast, many powerful countries and major international organizations, including America, England, the United Nations and many Islamic countries recognize the Durand Line as the legitimate and permanent border between Afghanistan and Pakistan.

Contrary to prevailing opinion, Pakistan does not have any legal concern about the Durand line, but controversy over the issue, has provided the basis for Pakistan's involvement in Afghanistan. Recognition of the Durand Line by the government can help Afghanistan to take a stronger and clearer stance against Pakistan in order to change the formula of the regional politics to the benefit of Afghanistan.
1.1. Political relations of the USSR and Afghanistan prior to the Soviet Union invasion

After its independence, Afghanistan signed several treaties and agreements with the Soviet Union and each of them played an important role in Afghanistan's political and social history. The first treaty (Treaty of Friendship) between Afghanistan and the Soviet Union was signed in Moscow, February 28, 1921 during the reign of Amanullah Khan. Under the treaty, the two sides recognized each other's independence and pledged that the parties to the treaty will not sign any military or political agreement with a third party or state, which would harm one of the parties to the treaty. In this agreement the Russian government committed to return the lands in the border area of Afghanistan, to strengthen friendship, and give financial and political assistance to the Afghan government. Article 9 of this agreement obligated the Soviet Union to hand over to Afghanistan the frontier districts which belonged to the Afghans in the 19th century. It states: In order to accomplish the promise given by the R.S.F.S.\textsuperscript{15} Government of Russia through its President, Mr. Lenin, to the Minister of His Majesty's Government of Afghanistan, which promise being to the effect that the Government of Russia agrees to return to Afghanistan all the lands situated in the frontier zone, and which had belonged to Afghanistan in the past century, it is hereby agreed that a separate agreement will be signed by the plenipotentiaries of the High Contracting Parties on the basis of the plebiscite of the nationals living in those lands. (Masood, et al., 2004)

By signing the Treaty of Friendship, the Soviet Union committed to good relations, to recognize the geographical borders of the two countries, and to send weapons and money to the newly independent states of Amanullah Khan. However, the dimensions and scope of the interventions grew wider and wider. A few years later, another treaty was signed between the two countries. The treaty of Neutrality and Non-Aggression between the USSR and Afghanistan, on August 31, 1926. (Donald D, et al., 1979)

According to this treaty, the two sides were committed to avoid any aggression to the other party. In addition, each party made a commitment to not form treaties with any other country that would be to the detriment of each other. Both sides pledged to adhere to these rulers and to keep their territorial integrity. They also committed to

\textsuperscript{15} Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic
avoid any intervention, armed and non-armed, in each other's affairs. Also importantly, they would not allow any opposing political parties the right to transport weapons through their territories.

In 1931 the government of Afghanistan under Nadir Shah (King of Afghanistan from 1929 to 1933) opened up negotiations for a review of the 1921 treaty, and the new Afghan-Soviet treaty signed on 24 June 1931 included a clause specifically calling for the prohibition in both states of activities that might cause either military or political damage. (Frank A, 2003)

In this treaty the two sides agreed to recognize each other's sovereignty and to refrain from interfering in their internal affairs. Based on the above treaty, both sides stated that they didn’t have a secret or public commitment with one or more countries, who opposed this treaty. It also stated that both sides were not going to form any agreement that would be opposed to the treaty.

During the reign of Mohammad Zahir Shah, Soviet-Afghan relations entered a new and sensitive phase. Mohammad Zahir Shah was the last king of Afghanistan from 1933 to 1973, and he ruled the country for forty years. During the forty years of his reign, he provided the opportunity for the Soviet Union to come into Afghanistan and to fulfill their colonial plans. At the time of Zahir Shah, the Afghan government was in dispute with Pakistan over Pashtunistan16 (Pashtun border). To strengthen its military forces, the Afghan government, under Prime Minister Mohammad Daoud Khan, signed a military contract with the Soviet Union. Soviet leader Khrushchev came to Kabul to sign the contract. The Soviet Union supported the Afghanistan’s stance on the issue of the Pashtun area, and they promised to cooperate with the Afghan government. Under the military contract, the Soviet Union would grant $25 million to Afghanistan so they could buy their weapons from other countries on the Eastern Block. When the appeal to the West failed, Kabul turned to the USSR: in August 1956, Afghanistan signed an agreement in which it undertook to obtain $25 millions worth of Soviet arms. (Fred, 1978)

At this point, Soviet Union played towards the emotions of the people, specifically of the Tribal Pashtun. This led to worsening relations between Pakistan and Afghanistan, because the Afghan people felt like they had been exploited. Despite all their efforts, the Soviets could not openly and directly interfere into the arena.

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16 The "land of Pashtuns" is the geographic region inhabited by the indigenous Pashtun people of modern-day Afghanistan and Pakistan
Therefore, they focused their efforts in Afghanistan towards newspaper publishing and advertising through their own agents. They realized their inability to change Afghanistan's relations with the West and the United States, so they tried to overthrow Shah Mahmud Khan from power. Instead of him they would bring Daoud Khan to power as he was the only person whom they knew was favorable to their cause. They were successful in doing this. One thing that Daoud Khan argued towards during his chancellery was closer relations with Moscow. Economic theory led to the five-year plan of economic development of Afghanistan. In order to realize these demands, the government felt the need to gain the cooperation of foreign countries. The American government did not pay attention to Afghanistan's repeated requests for loans and economic aid. This forced the Afghanistan government to rely more on Soviet aid. This is because of the strained relations between Afghanistan and neighboring Pakistan on the issue of Pashtun One. This is one of the issues that Daoud Khan, in his own words, drew Afghanistan closer to the Soviet Union. As the pressure grew between Pakistan and Afghanistan, the need was felt that the government should rely more and more on the Soviet Union. Relations between the Soviet Union and Afghanistan got impetus during Premier Daoud’s reign. (Siddiqui, et al., 2014)

Over the years of 1955-1978, Soviet economic and military aid to Afghanistan was almost two and a half billion dollars. During this same time, United State aid was just a little more than half a billion dollars. That is why relations between Kabul and Moscow increased and encompassed more areas of Afghanistan. In many ways Afghanistan was dependent on the Soviet Union to build. According to Ashraf Ghani Ahmadzai (The current president of Afghanistan): due to Kabul’s ties with Moscow and the need to prevent the creation of military bases near its borders, economic development was needed in Kabul. Therefore, Afghanistan was a major point that was important in the eyes of the Soviet Union. Daoud Khan felt a special need that Afghanistan should, have access to weapons similar to those of the Pakistani military and also the money needed to achieve the objectives of a reformer. In the reign of Mohammad Zahir Shah period, especially in the later years, nearly twenty magazine publishing’s were released in Afghanistan. Most were the left party’s political thoughts. Also Islamic writings and thoughts were less likely and hence there was no freedom. Zahir Shah more concessions to the Russians, and the Russians had their assistance provided with this regime should be established in Afghanistan Communist Party, and have government support as Zahir Shah's political activities was provided to the
communists, against Islamic movements, the position of royal rule was that it saw a serious danger. In a general sense it can be said that the Soviet influence, on both the military and in other sectors, were so strong that they ultimately led to the fall of the royal regime.

After the second world war Afghanistan’s internal and external politics were also changed. The new government’s policy was under the guise of neutrality while also developing further relations with the United States and the Soviet Union. After World War II and the collapse of the Britain colonial powers, only two world powers remained: The Soviet Union and the United States. Afghanistan, in an attempt to gain UN membership in November 1946 and from 1946 to 1950, signed many agreements with Russia. These included swap agreement contacts, border threats protocol, and also trade relations agreements between the two countries. In this way, neighboring relations quietly and calmly continued.

During the term of Mohammad Daoud Khan leadership, his strictness in achieving a peaceful transition to a constitutional democracy became desperate. Due to this, he sought to find another way to achieve his goal. At this time, the Soviet Union deployed a large number of its nationals on various pretexts. They arrived in Afghanistan and were immediately in contact with people. The former Marxist literature was distributed, and small circles of study and discussions were encouraged. They were held in Kabul and other cities. In these circles there were three important people that promoted the ideals of Marxism-Leninism and Moscow's line. These advertisers of the new ideals were Nur Mohammad Taraki, Babrak Karmal, and Hafizullah Amin. After the adoption of the constitution took place, there was an expanded scope of their activities. They formed an organizing committee called that the First Committee as it was known to the circles at the time.

I would like to mention the origins of Soviet influence in Afghanistan after World War II. It first started with the emergence of pro-Soviet party such as the PDPA17. As a result of the Cold War, competition took place between the United States and the Soviet Union. However, Mohammed Daoud as Prime Minister was leaning in power in Afghanistan. Especially after 1954, a flood of military and economic aid entered into Afghanistan and this is when the Soviets arrived.

17 The People’s Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA), founded in 1965 upon Marxist ideology and allegiance to Moscow
From this year onwards, Soviet advisors were officially working in Afghanistan. Arms entered into Afghanistan, including T-34 tanks, DL 28 bombers, helicopters and hand weapons. These arms were supplied by countries such as the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and East Germany. They were sent to Afghanistan with relevant advisors. It should be noted that at the time, Afghanistan was as one of the vital centers of Moscow's policy as its power grew from year to year.

The Soviet Union, in addition to a series of efforts to establish control over Afghanistan with military force, used two official groups to gain control. The first were Afghan officers who had been converted to the communist idea, the second of course were the Soviet authorities that arrived in Afghanistan. A significant number of Afghan army officers had hatred against the ruling regime. Therefore, it was expected for them to cooperate in the fall, and naturally they took advantage of this golden opportunity.

It should be noted that in the era of Prime Minister Daoud, his foreign policy focused on rapprochement with the Soviet Union and also to refrain from Iran. He insisted on hostile relations with Pakistan over the issue of Pashtun. As a result of disputes with Mohammad Zahir Shah and General Sardar Shah Wali Khan (Was a political and military figure in Afghanistan), his son in law was forced to withdraw from the political scene of the country. After a period of expulsion from the scene, the secret and public activities in order to achieve power finally started. With the assistance of the Marxist PDPA (Khalq and Parcham groups), Daoud attempted to overthrow the government of Zahir Shah and to help left-wing organizations. After cooperation with the Soviet Union, they finally launched a bloodless coup in 1973. It successfully overthrew the monarchy and established a republic system in Afghanistan. Mohammad Daoud’s coup d’état on 17 July 1973, which toppled the Afghan monarchy after 226 years. (Thomas, 2013)

After the overthrow of the monarchy, Daoud was in theory ideal for the country's PDPA. However, because Daoud was alarmed by the PDPA, many of the leaders were arrested. Limited access to the top ranks of leadership may have prompted some of the younger, Soviet-trained officers to support the April 1978 over-throw by the Marxist PDPA of Mohammed Daoud Khan, Afghanistan’s first President. (Olga, 2011)

When the history of Afghanistan is examined, it becomes evident that the political system of this country has always been in a coup, and bloody wars continually take place. This pattern has existed throughout history. A similar pattern is observed
between the Afghan government and the people of Afghanistan. In any period of history, the overthrowing government did not align with the desire of people. In this most recent period, the people again did not see anything else other than losses. To better understand the agents of this coup, it is helpful to know about the Khalq and Parcham parties.

The PDPA was unofficially founded in January 1965 with the goal of a socialist society based on the ideas of Marxism, Leninism. The main founders of this party were Nur Mohammad Taraki, Babrak Karmal and Hafizullah Amin. After the formation of the party, Taraki, was selected as Secretary General and Karmal the Deputy Secretary-General.

The first conflict between the Khalqists and Parchamites arose when the Khalqists wanted to give PDPA Central Committee membership to the military officers who participated in the Saur Revolution. (Ijors, 2015)

In 1967 the PDPA party was split and divided into two branches, (Khalqists and Parchamites). Taraki became the People's Khalq Party's leadership and Babrak Karmal became the leader of the Parcham party. In collaboration with the Soviets in 1977, the two parties were united again and led to the coup of Saur on 27 April 1978. Although contemporary Western accounts stated that the Soviet Union had not only provided support to the PDPA but had actually been involved in the coup. The Soviet Union attacked the National Palace with its aircraft and the attacks continued into the night. The next morning soldiers surrounded the palace and Daoud gave orders to surrender. Babrak Karmal, along with his deputy Nur Mohammed Taraki and also his close aide Hafizullah, led the coup. The coup lasted twenty-four hours and finally, on April 28, 1978, soldiers aligned with Taraki’s “Khalq” faction assaulted the presidential palace, where troops executed Daoud and his family. The communist party PDPA seized the power in Kabul.

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18 Masses or People (Supporters of Khalq faction)
19 Masses or People (Supporters of Parcham faction)
2. The Soviet Invasion (1979)

At the end of December 1979, the Soviet Union sent thousands of troops into Afghanistan and immediately assumed complete military and political control of Kabul and large portions of the country. The Soviet Union intervened in support of the Afghan communist government and to spread communist ideology, to compete with America, to maintain its superiority in the region, to prevent the collapse of the Russian government in Kabul, and because they feared the formation of an Islamic state in the region. Most importantly they wanted access to the South Oil and Afghanistan's natural resources.

In April 1978 Daoud Khan, was overthrown by left-wing military officers led by Nur Mohammad Taraki. The bloody acts that were permitted in April that year were called the "Saur Revolution". (Ijors, 2015) Power was thereafter shared by two Marxist-Leninist political groups, the People’s Khalq and Parcham Party which had earlier emerged from a single organization, the PDPA, and had reunited in an uneasy coalition shortly before the coup. The new government, which had little popular support, forged close ties with the Soviet Union, launched ruthless purges of all domestic opposition, and began extensive land and social reforms that were bitterly resented by the devoutly Muslim and largely anticommunist population. Insurgencies arose against the government among both tribal and urban groups, and all of these known collectively as the Mujahideen were Islamic in orientation.

Occupation by foreign forces was met with widespread resistance from the Afghan people and was followed by a terrible disaster which cost the lives of more than one and half million people. More than five million Afghans fled their homeland and were driven to the neighbor countries such as Iran and Pakistan. Armed resistance forces in Afghanistan, mostly under the general title of Mujahideen, fought with the support of various countries and especially with support from the United States, Pakistan and Saudi Arabia. As a result, the resistance against the Russian forces lasted for ten years. The Soviet Union, in the last stage of the its life as a superpower, finally succumbed.

Despite having failed to implement a sympathetic regime in Afghanistan, in 1988 the Soviet Union signed an accord with the United States, Pakistan, and Afghanistan and agreed to withdraw its troops. In 1989 during the rule of Mikhail Gorbachev the last leader of the Soviet Union, who was now intent on withdrawing
from the Afghan quagmire (Pervez) retreated from Afghanistan. The former pro-Soviet government, headed by doctor Najibullah did not last for more than three years due to political and military pressures. Finally, in 1992, his government fell.

After the fall of the Najibullah regime, residents were experiencing discord and division. Afghanistan was increasingly drowned in the vortex of sectarian and ethnic strife. Out of these bloody clashes, elements of the Taliban ideal took hold. These groups expanded their territory in the country very rapidly, and they eventually seized Kabul in 1996.

For the people of Afghanistan, the military occupation of the Soviet Union was a painful and unforgettable part of their country's history. In the political sphere, this war changed the political structure of Afghanistan. It led to the occurrence of prolonged civil wars, in turn, rise of the Taliban and Al Qaeda in Afghanistan, (Which in later years led to the arrival of United State troops in Afghanistan). On the economic side, there was a severe destruction of the economic system. There was serious damage to urban and rural areas and farmland, airports, hospitals, roads, and bridges. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan was a crippling economic problem, and this failure was accompanied with the failure of the Russian strategy around the world. This is because Afghanistan’s nationwide uprising sparked other Soviet countries to also start uprisings which were one of the causes for the collapse of the Soviet Union.

2.1. The reason behind the Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan

A lot has been written about the invasion of Afghanistan by the Red Army. The majority of western writers have reached a similar conclusion: The invasion was explicitly inspired by a long-standing initiative for Russia to reach the warm waters of the Indian Ocean. In other words, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan was a scope of applications to access the warm waters.

However, further analysis revealed that the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan took place in two directions, defensive and offensive, something which the Western scholars and Russian researchers of Cold War had divided into two Cross-Queue. Westerners focus on the offensive direction and the Russian military stressed a move toward the defensive direction. Most Afghan and the western writers further emphasized that the Russian attack was an offensive attack, pointing out that the Russians wanted to reach the Indian Ocean.
According to this perception, I would like to assert that the invasion of the Red Army was based on the two prevailing hypothesis in the Soviet system. The first was that high-ranking officials in the Soviet Union in the late seventies that thought mere diplomacy didn’t work in the Third World. This led to the conclusion that they needed to use a combination of diplomacy and force in this part of the world to maintain the status quo and the international order. The second was the Red Army’s findings that the military options of the Soviet performed well in obtaining satellites in Eastern Europe for security and intimidation of West. Therefore, to explain the reasons for the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan there isn’t a need for historicism. This event is understandable only in the context of the Cold War. In this context, the invasion of Afghanistan had three basic elements. These elements include: The doctrine of Brezhnev, security concerns of the Soviet Union strategy, and the pressure of the events in Afghanistan.

These factors suggest that a military strike on Afghanistan would result in sheer panic of Soviet leaders, fear of the spread of Islamic fundamentalism, and the West at the southern borders of Central Asia upon the possible collapse of the communist regime in Afghanistan was finalized.

The Brezhnev doctrine, known as the doctrine of Moscow or the West view, desires to expand the Soviet sphere of influence, (Joseph J, 1986) basis foreign policy of the Soviet Union in the late sixties, seventies and early eighties was considered. The doctrine of the Red Army allowed in any communist country under the name of "defending the existing communism" to intervene and settle on it.

A. Brezhnev doctrine revolved around three fundamental elements

1. Imperialism will not be allowed, either by tools of war or by peace, whether from inside or from the outside to a socialist system and thus breached the balance of power in Europe to bring to their advantage. So to maintain the achievements of the revolutionary socialist parties and people, as a result of the struggles of working class and their historic responsibility.

2. A socialist country only as long as a member of the socialist bloc, can sustain the independence and sovereignty (In case of withdrawal of the socialist bloc, the attack on the sovereignty of the country and the suspension is legitimate).

3. A socialist country has no right to collective action, socialist countries opposition, which intend to defend the sovereignty of that country.
According to the notification of the Brezhnev doctrine, the Soviet system within the framework of this policy, numerous treaties were signed with the socialist states, treaties that actually reminded and warned foreign policy of Brezhnev separately to all socialist states on that time. Thus, the newly elected government of the PDPA, as in other Soviet satellite states must respond to the original message of Brezhnev doctrine.

On this basis, the Brezhnev Doctrine in Afghanistan can be translated as follows: Afghanistan has embraced communism and the Soviet communism tied with dignity; it must stay until the end of communism and if any danger threatened the political system of Afghanistan, Afghan communist leaders have to embrace the intervention of the Red Army.

Thus, the Brezhnev Doctrine in reality, on the fields of theory and politics provided the invasion of Afghanistan and the military action gave political legitimacy in the eyes of public.

\textbf{B. Security-strategic concerns}
South and Southeast Asia due to its proximity to Central Asian republics, proximity to China and its position on the far major oil fields of the Middle East's for the Russians had strategic importance. In the eyes of the Soviet Union, the West in the region, especially Afghanistan, Pakistan and Iran have historical attachment.

Thus, the Communist Party of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan before the widespread propaganda based on which the Soviet attack on Afghanistan was launched because of regional intervention of American imperialism, the spread of Islamic fundamentalism and Chinese influence in the region.

\textbf{C. Impacts of internal events in Afghanistan}
In addition to the above two factors (Brezhnev Doctrine and security-strategic concerns), the impact of internal events in Afghanistan was also a good excuse for Moscow to invade Afghanistan.

As to 1978, under the chairmanship of Nur Mohammad Taraki all Afghan ministries had Russian advisers and Afghan army were equipped with equipment supplied by the Soviet Union, the Russian military advisers were closely monitoring. Taraki told Soviet advisors, we want to build, over the next two years, the strongest military in this region. (Olga, 2011)
During the Russian military presence in Afghanistan three primary goals were pushed hard, which brought them into the Afghan territory. The objectives were to prop up a regime ally of the socialist camp in Afghanistan, reducing the risk of fundamentalism and avoid the influence of the West and the Arabic countries in south Asia, but when the Red Army left Afghanistan the situation was not on par with the Russians’ original calculation, according to which, the Soviet-backed government in Afghanistan was collapsing. Spread of Islamic fundamentalism in Afghanistan and Americans and Arabs in the southern border of Central Asia in 1979 held a significant influence on the act of invasion.

2.2. Geneva Accords (1988)

The Soviet military established a communist state and occupied Afghanistan in December 1979. Afghan Mujahideen were faced with fierce resistance and the United States viewed that its interests were in danger. It used military, political and economic leverage against Moscow to force them to withdraw from Afghanistan.

In the latter half of the 1980s, when the government of the Soviet Union led by Mikhail Gorbachev began glasnost and perestroika, the occupation of Afghanistan was a major problem in their times and they were forced to retreat from the country.

The Geneva Accords, signed in April 1988, were the starting point of the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan (Artemy, 2009) and the withdrawal was finalized on 15 February 1989, (Luc van , et al., 2000) but the struggle between residents and puppet government forces in the country continued until 1992.

Afghanistan, Pakistan, the Soviet Union, the United States and the United Nations were the key actors. Outwardly Afghanistan and Pakistan were the main parties to the contract terms (Especially about non-interference and non-intervention) and the USA and the USSR served as guarantors. We can also say that the Geneva conventions agreed in principle and cooperation between America and the Soviet Union was relying on political and military solution of the issues in Afghanistan.

The agreements were decreed: Solving the issues of Afghanistan through political and peaceful solution, withdrawal of soviet troops from Afghanistan, and the United States to stop its support for groups opposed to the Afghan government.
2.3. Soviet Withdrawal

Soviet war in Afghanistan lasted for ten years from December 1979 to February 1989 in support for the puppet government of the Soviet Union in Afghanistan. During this period, men and women faced the harshest of conditions. They fought during the heat of summer and the cold of winter in the mountains. They not only fought with the Soviets, but also the central government. The war killed more than one and a half million people and left nearly five million refugees behind. Most went to Pakistan and Iran, however there remain many internally displaced persons.

The war in Afghanistan is an important turning point in the Cold War. Because of the length of the war, the war in Afghanistan was compared to the United States entanglement in Vietnam. Soviet forces faced frustration and suffering in Panjshir and other parts of Afghanistan. They decided to ceasefire and withdraw from Afghanistan and field an honorable exit from Afghanistan.

General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev had looked for ways to steer the Soviet Union out of the conflict without undermining Soviet prestige or leaving himself politically vulnerable. (Artemy, 2009) Finally, after taking harsh and suffering heavy financial losses and minimal political and military achievements, left Afghanistan in 1989.

The last phase of the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan occurred on February 15, 1989 with Soviet troops crossing the bridge, "Amu" in the northern region of Hairatan. A day after troops were pushed back across the Amu river into Soviet territory, Boris Gromov, the commander of the Soviet Red Army in Afghanistan, said, we were caught in a dangerous whirlpool, our salvation was like a miracle. In compliance and accordance to the terms of Geneva Accords, the total withdrawal of all Soviet soldiers from Afghanistan was completed by February 15, 1989, leaving in place the weak Najibullah government. (Kenneth, 2013)

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20 The Panjshir Valley (دَرَةٌ پنجشیر) is a valley in north-central Afghanistan, 150 km north of Kabul, near the Hindu Kush mountain range

21 Hairatan is a border town and a port in the north of Balkh province, Afghanistan

22 Miracle is an event that appears inexplicable by the laws of nature and so is held to be supernatural in origin or an act of God
2.4. U.S.-Pakistan Cooperation with Mujahedin

Mujahideen benefited from the large military support of the foreign countries such as America, Great Britain, Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, Egypt, China and other Muslim countries.

Before the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and start of jihad\(^{23}\) against them, the United States did not pay much attention to Afghanistan and the country's presence in Afghanistan was briefly in the implementation of economic projects. Western countries had no particular policy regarding Afghanistan. But after the invasion of the Soviet Union, the United States modified its policy to alarm and support Mujahideen and condemnation the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and requested the leadership of the Soviet Union to withdraw their forces from the country.

During the jihad, while the CIA\(^{24}\) supplied money and weapons, it was the ISI that moved them into Afghanistan and give to the Mujahideen groups in Pakistan and in Kabul trying to damage the Communist regime and the Soviet Union. (Zahid, 2007)

In 1978, America began training fighters and advertising guidance from Pakistan. Since the beginning of 1979 the intelligence service of the United States began to negotiate with Mujahideen militant leaders to identify their needs.

According to Brzezinski, was starting to make plans for a considerably more aggressive posture by using the CIA to carry out any forthcoming policies in relation to Afghanistan while the former Secretary of State, by his own admission, was content to ride out the wave of existing U.S. aid being sent to the new regime and CIA aid to the Afghan fighters in 1979, six months before the Soviet invasion passed, however before the invasion, they were committed to support, but the weapon was sent after the formal entry of the Soviet Union. (Kyle, 2013)

More anti-communist combatants were supported by the United States. The United States responded to the invasion by providing support to the anti-Soviet resistance of the Mujahideen in line with the “Reagan Doctrine” and the most tend to support the United States was considerable support of the Reagan policy called "Operation Cyclone" in the military and intelligence forces. (Ijors, 2015)

General Zia brought in his close confidant, Lt.-General Akhter Abdul Rahman, to

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\(^{23}\) Jihād, literally ‘effort’, expressing, in Muslim thought, struggle on behalf of God and Islam

\(^{24}\) The Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) is a civilian foreign intelligence service of the United States federal government
head the ISI\textsuperscript{25} in 1979, as the spy agency became a crucial cog in the resistance against the Soviet forces. (Zahid, 2007)

After the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, Pakistan's military dictator, Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq began as an intermediary accepting donations on behalf of Western powers directly in of support the Mujahideen.

Following the presidential election of Ronald Reagan in America in 1981, mainly through the efforts of Gust Avrakotos CIA officials and Charlie Wilson Congressman from Texas, further increased aid to the Afghan Mujahideen by Zia-ul-Haq regime.

CIA paramilitary officers of America's Special Operations Unit in training, equipping, and sometimes also were active forces Command of the Mujahideen against the Soviet army. Even American government led by Reagan in 1985 and 1986, thousands of F-I-M-92 Stinger anti-aircraft missiles were placed in the service of the Mujahideen. From 1986 through 1988, the years that include all Stinger launches, Harrison reports that Soviet and Afghan forces lost a total of 310 aircraft. (Kuperman, 2003)

This changed the tactics of Soviet significant impact by increasing helicopter in the work force, restrictions on military jets to get involved as well as to increase the height of the flight and other possible measures were also considered.

And also Pakistan in support of the Mujahideen played straight major role in the final withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan and even directly into the air involvement phase with Afghan government forces and the Soviet Union.

\textsuperscript{25} Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) is the premier intelligence service of Pakistan
3. Rise and fall of the Najibullah regime

He was the last president of the Soviet-backed government in Afghanistan. Compared to the three presidents before him, he had more influence among the people and party supporters. He was also the last president of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan that was ruled by the PDPA from 1987 until 1992, when the Mujahideen took over the Kabul.

In 1978 he was sent as ambassador to Tehran and later was discharged and was summoned to Kabul. After that in 1979, he went to Moscow with Soviet forces and returned to Kabul as head of intelligence in the government, and he established the State Security Service.

He returned to Afghanistan following the Soviet invasion that toppled Amin's rule and placed Babrak Karmal as head of state, party and government. He was a member of the Parcham faction led by Karmal. During Karmal rule, Najibullah became head of the KHAD (State Information Agency), the Afghan equivalent to the Soviet KGB. KHAD agents were trained in the USSR and at a training center in Kabul. During Najibullah's tenure as KHAD head, it became one of the most efficient governmental organs. Because of this he gained the attention of several leading Soviet officials. During his presidency as head of KHAD thousands of peoples in Kabul and other provinces were sent to prison, tortured, killed, buried alive and went missing with no knowledge of their fate. (UNHCR, 2008)

After this, Najibullah became responsible for managing the security of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, as Secretary-General PDPA, and later was elected as president.

After the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan in 1989, Najibullah remained in power for three more years. His government suffered devastating internal conflicts, and pressures from Mujahideen caused his government to collapse. To determine the degree of importance of this factor compared to other factors, including the cessation of Soviet aid, requires an examination of Mujahideen military power and the Najibullah government.

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26 Tehran is the capital of Iran and Tehran Province.
27 KHAD was the main security agency and intelligence agency of Afghanistan, and also served as the secret police during the Soviet occupation.
Mikhail Gorbachev's reforms in historical context, paved the way for the withdrawal of the Red Army from Afghanistan. Gorbachev was described Afghanistan as "a bleeding wound". The subsequent development of Russian relations with the Afghan government was less and less. That is why Russia agreed in 1991 with America that from 1992 year Russia will cut off all aid to the Najib government. Despite all of this, Najibullah continued his “national reconciliation” policy and agreed with the UN to step down from power and form an interim government and free elections.

Najibullah government was faced with imminent collapse by the joining of General Abdul Rashid Dostum (Current Vice President of Afghanistan and Uzbek militia leader of the northern Afghanistan) to Mujahideen. When the way out of the country was closed in Kabul airport by Mujahideen and especially by soldiers under the command of General Dostum, Najibullah took refuge in the office of the UN mission in Kabul and was there for about five years. (Thomas, 2012)

Before the Taliban arrived in Kabul, Ahmad Shah Massoud twice suggested for Najibullah to leave the country but he refused the offer with the idea that the Taliban will pass his life. Upon arrival of Taliban in Kabul, they hanged Najibullah and his brother outside the UN office and put their bodies in place for all those that pass by to see them.

About motive for the reasons of his killing, much articles have been published. For example, some have argued it was because of his influential elements in opposing the Durand line agreement which angered the Pakistani Taliban. Some have written that his party opposed him, which at that time were sympathetic to the Taliban.

The fall of the Najibullah didn’t actually mean a total victory for Mujahideen in the military or political life. This is because, with the fall of Najibullah government, the Mujahedins could not manage to form a national government in the whole country, and was not able to create, a unique military force that protected national sovereignty, territorial integrity, independence of the country. They also didn’t attempt to provide any legislation that defined their governance system, these are all the main requirements considered in forming a national government to preserve and protect its interests, which was not seen during the Mujahideen government.

In my view the things that quickly brought the Najibullah government to the brink of collapse, was internal and external factors.

28 Uzbek is an ethnic group in Afghanistan
3.1. Internal Factors

A. Domestic affairs
Najibullah as President and Head of the Watan Party attempted to realize the national reconciliation policy but his regime failed, because he coming to power in a difficult time, the ruinous was still raging, his army was poor, there wasn’t party unity, and there was famine. Whispers of the withdrawal of Soviet troops were being spread throughout Afghanistan and dealing with the Mujahideen through negotiations was in his headline tasks. During the Najibullah government, the economic situation was worsening day by day, low budget and high costs, gross national product was low, production was reduced, there were no staff, roads were blocked because of insecurity, and coups had occurred in the country. Najibullah was not a man afraid of difficulties. He worked hard to bring the people together, especially Mujahideen, but it wasn’t easy dealing with all these problems alone. However, he eventually failed.

B. The party’s opposition and the national reconciliation
At the beginning of his struggle, Najibullah did not have an intimate relationship with the Khalqis. Division and hostility within the ruling PDPA was undoubtedly a factor in the collapse. Of course, this division turned into different factors and different elements within numerous faction’s part. One of the factors exacerbating division and hostility within the party, and that led to the collapse, was Najibullah’s unsuccessful leadership attempts. The Khalqis rebelled against Najibullah because he was the leader of Parcham, and led the coup by Shahnawaz Tanai (Former communist general and Minister of Defense during the Soviet-Afghan War) against him. Although he was the leader of the Parcham faction, they too were losing confidence in him. Najibullah in fact, lost both factions and opposition within his own party was wide and deep. Even forces in the National Guard and the created spy agency government, or KHAD, were not loyal to him.

The division and hostility and internal enemies caused extremely shaky foundations for the Ruling PDPA and they were made vulnerable. On top of this, the Soviet Union cut off aid causing an overthrown of the PDPA and regime. After the withdrawal of the Soviet Union, Najibullah government received only ten per cent of fuel from the Soviets. Of course, this ten percent of fuel would not be enough for the massive military machine with four hundred thousand troops. Without Soviet aid,
Najibullah was not able to defeat Mujahideen forces who were supported by dozens of countries. In the absence of aid, there was no way for the Najibullah regime to achieve victory in this war.

Despite all these hardships, Najibullah continued his attempt at a “national reconciliation” policy and he even agreed with the UN to step down from power. However, despite this fair attempt at reconciliation, nobody supported Najib.

As I mentioned, after the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan, Najibullah was left alone. By this time, everyone knew that the Najibullah regime was weak, and his reconciliation project was too late. All of these internal factors led the Najibullah regime to its eventual collapse.

C. Najibullah Policy

Najibullah had no clear political policy and carried out a lot of things behind the scenes and without the participation of those within the party. During his leadership, the only real reoccurring policy was that of totalitarian and blackmail. On the one hand he turned to ethnic politics and on the other hand he tried to have politics of the West.

He also always preferred politics and war instead of economics, he believed that the war must be won first and the economic issues would take care of themselves. This idea was wrong, because economic problems are also significant and they effect the people of a country. When the people of the country are taken care it increases the national strength and the people will trust in the government.

Due to the economic crisis, social deception, political games with people, and tendencies of arrogance, Najibullah regime faced bitter opposition. His reconciliation policy was offered too late to counter this opposition. These internal factors led the people to judge Najibullah as being an unreliable leader within the party and this was one of the reasons for the collapse of his regime.
3.2. **External Factors**

**A. Withdrawal of Soviet troops and lack of support for the regime**

When Babrak Karmal was president, the Soviet troop withdrawal plan was raised and the Kabul regime carried out measures to increase the power of government forces. After the Soviet withdrawal Najibullah was left alone and still had not tested the capabilities and competencies of the armed forces. The biggest reasons for this withdraw was the coming to power of Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin (The Defense Secretary during the Gorbachev reign). At the time of Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, Moscow announced that sending weapons, fuel and grain was required to stop or be significantly limited. He also advocated for having all their military advisers withdraw from Afghanistan.

By this process the Najibullah regime lost one of its most effective sponsors. At that time, he was involved with the grouping and factional struggles and with the collapse of the Soviet Union and the lack of support, his struggles increased.

**B. Pakistan and the US interfere in Afghanistan government internal affairs**

After the Geneva Agreement, and the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, Afghanistan and Pakistan reached an agreement, including that Pakistan would not interference in the affairs of Afghanistan. Based on agreement only the Soviet withdrew, but Pakistan's involvement has increased in Afghan affairs.

After the Cold War, the United State and Pakistan had the opportunity to arm Pro-Afghan factions, and Pakistan took the final decision on who to send weapons and assistance. In this case Washington was not involved in which Mujahideen groups was to receive weapons and assistance but their only aim was sending weapons to defeat the Russians.

When the Soviets were withdrawn from Afghanistan not Pakistan nor the United States were seeking to find a compromise with the regime in Kabul. They were interested in the Geneva Agreement only to ensure the withdrawal of Soviet troops.

Pakistan, didn’t respect the commitments to respect the Geneva Agreement. However, both the United State and Pakistan gave their support to Mujahideen to defeat Najibullah regime because they were the government that supported the Soviets.
At the time of the Soviet withdrawal, Pakistan was supposed to stop the intervention in Afghanistan. However, the groups under their command continually pushed to threaten Kabul and this increase its intervention in Afghanistan. For example, the coup that took place just a month after the withdrawal of Soviet troops in Jalalabad,\footnote{Jalalabad is a city in eastern Afghanistan} was carried out by Pakistani intelligence. The battle of Jalalabad was the first major attempt by Mujahideen to seize power in Kabul after the departure of the Soviet Army from Afghanistan. The plan, which was prepared by the Seven-Party Union in Peshawar and the Pakistani Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI), was to seize the Eastern Afghan city of Jalalabad and use the site as a launch pad for a military offensive on Kabul itself. (Anne)

Najibullah was also consistently in front of the media, claiming Pakistani intelligence as the reason for war and coups in Afghanistan, including Jalalabad. Of course, assistance from Saudi Arabia and China supplying arms and ammunition, also had a major role in the advancement of the Mujahideen.

After Boris Yelstin called for the removal of Soviets from Afghanistan, the Najibullah regime was in a bad place politically. To top it off, Pakistan then decided that it was their turn to interfere with the politics of Afghanistan. These external factors contributed to the fall of the Najibullah regime.
4. Why did Pakistan not support non-Pashtuns rebel factions in taking power in Afghanistan upon the fall of the Najibullah regime?

Although, crises in every country have its roots in cultural, social, political and economic divergences, the role of external elements in intensifying these continuances of these problems should not be ignored. Afghanistan crisis proves the claim. Afghanistan is a clear example of the claim above. Before the occupation of Afghanistan by the Soviet Union in 1979, the international system community did not show much reaction, but with the arrival of Soviet troops to Afghanistan, this country became the playing field for strategic games to combat communists and Pakistan as an executor of these strategies found a special place. After this Soviet invasion, the issue of Afghanistan got out from the regional context and it took on an international dimension. After the Soviet withdrawal, Pakistan realized that its national security, territorial integrity and interests depended resolving the current crises, they made every effort to make sure that the future government will be their puppet. The Pakistani president, General Muhammad Zia ul-Haq, used the Afghanistan situation to help his martial law regime survive. (War and Peace in Afghanistan: The Pakistani Role, 1991) To get new allies in Kashmir, to resolve the border disputes and avoiding jeopardizing the territorial integrity, reducing the pressure of Pashtuns residing in the territory of Pakistan, the exploitation of mineral resources of Afghanistan, gaining access to Central Asia and the exploitation of their political and economic interests, are among the targets that Pakistan is trying to achieve. Due to the extensive infiltration of Pakistan among the Afghan militants, Pakistani military equipment is considered the most efficient instrument to achieve the above objectives.

In 1992 the first Mujahideen government that took over the power in Kabul from the PDPA, was formed in the Governor House (Peshawar), Pakistan and was declared temporarily for six months. In the negotiations and agreements signed by the seven Mujahideen parties in Pakistan, the Pakistani Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif and the ISI chief Lieutenant General Javed Nasir were present. Sibghatullah Mujaddedi (President of Afghanistan from April 1992 to June 1992) undertook the responsibility to head the Mujahideen government in the first two months and Burhanuddin Rabbani (President of

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30 Kashmir is the northernmost geographical region of the Indian subcontinent
the Islamic State of Afghanistan from 1992 to 1996) the leader of Jamiat-e Islami31 was chosen to lead for a period of four-month. On the basis of accord of Seven Mujahideen leaders in the Governor House, Peshawar seat of chancellery belonged to Hekmatyar (Islamic party) and Ministry of Defense was given to the Jamiat-e Islami Party (Islamic Society Party), and Ahmad Shah Massoud was chosen for the post of Minister of Defense by the leader of Jamiat-e Islami.

It's here, that tensions between government of Pakistan and the new government of Mujahideen begins to appear after the introduction of Ahmad Shah Massoud as a Mujahideen defense minister, because Ahmad Shah Massoud was not favored by Pakistan and ISI in the Afghanistan's future government, as well as the authority of Jamiat-e Islami on Burhanuddin Rabbani leadership was unacceptable from the views and policies of Pakistan and the ISI towards Afghanistan. According to the Pakistanis; Control of Jamiat-e Islami party after the post-communist government in Kabul was very unfavorable for Pakistan. Pakistan probably did not expect the new leaders of the Islamic State, especially Massoud, who always kept himself Independent from Pakistan and never visited this country during the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan. After seizing power, he did not give priority to Pakistan’s ambitious regional goals. That is why the ISI continued their support of Hekmatyar’s military action against the Rabbani government. Islamic party that led by Hekmatyar was fed directly from Pakistan and ISI with billions of dollars’ assistance from United States of America, Europe and Saudi Arabia. Hekmatyar was the first jihadist leader who became famous because of his radical and fundamentalist activities. Pakistan's military intelligence stimulated and equipped Hekmatyar's against the Mujahideen government. When Hekmatyar’s inability became apparent to overcome Rabbani government, Pakistan established another extremist group against Rabbani called the Taliban.

31 Jamiat-e Islami Afghanistan (جمهوری اسلامی افغانستان), or Islamic Society is a Muslim political party in Afghanistan
A. Problems of Pakistan with Ahmad Shah Massoud

The first problem between Ahmad Shah Massoud and Pakistan was created during the jihad and war against the Soviets and the State’s Democratic Party. This problem caused by Massoud acting independently in war and military operations against the Soviet troops and the government of the PDPA. Pakistan's designed and offered programs and war plans for military operations project and military intelligence for many commanders inside jihadist organizations in Peshawar. But Ahmad Shah Massoud, among the commanders inside Afghanistan was a figure was independent in war and military operations based on his own plans. He permanently involved in the dispute. With ISI officers through messages and letters and direct or indirect talks.

The second problem of Pakistan generals and statesmen was regarding the ethnic identity of Ahmad Shah Massoud. While Pakistan's strategic policymaking regarding Afghanistan in the eighties was based on the formation of obedient and dependent government-led and focus on certain elements and figures from Pashtun ethnics, the appointment of Massoud from a Tajik ethnic group in Afghanistan, was the main obstacle to his authority on the basis of the Islamabad strategy. Point of view of Pakistani politicians and especially the army and military intelligence, the rise of Ahmad Shah Massoud, on the steps of the political authority and military in Afghanistan, considering the population of thirty million Pashtuns in the Pakistan which is several times bigger that the Pashtun population in Afghanistan, was assessed as contrary to the national interests of Pakistan. During the Afghan war in the eighties ISI officers who worked in Afghanistan, belonged to Pakistan’s Pashtuns. These officers also had a major role in the Pakistan's Afghan policy in the nineties. Thus, from the beginning of Pakistani based their policy on ethnic issues in Afghanistan.

The third unresolved problem of Pakistan with Masood which was created along with the above mentioned problem, was based on the collapse of the government of PDPA led by Najibullah, by Massoud and his allies of the Parcham faction, Dostum's forces and the forces of Islamic Unity Party led by Abdul Ali Mazari (Leader of the Hizb-e Wahdat-e Islami Afghanistan "the Islamic Unity Party of Afghanistan" during and following the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan), altogether defeated Gulbuddin Hekmatyar in the power struggle. This fact shook the Pakistani military intelligence. Pakistani politics was diploid from the first day of the collapse of the government of PDPA policy. While apparently Kabul and Islamabad had political relations, but in
practice, the Pakistan military intelligence in the war against Kabul assisted Gulbuddin Hekmatyar.

Ahmad Shah Massoud, connects the opposition and the growing conflict of Pakistan against the Mujahideen government after the formation of the Mujahideen government in Kabul in the nineties to two main factors: 1. Afghanistan being forgotten by the West. 2- Developments in policies of Pakistan in order to play the role of a regional power.

From the perspective of Massoud, Pakistan as a regional power tried to seek and provide the needs of their economic and political security and development in the nineties. Pakistanis wanted to create a protectorate of Afghanistan which would provide them with the following benefits:

- Access to untapped resources of Afghanistan.
- Using Afghanistan as a base to spread its influence in Central Asia
- Access to roads leading to Central Asia
- Eliminating the problem of the Durand Line

Hence, after the fall of the communist regime, the Pakistani government political interests demanded the existence of a weak government in Kabul, which will be in line with Pakistan policies. So as in the past, on the one hand not have border disputes with Afghanistan, on the other hand other border tensions with India. Afghanistan has always been on friendly terms of relations with India.

Ahmad Shah Massoud, commander of the Jamiat-e Islamic in alliance with Abdul Rashid Dostum due to the support of Iran and India they stopped the decision of Pakistanis, Saudis, and Americans. Iran supported the alliance of Hazara jihadi parties that which was called the Unity Party under the leadership of Ali Mazari played a major role and this development because of Pakistanis and Saudis anxiety.

Conflict and hostility between Pakistan and the mujahedin government which was led by Burhanuddin Rabbani and Ahmad Shah Massoud continued to interact. Although Ahmad Shah Massoud relations with Pakistan at the very beginning has weaknesses and mistakes which increased and expanded enmity with Pakistan, but Massoud during Taliban rule with the involvement of Pakistan did not have another choice except continuing their resistance against them and he was right. Ahmad Shah

32 Hazara is an ethnic group in central Afghanistan
33 A person involved in a jihad; an Islamic militant
Massoud’s resistance against aggression and indirect involvement of Pakistan in the nineties continued while he did not have support from any foreign country, especially until the fall of Kabul by Taliban. Some foreign countries such as Iran, India and Russia started to support Massoud in the years of Taliban rule against the involvement of Pakistan's and their regional and international partners.

In the absence of a central authority in Kabul, the country's autonomous regional units were based on ethnic, factional and tribal seams split and ran by powerful individuals or councils. All parties were fighting over Kabul. Kandahar34 and southwestern Pashtun provinces placed were in chaos and lawlessness. Therefore, rise of the Taliban in Kandahar is not a surprising phenomenon. Mullah Omar’s35 ability and his followers to create discipline in area was acceptable to the people. Saudis supported them financially and America and British provided weapons through Pakistan and that’s why in 1996 Taliban invaded Kabul and pushed Massoud and Rabbani government in the north and the Taliban come to power.

**B. Reasons Pakistan supported Pashtuns**

In fact, Pakistan prepared Hekmatyar (Islamic Party leader) and his party after to sit on the throne of Kabul after the fall of communist regime. Pakistan support of the Pashtun has five reasons:

- Keep Pashtun people happy with their extensive presence in the military and security forces of Pakistan and conformity with the Pashtuns in Afghanistan.
- To overcome the dispute over the Durand Line, relying on aspirations of the Islamic brotherhood and repetitive chanting Islamists that Islam knows no boundaries.
- To undertake the role of "big brother" to the Pashtuns - the leader in Kabul and main mission of reconstruction and development of Afghanistan after the war that Pakistan expected the international community pays the cost of it advantageously.
- Free and easy access to trade and investment in the newly independent republics of Central Asia.
- To achieve "strategic depth" in the event of a nuclear war with India.

34 Kandahar is a province in Afghanistan
35 Taliban leader, who founded the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan in 1996 and died in April 2013 in Pakistan
Saudis supported of the Pakistanis policy, because they thought that the Pashtun Sunni\textsuperscript{36} groups can limit of Shia\textsuperscript{37} Hazara power and Iranian influence in the country. America's support destined was to avoid and to turn Iran into an alternate route for transporting oil and gas to Caspian Sea and Central Asia. Therefore, empowerment Pashtuns in Afghanistan represented the close convergence of interests for Pakistan, Saudi Arabia and America. ISI to accelerate the realization of collective and strategic goals in Afghanistan after post-communist; wanted the immediately military victory of the Islamic Party after the withdrawal of the Soviet army and fall of the Najibullah regime. But despite the concerted efforts of ISI with the Islamic Party of Hekmatyar during four years (1988 - 1992) after the withdrawal of the Red Army, a decisive military victory was not possible.

\textit{C. Durand Line}

From the other side, long-standing disputes between India and Pakistan and the issue of conflict between Afghanistan and Pakistan on the issue of the "Durand Line" and Pashtunistan, led Pakistan to be interested impede the already established relations. The Durand line is a controversial 2,640-kilometre (1,610 miles) border between Afghanistan and Pakistan. (Zahid, 2007)

Durand treaty was signed in the November 12, 1983 between King Amir Abdur Rahman Khan of Afghanistan and Mortimer Durand British government representative from the agreements that after the establishment of Pakistan always has been a subject of tension between Afghan and Pakistani governments, which intensifies self-determination and secession of Pashtuns from Pakistan.

According to this treaty, by Amir Abdur Rahman Khan, large areas of Afghanistan was occupied by the British government, which was never accepted by the Afghan people, one of the Pakistan strategic objectives was that at the time of Mujahideen Durand issue should be resolved, the border should be fixed between Afghanistan and Pakistan and subject of autonomy of Pashtuns certainly should be ruled out. In addition to the historical hostilities with India and Afghanistan, Pakistan’s

\textsuperscript{36} Sunni also called “Sunnite” a member of one of the two great religious divisions of Islam, regarding the first four caliphs as legitimate successors of Muhammad and stressing the importance of Sunna as a basis for law

\textsuperscript{37} Shia also called "Shiite" a member of one of the two great religious divisions of Islam that regards Ali, the son-in-law of Muhammad, as the legitimate successor of Muhammad, and disregards the three caliphs who succeeded him
economic objectives in Afghanistan are also worth mentioning. In this context, Pakistan tried to monopolize the Central Asian markets of oil and gas. Because of this, the Pakistan government created many obstacles to establish a weak government in Afghanistan so that whenever they wanted they could build oil and gas pipes in their favor.

4.1. The Seven Major Mujahideen Parties

The coalition of Mujahideen was the combination of the seven groups that banded together in 1984 in Peshawar, Pakistan. All of these groups were comprised of Sunni Muslims except the Jamiat-e Islami party. The Jamiat-e Islami party was mainly Tajik Mujahideen, and Mujahideen was involved as well. In terms of political beliefs, the first four groups believed in political Islam as a means of governing. The last three groups belonged to traditional religious streams.

The Peshawar based parties referred to here include four Islamist groups - Hizb-i Islami (Islamic Party led by Gulbuddin Hikmatyar), Hizb-i Islami (Islamic Party led by Yunis Khalis), Jamiat-e Islami (Islamic Society led by Burhanuddin Rabbani), and Ittihad-iIslami (Islamic Union led by Abdul Sayyaf) and, the three parties considered traditionalist - Mahaz-i Melli (National Islamic Frontled by Sayyid Ahmad Gaylani), Jibh-i Nejat-i Milli (Afghanistan National Liberation Frontled by Sibghatullah Mojaddidi), and Harakat-i Inqilabi Islami (Islamic Revolutionary Movementled by Muhammad Nabi Muhammadi)

Jamiat-e Islami Afghanistan was founded in 1968 by Burhanuddin Rabbani. He was the President of Afghanistan from 1992 till 1996 after Soviet occupation and before the full rise of the Taliban. (René, 2009) His most famous commanders were Ahmad Shah Massoud and Ismail Khan. (Jalali, et al., 2003 ) It is one of the most powerful and popular parties in Afghanistan and among the most important Sunni Islamist groups. The Jamiat-e Islami was the main political party in the Northern Alliance, which eventually defeated the Taliban, and occupied Kabul in November 2001. (PRT, 2013) This party experienced a lot of ups and downs during the Soviet invasion, then from the Taliban and during the civil war in Afghanistan. The party declared their major goals as

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38 A traditional organization or person prefers older methods and ideas to modern ones
39 The Northern Alliance, also known as the United Islamic Front for Salvation of Afghanistan (UIFSA), was a coalition of militias seeking to topple the rule of the Taliban throughout Afghanistan
follow: defense of political, economic and cultural independence, the preservation of national sovereignty and territorial integrity, and economic justice.

Islamic Party of Afghanistan, a political and military organization, led by Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, was founded in 1974. Hikmatyar's party received more outside aid from Pakistan, the United States and Saudi Arabia than any other party. (Jalali, et al., 2003) Since its establishment, this party has been at war with all governments in Kabul including the Daoud Khan regime, the Communist People's Party, the Mujahideen government that led by Burhanuddin Rabbani, the Taliban, the government of Hamid Karzai and now with the current government led by Ashraf Ghani. It did not compromise with any government for nearly the past forty years.

During jihad, Hekmatyar’s party was a powerful entity, for the security agencies of Pakistan and Saudi Arabia had helped financially. But due to the civil war, which involved the Jamiat-e Islami of Rabbani and Ahmad Shah Massoud, it became increasingly weak. The war between the forces of Hekmatyar and Jamiat-e Islami Afghanistan led by Burhanuddin Rabbani, and Ahmad Shah Massoud's forces was the most important battles of the historic moment of Afghanistan at that time when Kabul was bombarded every day from the forces of both parties.

After the failure of the communist regime, parties that were formed in Pakistan arrived in Afghanistan. The heads of these parties were bound by the obligations in that particular moment. They first served Sibghatullah, then Rabbani and Hekmatyar. However, during the Rabanni presidency, Hekmatyar wanted total control and refused to work with Rabanni. In this regard, military tension was created between the two leaders and Hekmatyar was in the front against Burhanuddin Rabbani. This tension caused the civil war in Afghanistan and created a path for the Taliban to enter the political arena of Afghanistan.
Ahmad Shah Massoud, known as “The Lion of Panjshir” was the Minister of defense of the Mujahideen as well as the Afghan Mujahideen commander. (Richard, 1988) He fought for many years with Soviet army that occupied Afghanistan and then was involved in Afghanistan’s interior clashes and the military conflict with the Taliban. While studying at Kabul University, Massoud became involved with the Sazman-i Jawanan-i Musulman (Organization of Muslim Youth), the student branch of the Jamiat-e Islami Afghanistan (Islamic Society Party), which was founded by Burhanuddin Rabbani.

With the occurrence of the communist coup of Saur revolution, that the PDPA seized power on April 27, 1978 in a bloody military coup. (Gibbs, 1986) At the beginning of the Jihad against the Soviet Union, Massoud went to the Nuristan and Kunar provinces and led Mujahideen by small batches in the fight with the Soviets. At the helm, Massoud and a portion of Nuristan Mujahideen guerrillas entered Panjshir and created the first batch of regular guerrilla fighters in the Panjshir Valley. In 1982, after three years of fighting the Russians, and six failed Soviet military offensives in the Panjshir, the commander of the Russian military in Afghanistan offered a cease-fire agreement and entered into negotiations with Ahmad Shah Massoud. The agreement was signed for two years. In fact, the Russians agreed with this agreement, to recognize Mujahideen for the first time as a political party. Massoud took advantage of the opportunity to come and act outside the Panjshir Valley to organize resistance against the occupation forces in Afghanistan. In this regard, he established the Supervisory Council of the North (SCN), one of the most disciplined military formations and guerrilla fighters against the Soviet occupation. (Barnett R., et al.) It was a military council of 130 military commanders for Mujahideen’s operations in seven provinces in northern Afghanistan. It was out of the loop of Peshawar parties, which were in competition and in conflict with each other. Due to the ethnic and political divisions, the supervisory council eliminated the difference between resistance groups.

Soviet army military cooperation with the Democratic People's Republic of Afghanistan totaling nine major offensive organized in Panjshir Valley during the occupation in Afghanistan's, that all the former Soviet invaders army attack in Panjshir lead to complete failure and so from 1988 onwards Panjshir remain as a fortress
impregnable incorruptible. Although the Panjshir attack was the fiercest combat operations against the Soviet armies, and as a result of the attack they were not able to control the Panjshir Valley.

Despite the constant attacks of the Red Army and the Afghan army, Massoud was able to expand its military capabilities. He divided his combat forces into three groups: Local groups, Strike groups and Ambulatory groups. Ambulatory group were commandos with light equipment in 33-member groups were the guerilla operations. These were professional soldiers who were well trained. Group commandos were moving with uniform goods and Pakol\textsuperscript{40} symbol of their regular force. Massoud combined traditional methods of combat effectiveness of the Afghan military establishment and the modern rules of guerrilla warfare that he had learned ways of Mao and Che Guevara. Massoud military as the most effective methods of guerrilla warfare rules among all known forces of resistance.

Afghan communist regime, the government of Najibullah that suffered from internal divisions by joining the forces of Abdul Rashid Dostum to Ahmad Shah Massoud, was practically on the verge of collapse. After the fall of communist rule and the rise of the Mujahideen, internal conflicts in the country had intensified with the involvement of regional intelligence and Ahmad Shah Massoud was caught in the conflict.

After the fall of Kabul by Mujahideen in 1992, Afghanistan was kindled flame devastating civil war. Forces of Gulbuddin Hekmatyar refused to share power with other Jihadist parties and his forces, that supported by Pakistan and Saudi Arabia rocketing Kabul and closed way of movement of goods imported from Pakistan to the capital.

Mujahideen were involved in the civil which led to the emergence of Taliban and they seized parts of the country. In 1996, when the Taliban captured the Afghan capital (Kabul) the groups opposed to the Taliban formed an alliance called the National Islamic United Front for the Salvation of Afghanistan, commonly known as the United Front. (2001) The Northern Alliance led by late Ahmad Shah Massoud was formed in late 1990s. The main ally to Massoud was Abdul Rashid Dostum, the leader of the Afghanistan’s Uzbek Community.

\textsuperscript{40} Pakol (پکول), or the Afghan Hat, is a soft, round-topped men's hat, typically of wool and found in any of a variety of earthy colors
Northern Alliance Between 1996 and 2001, more than about 30 percent of the Afghanistan territory including Badakhshan, Panjshir, Kapisa, Takhar, and parts of Parwan, Nuristan, Kunar, Laghman, Samangan, Kunduz, Ghor and Bamyan had in their possession. In October 2001, the alliance gained the support of the US and, aided by American air support, was able to drive the Taliban from the country by December 2001 and establish a new government. (PRT, 2013)

Ahmad Shah Massoud was in a fierce battle with armed Taliban and after years of resistance against the occupation by the Soviet army and fighting with Taliban, On Sept. 9, 2001, two Arab terrorists affiliated with al-Qaeda network with Moroccan passport on the pretext of interview came to the headquarters of Ahmad Shah Massoud in Khwaja Bahauddin, Takhar province in the North East Afghanistan. Yet few interviews later, the bomb was planted inside the camcorder terrorists, exploded and Ahmad Shah Massoud, contestant who 25 years never give up any foreign power or unpatriotic at age 48, he became a martyr. Both al-Qaeda terrorists who carried out the attack on orders from Osama bin Laden had been killed. Less than a month after the killing of Massoud, the Taliban government by attacking international troops was overthrown and with the rise of Hamid Karzai government, the title of national hero was given to Ahmad Shah Massoud and his assassination week was named the “martyrs” week and was declared an official holiday in the country. His greatest achievement as a militant leader was sustaining guerrilla war against the far more powerful and resourceful Soviet Army, at the end of which he was successful in driving the Soviets out of Afghanistan.

41 Al-Qaeda is a radical Sunni Muslim organization dedicated to the elimination of a Western presence in Arab countries and militantly opposed to Western foreign policy: founded by Osama bin Laden in 1988
4.3. The downfall of Mujahedin Government and rise of the Taliban

Afghan Mujahideen Muslim guerilla force who didn’t agree with the government’s communist ideologies and wanted the country to stay religious. It was composed of two major alliances who were the Peshawar Seven group, who received training from Pakistan, as well as supplies in weapons from Saudi Arabia, the US and the UK. These groups fighting amongst each other led to the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan in 1989 and also led the Soviet Union to overthrow the government of Afghanistan in 1992. Due to lack of agreement between the Mujahideen agreement on power sharing, the civil war in Afghanistan's began that lasted until the fall of the Taliban regime in 2001. After the victory of the Mujahideen, in 1992 their leaders in Peshawar agreed to choose Sibghatullah for three months as head of the interim government in Kabul and took the power for six months and give over the power later to Jamiat-e Islami leader Burhanuddin Rabbani.

America and Western countries supported the guerrilla wars by generous support of the Afghan Mujahideen forces which failed the Soviet Union at time. After Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan they did not have normal relations with the government of the Mujahideen, America and Western States watched Mujahideen department from Pakistan’s spectacle and indeed America had endorsed what the Pakistani military planned. Pakistan was the first neighbor that supported the armed struggle against the Mujahideen government headed by Burhanuddin Rabbani.

The failure of the government of Burhanuddin Rabbani was thanked to multiple internal and external factors. The first of these refers to the fact that the famous commander of Jamiat-e Islami Ahmad Shah Massoud's, who later was named a national hero of Afghanistan, he did not allow that the Sivan Binan project.42 The UN Special Representative for Afghanistan materialized the creation of the neutral government, in such a way that forces under the command of Ahmad Shah Massoud will captured Kabul on the eve of the formation of a neutral government. Ahmad Shah Massoud was to believe that the neutral government will bring a weak phase to the stage power and practically there will be a weak government, as well as the creation of a neutral government to uphold America, will undermine the independence of Jihad.

42 Sivan Binan, UN Assistant Secretary-General for Afghanistan (1991)
As the same way, the capture of Kabul by the forces of Ahmad Shah Massoud, in fact, deal with the United Nations that was backed by the United States of America. America considered the actions of Ahmad Shah Massoud as of their enemy and in response did not open their embassy in Kabul. Beyond stopping their assistance to the Mujahideen, the United States tended to forget Afghanistan, which as a result, provided Pakistan with underlying aggression. Pakistani intelligence, constantly during the period of Jihad, pretend that their support of Mujahideen was versatile, with the victory of Ahmad Shah Massoud, these claims were shattered all its claims and failure was obvious to everybody because the ISI had invested Hekmatyar, leader of Hizb-i Islami to power in Afghanistan, who never formally assumed a working prime ministerial role in Kabul because of suspicions of Rabbani, was purportedly backed by Pakistan. (Kenneth, 2013) But the victory of Massoud Frustrated Pakistan plans toward Afghanistan, it is therefore in perfection indignation came to weakening of the government of Rabbani, first Hekmatyar and then Taliban were using by them.

Intrinsic factor failure of Rabbani government that will also be remembered as the government of the Mujahideen, returns the social structure of power in Afghanistan. In Afghanistan Pashtuns, knows themselves the original owner of political power and a number of intellectuals Pashtun ancestry, called Pashtuns "Big Brother" that one of the advantages of big brother is authority and leadership of Afghanistan. Therefore, fall of the Najibullah regime by Ahmad Shah Massoud and the scene of Professor Rabbani, by the number of Pashtuns, were considered looting their thrones and incited Pashtuns for restoration of it. At that time due to lack of agreement between the Mujahideen agreement on power sharing, the civil war in Afghanistan's began and the Taliban emerged. At that time the west and the rest of the world did not consider Taliban a serious threat to the stability and security of the region. As Steve Coll describes; The birth and rise of Taliban during 1994 and the emergence of the movement’s supreme leader, Mullah Mohammed Omar, were often described in the United States and Europe as a triumph of a naïve, pious, determined band of religious students swept into power on a wave of poplar revulsion over Kandahar’s criminal warlords. (Steve, 2004)

The word “Talib” is driven from the Arabic word which means “student”. The plural form of the word is “Talib-an” the suffix “-an” of which is from Pashto language. As its name makes it enough clear, Taliban were a group of students who were engaged in religious studies in Afghan and Pakistani madrasas. When the Taliban occupied the
city of Kabul, Mullah Muhammad was declared Amir al-Mu’minin by the 1200 Islamic scholars in 1996. Taliban changed the name of Afghanistan from the Islamic State of Afghanistan to Islamic Emirates of Afghanistan. (Qamar, 2014)

From 1996 to 2001, the Taliban held power in Afghanistan and enforced a strict interpretation of Sharia, or Islamic law, of which the international community and leading Muslims have been highly critical. Mullah Mohammed Omar was the supreme commander and spiritual leader of the Taliban. Mullah Akhtar Mansour was elected as his replacement in 2015, and following Mansour's killing in 2016 U.S. drone strike, Mawlawi Haibatullah Akhundzada became the group's leader.

The Pakistani government and international supporters Talibanism think conquer all Afghanistan's and had carrying their puppet government next to it to achieve its long-term benefits, but the national resistance took shape on the axis of Professor Rabbani that time president and Ahmed Shah Massoud the greatest military commander and a number of characters from different ethnic groups of Afghanistan until the fall of the Taliban was massive resistance and resistance became massive until the fall of the Taliban. And therefore the Pakistani intelligence agencies by their successive efforts could not destroy the resistance and establish their own government in Afghanistan.

After the martyrdom of Ahmad Shah Massoud, on September 9, 2001, two days before the cataclysmic attacks on the World Trade Center and Pentagon, (Paul, 2003) America decided to destroy Taliban and al-Qaeda from Afghanistan America air strikes with the Mujahideen forces and expensive resistance with sustained attacks on ground strikes were major blows to destroy the Taliban and al-Qaeda. Mujahideen were successful again to be dominant Kabul and leaders of the resistance respected to the international consensus which guarantees peace and security in the country for the first time in the history of Afghanistan, Professor Burhanuddin Rabbani handed power peacefully and without bloodshed deliver to Hamid Karzai.

In the year Resistance the leaders of the Mujahideen government began measures to develop relations with countries such as India, Iran, Russia, Turkey, Tajikistan and other Central Asian countries and some European countries that the trip of martyr Ahmad Shah Massoud by invitation of Union Europe account the results of the efforts that played a significant role in supporting the national resistance introducing and maintaining.

43 Commander of the Faithful or Leader of the Faithful
44 Is an honorific Islamic religious title given to Muslim religious scholars
Conclusion

The United State and the West, in their counter against the Soviets, spent a lot of their assets on backing the resistance groups in Afghanistan. The main reasons that Soviets were defeated in Afghanistan was first the opponents inside the People’s Democratic Movements. Secondly they underestimated the sever religious sentiments, and their lack of cognition of geopolitical significances. From the beginning, when the PDPA took power, they had struggles inside and adversaries were pitted against each other. These internal struggles and sabotages led to a weakened party, which helped create and magnify external struggles.

The antagonism within the PDPA paved the way for Soviet interference, and step by step the regime weakened. The Soviet saw the situation escalating between PDPA and their opponents and they wanted to help the PDPA win in order save their interest in Afghanistan. Because of this ruinous war in Afghanistan, millions of people were scalped from the country and to neighbor countries like Pakistan and Iran.

The Soviets ended up having to fight against many allies of Mujahideen, including the US, Saudi Arabia, other countries. Pakistan’s role here was as bridge between US and Mujahideen. All of the US supports were submitted through Pakistan to Mujahideen, such as armaments, fiscal aids and different aids. The Afghan migrants were sheltered in Pakistan by United Nations. While the Soviet authority then fractured in Afghanistan, the policy of Soviet in other parts of the world also weakened. The war with Soviets helped ally the US with gulf countries and also China.

It is necessary to mention, from the beginning of Pakistan becoming an independent country, Afghanistan had strained relation with Pakistan. Most of the strain has been because of the Durand line. This problem is a legacy of the British within Afghanistan and Pakistan. The Soviets used this line to escalate the border problems between Afghanistan-Pakistan. It was an excellent situation for Afghanistan to exploit because many Afghans felt strongly that the line should be a part of Afghanistan.

The 1992 war was a social war, and innocent people were the war sacrifice. This war was between Sunni, Tadjik, Pashtun, and Muslim Mujahideen and communists within Afghanistan. The synonym of this war could be seen as the war between India Pakistan and the civil war in United States.

The actors of this war were foreign funded through Pakistan. The aggression of Soviets hurt Afghanistan, but after that, aggression of Pakistan through Taliban hurt
Afghanistan much more. Today Afghanistan is still enduring a hard conflict with hired groups of Pakistan, this time by the different name in the region. The Soviets fought a traditional war and set Afghanistan back, but Pakistan like a parasite remains in Afghanistan by continually fueling the extremist groups.
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