History of Afghanistan

Instructor: Tim Hollifield, LTC (Ret’d)

This presentation is Unclassified
“Remnant of an Army” (1879) by Victorian artist Elizabeth Southerden Thompson, Lady Butler (Nov 1846 – Oct 1933)
Four “Founding Fathers”
Learning Objectives

**TLO:** Participants will be able to identify key events, civilizations, empires, and personalities in Afghanistan’s history and explain how each have shaped Afghanistan today

**ELO 1.1** Identify key historical events and personalities from early civilization to the “Great Game” in the 19th century and explain the significance and legacy of each

**ELO 1.2** Identify key historical events and personalities in the 20th to the 21st century and explain the significance and legacy of each
The Graveyard of Empires?

NOW THIS IS NOT THE END. IT IS NOT EVEN THE BEGINNING OF THE END. BUT IT IS, PERHAPS, THE END OF THE BEGINNING...

AFGHANISTAN
“GRAVEYARD OF EMPIRES”

“WELL, I’M REMINDED OF ANOTHER GREAT MAN WHO ONCE SAID, I AM NOT OPPOSED TO ALL WARS, BUT I AM OPPOSED TO DUMB WARS.”

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Afghanistan’s History: Key Themes

- A crossroads, roundabout, fulcrum, crucible, battleground & buffer-zone for civilizations & nations

- Center & periphery of empires & world powers

- Both “cradle” & “graveyard” of empires

- Geography is Destiny: Likely will remain arena for the “Great Game” between regional or world powers

- Kabul & Provinces (*Markhaz-i Hukumat va Yaghistan*)
  Equilibrium not Stability

- Last 50 years: Unrelenting violence, political instability, & social disruption (PTSD)
PRE-MODERN HISTORY
Where 3 Worlds Overlap

- Crisscrossed by invaders, raiders, missionaries, & traders for millennium
- Bridge & “melting pot” for civilizations & religions
- Often seen as remote frontier to be exploited or ignored
- Epicenter of “Turko-Persianate” World
# Afghanistan: Pre-Islamic Empires or Dynasties

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<td>Alexander the Great</td>
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<td>Hindu (Kabul) Shahi</td>
<td>Central Asian / Turkic and Indian</td>
<td>565 - 1026 AD</td>
<td>(525 yrs) Kabul and East</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Timeline: Early History of Afghanistan

**Pre-Islamic Dynasties**

- **BCE**
  - Scythians (Saka)
  - 3000 – 1500 BCE: Aryans cross Oxus into Afghanistan and South Asia

- **CE**
  - 332 BCE: Invasion by Alexander the Great
  - 100 CE: Central Asia Turko-Mongol Invasions begin
  - Achaemenid Empire
  - Seleucids

**Islamic Dynasties**

- **BCE**
  - Aryan Vedic Religion and Zoroastrianism
  - Greek Paganism

- **CE**
  - Yuezhi (Kushans)
  - Graeco-Bactrian Kingdoms
  - Sassanid Empire
  - Umayyad Caliphate
  - Arab Invasions begin

- **Hindu Shahi**
  - Hinduism and Buddhism
  - Nestorian Christianity

- **Turkic Shahi**
  - Hinduism and Buddhism
  - Nestorian Christianity

- **Islam**
  - 1219 CE: Genghis Khan's Mongol Invasion

**Other Dynasties**

- **Mauryan Dynasty**
- **Sassanid Empire**
- **Ghaznavid Empire**
- **Ghorids**
- **Seljuk Turks**
- **Safavid Empire**
- **Timurids**
- **Hotaki Dynasty**
- **Durrani Dynasty**
- **Moghul Empire**
Zardushti (Zoroastrianism)

- 6000-1000 BC -- Prophet Zoroaster (b. in Balkh) modified Indo-Aryan polytheism into ethical system of dualist monotheism

- Believed to have influenced Judaism, Christianity and Islam…priests known as “Magi” (“Three Wise Men”)

- First religion to introduce concepts of:
  - Duality of Good vs. Evil
  - Afterlife with Heaven and Hell
  - Mankind's free choice
  - Possible salvation through belief
  - Messianic redemption; final judgment

“Good Thoughts, Good Words, and Good Deeds”

Legacy

- Persian solar calendar and Nowruz (New Year) holiday
- Along with RgVeda, Avesta is oldest liturgical-historical scriptures
- Heavily influenced Persian culture and nearly all world religions, esp. in eschatology
- Main symbol: travashi aka faravahar (“guardian spirit”)
Achaemenid Empire (550 - 330 BC)

3 Famous Kings

Khoryush (Cyrus the Great)
d. 530 BC

Daryush (Darius the Great)
d. 486 BC

Khashayar (Xerses)
d. 465 BC

Shahanshah
Daryush (Darius) III
380 – 330 BC
Sikander III: Three Major Campaigns (334 - 326 BC)

- OP Noble Anvil
- OP Desert Storm
- OP Enduring Freedom
"I am involved in the land of a leonine and brave people, where every foot of the ground is like a wall of steel, confronting my soldiers. You have brought only one son into the world, but everyone in this land can be called an Alexander."
Recognize the hat?

Left: Boy wearing a cloak and a kausia (Macedonian cap); Terracotta, made in Athens, ca. 300 BC / British Museum

Right: Young man wearing clock, long shirt, and kausia; Terracotta, made in Macedonian ca. 400BC / München Museum

4th and 3rd Century BC terracotta statues depicting Macedonians wearing the kausia
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  - Achaemenid Empire
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  - Yuezhi (Kushans)
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  - Graeco-Bactrian Kingdoms
  - Seleucids

Islamic Dynasties

- **100 CE** Central Asia Turko-Mongol Invasions begin
- **652 CE** Arab Invasions begin
- **1219 CE** Genghis Khan’s Mongol Invasion

- **Hindu Shahi**
- **Abbasid Caliphate**
- **Seljuk Turks**
- **Umayyad Caliphate**
- **Ghorids**
- **Ghaznavid Empire**
- **Timurids**
- **Moghul Empire**

- **Hinduism and Buddhism**
- **Hinduism and Buddhism**
- **Aryan Vedic Religion and Zoroastrianism**
- **Nestorian Christianity**
- **Islam**

**Key Dates**

- 332 BCE Invasion by Alexander the Great
- 1219 CE Genghis Khan’s Mongol Invasion
The Arab Conquests & Advance of Islam
The Advance of Islam

[Map showing the spread of Islam to 640 AD with various regions marked in different colors: Areas under Islam, Byzantine Empire, Frankish Kingdom, Sassanid Empire, and Visigoth Kingdom. Major battles and cities are indicated on the map.]
The Advance of Islam
The Advanced of Islam

The Spread of Islam to 733 AD
- **Areas under Islam**
- **Byzantine Empire**
- **Frankish Kingdom**
- **Visigoth Kingdom**
- **Major Battles**
- **Major Cities**
The Caliphate (660 – 850 AD)

- Arab-Islamic Empire ruled by caliph under two successive dynasties
  - Umayyads (650 – 750 AD) - Damascus
  - Abbasids (750 – 850 AD) - Baghdad

- **Umayyads** distant relatives of 3rd Caliph Uthman; former governors of Syria & Palestine

- **Abbasids** legitimacy based on blood ties to Prophet’s family (distant Uncle); raised army in *Khorasan* (Persia, Afghanistan, and Central Asia)
Islamic Conquest of Afghanistan (700-900 AD)

- First Arab presence 650-670; fought with Turks, Huns, Chinese (Tang Dynasty) and Tibetans.

- Arab Conquest begun during Umayyad; completed during Abbasid Caliphate (c. 850).

- Sufi orders: Large role in conversion; allowed accommodation of other cultural and religious rites and practices.

- Afghans predominately Buddhist, Zoroastrian, Manichaean, Hindu, and Pagan until c. 997; many Nestorian Christians and Jews until 14th cent.
Rise of Regional Dynasties (850 – 1050)

- Abbasids retained power until 1258, but political authority dissolves in late 800’s
  - Caliph’s authority becomes more symbolic than political
  - Regional sultans (“those who hold power”) and emirs (“commanders”) emerge as power of caliphate erodes

- Regionally based Islamic states (empires) emerge
  - 819 AD: Persian Saminids, later Saffarids form Emirates in C. Asia
  - 963 AD: Turkish Mamluks form Ghaznavid, Ghorid, Delhi Sultanate
  - 966 AD: Isma’ili Mamluks (later Imami Shi’a) take over Cairo; rule Egypt and Syria as Fatamid dynasty
Mamluks and Ghilman (Soldier-Slaves)

- Islamic Empire expanded rapidly; by 10th Century Arabs no longer able to form large armies

- Caliphate imported slave-boys from Central Asian Turks (or Caucasus and Balkans)

- *Mamluks* (“owned”) trained as soldiers, cavalrymen, and elite guards; soon seized power and formed own dynasties and empires

- Also called *Ghilman* (singular, *ghulam*) reference to young male servants in paradise (counterpart of female *houris*); aka *janissaries* (“new soldiers”) in Ottoman Empire
Ghaznavid Sultanate (962 – 1151 AD)

- Mamluk (Turkish) Dynasty; former soldier-slaves of Samanid Emirate (819 – 999 AD)
- Established capital in Ghazni

Sebūktigen, founder of Ghaznavid Empire, r. 962 - 998 AD

Ghazni, c. 1000 AD
Ghaznavid Empire (c. 1030 AD)

Mahmud of Ghazni (971-1030 CE)
Mongol Rule (1220-1332)

- Chinggiz Khan destroys Khwarizm (Uzbek) Empire by 1221
- Chinggiz personally leads destruction of Balkh, Herat, Bamiyan, and Ghaz
- Dies 1227; Empire divided by 4 sons

Legacy
- Descendants of Mongol Hordes: 8% of males in Asia; Hazara, Aimaq, and others
- Title of “khan” and chai sabs (Green Tea)
- Possible destruction of ancient karez (irrigation) network: contributes to desertification of region
By 1294 the empire had split into:

- Golden Horde
- Chagatai Khanate
- Ilkhanate
- Yuan Dynasty (Great Khanate)
Ilkhanate and Chagatai Khanate (1294 - 1369)

- **Chagatai** (2nd son) controls Central Asia and Eastern Afghanistan
- **Ilkhanate** (founded by grandson, Hulagu) controls Iraq, Persia, and Western Afghanistan
- Many Mongols convert to Shi’a Islam in 1300s
Directorate for Human Capital

Timur-e lang (r. 1366 – 1404 AD)

- Persian-speaking Sunni Warlord; Turko-Mongol (Barlas-Chagatai) descent from Central Asia

- At 60 yrs of age conquered:
  - Central Asia, Persia, and Iraq
  - Afghanistan-Pakistan; raided India
  - Portions of Middle East, Caucasus

- Responsible for > 17 million deaths; slew 90,000 during attack on Baghdad

- His trademark: Skull pillars
Timurid Empire (1370 – 1526 AD)
“Gunpowder Empires” (1528 - 1700)

- External invasions and internal threats lead to fall of existing states; --- rise of powerful new “Gunpowder Empires”

- **Ottomans** (Turkey)

- **Safavids** (Persia)

- **Mughals** (India)
Hotaki (Ghilzai) Dynasty (1709 - 1738)

- **1400s**: Ghilzai ruled Delhi Sultanate

- **Founder**: Mirwais Khan Hotaki (r. 1709 – 1715)
  - Revolts against & defeats Safavid armies
  - Rules greater Kandahar w/ Mughal support
  - Remembered as *Naika*

- **Mir Mahmud (son of Mirwais)** (r. 1715 – 1725)
  - Sacks Isfahan in 1722
  - Declares himself “Shah of Persia”
  - Mentally unstable, *badshagardi* exploited by Abdali Pashtuns

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**badshagardi** (~“ruler-turning”) feuds over dynastic succession

Haji Mirwais Khan Hotak (1673-1715)
Four “Founding Fathers”
Ahmad Khan Abdali (Durrani)

- 1740: Abdalis join Nadir Shah
  - Raid Mughal Delhi
  - Seize Peacock Throne and Koh-i Noor Diamond
- Young Ahmad Khan dubbed Durr-i Durrani ("pearl-of-pearls")
  - "Favored" by Nadir Shah
  - Wore looted pearl earring
- Served as Nadir Shah’s commander of elite Calvary
- Half of nose lost from shrapnel
  - Turned gangrenous
  - Wore Silver Nose

Actor Lee Marvin as villainous silver-nosed Gunslinger "Tim Strawn" in Columbia Pictures film Cat Ballou (1965)
Timeline: Rise of the Durrani

- 1722 - 30: Ghilzai-Hotaki conquest of Iran allows the Abdali to seize Herat and Kandahar
- 1729: Nadir Shah defeats Ghilzai
- 1740: Abdalis join Nadir Shah
- 1747: Nadir Shah killed by own troops
- 4,000 Abdalis flee for Kandahar with booty (to include Koh-I Noor Diamond)
- Loya Jirga held by tribal leaders, Ahmad Abdali declared “King”
Rise of the Durrani “Empire”

- 1747-48: As “King” of Afghanistan, Ahmad Shah Durrani captures Ghazni from Ghilzai, then takes Kabul.

- 1749: Turns towards India; Mughal ruler cedes Punjab, Sindh, and Kashmir.

- 1757: Ahmad Shah controls all of Afghanistan.

- Mahrati and Sikhs challenge hold on Indian territories.

- 1761 Battle of Panipat; victory for Ahmad Shah but zenith of power.
Peak Expansion of the Durrani Empire
North America (Mid-Late 1700s)

Legend:
- British before 1763
- British gains, 1763
- Spanish before 1762
- Spanish gains, 1762
- Lost by Spain & gained by Britain, 1763
- Indian Reserve
- Unexplored
Durrani Empire Disintegrates

- Ahmad Shah’s son **Timur Shah**
  - Moves capital from Kandahar to Kabul
  - Has 23 sons; 3 attempt to hold throne

- Early 1800s: Empire **fragments** into Durrani-Sadozai fiefdoms
  - Fight centers on “Kingdom of Caubool”
  - 10 year Civil War (1818-1826)

- Sons & regions of control
  - Muhammad Zaman (**Kabul**)
  - Shah Mahmud (**Herat**)
  - Shah Shuja (**Peshawar**)

- Timur Shah r. 1773-1793
  - Zaman Shah r. 1793-1801
  - Shah Mahmood r. 1801-1804; 1809-1818
  - Shah Shujah r. 1804-1809; 1839-1842
Rise of Muhammadzai-Barakzai Dynasty

- Dost Mohammad Khan (r. 1826 - 1863)
  - 1826: Takes throne in Kabul; **founds dynasty** (Muhammadzai-Barakzai)
  - Mother was Qizilbash, provided additional powerbase
  - Fought with Ranjit Singh (Sikh ruler of Punjab) for control of Peshawar
  - 1836: Sent letter to Lord Auckland, British governor general in India, for help with Singh

- Sher Ali Khan (r. 1863 - 1869) 3rd son / successor (unsteady relations with British)
Amir Dost Muhammad vs. Maharaja Ranjit Singh
The Great Game (18th - 19th cent.)

When he comes to the Great Game he must go alone---alone, and at the peril of his head…From time to time, God causes men to be born---and thou art one of them---who have a lust to go abroad at the risk of their lives and discover news---today it may be far-off things, tomorrow of some hidden mountain, and the next day of some near-by men who have done foolishness against the State.

These souls are very few; and of these few, not more than ten are of the best…We of the Game are beyond protection. If we die, we die. Our names are blotted from the book…When everyone is dead the Great Game is finished. Not before.

---from Kim (1901), by Rudyard Kipling

The term "The Great Game" attributed to Arthur Conolly (1807–1842), an intelligence officer for British East India Company, but introduced into mainstream British novelist Rudyard Kipling in his novel Kim (1901).
First Anglo-Afghan War (1838 - 1842)

- Simla Manifesto, Oct 1838
  - Convinced Russians planned to invade India through Kabul
  - Trustworthy ally in Kabul necessary for welfare of India
- “Lord Auckland’s Folly”
  - 1839: British army takes Kandahar, Ghazni, Kabul
  - Dost Mohammad deposed
  - Shuja enthroned (again)
  - 1842: 16,000 retreat, only a few survive
  - Dost Mohammad returns
  - Invasion unmitigated disaster
Auckland’s “Army of the Indus”
Afghanistan under Amir Sher Ali Khan

Meanwhile back West:

- Mexican-American War ends (1848)
- Irish Potato Famine Ends (1845-1849)
- California Gold Rush (1848-1855)
- Second Anglo-Sikh War (1849)
- Zachary Taylor becomes 12th POTUS
- Crazy Horse, Oglala Sioux chief born (d. 1877)
“...a war begun for no wise purpose, carried on with a strange mixture of rashness and timidity, brought to a close after suffering and disaster, without much glory attached either to the government which directed, or the great body of troops which waged it.

Not one benefit, political or military, was acquired with this war. Our eventual evacuation of the country resembled the retreat of an army defeated.”

-- British Army Chaplain Rev. G.R. Gleig, 1843
Second Anglo-Afghan War (1878 - 1880)

- **Jun 1878**: Russian send uninvited mission; British demand same but refused

- **Aug**: Britain sends 40,000 man army under Gen. Frederick “Bobs” Roberts

- **Feb 1879**: Sher Ali dies in Mazar-e Sharif

- **May**: Sher Ali son and successor Yaqub signs Treaty of Gandamak (gives British control of Afghan foreign affairs)

- **Sept**: Envoy Sir Louis Cavagnari killed in riot over unpaid Afghan army wages

- **Mar 1880**: British Army fights insurrection; replaces Yaqub with Abdur Rahman, then leaves
Battle of Maiwand

The Battle of Maiwand, 1880, 2nd Anglo-Afghan War (Great Britain vs. Ayub Khan)
Battle of Maiwand

- Most decisive action of 2nd Anglo-Afghan war; rare 19th-cent victory by Asian force over Western power

- Gen. Burrows force of 2,700 caught in open by Ayub Khan’s (7 times larger)

- Afghan losses: 2,700

- British losses: 1,000

- Humiliating defeat for British Army / Empire
MODERN HISTORY
Modern History of Afghanistan and Impact of Recent Regimes: Soviet Invasion, Civil War, and the Taliban

Instructor: Tim Hollifield, LTC (Ret’d)
Geography is Destiny…

- Czarist Russia
- Qajar Iran
- British India
# Afghanistan: Modern Dynasties & Regimes

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<td>1501 - 1738</td>
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<tr>
<td>Safavids (Kandahar &amp; Western AFG)</td>
<td>1510 - 1709</td>
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<td>Hotaki Dynasty</td>
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<td>Afsharids</td>
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<td>Durrani Empire</td>
<td>1747 - 1826</td>
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<tr>
<td>Muhammadzai - Barakzai Dynasty</td>
<td>1826 - 1973</td>
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<td>Tajik Rule (Bacha-e Saqqao)</td>
<td>1929 (Jan - Oct)</td>
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<td>Musahiban (Barakzai) Dynasty</td>
<td>1929 - 1973</td>
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<td>Republic of Afghanistan (Daoud)</td>
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<td>Democratic Republic (Communist)</td>
<td>1978 - 1992</td>
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<td>Islamic State (Mujahidin)</td>
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<td>Islamic Emirate (Taliban)</td>
<td>1996 - 2001</td>
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<td>Islamic Republic (Karzai)</td>
<td>2001- Present</td>
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The “Iron Emir” (r. 1880 -1901)

- Son of Mohammad Afzal (Dost Mohammad’s oldest son who fought Shir Ali for control of Kabul)

- Calculating, focused despot; used espionage and force throughout 21 year reign

- Crushed and forcibly converted Shi’a Hazaras and tribes in Kafiristan (re-named “Nuristan”)

- Suppressed tribal rebellions with executions, forced deportation and relocation; esp. Ghilzai

- Accommodated Britain and Russia on foreign affairs and borders but controlled all domestic policies

Legacy
- First to establish Central rule and Provincial governance
- Relocation of Pashtuns to North
- Negotiated 1893 “Durand Line”
Abdur Rahman Khan (r. 1880-1901)

- July-Aug 1881 Revolts in Kandahar, which were crushed
- 1891-93 Wars in Hazarajat
- 1895-96 Wars in Kafiristan
- 1886-88 Wars against Ghilzai

- Abdur Rahman Khan used force to centralize state power
- Co-opted and coerced Pashtun tribes in the South
- Reduced autonomy of three groups:
  - Eastern Pashtun tribes
  - Non-Sunni ethnic groups (Hazara)
  - Kafiristan / Nuristan
The Durand Line

- Negotiated in 1893 by Sir Mortimer Durand & representatives of Amir Abdur Rahman

- Cut through tribes and villages with no regard for realities of topography, demography, or strategy

“How can a small power like Afghanistan, which is like a goat between these lions [Britain & Czarist Russia], or a grain of wheat between two millstones, stand in the midway without being ground to dust?”

--- Emir Abdur Rahman Khan
Habibullah Khan (r. 1901-1919)

- Relatively secular, reformist
  - Instituted legal reforms
  - Eliminated repressive internal intelligence organization
- Influenced by cousin, Mahmoud Beg Tarzi, passionate Afghan nationalist intellectual
  - Published newspaper that agitated for reform
- Neutral in World War I
- Assassinated on hunting trip
King Amanullah (r. 1919-1929)

- Third Son of Habibullah

- Controlled national treasury and army; easily seized power after father’s murder

- Initially gained allegiance of tribal leaders and ulem’a

- Spent lavishly on secular school system, hospitals, radio-stations, and national airline

- Declared women liberated; banned beards and burkhas

Legacy:
- Secular modernist reformer
- Created first liberal constitution
- Established control over cities
3rd Anglo-Afghan War (May-Aug 1919)

- Sensing Post-WWI fatigue, Amanullah order attacks on British garrisons in Peshawar, Quetta, and FATA

- Amanullah calls for jihad against British, Border skirmish lasts ~ 1 month

- British Indian Army retaliates with decisive air strikes, infantry, and cavalry

- Tactical victory for British Empire, but Strategic victory for Amanullah

  - Aug 1919: Treaty of Rawalpindi British relinquish control of Afghanistan’s foreign policy

  - Amanullah declared “ghazi” by ulem’a and tribes
Reform, Reaction, and Abdication

- 1921: Established Air Force
- Discouraged veiling and seclusion of women; abolished slavery and forced labor
- Introduced secular education (adults and nomads); National ID cards
- Established legislative assembly
- 1929: Abdicated after revolt by tribal leaders (with ulem’a support)
Tajik Rule (r. Jan - Oct 1929)

- Habibullah Khan seizes Kabul
  - AKA *bacha-e saqqao* (“son of water carrier”)
  - Illiterate AWOL soldier and bandit
  - Kohistani Tajik from Kalakan (30km N. of Kabul)
  - First Tajik to rule since 12th cent. Ghorids

- Seizes power with Ghilzai support
  - Short 9 month reign
  - Repeals all of Amanullah’s reforms & all taxes (except for *zakat*)

- Pashtun tribes soon chafe under non-Pashtun rule
  - Musahibban brothers (Muhammadzai-Barakzai) led by Nadir Khan (returning from Paris) raise force in Peshawar
Muhammad Nadir Shah (r. 1929-33)

- Reunited fragmented Afghanistan
- Abolished most of Amanullah’s social reforms
- Gave tacit support for anti-Tajik Pashtun aggression (Shomali battlefield)
- 1931 Loya Jirga; Declared constitutional monarchy (in reality: royal oligarchy)
- Took steps to modernize Afghanistan
  - Great North Road through Hindu Kush
  - Started banking system & economic planning
  - Created 40,000-strong Army
Zahir Shah (r. 1933-1973)

- Son of Nadir Shah; witnessed father’s assassination
- 40 year reign; longest and most stable in Afghanistan’s history
- Last 10 years of reign marked by:
  - Economic stagnation
  - Tension between educated Afghans and the establishment (royalty, tribal leaders, and ulem’a)
  - Superpowers vying for influence
Timeline: Zahir Shah’s Rule

- **1933**: Age 19, assumes throne
- **1937**: Accepts Turkish assistance to modernize Army
- **1939 - 45**: Declares neutrality during WWII
- **1947**: Pakistan Created; “Pashtunistan” Issue creates tension
- **1955**: Afghanistan abstains from Baghdad Pact
- **1960s**: Soviet Union accelerates outreach
- **1964**: Constitutional Monarchy declared; allows for formation of political parties
Once Upon a Time…
Girl-Scouts, Pencil Skirts, and “Mad Men” Furniture
Daoud Khan’s Republic (r. 1973 – APR 1978)

- Zahir Shah overthrown in 1973 bloodless coup led by Mohammed Daoud Khan (his cousin and brother-in-law & former PM)
- Daoud, a modernist reformer, proclaimed Afghanistan a republic, with himself as president
- Daoud originally backed by Parcham faction of PDPA
- Promised to introduce progressive democratic reforms
- Term increasingly repressive, arrests and executes former Parchami allies and Islamist opposition
The “Pashtunistan” Issue

- Idea of independent country or semi-sovereign region for Pashtun majority areas
- First political expression: Ghaffar Khan and *Khuda Khidmatgar* in 1940s
- Promoted by Afghan PM Daoud Khan in 1970s
- Still sensitive sovereignty & border security issue with Pakistan
People’s Democratic Party of AFG (PDPA)

- **Jan 1965**: PDPA founded by Marxist Afghans

- **1966**: Split into two factions
  - *Khalq* (“The Masses”) led by Taraki
  - *Parcham* (“Banner”) led by Karmal

- **Khalqi** – More militant revolutionary and Pashtun Nationalist (esp. Ghilzai)

- **Parchami** – More elitist; advocated gradualist approach to reform (nicknamed “royal communist party”)

PDPA Demonstration in Kabul 1970s; marchers hold banner for Taraki, later first Marxist president of Afghanistan

Nur Muhammad Taraki and Hafizullah Amin (Khalq)

Babrak Karmal (Parcham)
PDPA Factions: Recruitment and Platforms

Khalq (‘The Masses’)
- Mainly Ghilzai Pashtun; formed majority of PDPA
- Mostly urban middle-class intellectuals and rural farmers
- Pro-nationalist but radical; wanted immediate revolution (“Stalinist” or “Trotskyist”)

Parcham (‘Banner’)
- Mainly Durrani or non-Pashtun; elitist minority of PDPA
- Mostly urban civil servants and upper-class intellectuals
- Advocated moderate socialist reform led by vanguard of elites (“Marxist-Leninist”)

Directorate for Human Capital
Rise of Pan-Islamist Ideology

- Mid-1970s: Organizations estab. to transcend national boundaries and unite ummah:
  - Muslim World League (MWL)
  - Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC)
  - University of Medina

- Organizations advocated charity not war

- Most staffed by Muslim Brotherhood members (MB) in exile (from Palestine, Jordan, and Egypt)

- All organizations located in hijaz region of Saudi Arabia; aka “Wahhabi heartland”

- Most “Afghan Arabs” members of MB or MWL
Muslim Youth Organization (1966 - 1978)

- **Sazman-i Jawanan-i Musulman** (Organization of Muslim Youth) strongly influenced by Ikwan al-Muslimeen (MB)

- **1969**: Several Kabul University professors and students found underground Islamist group

- **Founding Members**: Burhanuddin Rabbani, Ahmad Shah Massoud, `Abdul Rasul Sayyaf, and Hekmatyar

- Inspired by **Dr. Niazi**; but **Sibghatullah Mujaddidi** also claims role as founder

Rabbani, Sayyaf, et al. studied at al-Azhar (Cairo)…joined and influenced by MB
The Saur Revolution (April 1978)

- 27 April 1978: PDPA overthrows gov’t, slaughters Daoud and family

- Promises and enforces:
  - Freedom of Religion (but abolishes Islam as state religion)
  - Equal Rights for Women
  - State Control of Agriculture
  - Farmer Debt Relief

- Mujahideen violence increases; large backlash from ulemā’ & tribal leaders

- KGB advisors increase; warn of imminent collapse of DRA gov’t due to “extremist” factional violence
The Anti-DRA Rebellion Spreads (1979)

- **Herat Revolts**
  - Most of 17\textsuperscript{th} INF DIV joins rebellion
  - Soviet Advisors Flee

- **Other Desertions & Mutinies**
  - Kabul: Mech BDE / 7\textsuperscript{th} DIV; INF BDE / 9\textsuperscript{th} DIV
  - Units in Jalalabad & Ghazni
  - Local civilians in Nuristan & Kabul attack DRA government offices & ANSF

---

28 April 1978 attack in Kabul, one day after Saur (Marxist) Revolution

Location of uprisings, revolts, mutiny, or attack on DRA government offices / ANSF
Democratic Republic of AFG (1978 – 1987)

Nur Muhammad Taraki (04 / 1978 - 1979)
Assassinated: Sept 1979 (Suffocation)

Hafizullah Amin (09 / 1979 - 12 / 1979)
Assassinated: Dec 1979 (Gun shot)

Babruk Karmal (1980 - 1987)
Replaced by Najibullah 1986 & exiled to Moscow, died 1996 of Liver Cancer
Mujahideen Tanzim

- **May 1985**: Seven *tanzim* (parties) form alliance; **Islamic Unity of Afghanistan Mujahidin**

- **Based in Peshawar** but each controls own region in AFG

- Most groups Sunni Muslim and majority Pashtun; only **Jamia’t-i-Islami** mostly Tajik

- **Wahedat** alliance *based out of Iran*; composed of Shi'a Afghans (mostly Hazara)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tanzim (Party / Faction)</th>
<th>Leader</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PDPA</td>
<td>Dr. Najibullah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hezb-e Islami</td>
<td>Hekmatyar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jami’at Islami</td>
<td>Rabbani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hezb-e Islami</td>
<td>Khalis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nat’l Islamic Front</td>
<td>Gailani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Islamic Revolution</td>
<td>Muhammadi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wahedat (Shi’a)</td>
<td>Mazari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panjpiri / Other Groups</td>
<td>Various</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sparsely Populated</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Mujahideen Gruh-e Haftganah ("Peshawar Seven")

- Gulbuddin Hekmatyar
- Burhanuddin Rabbani
- Younis Khalis
- Abdurrasul Sayyaf
- Mohammad Nabi Mohammad
- Pir Sayyid Ahmed Gailani
- Sibghatullah Mojaddedi
# Mujahideen Groups and Orientations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Leader</th>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Supporters</th>
<th>Orientation</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gulbuddin Hekmatyar</td>
<td>Hizb-e Islam</td>
<td>Eastern Pashtuns, Pashai, Nuristanis, (Konar, Nuristani, Laghman, Kunduz)</td>
<td>Islamist</td>
<td>b. 1947 -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Younis Khalis</td>
<td>Hizb-e Islam Khalis</td>
<td>Eastern Pashtuns (Nangarhar)</td>
<td>Islamist</td>
<td>1999 - 2006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burhanuddin Rabbani</td>
<td>Jamiat-e Islami</td>
<td>Tajiks and Uzbeks (Panjshir and Northern Alliance)</td>
<td>Islamist</td>
<td>b. 1940 -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abdul Rasul Sayyaf</td>
<td>Ittehad-al Islami</td>
<td>KSA, Gulf states, Ikwan al-Muslimeen</td>
<td>Islamist (Wahhabi)</td>
<td>b. 1946 -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mohammad Nabi Mohammadi</td>
<td>Harakat-e Inqilib-e Islam</td>
<td>Eastern and Southern Pashtuns (Logar)</td>
<td>Traditionalist (village-based) &amp; Islamist</td>
<td>1920 - 2002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pir Sayyid Ahmed Gailani</td>
<td>Mohaz Mille Islami</td>
<td>Nationalist/Pro-Democracy Pashtuns, Qadiri tariqat</td>
<td>Nationalist / Royalist, pro-West</td>
<td>b. 1932 -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sibghatullah Mojaddedi</td>
<td>Jabhe Mille Nejad</td>
<td>Nationalist Pashtuns, Nasqhbandi tariqat</td>
<td>Nationalist / Royalist</td>
<td>b. 1926 -</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Soviet Machinations (1979)

- Amin unable to quell uprisings
- Soviets send more KGB, SF (Spetnaz) & military advisors
  - DRA 7th & 8th Div told to unload ammo “faulty ammo”
  - DRA Tank units told to drain fuel & pull batteries for “winterization”
- Kremlin makes decision to invade 12 Dec 1979
  - Attempt to poison Amin 13 & 27 Dec
- 28 Dec: Amin “true believer” even as Soviets storm Taj-Bek Palace
Afghan-Soviet War (Dec 1979 - Feb 1989)
Directorate for Human Capital

Major Insurgent Groups (in 1982)
Minorities During Afghan-Soviet War

- Many minorities sided with Soviets; joined PDPA
  - Esp, Uzbeks, Hazara, Ismai’liis
  - Benefited the most from PDPA land re-distribution schemes
  - Less conservative; inclined towards secularism

- Soviet/DRA outreach to Minorities
  - Uzbek-language newspaper
  - Promoted minority languages in school
  - C. Asia education & culture exchanges

- First Hazara PM & VP; dismissed in ‘91 after clashes with Najibullah

Sultan Ali Kishtmand (Parcham) PM 1981-90, VP 1990-91

Rashid Dostum (1982) (Parcham) Pro-DRA Militia Leader
“Ghost Wars”: CIA - KSA - ISI Nexus

- Afghan Arabs (and Al Qaeda) reputedly a creation of CIA
- Usual “Blowback” narrative:
  - Bin Laden a miscalculated product of CIA
  - In 1980s he was armed by CIA and funded by Saudis to wage jihad against Soviets
- However, Pakistan’s policy was to take money and munitions but limit American involvement

“It was,…a cardinal rule of Pakistan's policy that no Americans ever become involved with the distribution of funds or arms once they arrived in the country. No Americans ever trained or had direct contact with the mujahideen,…no American official ever went inside Afghanistan.”  -- Pakistani General Ret’d Mohammad Yousaf, Director of ISI's Afghan operation, 1983 - 1987
The “Afghan Arabs” (1980s – Present)

• Arab (& other) Muslim fighters who came to help Mujahidin fight Soviets and Afghan Government forces

• Questionable effectiveness as fighting force

• Within Muslim / Arab world attained hero-status for role in defeat of atheist superpower

• Many stayed and married local Pashtun women; formed strong bonds with tribes in FATA, RC East/South
Shaikh Abdullah Yusuf Azzam

Graduate of al-Azhar University (Cairo) and member of Muslim Brotherhood

Brilliant writer, organizer, lobbyist

Issued 1979 fatwa “Defense of Muslim Lands, the First Obligation after Faith”

1981 evicted from Jordan, moved to KSA, then Pakistan; estab. *Maktab al-Khadmat* (“Services Office”)

First volunteers in anti-Soviet Jihad were his students and associates

Salary at *International Islamic University (Islamabad)* paid by Muslim World League

"Whoever can, from among the Arabs, fight jihad in Palestine, then he must start there. And, if he is not capable, then he must set out for Afghanistan"
Charlie Wilson’s War

- U.S. sees conflict as means to **weaken the Soviet Union**

- **1978**: Anti-Soviet Propaganda intensified

- **Operation Cyclone**: financial support increases ($20 million 1980 to $630 million in 1987)

- **1980s**: U.S. authorizes Stinger MANPADS & PM trainers

- **1985-87**: Soviets focus on Exit Strategy
Najibullah Regime (1987-1992)

- Sept 1987: Dr. Muhammad Najibullah Ahmadzai replaces Pres. Karmal
  - Becomes 4th President of DRA
  - Effective manager
  - Charismatic politician-orator
  - Ghilzai Pashtun, born in Kabul, family from Gardez, Paktia
  - AKA Najib-e Gaw (“Bull”) for wrestler’s physique & bullish manner

- 1980 - 85: Serves as Min. of State Security (KHAD)
  - Arrested & tortured many Afghans
  - Pol-e Kharki Prison becomes more infamous

- Najibullah advocates “National Reconciliation” program

- Feb 1988: Gorbachev announces Soviet plan to withdraw (May 1988 - Feb 1989)

- Najibullah negotiates ceasefire w/ Mujahidin
  - 40% Accept c-fire
  - 20% Join DRA gov’t
  - 12% Irreconcilables

- Strategic Pause (87-89)
Aftermath of Soviet War

- Over 1 million Afghans dead
  - 1.2 million disabled
  - 3 million maimed or wounded

- Afghan refugees & IDPs
  - 5 million fled Pakistan & Iran*
  - 2 million internally displaced

- Irrigation systems destroyed; livestock killed and forests decimated

- 10 - 15 million land mines (mostly hidden) were left in place

- Traditional Afghan culture was pushed aside

- Becomes one of world’s least developed countries (170 of 174)

* Estimated > 3.69 million have returned Afghanistan since 2002 (U.S. CRS & UNHCR, 2009)

- **1992**: Najibullah government finally collapses; he tries to flee but trapped on UN compound

- **Civil War worsens** in Power Vacuum; ethnic conflict and friction increases

- **Former Mujaheddin Commanders become regional Warlords**; battle and barter for control of Kabul

- Series of **Mujaheddin governments formed but collapse**

- **Rampant criminality**; no system of redress

Mujahidin Factions

- Shura-e Nazar (Massoud)
- Ittihad-e Islami (Sayyaf)
- Junbesh-e Milli (Dostum)
- Hizb-e Wahdat (Mazari)
- Hizb-e Islami (Hekmatyar)
Rise of the Taliban

- 1994: Emerged in Kandahar

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031323Z NOV 94
FM AMCONSUL PESHAWAR
TO SECSTATE WASH DC IMMEDIATE 3121
SUBJ: NEW FIGHTING AND NEW FORCES IN KANDAHAR.

1. (CLASSIFICATION MARKING) – ENTIRE TEXT
2. SUMMARY. FIGHTING BROKE OUT EARLIER THIS WEEK IN KANDAHAR PROVINCE BETWEEN AN ALLIANCE OF ESTABLISHED HIG AND NIFA COMMANDERS AND A NEW MOVEMENT, THE TALIBAN (“SEEKERS”). JAMIAT COMMANDER NAQIB HAS REMAINED ALOOF SO FAR FROM THE FIGHTING, WHICH HAS STRAINED PAKISTAN’S MUCH PUBLICIZED TRUCK CARAVAN TO CENTRAL ASIA. WHILE SPECULATION IS RIFE ABOUT WHO THE TALIBAN ACTUALLY SUPPORT AND ARE BEING SUPPORTED BY, IT APPEARS THAT THE WELL-ARMED MOVEMENT – LARGELY DRAWN FROM RELIGIOUS STUDENTS THAT DID NOT FIGHT IN THE JIHAD – MAY REPRESENT A NEW PHENOMENON INDEPENDENT FROM PARTY POLITICS. END SUMMARY.
Afghanistan in 1996

Kabul: Taliban drag Najibullah from UN Compound, castrate, drag through streets, and hang 27 Sept 96
The Taliban (1994 – 2001)

- 1994: "student militia" appears; many are former students of Malvi Muhammad Nabi Muhammadi

- Most raised and trained in Pakistani Deobandi madaris (esp. Darul Uloom Haqqania)

- Intention was to impose shari’ah

- Initially welcomed by war-weary populace for bringing security

- Ruled Afghanistan from 1996-2001; Fought Northern Alliance until 2001

- “Pariah State” – Only recognized by Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, and UAE
Timeline: Taliban’s Conquest

- **November 1994**
  - Kandahar and Helmand Provinces

- **February 1995**
  - Push north toward Kabul

- **March 1995**
  - Taliban move into the southern districts of Kabul
  - Repelled by Massoud; Taliban effort shifts to the west

- **September 1995**
  - Taliban capture Herat
  - Ismail Khan retreats to Iran

- **September 1996**
  - Taliban take Jbad, Abad, & Kabul

- **May 1997**
  - Taliban capture Mazar-e Sharif; but expelled by the end of May

- **August 1997**
  - Taliban begin siege of Hazarajat
  - Block all major roads into region - tantamount to a food embargo

- **August 1998**
  - Taliban recapture Mazar-e Sharif

- **September 1999**
  - Taliban destroy Shomali region
Al Qaeda & Assassination of Massoud

- Taliban and Al-Qaeda cooperation since at least 1994
- 9 Sept 2001: Assassination of Northern Alliance Leader Ahmad Shah Massoud (age 48) in Takhar Province
- AQ assassins from Tunisia posed as Belgian-Moroccan journalist
- Pakistan ISI and Abdul Rasul Sayyaf considered probable collaborators

Ahmad Shah Massoud (Sept 1953 - 2001)
aka “Lion of Panjshir”
aka “Hero of the Afghan Nation”
Key Events in 2001

09 SEPT --
AQ assassinates Ahmad Shah Massoud in Panjshir

11 SEPT --
AQ attacks U.S.: WTC in NYC & Pentagon in D.C.

MARCH
Taliban Destroy Giant Buddhas in Bamiyan

OCT
U.S./Coalition Invasion (OEF) begins

NOV --
Northern Alliance & Coalition Forces push Taliban from MeS, then take Kabul

DEC --
Afghan political groups & power brokers meet in Bonn, from Interim Gov’t, Choose Karzai as Chairman
The Bonn Agreement (Dec 2001)

- Prominent Afghans meet under UN auspices in Bonn
  - Northern Alliance | Other Regional Power Brokers
  - “Peshawar Group” | “Cypress Group”
  - “Rome Group”

- Four-step Plan Devised
  - Cobble together interim gov’t to manage country for 6 months
  - Convene *Loya Jirga* to forge 2-year “transitional gov’t” & elect leader
  - During 2-year transition, commission of learned Afghans will draft new constitution
  - Presidential & parliamentary elections would then be held
Review of Afghan Geography and History

- The Durand Line originally defined the approximate (but never fully accepted or recognized) border between which two political entities?
  a. Afghanistan and British India
  b. Afghanistan and Pakistan
  c. Afghanistan and the Federally Administered Tribal Areas
  d. Afghanistan and Czarist Russia

- Which phrase best expresses the literal meaning of Afghanistan?
  a. “Land of the Afghans”
  b. “Land of the Believers”
  c. “Land of the Horsemen”
  d. “Land of the Hindu Killers”
Review of Afghan Geography and History

- Which ethnic group have served as the traditional rulers of Afghanistan since 1747?
  a. Tajiks and Uzbeks
  b. Pushtun Ghilzai Confederation
  c. Pushtun Durrani Confederation
  d. Baluchis

- Who is considered the “Father of the Afghanistan” in modern history (19th – 20th centuries)?
  a. Abdur Rahman Baba, “The Iron Amir”
  b. Ahmad Shah Abdali
  c. Ghazi Amanullah Shah
  d. Khusal Khan Khattak
Review of Afghan Geography and History

- The Saur (April) Revolution resulted in a government controlled by which party?
  a. The People’s Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA)
  b. The Khalqi (Masses) Faction
  c. The Parchami (Banner) Faction
  d. All the above

- Which answer best identifies Afghanistan’s 4 largest ethno-linguistic groups?
  a. Nuristanis, Pashai, Turcomans, Aimaq
  b. Durrani, Ghilzai, Sarhadi, Ghurghghust
  c. Pashtuns, Tajiks, Hazaras, Uzbeks
  d. Baluchi, Punjabi, Sindhi, Pathans
QUESTIONS?
**Fate of Afghan Heads of State (since 19\textsuperscript{th} c.)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Leader</th>
<th>Reign</th>
<th>Downfall or Death</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Amir Abdul Rahman Khan (aka “The Iron Amir”)</td>
<td>1880 - 1901</td>
<td>Died naturally in Kabul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amir Habibullah Khan</td>
<td>1901 - 1919</td>
<td>Assassinated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Ghazi” Amir Amanullah Khan</td>
<td>1919 - 1929</td>
<td>Abdicated and Self-exiled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bacha-e Saqqau (Habibullah II aka Kalakani)</td>
<td>1929 - 1930</td>
<td>Deposed and Executed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(King) Nadir Shah</td>
<td>1930 - 1933</td>
<td>Assassinated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(King) Zahir Shah</td>
<td>1933 - 1973</td>
<td>Deposed (Died from natural causes 2007)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>President Daoud Khan</td>
<td>1973 - 1978</td>
<td>Assassinated</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Fate of Afghan Heads of State (since 19th c.)

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>President Noor Mohammad Taraki</td>
<td>1978 – 1979</td>
<td>Assassinated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>President Hafizullah Amin</td>
<td>1979</td>
<td>Assassinated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>President Babrak Karmal</td>
<td>1979 – 1986</td>
<td>Deposed (Died of natural causes 1996)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>President Najibullah</td>
<td>1986 - 1992</td>
<td>Deposed (Executed by Taliban in 1996)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>President Sibgatullah Mujadidi</td>
<td>1992</td>
<td>Effectively deposed by bloodless coup</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>President Burhanuddin Rabbani</td>
<td>1992 - 1996</td>
<td>Deposed by Taliban (killed by suicide bomber Sept 2011)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mullah Omar</td>
<td>1996 - 2002</td>
<td>Deposed (Still alive)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
MODERN HISTORY
Directorate for Human Capital

Stone of the Gods

Lapis Lazuli