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YILDIZ TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
POLITICAL SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
DEPARTMENT
MASTER OF ARTS PROGRAM**

MASTER THESIS

**CONTEMPORARY POLITICAL HISTORY OF
AFGHANISTAN, ACCORDING TO KHALED
HOSSEINI'S BOOKS**

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ABSTRACT

CONTEMPORARY POLITICAL HISTORY OF AFGHANISTAN, ACCORDING TO KHALED HOSSEINI'S BOOKS

Ehsan Ahmad Najm

July, 2017

Afghanistan's political history has always been an important and interesting issue for writers, especially political history of the last 30 years of Afghanistan, because it has a lot of changes and mutations, so different writers with different views has written about it. In other side the international acclaim from Khaled Hosseini novels (The Kite Runner and A Thousand Splendid Suns), shows that political-historical realities about Afghanistan in these novels are interesting for people in the world, and make them curious about Afghanistan. Even some peoples believe that these political- historical realities along with extensive advertising made these novels' reputation. (But we should consider that facts which mentioned in novels have been offered with good literary and artistic features.) In this study, after a short review of these novels, and also historical and political realities of Afghanistan, I want to accordance events in these novels with Afghanistan's political history. This study seeks to evaluate contemporary political history of Afghanistan according to Khaled Hosseini's novels. In this study I want to understand the political history of the country in the last half century, what happened in this period and how, on the other hand want to check whether the facts mentioned in Hosseini's novels completely true and matches with the other books in field of Afghanistan's political history or not? Has Khaled Hosseini written according to his own perception of historical events, or novels are consistent with the facts? To obtain this offer and achieve the purpose of research, I will use different books from Afghan and foreign writers and also evaluate every single political event which mentioned in the novels and other books.

Keywords: Afghanistan, political history, ethnicity, Khaled Hosseini, The Kite Runner, A thousand splendid suns.

ÖZ

KALED HOSSEİNİ ESERLERİNDEN HAREKETLE AFGHANİSTAN'IN YAKIN SİYASİ TARİHİ

Ehsan Ahmad Najm

Temmuz 2017

Afganistan'ın siyasi tarihi, yazarlar için her zaman önemli ve ilginç bir konuydu, özellikle de Afganistan'ın politik tarihinin son 30 yıl, çünkü bu yıllerde birçok değişikliği ve mutasyonu varmış, bu nedenle farklı görüşlere sahip olan farklı yazarlar bu konu hakkında yazdılar. Ayrıca Khaled Hosseini romanların (Uçurtma Avcısı ve Bin Muhteşem Güneş) dünyada meşhur oldu, ve bu romanlardaki Afganistan'ın siyasi-tarihi gerçeklerin dünyadaki insanlar için ilginç olduğunu ve onları Afganistan hakkında meraklandırdığını gösteriyor. Hatta bazı insanlar, siyasi-tarihsel gerçeklerin ve kapsamlı reklamlarla birlikte bu romanların itibarını yarattığına inanmaktadırlar. (Ancak romanlarda belirtilen gerçeklerin iyi edebi ve sanatsal özellikleri ile sunulduğunu düşünmeliyiz.) Bu çalışmada, bu romanlar ve Afganistan'ın tarihsel ve siyasi gerçekleri hakkında kısa bir incelemenin ardından, Bu romanlardaki olaylara Afganistan'ın politik tarihiyle uyum sağlamak istiyorum. Bu çalışma, Khaled Hosseini'nin romanlarına göre Afganistan'ın çağdaş siyasi tarihini değerlendirmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bu çalışmada, son yarım asırda ülkenin siyasi tarihini anlamaktadır, bu dönemde neler yaşadı ve diğer yandan Hosseini'nin romanlarında geçen gerçeklerin tamamen doğru olup olmadığını ve diğer kitaplarla uyuşup uyuşmadığını kontrol etmektedir? Khaled Hosseini, tarihsel olaylar hakkındaki kendi algısına göre yazılmış mıydı yoksa romanlar gerçeklerle tutarlı mı? Bu teklifi almak ve araştırma amacına ulaşmak için, Afgan ve yabancı yazarlardaki farklı kitapları kullanacağım ve romanlarda ve diğer kitaplarda bahsedilen her siyasi olayı değerlendireceğim.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Afganistan, siyasi tarih, etnisite, Khaled Hosseini, Uçurtma Avcısı, Bin muhteşem güneş.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AF	: Afghanistan
BBC	: The British Broadcasting Company
CIA	: Central Intelligent Agency
GRU	: Glavnoye Razvedyvatel'noye Upravleniye “military intelligence service”
ISI	: Inter-Services Intelligence
KGB	: Komitet gosudarstvennoy bezopasnosti - “Committee for State Security”
NATO	: The North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGO	: Non-Governmental Organization
SEATO	: Southeast Asia Treaty Organization
UN	: United Nations
UNESCO	: The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
USA	: United State of America

1. INTRODUCTION

In last two decades the world is very interested in Afghanistan, Even the most ordinary objects that have been a relation to Afghanistan has cultural value. When the author has abilities of storytelling is caused of the popularity of his writings. Having such features make Khaled Hosseini one of the most popular contemporary writers. As much as the content of his stories are interesting and fresh to the West, for Afghans are not pristine and curiosity, they were witness of numbers of these events every day, but this point should not be ignored that Khaled Hosseini present the full of mystery world of his countrymen for the people of the West, and this is the most important characteristic of his books.

To understand the history of nations, their lifestyle and their culture we should consider the history books and sociology stories. Novels and story books are exploring the facts, historical events and nation states in detail; in addition, it also has the charm of reading a story with all the ups and downs.

The Kite runner is an enlightening narrative of political instability, culture and history of Afghanistan, which we can understand the political history through the events that happen to the characters. The Kite Runner is a novel that not only looks around human themes such as love, pride, guilt, fear, redemption and familiar... it looks a little closer to the country, its people and its political history. The novel is one of the few stories that make the twin concept on the reader's mind and keep the facts in his mind for a long time.

After the first novel Khaled Hosseini has written "A Thousand Splendid Suns", that is also an insightful picture of Afghanistan and it is narrative of two women story. "A Thousand Splendid Suns" is exactly about the last 50 years of Afghanistan history that was black and miserable. Poverty, violence, wars, the residents of the Bolsheviks, Russia, the Taliban, America and the West, all introduced with detailed in this book.

With a careful study of two novels I noticed that in terms of political and historical issues, these two are complement of each other. In “The Kite Runner” author started the political history with a slight hint of Zahir Shah and his 40 years kingdom, after that he focused more on the issues related to the 1973 - 1980. Issues between 1980 and 2001 that involve the Russians in Afghanistan, Najibullah, the Mujahidin and the Taliban, mentioned as a whole and in terms of social events and bad effects of war. Even name of the incumbent presidents are not mentioned, just in few parts mentioned some mujahidin commanders’ names. In the “A Thousand Splendid Suns” the author has tried to mention political events between 1980 and 2001 more clear and specific. In some cases, these events are listed in detail, and at the time of reading the novel, the reader may feel that it is a history book; and this is the cause that novel became so long.

Now I want to study aspects of the political history of Afghanistan by considering both novels. With review of Afghanistan’s contemporary political history and considering Khaled Hosseini’s novels I want to know better about the Afghanistan politics in a period of last 40 years, and also I want to find answer for these questions:

1. Is the political history that mentioned in the Khaled Hosseini’s books true or not?
2. Do the other authors have pointed out the history of Afghanistan as well as Hosseini?
3. Is there any contradiction between these two Hosseini's books in terms of political issues?

To find answers for these questions, and many other possible questions that will arise during the study, I will use resources that had been written by the Afghan author which some of them are independent and some of them had written dependently for benefits of a group, and non-Afghan author, which mostly their books are with no dependency.

It is worth remembering that many articles have been written on the books of Khaled Hosseini, and many studies have been conducted on these books. These articles and studies are mostly due to the script and literary works, also are about ethnicity, women, war in Afghanistan, Afghan politics, as well as about thoughts of Khaled Hosseini

According to these novels also have written numerous articles. Some of them are as follow:

1. Realist elements in the “A Thousand Splendid Suns” novel, is subject of a graduate Thesis that Rahile Azadifar at Ferdowsi University of Mashhad had work on it. She had focused on realistic elements in the design, space and scenes, characters, perspective, and the contents in detail.

2. “Examine the elements of story in Khaled Hosseini's novels”, is a Master's thesis of Ms. Maryam Monsif in 2013 Ferdowsi University of Mashhad. She had tried to focus on the literature of these novels.

3. An article has written by Dr. Bindu Ann Philip called “Endless endurance: A feminist study of Khaled Hosseini’s novel A Thousand Splendid Suns”. In this article the auteur had focused on the issue of women and feminist in “A Thousand Splendid Suns” novel, and had sought review of social and political justice against women in war.

4 Another study called "The Kite Runner by Khaled Hosseini: Historical, Political and Cultural Contexts” had done By N. Shamnad in 2010. Auteur had paid attention to historical, political, cultural contexts only in the “The Kite Runner” novel. And he had expressed issues only in general ways.

5. Another study by name of “The issue of cultural identity in Khaled Hosseini’s The kite runner” had done by Nina Farlina in 2008. This paper had examined cultural identity and its picture in the novel.

6. “Gender Bias Crossways Borders: With Reference to Khaled Hosseini's a Thousand Splendid Suns” is name of an article that Sruthi P. had done about gender by consideration of A Thousand Splendid Suns, and she had expressed that Gender issue in third world countries is a big problem that they can’t overcome if easily.

7. Namita Singh had written an article by name of “Feminism v / s Gender equity: Socio-Political Activism in Khaled Hosseini's A Thousand Splendid Suns”. In this article also had fucased on gender issue and had defined the woman place in Afghanistan very bad.

8. Hamed Rashad is an Iranian writer and had written some articles about Khaled Hosseini's novels. One of those is "Introduction of the kite runner", by name of introduction he had reviewed the novel and had written some analyses about different aspects in novel.

9. Zainub Nowruzi is a Sociologist and had written about "Sociological analysis of the characters in The Kite Runner novel" in 2013. She had focused on subject of characters that Hosseini had made in novel.

10. Mahsa Rezaee had focused on historical part of The kite runner and had written article of "History in the "the kite runner" novel" in 2011.

11. "Religion in the "the kite runner" book", is another subject that Laura Blackman had written about it. In this article auteur had showed the impact of religion in different class of a society according to the "The kite runner".

12- Ali Muslihi had written "A review of "A Thousand Splendid Suns" book", in 2015, and had tried to present different issues in the novel.

As it can be seen in this Thesis, articles and all other article the auteurs had focused on different aspects of Hosseini's novels, but no one had tried to write about the political history in these novels, specifically about the political history of Afghanistan, based on these novels. So I want to write about the political history of Afghanistan according to these novels and evaluate the political issues in these novels at first between each other and at second with other book to know better about Afghanistan political history, and to know the reality of the events in the Khaled Hosseini's novels.

1.1.Khaled Hosseini's Biography

Khaled Hosseini was born at March 4, 1965, in Kabul¹, where he grew up, but his parents are from Herat.² His father worked as a diplomat in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and his mother was a teacher of Persian language and history in one of the biggest high schools in Kabul.

¹. Kabul is capital of Afghanistan since 1776; it is the most populous city of Afghanistan.

². Herat is one of the biggest and beautiful cities of Afghanistan. It is located on the west and add border with Iran and Turkmenistan.

In 1976, when his father was sent to France by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, he went to Paris with his family, but after the bloody communist coup in Afghanistan and the invasion of the Soviet Army to the country, Khaled Hosseini's father was dismissed from the Embassy of Afghanistan in 1980. The Hosseini's family was granted political asylum in the United States of America and settled in city of San Jose, California.

Hosseini in 1984 graduated from high school and then enrolled at the University "Santa Clara". In 1988, took his bachelor's degree in the field of biology. The following year, he entered the Medical school of San Diego in California University (the University of California-San Diego's School of Medicine), where he took his medical degree in 1993. Between 1996 and 2004, he finished his internship in internal medicine at the hospital of "Cedars-Sinai" in Los Angeles.

Khaled Hosseini, in March 2001, while still studying internship, began writing his first novel, titled "The Kite Runner". The novel, which was published in 2003, won the world record for one of the bestselling books, and in the same year was recognized as the third best-selling book, and up to now it is published in 48 countries³, and so created a great success for Afghanistan literature in the international arena.

In 2006, the UN refugee agency (UNHCR) called him "goodwill ambassador", by this agency he had Journey into Afghanistan, and he decided to make a help center or an institution to help the Afghans. Thus, in 2007, to provide humanitarian assistance in Afghanistan, "Khaled Hosseini Foundation" founded. In the same year, the second novel by Khaled Hosseini, titled "A Thousand Splendid Sun" was published. Now, this novel has been published in 40 countries⁴. Khaled Hosseini is married and has two children (a boy and a girl named Haris and Farah) now he lives with his family in California.

1.2.Khaled Hosseini's Books

Khaled Hosseini has three successful books. Two of them, The Kite Runner and A Thousand Splendid Suns are in the New York Times bestseller list,⁵ and his recent book

³. Hamed Rashad, "Introduction of the kite runner", vista news hub, (2015), 3.

⁴. Ibid.

⁵. The New York Times Best Sellers-Authoritatively ranked lists of books sold in the United States, sorted by format and genre. www.nytimes.com/books/best-sellers/?_r=0

titled “And the mountains echoed” as well as two previous books have been welcomed. All three books have been published by several publications throughout the world.

1.2.1. The Kite Runner

The Kite Runner is Khaled Hosseini's first novel in English, although he says that in the past he had written stories in Farsi, This book includes two immigrants living in America, Amir and his father, as well as ethnic tensions between Pashtuns and Hazara. In December 2007, a film adaptation of this story with the same name was made⁶. Also there is a copy of this book by author's own voice for the audio book market.

The Kite Runner is introduced as one of the best novels about the contemporary history of Afghanistan. It is the first Afghan novel written in English. Isabel Allende wrote about this Book: "Wonderful work ... this is one of those unforgettable stories that stay with you for years."⁷ Also there are a lot of reviews and comments about this book, and the vast majority of them said that this book is wonderful.

1.2.1.1. Summary

The first character in October 2001 when he was in America began describing his life: In the late sixties, an originally Afghan family lived in Kabul; this family consists of a father and a son, mother died at the time of giving birth to their only son, Amir. In the big courtyard house, a hut had been made for housekeeper, Ali, where he lives with his son Hassan. Ali was a Hazara-Afghan, and at that time Hazaras were harassed by other Afghan ethnic groups, especially by Pashtuns.

Ali and Agha were childhood playmate, they grew up together, and their boys, Amir and Hassan cleft lip, who were born with a difference of a few months of each other, are like two brothers and grew up together .Ali’s father was a housekeeper who lived in this house for years.

Ali’s wife, Sanaubar, after giving birth to a boy with a cleft lip, was gone away with a group of dancers and singers and never returned, it was always the dismay of Ali and

⁶. The film made by Marc Forster in United States and won different awards.

⁷. Isabel is a Chilean-American writer. She is famous for novels such as “The house of the spirits” and “city of the Beasts.”

Hassan. Ali had suffered polio as a child's illness and by its effects his leg was paralyzed, and for the rest life, it was a huge burden for him. Also the muscles of his face were paralyzed, and he never could bring a smile to the lips. Hassan, the boy with a cleft lip, was courage, honest and kind boy; and Agha sahib always had good behavior with Ali and Hassan, he behaved Hassan like Amir.

Amir was not like his father, Agha sahib was strong and a brave man, but Amir seemed frail and this was always annoying him, Amir barely tolerated his father's heavy look, and always was suffering that his father knows him as a clumsy and weak boy, and maybe he knows Amir as killer of his wife. Amir loved writing and reading.

Amir and Hassan spent all their time together, archery, kite flying, playing cards and sometimes Amir, who was literate, read books to illiterate Hassan. Amir and Hassan were feeding by same nurse, Agha sahib always said that from same breast fed children are like brothers.

A kite flying contest was held every year in Afghanistan, and the last person who would overthrow all other kites, will take the last kite to home as a honor. In the winter of 1975, the night before the contest of kite flying, Agha Sahib said to Amir that it is good if he will win the contest tomorrow and Amir felt that tomorrow is a chance for him to show himself.

Tomorrow Amir begins kite flying contest with collaboration of Hassan, the contest continued until around sunset and Amir neither won the contest. When the last kite was overthrown Amir looked at his father and his old friend, Rahim Khan, which were sitting up on the roof, and proud of himself at last. Amir was pulling up his kite and yelled to Hassan to bring him down kite anyway, Hassan shouted with joy and smiling: you ask my life, and this was the last smile of Hassan that Amir saw.

Hassan was running after kite, and Amir was thinking about that night, that his father will finally honor. After a long time of going Hassan, Amir was concerned about him, followed him and started running in the streets of Kabul, he suddenly heard a voice from the bottom of the alleys, he looked Hassan is standing at the end of the alley, blue kite was on the hill behind him and three person had surrounded him, Assef and his friends...

Assef was a boy at class of boys like Amir, who hate Hazaras like many others, and believed that Hazaras have to go to Hazarajat, where they live, and should not be mixed with other Afghans. A few days before Kite flying contest, in street Assef was going to beat Amir, to do not play with a Hazara child (Hassan), but Hassan did not let Assef to beat Amir. Asif was also threatened him that this will cast for both of them. Now the end of the alley Assef was captured Hassan, he said to Hassan to give him the kite, but Hassan said the kite is belong to Amir and he will not give up. Amir secretly watched from behind the wall, Assef's friends kept Hassan and Assef raped him, blood fell on the snow and Amir turned head down to dusty street and went home.

Hassan brought the kite home and without saying word, he went to the cottage at the end of the yard and for days did not come out. Hassan was silent and it was a big punishment for Amir, Amir preferred that Hassan would scream at him or beat him, perhaps he will release from this fell of guilt, but Hassan said nothing.

Amir and his father had better relationship after the kite flying contest, but fraternal relations between Amir and Hassan was finished. Silence of Hassan, tormented Amir every day more than the day before, until one day Amir took his decision, this home was a place him or Hassan, the only way to return to the previous quiet life. Amir accused Hassan for theft his watch and Hassan accept the blame without any resistance. Agha sahib said that he forgives him but Ali and Hassan wanted to go. Amir for the first time saw his father cried, in the day that Hassan and Ali were left home, Ali and Hassan went to Hazarajat.

Following the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, Amir and his father were immigrated to Pakistan and from there to America. In years of living in America, Amir and his father had improved relations. Amir went to university and worked weekends with his father at the flea market. There by passed their expenditure and also had communicating with Afghans, who living in America, but during all these years, Amir always had his betray in past with himself.

Agha sahib was diagnosed with cancer, during the time that he was grappling with the death, he when to propose an Afghan girl for Amir, and Amir married Soraya before his

father's death. Amir and Soraya up to ten years after their wedding could not have children, and it was a big problem for them.

One day Rahim Khan called Amir and told him that he is in Pakistan, and wants to see Amir before his died. Before saying goodbye to Amir he said that there is still a way to back. Rahim Khan was a close friend of Amir's father and with his last sentence Amir knew, that Rahim Khan is aware of the events that had been happened between him and Hassan.

Amir quickly went to Pakistan and met Rahim Khan. Rahim Khan told him that Hassan had married with a Hazara daughter and they have a son called Sohrab. He said that years after they when out from Afghanistan, Rahim Khan find Hassan and brought him home and had lived together. Hassan had accepted the offer to protect the heritage of Amir and Agha sahib.

Rahim Khan said that the mother of Hassan, Sanaubar, which was the old woman, had gone to their homes, asked forgiveness from Hassan and Hassan forgave her, and Sanaubar up the end of her life, had lived with them. When Taliban came to Afghanistan, Hassan wanted to save the house, but Taliban killed him and his wife.

Rahim Khan wanted Amir to go to Afghanistan and bring Sohrab, who after the death of his father and mother were left in an orphanage in Afghanistan. In Pakistan there is an orphanage, where Rahim Khan knows its manager and they can leave Sohrab there. Amir told him that Afghanistan is dangerous now and he will not go there, then Rahim Khan told him another secret. He said that Ali had been married with another woman before Sanaubar, and they were unable to have children. Ali was sterile, in fact, Hassan was Amir's brother.

While Amir heard this, he felt his life was a big lie. Now he understands that his father's behavior with him was because of the differences between Amir and Hassan; Father was always tormented by this situation. When they lived with a lot of problems in America, father had this idea that now Amir and Hassan are in the same situation and this may reduce his suffer and could establish better relations with Amir.

Amir went to Afghanistan; which was in the hands of the Taliban. went to orphanage that Sohrab was in, and found that one of the Taliban occasionally comes to the orphanage, in return of paying money to the orphanage's manager, takes one of the children with him, and the manager cannot do anything, because they need money for feeding the children. Last time the man has taken Sohrab.

Amir found the man, had a meeting with him and realized that he is the same guy Assef. Assef forced Sohrab to wear girls' clothes and dance; the boy was embarrassed and obeys him. Amir had beaten a lot by Assef then Sohrab threatened Assef, if he does not leave Amir, he will shot to Assef's eyes by a bow in his hand, and did it, and Amir escaped with Sohrab.

They went to Pakistan, where Amir realized that there was no orphanage and Rahim Khan went away without saying anything. Amir promised to Sohrab that never leave him alone, Amir wanted to find a way to take Sohrab to America. Sohrab had dreams in mind to go to America, maybe bring new life or a quiet life like the past.

The lawyer said to Amir he needs to put Sohrab in an orphanage in Pakistan for some days, and he should go to America to solve the problems about Sohrab's emigration. That night Amir shared this with Sohrab and Sohrab began to cry and so crying up to went to sleep. Amir also slept and woke up in the middle of the night with the sound of the phone and heard Soraya's voice on the other side, Soraya told him that she solved the problem of emigration and he can take Sohrab to America. Amir was happy to hear the news, and when he saw Sohrab empty bed thought that Sohrab is at the bathroom like every night. Since Sohrab run away from Assef's hand, every night washes his body in the bathroom for hours, he thinks that he can clean his spirit with water.

Amir went to the bathroom's door and shouted the good news, but when no voice came out of the bathroom he broke the door and saw that Sohrab cut his hand and covered with blood in the tub. Took Sohrab to the hospital, and he barely survived it. A few days later they went to America, but Sohrab did not speak to anybody long time, until one day something happened. In celebration of Afghans at one of the parks in America, Amir bought a kite and started flying his kite. He noticed that Sohrab is

interested in kite and tried to show his best playing with the kite, like the work that had done on the last day of his friendship with Hassan. Amir overthrew the last kite, Sohrab was happy and Amir asked him, do you want me to bring the down kite for you? And Sohrab after a period of time of silence spoke and said yes. Amir started to run and shouted: you ask my live...

1.2.1.2. About “The Kite Runner”

The Kite runner is a symbol of freedom and unity of Afghans, the novel is finished by love and friendship, which shows that as long as the Afghans do not have unity, happiness does not come. They have to help each other's, like in the story we can see that in different situation by unity they became successful, as in part that Amir's father helped the man in the truck and stand against Russian soldier.⁸ The kite can be a symbol of traditionalism, at the end of the novel, when Afghans returning to their traditions, relations are resumed.

Khaled Hosseini offers an overview of Afghanistan's social conditions in this book. Class distinction is well-illustrated; Hassan is like a brother with his friend Amir, but still calls him Sir Amir.⁹

Afghan people's misery and displacement after the Soviet invasion is described well in this book. Also writer expressed living conditions in Afghanistan after the rise of the Taliban and he portrays beautifully and accurately their oppression.¹⁰ The author of the novel has spoken a lot about racism, destruction, war, relationships and compassion. Also in this book women are keeping on the sidelines, it is expressing the conditions and status of women in Afghan society in that time.

Author also showed some customs of Afghans throughout the book, and also traditions plays, like Buzkashi tournaments¹¹, marriage customs ceremony and ...

⁸. Khaled Hosseini, *The Kite Runner*, (London: Bloomsbury, 2003), 108.

⁹. Zainub Nowruzi, “Sociological analysis of the characters in the tike runner novel”, *Text literary studies*, (2013), 144-173.

¹⁰. Mahsa Rezaee, “History in the “the kite runner” novel”, (Tabiyani press, 2011), 3.

¹¹. Buzkashi is a traditional play in Afghanistan, the players are in two teams, and they ride horses, and should pick up the goat and take it to exact place.

Several times, when author finds an opportunity talked about religion and religious actions, Amir's father, deemed to be an atheist person and have two-dimensional character, from one side the betrayal of his friend, on the other side help the poor people, built an orphanage and many other positive things. So in this character, Hosseini had not showed atheist completely negative or completely positive.¹² In the section that depicts the Taliban, also tries to show how they use name of religion, and pulled people to destruction.

1.2.2. A Thousand Splendid Suns

“A Thousand Splendid Suns” is Khaled Hosseini’s second novel. Unlike the Kite Runner, which was a story about fathers and boys, this book is about women and girls. It is about the story of several Afghan women during the Soviet occupation and Taliban rule in Afghanistan.

1.2.2.1. Summary

Jalil is a rich man that lives in Herat; he has three women and nine children. He is owner of a cinema, carpet and clothing store. Three housekeeping women are working in his house. Jalil slept with one of these women and she becomes pregnant. After exposure of the case, Jalil claims that woman has forced upon him. Her father after hearing that disowned his daughter and abandoned his house and goes to Iran, and after that no one did see him. Woman cannot stay at Jalil’s home and tolerance the humiliations; Jalil bought a small house outside of town for her. Woman had given birth her daughter lonely and named her Mariam. Mariam lives up to the age of fifteen with her mother in this house.

From an early age Mariam regularly hears that she is a harami child (illegitimate), she did not know the meaning of this word, but knows must have meant bed. Jalil regularly goes to them once a week and support them financially. Apart from Jalil, Mullah Faizullah also sometimes comes home and guides them in terms of their religious. Mariam does not have the luxury of going to school. She always wishes to see Jalil’s house in Herat, and one day went to Herat by foot, found Jalil’s home, but they did not

¹². “Religion in the “the kite runner” book”, Scipost online newspaper, code: 16375, (June.11.2013).

let her into the house. She sleeps through the night outside of Jalil's house, and in morning her father's driver returns her to her mother, when she arrives home, she found that her mother suicide by hanging from a tree.

After the death of her mother Mariam went to Jalil's home, and stayed there, but Jalil's women decided give her away. They forced Mariam to marry with a man named Rasheed, a shoemaker in Kabul.

Rasheed lost his wife ten years ago at the time of delivery and his son drowned in a lake. Mariam married very simple, leaves town with her husband, Rasheed, and went to Kabul. Earlier Rasheed seems well-mannered and kind man, he had bought her everything. Rasheed was very traditional man, separate bedroom and literally patriarchy.

Mariam became pregnant but cause of overwork lost her baby. She had five pregnancies again and her child fell every time. Rasheed behaved very bad and sometimes beat her a lot. In the neighborhood of Rasheed and Mariam, Mr. Hakim, who is a school teacher lives with his wife Fariba and his sons Ahmad and Noor. Mr. Teacher is an intellectual man, Rasheed does not like them. Fariba is unveiled, and it does not mean good to Rasheed and he forced Mariam to wear the veil.

In 1978, Mir Akbar who was a prominent communist murdered, so it was begin of protests, because they blamed Daoud Khan's Government in murder. Daoud Khan's regime defeated. Communists executed Daoud khan and his relatives. In the time Fariba, Rasheed neighbor's wife, born very beautiful girl named Laila, who would later play an important role in the life of Mariam.

Mr. Hakim and his wife Fariba are cousin and native of the Panjshir¹³, When Laila reaches the age of nine, her brothers Ahmed and Noor were on the frontline of war. Fariba is far away from her sons and had depression with anger.

Laila, the beautiful daughter of Fariba, had a close friend, a boy named Tariq. Tariq had lost his leg because of mine (bomb). Giti and Hasina were Laila's nearly two

¹³. Panjshir is the Farsi-speaking Tajiks place, almost hundred kilometers far from Kabul in the north. Ahmad shah Masoud was leader of Panjshir in time of Taliban; it was the only city that Taliban could not control it.

classmates. Tariq's father was a carpenter. Tariq's Parents are Pashtun and when Laila is with them, speaks Persian language. Laila's father said that tensions between Pashtuns and Tajiks have been for years, Ethnic and linguistic differences do not make Laila away from Tariq and his family.

Noor and Ahmed, Mr. Teacher and Fariba's sons, were killed in war. Fariba went to a deeper depression, and this sadness also hurt others. Laila's father once took Laila and Tariq to a day trip, they had very fun. Mr. Hakim said to her daughter Laila, that he loves to go to America, where they can live peacefully, but knows that the Laila's mother thinks to the testimony of his sons in Afghanistan and do not want to leave Afghanistan.

In 1988, a treaty is signed in Geneva, and Soviet forces went out from Afghanistan. President Najibullah, who people called him "Soviet regime representative", remained in Afghanistan. Najibullah had been trying to show himself and his government as good Muslims, but Mujahidin members did not accept him and eventually forced him to surrender. Laila's mother became very happy for rise of the mujahidin and gave a big party. Rabbani became President, other political parties protest and did not accept it.

In the same year war began between the Pashtuns and Hazara, the streets were unsafe. Tariq is older now and he takes care of Laila. Laila could not go to school, His father taught him personally. Giti, Laila's friend, who decided to marry with Saber, killed in the bombing.

Tariq decided to go to Pakistan with his parents, before his departure, he had sex with Laila. Tariq purpose her, but Laila did not accept him, because she felt that she cannot go away from her parents. After Tariq, Laila realizes that she is pregnant. Due to the bad situation, Laila and her parents decided to go to Pakistan, but before their departure, aerial bomb killed Laila's father and mother, Laila was alive and Rasheed brought her out from under the rubbles.

Mariam took care of Laila. Rasheed sent his friend Abdul-Sharif, and inform Laila that, Tariq death in the hospital, Laila did not know for a long time, which this was a conspiracy. Rasheed used the opportunity and asked Laila to marry him; Laila was

pregnant, and accept it to marry. Mariam had bad behavior with Laila, but gradually they become friends. Laila gave birth to a girl named Aziza and a boy named Zalmay. Rasheed did not have much interest in girls, but always had entertaining with his son. He was skeptical that Aziza is not his daughter. Mariam and Laila once attempted to escape, but their actions remain unsuccessful and both had been hit hard again by Rasheed.

In 1996, the Taliban came to power and imposed draconian laws. Rasheed changes his behavior with any government that comes to power and acts like them. Rasheed's shop suddenly burned. Rasheed orders Laila to send Aziza to the orphanage and Laila obey by forced. In the orphanage, Aziza food situation was far better than home. Rasheed worked at the restaurant, but they fired him for bad behavior. He bought a television but pressure of Taliban increases, and had to bury it in the yard. People were very interested for watching movies, especially Titanic movie.

Laila with Mariam, Rasheed and Zalmay regularly went to see Aziza but then because of the age excuse Rasheed refused to went and met Aziza. Mariam stayed at home to protect Zalmay. Laila repeatedly went alone to see Aziza, sometimes became successful to visit her and sometimes had been beaten by Taliban, Under Taliban rule women were not allowed to went out of the house without a relative male. Manager of the orphanage, Kaka Zaman had been teaching children secretly, God knows if the Taliban understand what they will doing with him

Tariq came to visit Laila, that's where Laila found out about the death of Tariq, which was a lie from Rasheed. Tariq defined that he lost his father due to aging and disease, Someone gave him coat to take to Lahore and will gave him good money, but on the way police caught him because they put some marijuana in coat. He went to prison and his mother stayed in the camp. He was captured years in prison and his mother died in that time. After the death of his mother he came out of prison and went to Pakistan, because one of his friends told him that his brother Saeed is in Pakistan and will give him a good job in his hotel, and now Tariq works there. Zalmay son of Laila told Rasheed about the visit of Tariq and her mother, severe clashes between Laila and Rasheed occurred; Rasheed was going to kill Laila. Mariam used opportunity and hit with a shovel on the head, and the impact caused death of Rasheed.

When Laila told Tariq that Aziza is his daughter, and now lives in an orphanage, Tariq was going to meet his daughter. Mariam, after murder of Rasheed introduced herself to the authorities; they put her in prison and then shot her. Laila and Tariq with Zalmay and Aziza went to Pakistan. Tariq lived and worked in the hotel. Saeed helped them a lot, they lived quiet and peaceful. It was hard to Zalmay to accept Tariq as his father, but finally he accepts. After the defeat of the Taliban, they returned to Afghanistan to serve their people.

Laila went to Mariam birthplace in Herat, and saw her house. Hamza son of Mullah Faizullah gave a can to Laila and said it is for Mariam from Jalil. There was a tape video of Pinocchio, which Mariam always liked to see, amount of dollar and a letter. Jalil had been written that during the time he lost a woman, a daughter and a son, and he knows that God has punished him. He asked forgiveness and wanted to visit Mariam.

At the end of the story, Laila was pregnant another child, While she was teaching reading and writing to Afghans children.

1.2.2.2. About the “A Thousand Splendid Suns”

I can say that “A Thousand Splendid Suns” is Khaled Hosseini’s best book up to now, because in this book he took a huge step forward than his first novel “The Kite Runner”. As mentioned in the biography of Khaled Hosseini that he was born in a rich family, and had watched atrocities of the Taliban only from far away, he was not in the Afghanistan in time of war or Taliban. So writing the “A Thousand Splendid Suns” with all these details and elegance is an appreciable work for son of a diplomat, who is living in America since he was fifteen years old. “The kite runner” is perfect, but “A Thousand Splendid Suns” is more than that, because it is containing a lot of details, which was ignored in the first novel.

"A Thousand Splendid Suns" has been formed on the basis of wife and mother, and it is a narrative of those craven men, who do not understand the truth, do not understand the mean of mother or woman. Polygamy, sin, sex, birth, bastard, pain, virginity, chastity, blood, joy, and love which showed in different parts of the story. From the

moment that "Nana" became victim of Jalil's lust and born "Mariam",¹⁴ up to the rise of the Taliban, who banned love, and acted like Sex and joy, love, and "woman" had no part in life, it looks they were born from stones.¹⁵

In the first novel, the author talked about culture and tradition of Afghanistan people, also discussed about religion and their religious thoughts, but in this novel "A Thousand Splendid Suns" had more try to show out the heritage of Afghanistan at that time, Like the Buddha's statues and things that were existed in Afghanistan like cinema that plays a large role in the whole story. Also in the case of a different opinion about the ethnicity has been discussed in some part of the story, shows that the issue of ethnicity as much as highlighted in the first book is not public, and among educated people, like Laila's father in the story, ethnicity is not important.

Laila's father, who is an academic person, and is always studying in his own big library, once took Laila and Tariq to watch the massive statues of "Buddha". Author tries to introduce Buddha statues to the audience, and make a background of this statue, its grandeur and history, until the final part when he said about destruction of Buddhas by Taliban; audience can understand the magnitude of the tragedy.¹⁶

"Come on, you two, babi said. "Come and have a look." They got out of taxi. Babi pointed "There they are, look." Tariq gasped, Laila did too, and she knew then that she could live to be a hundred and she would never again see a thing as magnificent. The two Buddhas were enormous, soaring much higher than she had imagined from all the photos she'd seen of them..." "Hosseini, 2007, 81"

End of the story is like "The Kite Runner", it shows a peaceful Afghanistan that everyone wants to help to rebuilt it, also it means that America's invasion of Afghanistan in spite of all its problems, finally tasted peace to the Afghan people, and the entire world noticed that Afghanistan needs help.

¹⁴. Khaled Hosseini, *A Thousand Splendid Suns*, (New York: penguin group, 2007), 10.

¹⁵. Ali Muslihi, "A review of "A Thousand Splendid Suns" book", *Nabisht literary Magazine*, (April.26.2015), 3-7.

¹⁶. *Ibid*.

2. FIRST REPUBLIC

In the “the kite runner” book the first political issue that Hosseini mentioned is Zahir Shah’s forty years reign in Afghanistan that began in 1933 up to 1973.¹⁷ I want to discuss a little about Zahir shah and these forty years, and after that I will write about Daoud Khan from 1973-1978.

2.1. Zahir Shah 1933 until 1978

Mohammad Zahir Shah son of Mohammad Nadir was born in 1914 in Kabul; in early childhood he went to France, where he acquired his primary and secondary education. When Muhammad Nadir Shah became king in Kabul, Afghanistan, asked Prince Mohammad to return, and he returned to Kabul in 1930.

A year later, he married with Commander Ahmad Shah Khan’s daughter, Humaira, who was Zahir shah’s cousin. And then he enrolled to the Military Academy, which he finished urgently and next year determined as Deputy Minister of War. Mohammad Nadir Shah, allowed him not only in the military profession, but also has taken him to education issues, and once was Deputy Minister of Education¹⁸.

Mohammad Nadir Khan was killed by Abdul Khaliq, who was a student of Nijat high school, and Mohammad Zahir nineteen year-old son of Mohammad Nadir Khan announced as the new king, and from the foremost Mahmoud Khan as his uncle and defense Minister announced his allegiance to him. Although in recent decades the reign of Mohammad Zahir Shah constitution was enacted and enforced, political activities, freedom of the press, freedom of election was somewhat favorable, and had seemed like a democratic government. But from the beginning, the basic purpose of constitution

¹⁷. Hosseini, 2003, 23.

¹⁸. Mohammed Ibrahim Atai, A brief look at the recent history of Afghanistan, Translate: Jamil Rahman Kamgar (Kabul: Maiwand Publishing, 2010), 312 -314.

enforcement was anti-democratic tendencies. Limited freedoms which had been raised in the constitution and laws were completely locked in, and no one could use it. The development and enforcement of the parties' law, municipalities' law had not enacted, and communities' activities had not been free, the government always had made problems for them. Workers, students and intellectuals' peaceful protests, including democratic Movement of 24 October 1966, were violently suppressed. Freedom of the press, speech and writing, especially the independent press had been attacked.¹⁹

2.1.1. Political and Social Situation

After the accession of King Zahir Shah, Mohammad Hashim Khan still remained in the prime ministry. He was a strict and intelligent man. Gradually, political power was monopolized in his hand. His brother (Shah Mahmoud Khan) was in charge of the war Ministry, and another brother (Shah Wali Khan), was the Plenipotentiary Minister of Afghanistan in London and then in Paris. Shah Wali Khan occasionally came to Kabul during abroad trips of Mohammad Hashim Khan, and on behalf of Prime Minister performed duties.²⁰

2.1.1.1. Domestic Policy

Mohammad Hashim Khan during the reign of Mohammad Nadir Khan also served as prime minister. Thus, during the reign of Mohammad Zahir Shah in foreign and domestic policy did not change. As complex social-political situation in the country remained, and as the rule of Mohammed Nadir Shah, Amanullah Khan's fans went to the tribes for advertising, and the government because of fear from riots, began to disarm the tribes' military units. In the first turn Hazara districts were practical disarmament, followed by Tajiks were disarmed. This action of Zahir Khan regime was not very successful in Hazara districts. As Khaled Hosseini mentioned about the problems between Pashtuns and Hazaras in different pages:

“Never mind any of these things. Because history isn't easy to overcome. Neither is religion. In the end, I was a Pashtun and he was a Hazara, I was Sunni and he was Shi'a, and nothing was ever going to change that, nothing.” “Hosseini, 2003, 24”

¹⁹. Dastagir Panjshiri, The rise and decline of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, (Peshawar: Fazl bookstore, 1998), 138-141.

²⁰. Ghulam Mohammad Qubar, Afghanistan, in the course of history, (Tehran: Print Republic, 2001), 157.

In this part Hossieni wan to show the big gap between the Afghan people, they made it too big as he said it not easy to overcome. Difference of religion and tribes is insuperable problem. And it is correct for Afghan society; even now in most part of Afghanistan we have this problem.

Government had put all intellectual Afghan's leaders, many of the exile, or hermit and each one of them in the capital or provinces were placed under police surveillance. By this policy, the government had been stopped national campaign for nearly fifteen years. During this time, no one could travel abroad freely. Intellectuals inside the country were not able to go from one province to another. All communications inside and outside the country of these people, were opened in the post office. Five intellectuals could not come together at the party or meeting. No one could talk about the foreign and domestic policy in a party of meeting. The person, who said the words of nationality and national patriotism, progress and progressiveness, was considered as crazy, and talking about British colonial policy, freedom or equality was considered as a "religious betrayal and national crime".²¹

2.1.1.2. Foreign Policy

Prime Minister Mohammad Hashim Khan resorted to unilateral policy of friendship and reliance on foreign policy with the British government, and a positive sense dictates and advice of that government. For this reason, had been avoided from consolidation of relations with the Soviet Union, and the contract Helmand River (1938) was made between Iran and Afghanistan²², because Mohammad Hashim Khan wanted a government without the external conflict, and easily he could suppress the internal liberals and intellectuals.

Afghan's government acquired membership of the League of Nations in 1934. In 1935, Also In 1936, a neutrality treaty with the Soviet Union was renewed. In the same year (1936) Treaty of Amity was signed in Kabul between Afghanistan and the US

²¹. Mary Louise Clifford, *The land and people of Afghanistan*, Translate: M. Assadi, (Tehran: Cultural and Scientific Publications, 1989), 181-213.

²². On 29 December 1938 a contract in 16 Article, signed by the Iranian ambassador in Kabul, and Afghan Foreign Minister. In declaration Afghanistan had committed, which will not do any action that results in reduced or stop water in Helmand River.

embassy in Iran, and Afghan's oil concession was given for 75 years to a US company. (Company had left after some preliminary operations in 1939 due to the approaching danger of Global War II.) In the 1937 Mohammad Hashim Khan signed non-aggression pact (Saad Abad) with the Republic of Turkey, Iraq and Iranian government in the Iran. This was aimed to strengthen Islamic states along the southern borders of the Soviet Union²³. Also mutual recognition and friendship treaties were signed with the Brazil's government in 1933, in 1934 with Hungary, in 1937 with Czech and Slovakia, and in 1939 with Netherlands.

With the rise of the Shah Mahmoud Khan, the ruler's family policy was based on the British government and avoiding from the Soviet Union, but after World War II, international policy issues changed in all over the world, domestic and foreign policies of Afghanistan also had to be changed. A new government policy under the mask of neutrality began. At the beginning of World War II, the king of Afghanistan, Mohammad Zahir Shah proclaimed neutrality. In October 1941 a similar decision was taken by the national Summit²⁴. At the same time the development of further relations with the United States and the Soviet Union was considered²⁵, because the Soviet Union and the United States took place of British Empire after World War II in the international arena. Afghanistan in November 1946 became a member of the United Nations.

2.1.2. Causes of the Decline of Zahir Shah

Forty-year-old kingdom of Mohammed Zahir Shah (10 November 1933 to 17 July in 1973) was the longest period of Afghan history in the 20th century, when a new generation came into existence, and under certain circumstances has been living. The generation that, many of them are still alive. They had been felt Mohammed Zahir Shah various aspects of governance, and each one of them, according to certain social status, their political and economic perceptions has their judgments about it.

²³. Atai, 2010, 317.

²⁴. V. Osipuf, "Neutrality on Afghanistan", translate: Aziz Ariafar, (2010), <http://www.khorasanzameen.net/php/read.php?id=369>

²⁵. Atai, 2010, 330- 334.

Khaled Hosseini in his book (*A Thousand Splendid Suns*) mentioned about Zahir Shah's forty-year reign, and said it was without incident.

“... Spring of 1959, she said, the twenty-sixth year of king Zahir shah's mostly uneventful forty year- region.” “Hosseini, 2007, 10”

Many had been considered reign of Mohammad Zahir Shah, the most golden period in the history of the past two hundred years of Afghanistan. Security is one of the prominent characteristics, which consider during the forty-year reign of Mohammad Zahir Shah in the country²⁶. But some people and writers like Mokhtar Pedram (Afghan journalist) know Mohammad Zahir spending time as 40 years of neglect²⁷. He also said, democracy which said it left from the time of Zahir Shah, is not right, the basis of democracy was laid during Amanullah Khan (1919-1928).

As was noted in past discussions, after the accession of King Zahir Shah to the throne, his uncle knew that Mohammad Zahir cannot be a good king, because he was a boy, and if they gave him all power, it will be a big mistake that will have serious consequences for the future of the monarchy, so Mohammad Hashim Khan was the person who took domestic and foreign policy decisions, and Mohammad Zahir Shah just was a named king.

At the end of Shah Mohammad Hashim's chancellery, Zahir shah ensured that he can lead the country himself. Deliberately took government and began a series of changes, Faired Mohammad Hashim Khan from chancellery, and to gain the trust of the community, hire Shah Mahmoud Khan (his other uncle) to chancellery, with the new plans and new policy.

In this period, government control over all its territory and people had to accept orders, decrees, and decisions without hesitation and reflection. In rural areas, low numbers of literacy were there, and media devices such as news, magazine and book

²⁶. Aser Dowlatshahi, “Zahir Shah common wall that collapsed, New ideas- Journal of Afghan Cultural Association in Canada”, Issue 47, (2005), 4.

²⁷. Mokhtar Oedram, “Zahir Shah's era, the golden age or time lost, New ideas- Journal of Afghan Cultural Association in Canada”, Issue 47, (2005), 5.

were not existed. Also in the same time, health conditions and malnutrition in every season of the year, deprived many people from life.

Spread unemployment was another problem that engulfed the town and country, and setting, young people were forced to seek work in other countries, like Pakistan, Iran and the Arabic countries. In some cities of Afghanistan, some people went to the streets and to beg or to steal and theft, murder, and so the issues. In such society, Muhammad Zahir instead of took his responsibility, was indifferent and spend people's money inside and outside of country for his happiness.

Mohammad Zahir Shah in recent years of his reign became tired of conflict within the royal family, especially Daoud Khan. Zahir shah tried to take power from him day by day. In 1963, after ten years, which Mohammad Daoud Khan was prime minister resigned. And it was a chance for king to rule the country alone and took all power in his hand, and created a constitutional system in the country. Now the question is this: what was purpose of King Zahir for make Mohammad Daoud to resign?

Mir Mohammad Sediq Farhang, professor of Bochum's University in Germany and previously head officer of King Mohammad Zahir's office in Rome said:

"Because in the last two years of Mohammed Daoud's chancellery Afghanistan's trade and transit routes were closed, and this was a result of the bad political relations between Afghanistan and Pakistan. All economic projects and economic and social development of the country was faced with a complete standstill, and day-to-day dependence on the Soviet Union increased. At this stage, the country must be out of this impasse, and a new alternative should be given instead of Daoud khan's governance in Afghanistan. So the king of Afghanistan by bringing the Constitution, in fact wanted to achieve two major objectives, on the one hand bring new alternatives for dictatorial power, which was constitutional order and democracy and it was demand of the younger generation and in other hand, took all power from Daoud khan and became more powerful"²⁸.

²⁸. Zahir Tanin, Afghanistan in the twentieth century, (Tehran: Ibrahim Shariati, 2005), 140-142.

Mohammad Zahir Shah's thought was to rule in Afghanistan up to the end of his life. But eventually people realized that the king is indifferent, and does not think about the suffering of people. While the Afghans felt and saw that the public psyche cannot accept all these suffers, and follow one tends toward a better life. Other countries were achieving a new world day by day, and going toward the uncertain development, they demand from their authorities, which make better situations for them, otherwise it shirk their political responsibility. These were all issues that Afghans could not remain ineffective, and increased their willingness to make leaders to take their responsibility.

Seeds of ideology in the minds were fertilized, and quickly proliferated. On the one hand strengthen the wave of hatred against the ruling regime, and on other hand, causes a certain contradiction between the policies of independent intellectual circles in the society. This was cause of all those problems that began after Zahir shah, and still these problems are in Afghanistan²⁹. It means that if Zahir shah were a better king in his Forty years region, Now Afghanistan maybe be a better place.

2.1.3. Zahir Shah's Death

In 1973, Mohammed Daoud Khan, cousin of the king of Afghanistan, apparently in opposition to the policy of the king and in favor of the West, started a coup against him. From that year until the toppling of the Taliban regime in Afghanistan, Mohammad Zahir was staying outside of Afghanistan in Italy.

In April 2002, he returned to Afghanistan and was witness of establishing new regime in the country with national Summit. Mohammad Zahir, until his death resided in Kabul. In 23 July 2007 Afghan officials announced Zahir shah's death. Humaira Begum, wife of Muhammad Zahir shah died in 2002 and, while want to join with her husband in Afghanistan.

2.2. Daoud Khan 1973-1978

Sardar Mohammad Daoud Khan was son of Sardar Mohammad Aziz Khan. He was born in 1909 in Kabul. After finished school in Amaniye High school, completed his

²⁹. Aminullah Drih, Afghanistan in the twentieth century, (Peshawar: Danish plication, 2000), 519-534.

higher education in France and finished higher military education in the officers' course³⁰.

When Muhammad Aziz Khan had killed in Germany, Daoud Khan was 23 years old, after the end of his military education and became general, he entered into politics, and his first government position was a military occupation in southern of Afghanistan. After several years of activity in different areas of the system that was passed in different cities of Afghanistan, was appointed as the Minister of Interior and Minister of Defense. When Shah Mahmoud Khan became Prime Minister, Daoud Khan had problems with him, left Afghanistan and went to London with his brother, and became the ambassador in the United Kingdom.³¹

Daoud Khan's sabotage during Mahmoud Khan Chancellery, droughts and inability of chancellor to curb problems, forced Zahir Shah to appoint Daoud Khan as Chancellor. From 1953 to 1963 worked as Prime Minister in the country. In this period, fundamental reforms such as the women's movement, construction of highways and the establishment of a large number of factories established³².

In 1963 Daoud Khan resigned and "Mohammad Yousuf" Instead of him became prime minister. Followed by the monarchy changed to constitutional monarchy and all members of the royal family were barred from holding top government posts.

Most of all, Daoud Khan was frustrated by the change of regime, because with this change, he failed to obtain any position in the government. But its retreat, led him to think about power again. Daoud Khan at the same time, which called as the decade of democracy, has traveled to different cities and provinces of Afghanistan, and examined political and social situation in Afghanistan closely. In those years, the frequency of Marxist ideas had spread in many countries, and most intellectuals had showed interest to this ideology. Leftist groups in Afghanistan were influenced by Marxist ideas and the

³⁰. Ghausaldin Fayiq, A secret that I did not want disclosed, (Peshawar: Fazl Bookstore, 2000), 145.

³¹. Abuzar Pirzada Ghaznavi, the political history of modern Afghanistan, coup of 17 July and the Republic of Daoud Khan, (Tehran: Hirfan publication, 2013), 458.

³². M. Asem Akram, A look at the personalities, ideas and policies of Daoud Khan, (Kabul: Mizan publication, 2001), 113-127.

Soviet government, had been infiltrated in various institutions, especially universities and army gradually, and was given important posts.

After the ouster of Mohammad Daoud Khan from Prime ministry, he was waiting for an opportunity, to take his revenge from his cousin Zahir Shah. In July 1973 by resorting to cold military coup, was deposed his cousin Zahir Shah, and established Republic system. He is Founder of the Republic of Afghanistan and first President from 1973 to 1978.

In the “The Kite Runner” novel as Khalid Hosseini said:

“... As I turned out, they hadn’t shot much of anything that night of July 1, 1973. Kabul awoke the next morning to find that monarchy was a thing of the past. The king, Zahir shah, was away in Italy. In his absence, his cousin Daoud khan had ended the king’s forty-year reign with a bloodless coup.” “Hosseini, 2003, 34”

In the “A Thousand Splendid Suns” book also this issue is the same:

“ He was the one who told her in the summer 1973, when Mariam was fourteen, that king Zahir shah, who had ruled from Kabul for forty years, had been overthrown in a bloodless coup. His cousin Daoud khan did it while the king was in Italy getting medical treatment. His cousin Daoud khan did it while the king was in Italy getting medical treatment. You remember Daoud khan, right? I told you about him. He was prime minister in Kabul when you were born. Anyway, Afghanistan is no longer a monarchy, Mariam. You see, its republic now, and Daoud khan is the president. There are rumors that the socialists in Kabul helped him take power. Not that he’s a socialist himself, mind you, but that they helped him. That’s the rumor anyway.” “Hosseini, 2007, 21- 22”

Daoud khan initially was a leftist (left-wing) and a strong nationalist; hence with the Democratic Party, especially flag branch was too close, and has used them in victory coup. After the victory, best posts were given to this party. In the last year of region, he had problems with Moscow and leftist, and even sought to destroy them. This decision led Democratic Party to make 1978 coup, and in the same year he and his family members killed and started the black period of Afghanistan’s history. As Hosseini said:

“... none of us had any notion that a way of life had ended. Our way of life. If not yet, then at least it was the beginning of the end. The end, the official end, would come first in April 1978 with communist coup...” “Hosseini, 2003, 34”

Sardar Daoud Khan was one of those persons, which in life never satisfied to be in second position, and prefer to be the first person in the village, instead of the second person in the country. Some evidences shows that, in his chancellery time, and even before that he want to become King of country.³³ At the end of the reign of Zahir Shah in Afghanistan, there was a dramatic democracy. Daoud Khan was always against of that, and criticized it. Finally Sardar Mohammad Daoud achieved his old wish and brought new democracy and ended the (demonstrative democracy), which it was for notoriety of democracy in Afghanistan. But it did not matter, because he announced Republic government with top power, and had begun former violence and tyranny once again³⁴. I think Mr. Mir Mohammad Qubar mentioned this, because Daoud Khan took all power, he became president and prime minister, defense minister and foreign minister in the same time. Some writers, such as Mohammed Nazir believe that Daoud Khan in the time of Prime Minister was different from Daoud Khan in the time of President. He lost his popularity among the people, his revenge had changed him³⁵. It seems that the author means, revenge of those ten years, that Daoud Khan was far away from power.

2.2.1. The Coup

17.07.1973 Radio Afghanistan started its broadcasts as usual, but unlike other days, in this day the radio was playing military music. After a few moments it was announced that: "Dear compatriots take your attention to the statement of Mohammad Daoud Khan, Afghanistan's son." Mohammad Daoud began its statement with Greetings Dear brothers and sisters, and with the announcement of fall of the monarchy. He reminded in his statement about the problems of royal regime, and promised to reform and progress in various fields. Also he congratulated Republic regime to the Afghan's people. He said in this coup apparently no one was killed but one person, so coup leaders was called this coup as "White Revolution".

³³ Mohammad Sediq Farhang, *Afghanistan in the last five centuries*, (Tehran: Erfan Publications, 2001), 792.

³⁴ Qubar, 2010, V2, 271.

³⁵. Mohammed Nazir Saraj, *Twenty centuries in Afghanistan*, Second Edition, (Kabul: Maiwand Publishing, 2005), 70.

As previously mentioned, Khaled Hosseini in his both novel (*The Kite Runner*) and (*A Thousand Splendid Suns*), called this coup as a bloodless coup:

... The king, Zahir shah, was away in Italy. In his absence, his cousin Daoud khan had ended the king's forty-year reign with a bloodless coup." "Hosseini, 2003, 34"

Also in other one:

"... That king Zahir shah, who had ruled from Kabul for forty years, had been overthrown in a bloodless coup..." "Hosseini, 2007, 21"

I want to investigate this event, by different political and historical books. Want to find out what were the reasons of this coup? How was done? Did it bloodless coup or not? And also what were the results of this coup?

2.2.1.1. How Daoud Khan Did the Coup?

A few days before the 17th of July 1973 Zahir Shah went to Europe for his eye operation, and this was an opportunity for Daoud khan and other stakeholders of coup, to implement their plans. As "Mohammad Hassan Sharq" Prime Minister in the time of Daoud khan quoted in his memoirs: "Mohammad Daoud said that will not do the coup in the absence of King, because it's not a sensible move, but the next day, Haidar Khan Rasoul and Mohammad Sarwar Nuristani came to me and said: that if Mohammed Daoud will not cooperate with us, we will proceed without him, but you're forced to be with us."³⁶

Finally Mohammad Daoud in the first hours of morning in 17 July of 1973, while the majority of high-ranking political and military officials were at the Iraqi Embassy dinner party in Kabul, and some of them were invited at the America's ambassador in Kabul, and the king himself had spent time in Europe, made the coup plan into action³⁷.

Coup was planned bloodless, and all members of the royal family had been arrested. Also it was ordered by the coup leaders, if any resistance happened, they have permission to kill. Daoud khan commanded coup from his house. Coup happened

³⁶. M. Hassan Sharq, *Coating the canvas bare feet*, (Peshawar: Saba publication, 1991), 107.

³⁷. Pirzada Ghaznavi, 2013, 49.

according to plan successfully, and within a few hours, all members of the government and the royal family and high-ranking military officials arrested without any resistance. And the coup's forces were deployed to 6am in all the Kabul.

2.2.1.2. Coup's Reasons

Mohammad Daoud in the first radio declaration, about the Coup's reasons and his decision to replace the government by military coup, explained: "Ten years ago, for the welfare of my country's future, I did not had any other way but to establish true and a reasonable democracy, that it based on serving the majority of Afghan people... but the result was bad, and destroyed old hopes and wishes with a sham democracy, which fromed from the beginning of its foundation on fraud and lies and hypocrisy. In short, democracy is rule by the people and constitutional monarchy; but that was an absolute monarchy regime."³⁸ This means, which Daoud said, his reason was to establish real democracy.

Muhammad Daoud once again about the coup's cause said: "Dear brothers! Why was the revolution in our country? Of course, nothing is without a cause, and not without reason. And its reasons are specified to each individual Afghans; those reasons are the corruption and social injustice and other disasters."³⁹ In addition, Daoud had called his regime "true spirit of Islam".

But from the perspective of the authors and historians the following reasons can be considered:

The first reason was Daoud Khan's power interest. Some symptoms were which shows Daoud khan on the time of his chancellery and even before that had the idea of coup in his mind. Mr. Farhang has been written: practical steps to prepare a coup by Daoud khan mostly taken in the famine years (1971 and 1972), and in this period tried to recruit.⁴⁰

Another reason of coup was the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, particularly the Flag branch which had close relations with Daoud khan in the past.

³⁸. Ibid, 37.

³⁹. Ibid, 38.

⁴⁰ Farhang, 2001, 794.

People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan had attracted a number of military's officials in their party. Some of these officers with some organization's activities joined to this party, in different branches. Others may have already embraced Marxist-Leninist ideology during the study in the Soviet Union. In this case, each of the two branches (Flag and People branches) had been taken position in the Army. In other words Russians were the real planners of coup and they wanted to bring Daoud khan into power⁴¹. This could be the most important reason, as many other authors including Malok Tabish⁴², Mr. Farhang⁴³, Mr. Kashkaki⁴⁴, Abdul Hamid Mubariz⁴⁵, and Selig. S Harrison⁴⁶ had been considered this issue as the main cause of Daoud's coup. Also in the book "Afghanistan in the past three decades"⁴⁷ the same issue is a major cause of coup.

Although the leftist group and some of the leaders of the People's Democratic Party had denied their involvement in the coup, and from the existence of such a plan against the royal family were unaware. But despite the statements of some leaders of the "People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan", all the evidence shows that the leftist group forces that affiliated with the Soviet government played an important role in the coup. According to the research which has been taken place in the years after the coup, showed that Moscow through the Soviet military intelligence agency had an important role in the coup of 1973.

The Soviet leaders and officials, as well as their affiliates in Afghanistan, has denied any involvement in the coup, and stressed that the Soviet Union is not involved in any way in the overthrow of the monarchy. Although the "Vladimir Basov", the researcher of Soviet Foreign Ministry accepted and said: "Yes, we had an indirectly role, so that

⁴¹. Pirzada Ghaznavi, 2013, 39.

⁴². Malok Tabish, "Afghanistan Islamic Movement?", (Tehran: Raad party publication), 21-22.

⁴³. Farhang, 2001, 794.

⁴⁴. Saba-aldin Kashkaki, Decade of Democracy- neglect of Afghans and opportunism of Russians, (Islamabad: Council of Islamic Jihad, 1986), 17-18.

⁴⁵. Abdul Hamid Mubariz, Afghan political analyzed 1919 -1996, (Peshawar: Maiwand publication, 1996), 82.

⁴⁶. Selig S. Harrison, In Afghanistan's shadow, Translate: Asadullah Shafai, (Tehran, 2010), 11-14.

⁴⁷. Sinai research team, Afghanistan in the last three decades, (Tehran: cultural publication, 2002), 121.

officers also participated in the overthrow of the monarchy were trained in the Soviet Union, and these officers planned to help Daoud Khan to overthrow the king."⁴⁸

Another reason was the dismissal of Daoud Khan from power, when the constitution was renewed, in Article 24 was mentioned that the royal family could not have supreme authority in the state⁴⁹. This made Daoud Khan and his brother Muhammad Naim Khan so angry and upset⁵⁰. Daoud Khan thought that king has deceived him, and could not withstand days of retreat and loss of power. While Shah and Dr. Mohammad Yusuf Khan (prime minister) sent the constitution's draft for Daoud Khan, he became more upset that king had been abandoned him with indifference.

One of other reasons can be Daoud Khan and king differences ideas on governance issues, Daoud plan the one-party system to run the country, and sent his provided plan to king. But the King had not been agreed in practice with him. And as in the "decade of democracy" has been seen, king wanted different governance during those years.

2.2.1.3. Factors of Coup's Victory

Weakness and incompetence of the government, especially the royal army in Afghanistan, cooperation and tolerance of a number of officials in preparing of coup, the central role of Daoud Khan, Immunity of the household for him, work in the army and chancellery records had given him facilities and appropriate chance. Also King's acquiescence to the coup, sending a resignation letter, and lack of defense of the constitution that had sworn to maintain it, ensured the coup victory.

In the first hours of the coup, monarchy leaders, such as "Mohammad Musa Shafiq" chancellor "General Khan Mohammad," Minister of Defense, "Prince Ahmad Shah" as Prince, "Sardar Abdul Wali" commander of the Corps center, members of the royal family and some of civil servants and military serving were caught and imprisoned⁵¹.

48 Vladimir V. Basov, "The National and the Tribal [Question] in Afghanistan", (Moscow: Research Center of the Federal, 2011).

49. New constitutional document, 1964 Constitution of Afghanistan (01/10/1964), article 24..

50. Ali Jank, Soviet aggression and crimes in Afghanistan, (Tehran: ---, 1980), 15-16.

51. Anthony Hyman, Afghanistan under Soviet domination. Translate: Asadullah Tahiri, (Tehran: Shabaviz publication, 1988), 86.

"Noor Ahmad Ehtamadi" Afghan Ambassador in Italy, who had a relationship with Daoud Khan and Zahir Shah, proposed the king to recognize the Republic of Daoud and resign from monarchy. Instead of that Daoud Khan will send royal family to Europe. King accepted and twelve days after the coup of Daoud Khan, his cousin king Zahir Shah sent his resignation from Rome, recognized the republican regime, and also congratulated the Republic government to Daoud Khan⁵². Daoud Khan sent relatives and members of the royal family to Rome. Other high-ranking civilian and military officials of Zahir Shah were held in prison.

2.2.1.4. Victims of Coup

The exact numbers of coup's casualties on the night of 17 July were not specified, but what coup government declared, casualties are a handful, but their names had not given. Sardar Mohammad Daoud in his speech mentioned just name of one officer, who was killed in the coup, and press just publish the same⁵³. And that was the reason that Daoud Khan called this coup, white coup.

As I mentioned earlier, Khaled Hosseini, in his both novels "The Kite Runner" and "A Thousand Splendid Suns" referred this coup as bloodless coup.

But Mr. Abuzar Pirzada said in his book, that despite the announcement of Mohammad Daoud that the coup was bloodless, a number of officers were killed during the coup⁵⁴. Also Nabi Azimi has mentioned in his book, that casualties of this coup were eleven persons⁵⁵. With all of these things, it can be said that casualties in the coup were very few, and was not comparable to other coups.

2.2.1.5. Result of the Coup

About the result of the coup, that was good for the country or not, there are different views. Daoud Khan's fans believed that it was good and his opposites believed it bad. But after about 43 years from the coup we can say:

⁵². Atai, 2010, 378-379.

⁵³. Pirzada, 2013, 49.

⁵⁴. Ibid, 50.

⁵⁵. Nabi Azimi, *Politic and military in last three decades in Afghanistan*, (Pashavur: Maiwand publication, 1998). 92.

This coup in recent history of Afghanistan is remarkable for three points: First, in sense that in this coup, two thousand five hundred years old royal regime ended in Afghanistan. Second, this time is beginning of the new regime in Afghanistan, named Republic of Afghanistan, and thirdly with this coup, again big dictator known “Prince Red” Daoud Khan once again came to political power in Afghanistan, but this time as first man in country⁵⁶.

Sardar Mohammad Daoud's coup, which stopped and destroyed the fledgling democracy the last decade of Mohammad Zahir Shah, was one of the irreparable mistake of Mohammad Daoud in the field of politics and political-social developments in the twentieth century in Afghanistan. No doubt that the last decade of Mohammad Zahir Shah's reign and constitution decade, despite the shortages that had hidden itself, the natural development of political power relations in Afghanistan was based on public participation. Its trappings were such as elections, separation of powers, freedom of the press and political parties, civil society. According to the constitution in last dedicate of reign, the royal family's members could not have higher positions in government, and this provided area for elites of other ethnic groups and tribes to come on prime ministry position, or other seats.

An important point to be noted is that Sardar Mohammad Daoud increased Soviet's influence over the military in Afghanistan at the time of his chancellery, and also with their cooperation did the coup. In fact, Muhammad Daoud brought Soviet in Afghanistan by let them to enter in Afghanistan's military. Sabah al-Din Kushkaki, Minister of Information and Culture in the reign of Mohammad Zahir Shah had been written: "A few months before the presidency of Mohammad Daoud, one of his teachers over a corpse said to Mohammad Daoud, you are approaching to flag branch, and it is harmed your reputation. Mohammad Daoud said in answer: In our country, people notorious every patriot person⁵⁷"

⁵⁶. Pirzada, 2013, 29.

⁵⁷. Kashkaki, 1986, 17.

2.2.2. Fife Years of Daoud Khan's Reign

Whatever it was Daoud khan with the help of military forces abled to form his cabinet. His first step was to stop of some structures decade of democracy, which was notified by the command of Mohammad Daoud. For example, constitution and parliament were canceled. Members of the royal family respectfully sent to Italy. Pressures on the character and circles that were known to oppose the Soviet Union were applied. A number of celebrities by accusation, without offering evidence, were hurt and some were sentenced to death. In this context, the activities of Interior Ministry were impressive.

Daoud khan's 5-year government policy, as his first term policy (chancellery) based on economic development and away from political development⁵⁸. And annexation of Pashtuns' regions on the other side of the Durand Line⁵⁹ in Pakistan to Afghanistan was the most important priority of his foreign policy.

Daoud khan was strongly opposed to any intellectual and political development in the interior of Afghanistan, and explicitly stressed that Afghan tribal society should not have political development before the economic development. Accordingly had been made one-party system, he had formed "Ghorzang" party and was only official party.

Due to differences and changes in Daoud khan's policy were seen, can study Daoud Khan's government policy in two periods:

1. Daoud khan's unity with the flag branch and closeness with Soviet Union, and also intensification of opposition with Pakistan.
2. Daoud khan's avoiding from Soviet Union, closeness to Iran and Arabic countries, and better relations with Pakistan.

⁵⁸. Akram, 2001, 119.

⁵⁹. The Durand Line is border between Pakistan and Afghanistan. It was established between Sir Mortimer Durand, a British diplomat and civil servant of British India, and Abdul Rahman Khan at 12 November 1893. It was just for 100 years.

2.2.2.1. The First Period

A - Domestic policy: Government was banned social, political freedoms. The coup allegations, arrests and harassment were increased. Later in the new constitution, Republic government add: "Nobody can use of the rights and freedoms that mentioned in this constitution, for damage national independence, territorial integrity, national unity, interests of the majority, or the goal of the revolution 17 July 1973."⁶⁰

In the field of trade and economic field, serious actions had been taken. Land reform was promised and government began to land survey. Under the proposed reform, the landowners could keep 100 acres of land for themselves, and surplus belong to government and government will pay for it future installments.⁶¹

It was expected that some programs implemented with the 7-year plans. Text of 7-year plan was published in 1976. Bank system became national. In the case of land reform and the nationalization of the banks, the capitalists and landlords had become worry and so that in first two years, were carried out most of their assets by different ways.⁶²

NGOs' presses were banned, Republic daily newspaper began broadcasting on 4 August 1973, and it was just government wishes and thoughts.⁶³

Cheap wage labor market boom in Iran and Arabic countries, coinciding with the intensification of unemployment in the country, were caused that a number of people had traveled to these countries. Government has increased facilitate to get economic passport for workers migration.

B- International policies: Relations with the Soviet Union expanded at all levels. In fact, the Soviet Union was the greatest country, that Afghanistan had the highest trade,

⁶⁰ . Republic Constitution, 1976 Constitution of Afghanistan, (November 29, 1976), article 24.

⁶¹ . Pirzada, 2013, 153.

⁶² . Nasir Mehrin, "evaluation of Daoud khan's Republic", Deutche Welle, (2012). <http://m.dw.com/fa-af/>

⁶³ . Ibid.

commercial, military and culture relations with it. Commercial trade between the two countries increased six-fold between 1970 -1979.⁶⁴

With America and Iran policy was adopted almost normal. King of Iran at the first weeks of Republic government, wanted to rebellion against Daoud khan, and frees Abdul Wali Khan. America and Iran, had known the Soviets as great risk, and were not satisfied with such relationships between Soviets and Afghanistan.⁶⁵

Pakistan was the only country, which Afghanistan's Government had bad relations with it. In this dispute, above all was rejection of the Durand Line. And claims to defend the rights of Pashtuns and Baluches in Pakistan, once again led to darkening relations. Pakistan also did not stand quiet and this time, unlike the time of Prime Ministry of Mohammad Daoud, put him under pressure. The members of the Islamic Youth Organization in Pakistan mostly increased pressure against Daoud's government by the Pakistan government. In this time Western and Arabic countries mostly had been counterpart with Pakistan.⁶⁶

i. Mohammad Daoud and his relations with soviets: When the Afghanistan People's Democratic Party, as a Leftist Party backed by Soviet Union, took position in the Army and other parts of government could help Daoud khan to take power, because Sardar Mohammad Daoud was the person who let them in army during his chancellery period. This party led next two coups. In the first coup(17. July 1973) Sardar Mohammad Daoud became president, and at the second coup (27 April 1978) Sardar Mohammad Daoud was killed. The question is this: Why Sardar Mohammad Daoud was close with the Soviet Union?

Some writhers believe that Sardar Mohammad Daoud had good relation with Soviet because his policy and he want to have a good counterpart in the international arena. Based on these views, when Sardar Mohammad Daoud tried to have good relation with United States of America, The Americans refused to sell him weapons and he failed,

⁶⁴ . Akram, 2001, 262.

⁶⁵ . Lawrence E. Cohen, "Afghanistan's Foreign Relations through Philately", American Philatelist, (September 2012), 836- 845.

⁶⁶ . Daveed Gartenstein-Ross. Tara Vassefi, "The Forgotten History of Afghanistan-Pakistan Relations", Yale Journal of International Affairs, (March 2012), 38-45.

also USA didn't help Daoud khan in the cast of Pashtunistan, instead of that helped Pakistan.⁶⁷ For Mohammad Daoud khan, the subject of Pashtuns and Baluches across the Durand and Durand was considered a national issue. He did not accept the Durand Line as the international border with Pakistan. All these were reasons that he became more near to Soviet.

ii. Hostility with Pakistan and tension with Western countries: Sardar Mohammad Daoud during his chancellery had tenure policy of hostility with Pakistan and mistrust against the Western governments over the issue of Pashtunistan. He tried to gain support of United States and European countries. He repeatedly sought to provide military ties with America and tried to buy weapons from Washington. But The Westerners, especially United States and Great Britain, which has close relations with Pakistan refused.

Americans and its European allies, especially the British were interested that Afghanistan as Soviet neighbor becomes a member of the Asian alliances which was taking shape by America and the West to counter the expansionist Soviet influence. To fulfill this program "containment" policy were considered by USA. This policy aimed to encircle the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact⁶⁸ drawing up of the pro-Soviet socialist countries. American and its European allies aim was to creating other military alliances, in Europe and Asia. SEATO Treaty⁶⁹ was created for this purpose in South East of Asia. Pakistan in September 1954 accepted it. Years after that Baghdad Pact, brought Iraq to this Union. While in 1952 Turkey joined the North Atlantic Treaty organization (NATO), USA and British called for Afghanistan's membership in anti-Soviet treaties. But conflicts between Afghanistan and Pakistan over the Durand Line were major impediment to join any treaty, particularly defense and military alliances, where Pakistan was a member. Hence, they tend to solve Pakistan and Afghanistan problems through dialogue.

⁶⁷. Lawrence E. Cohen, "Afghanistan's Foreign Relations through Philately", (American Philatelist, September 2012), 836-845.

⁶⁸. Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation, and Mutual Assistance - 1955

⁶⁹. Southeast Asia Treaty Organization, SEATO established - Sep 08, 1954.

iii. Afghan army under Soviet influence and dependence: Sardar Mohammad Daoud in the early years of his chancellery, opened the way for Soviet influence in the Afghan army, this dependence was increasingly expanded. During the Republic of Sardar Mohammad Daoud, he (Daoud khan) clearly told, that the Soviet Union is the only military partner Afghanistan. "Garilof" the Soviet military advisers in the Afghan army, in response to the question that, how much you believe in him as a loyal ally of the Soviet Union? Said: "Every time I visited him, he welcomed me very warmly, and mentions the virtues of the Soviet Union. You understand that all things in Afghanistan are from the Soviet Union. Those who were running the technical equipment, Tank's men, pilot, and... All were educated in our country. Daoud khan sincere or hypocritical was tied to cooperation with the Soviet Union, no one knows that, what was in his mind, but his relationship with, military advisers, the Soviet people and our country was a very good relationship."⁷⁰

Sardar Mohammad Daoud in 1959 based Afghan army's tactical system, on adjusted system of the Soviet Union. When this issue was discussed at the Defense Ministry, Sardar Mohammad Daoud, who was responsible for Defense minister, not accept the Turkish system and ordered the army to be set based on the model of the Soviet Union. According to that, a Soviet military delegation arrived in these years, and worked with afghan army.⁷¹

Soviet intelligence and espionage organizations, from the first days of entering in the field of the Afghan military, its intelligence activities began in the army. KGB and GRU intelligence agencies of the Soviet military played a major role to recruitment and formation of military and ideological organizations, dependent and loyal to the Soviet Union in the Afghan army. These people and the military were who made two military coups in 1973 and 1978. As well as other structures like "Afghan military organization"

⁷⁰. Interview with Leif Grilof, How was it? The military advisor to the Afghan armed forces from 1975 until the end of 1979. Translate: Aziz Alizadeh, (August 2006), from Chakad blog.

⁷¹. Mark Sedra, "The Army in Afghanistan, from Abdur Rahman to Karzai", Middle East institute, Apr 19, 2012. <http://www.mei.edu/content/army-afghanistan-abdur-rahman-karzai>.

or "air officers" were remembered, that was cooperation with Soviet intelligence services. So for the Russians, military sphere was the favorite sphere.⁷²

First period with such indexes, did not continued long time, because Daoud khan faced with pressure of opposition circles, which called him an affiliate of the Soviet Union and communist ideology holder. In addition to getting loan to fund economic and social programs, he needed big loan; the Soviet Union could not accept all his demands. So he want to have better relations with other countries, but other countries also had a lot of conditions, at last king of Iran and Henry Kissinger had begun to establish better relations with Daoud khan. And this was the time, which Mohammed Daoud governance policies ran into new period.

2.2.2.2. The Second Period

Since the Sardar Daoud Khan felt Communists had undue influence on the structure of his government, and understood that they had done against him, travel to the Soviet Union, wanted to talk with Brezhnev and want from him to prevent them in Afghanistan . But in Moscow before that he had intense debate with Brezhnev, and left Soviet Union without reaching a conclusion⁷³. From those days the Soviet Union had tried to destroy Daoud Khan's state. Daoud Khan changed structure of government and the cabinet. Including the chancellor eliminated, and created a new political party, and tried to control the government by this way. This party name was "national Ghorzang", and its motto was three words: God, country and leader among the people.

Daoud Khan that had been saw the growing influence and direct and indirect interventions of Russians, through affiliated parties, in order to change policy and a way out of this situation. Have Begun trips to Arabic countries. Including Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and Libya, as well as on a trip visited Iran. And Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi, the king of Iran was promised two billion dollars in aid for Afghanistan.⁷⁴

⁷². Kashkaki, 1986, 159.

⁷³. Samad Ghous, Fall of Afghanistan, (Pashavur: Danish publication, 1999), 174-183.

⁷⁴. Pirzada, 2013, 332.

In 1976 by the invitation of "Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto", Sardar Mohammad Daoud Khan, traveled to Pakistan, the two countries opened a new chapter of mutual relations.⁷⁵ Moscow's elements sent all these trips report in detail to inform the Russians. The Russians became worried about all these and thought that Afghanistan soon will be out of the scope of their dominance, so started to make plans, to fall down the Daoud Khan's regime.

Daoud Khan during the second period, attempted to show the people that he is not stooge of Soviet Union, for that in several interviews and speeches, tried to show it. For example, in Herat, said: "Brothers! Entered Ideologies cannot be useful for our nation." During the second period of his reign, Khalq and Flaq branches tried to solve their problems and became a unity, and their partnership was very bad for Daoud Khan.⁷⁶

2.2.3. Afghanistan at the Time of Daoud Khan

In the case of Sardar Mohammad Daoud Khan are different perspectives. Some thought he was a Muslim nationalist, a period of ten years, in the era of Prime Minister of Mohammad Zahir Shah, and a time period which staged a coup and took power, he just thought about the people and about the Afghanistan, he want to make Afghanistan one of the most important countries in the area. But some people consider him as a person that just thought about Pashtuns and all time work for them. The slogan of an independent Pashtunistan and Protection of Pashtuns on the other side of the Durand Line was as a result of this thinking. Hosseini indirectly and from mouth of someone else said that Daoud khan also had this idea and just thought about Pashtuns:

“Afghanistan is the land of Pashtuns. It always has been, always will be. We are the true Afghans, the pure Afghans...” “Hosseini, 2003, 38”

The relations between the two countries, Pakistan and Afghanistan during his chancellor, made situations very bad. He wanted Independent of Pashtunistan from Pakistan and be joined to Afghanistan. And even armed conflict were scattered on the borders between the two countries. Afghanistan's tense relations with Pakistan and the

⁷⁵. Ghous, 1999, 134.

⁷⁶. Yury V. Bosin, “Afghanistan, 1978 Revolution and Islamic Civil War”, International Encyclopedia of Revolution and Protest,(Blackwell Publishing, 2009), 13–15.

United States support Pakistan, so put Afghanistan in the Soviet Union trap. Daoud Khan couldn't do anything against the Pakistan government. A government, which did not respect social justice, did not recognize Pashtuns and Baluchis rights, In Afghanistan, poverty and backwardness had mad people to go to other countries.

2.2.3.1. Military Development in Afghanistan

The fall of the royal government in 1973 by the Afghanistan's modern army, can be an important step toward the development of military in Afghanistan. Up to that time, in the country military was in hand of tribes. And perhaps it was for the first time, that a modern army in Afghanistan that all ethnic groups and tribes participated in that did the coup against the monarchy, and the life of the royal government in Afghanistan ended. Also 5 years later this modern military in a different way did this action. This time against Daoud Khan's government was repeated.

2.2.3.2. Change the Flag

Flag in Afghanistan until 1928 have not an especial form; government has made flag by their own interest. In 1928 Constitution, during the kingdom of "Amanullah Khan" tricolor flag(black, red and green) with the two wheat braanches and a sun was determined. In the constitution of 1964, the exact definition of flag added in the constitution.

Sardar Mohammad Daoud Khan after the abolition of the Constitution of 1964, changed the flag to its own jurisdiction, and added an eagle in the flag, which previously was not included. Then in the Constitution of 1977, Changes in the shape of flag entered, as stipulated in Article 24 of the constitution, a flag that some properties can be determined by statute.⁷⁷

2.2.3.3. Civil and Economic Works in Era of Daoud Khan

Sardar Mohammad Daoud Khan from the early days of his government had been tried to work on economic development. Daoud khan was authoritarian, but also wanted to work on country's development. During his five years of his authority some development projects and development had conducted. The 25-year development plan,

⁷⁷. New constitutional document, 1964 Constitution of Afghanistan (01/10/1964), article 24.

seven-year plan, surveys rail line from Islam Qala to Kandahar, Ghazni and Charkhi in Kabul, International Airport Plan in Logar, Aynak copper mine which is one of the biggest copper mines in the world, Construction of several schools and Kabul's Medicine School, Kabul TV project, asphalt road from Kabul to Gardez, the construction of several dams were all from those projects⁷⁸. Hosseini also mentioned about the economic development and reform in the time of Daoud khan:

“For the next couple of years, the words economic development and reform danced on a lot of lips in Kabul. The constitutional monarchy had been abolished, replaced by a republic, led by a president of the republic. For a while, a sense of rejuvenation and purpose swept across the land.” “Hosseini, 2003, 40”

Government, at the beginning faced with favorable economic conditions. Because at the same time economic activity in the Arab countries and Iran because of rising oil prices, a large number of Afghans who were unemployed, attracted towards these countries, and its revenue in the form of currency (foreign exchange) had come into the country. As well as the price of Afghanistan export goods increased in abroad. Also Soviet and USA had increased their contributions.

2.2.4. Mir Akbar Khyber Murder (1978)

Mir Akbar Khyber was of the residents of Logar, and the one of first people who joined the Marxist-Leninist ideology⁷⁹. In creating the "People's Democratic Party" has a special role. When studying at a military college was arrested on charges of conspiring against the government, and imprisoned⁸⁰. When he released from prison in 1977, started with Babrak Karmal political cooperation, and joined to his group. In the conflict between Taraki and Babrak he had been supported Babrak. In the flag branch, which he was one of its leaders, also had the task of promoting party in the army.

In 17 April 1978 Mohammad Akbar Khyber was killed near the government printing press in a public road⁸¹. It was a mysterious murder case that occurred and Flag branch attributed Daoud Khan's government in his death, while most experts believed that

⁷⁸. Akram, 2001, 259- 264.

⁷⁹. A. Haroon, Daoud khan in the paw of KGB, (Kabul: maiwand publication, 2005), 139-140, 301.

⁸⁰. Farhang, 2001, 843.

⁸¹. Pirzada, 2013, 400.

"Khyber" had been killed by KGB and Khalq branch together. They wanted to create an incentive for trying to foment a coup. The murder became good for Khalq and Flag branches, because they could shaped his funeral as a political community with thousand persons, and the context was favorable for the coup.

Strong evidential support the claim that the Khyber had killed by Hafizullah Amin, was that in the time of Taraki,⁸² Amin was dropped Khyber's name as one of the leaders of the revolution. Hafizullah Amin had two aims for killing Khyber: first destroy the opponent, second, to start the coup quickly, because plan for coup was in August. Hosseini in the "A Thousand Splendid Suns" mentioned about this:

"On April 17, 1978, the year Mariam turned nineteen, a man named Mir Akbar Khyber was found murdered. Two days later, there was a large demonstration in Kabul.... Rasheed said that Mir Akbar Khyber had been a prominent communist and that his supporters were blaming the murder on President Daoud Khan's government..."
"Hosseini, 2007, 88"

2.2.5. 7 May Coup and Murder of Daoud Khan

After the assassination of Khyber, government arrested the leaders of Khalq (people) and Flag groups, some of the leaders of these two communist groups were not arrested. Also their privates in the army and military forces were not arrested. So Hafizullah Amin before the arrest a few hours of the night started the coup and commended the forces. On the other hand, Sardar Mohammad Daoud Khan, in case of emergency held a Cabinet meeting. When Sardar Mohammad Daoud was informed, the presidential palace had been surrounded. And had stormed from air and ground military by tanks and troops. Next morning, ground forces were successfully entered to the citadel with tanks and infantry. They killed Daoud Khan with his brother and his family members.⁸³

Hosseini about murder of Daoud khan has been written:

"Days later, when the communists began the summary executions of those connected with Daoud Khan's regime, when rumors began floating about Kabul of eyes gouged and genitals electrocuted in the Pol-e-Charkhi Prison, Mariam would hear of the

⁸². Farhang, 2001, 844.

⁸³, Panjshiri, 1998, 97.

slaughter that had taken place at the Presidential Palace. Daoud Khan had been killed, but not before the communist rebels had killed some twenty members of his family, including women and grandchildren. There would be rumors that he had taken his own life, that he'd been gunned down in the heat of battle; rumors that he'd been saved for last, made to watch the massacre of his family, then shot." "Hosseini, 2007, 91"

As Hosseini had mentioned few days than Khyber's death, the communists had made coup and had killed Daoud khan with his family. This coup was the start of Afghan people's problems. After that nothing became good. Communists destroyed the country.

3. BETWEEN 1978 - 1992

In this section I want to study about the Democratic republic of Afghanistan, People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and also Soviet invasion in Afghanistan.

3.1. April 27 Coup

27 April 1978 coup, by the nouveau rulers (People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan) April 27 Revolution was called, but among Afghan people, political analysts and opposition is known as "coup". This coup brought bloody fate to the Afghan people, Hence April 27 in Afghan history seen as a black day.

3.1.1. April 27, Revolution or Coup

The difference between revolution and coup is that, revolution is a Foundation and qualitative change, and also a great rotation in the life of society, and it based on the people's interest, but coup it is not like this. In a coup, an armed and equipped force minority rising against another minority which dominated the majority of the population, and disrupt the status quo. The majority of people are not involved in the coup and interactions. Therefore, in Afghanistan, on 27 April 1978, the number of officers belonging to the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, which is headed by Colonel Abdul Qader (from Herat) and Lt Col Aslam started the coup against the government of President Mohammad Daoud.⁸⁴ Although those, who involved in the coup, called it revolution, but the Afghan people, which is often called the "Mujahideen" had stood up against the coup regime, and finally after fourteen years of bloody resistance, coup regime fell.

"Welcome to the land of new model revolutionary ". This slogan in the early years of the rule of People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan was written on a red slice at the

⁸⁴. Ali Akbar Faiyaz, Afghanistan's recent history, From Ahmad Shah Durrani until the fall of Communists (1747-1992), (Mashhad: Mustafa publication, 2010), 218-219.

Kabul airport, which were attracted any new foreign especially journalists. In 1979 correspondent 'the site' of the Federal Republic of Germany, in a press conference of Hafizullah Amin, was asked about the new model and Amin replied:

"It's is a theoretical matter, I think the Afghan revolution (the coup of 27 April 1978) is a new model of proletarian revolution, that political power moved from exploiters to the worker class, who headed by the worker-class party (People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan). Before this such a revolution hasn't taken place in a feudal society. So, this is a new revolution in the society with domination of feudal relations."⁸⁵ Perhaps this is the reason, but such a definition of a coup as a revolution can not to be found in any political lexicon!

27 April 1978 coup was a military coup which design by Hafizullah Amin and was carried out by militants affiliated with the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, and provided the situation for formation of a regime which was completely affiliated with former Soviet Union.

3.1.2. Coup's Reasons

The most important factor in the collapse of President Mohammad Daoud, and the success of coup of April 27, should be searched in the five-years of Republic government. Daoud khan did not believe in democracy. His attention, like other dictatorial leaders in the countries of the "third world", was to modernize state institutions and economic system of the country without democratizing political structures, cultural and social focused. However, in the modernization of the country, military and economic fields achieved remarkable results, but the duration and intensity of political repression, imprisonment of intellectuals, banning publication of the press and political parties were bad things that were overshadowed his positive achievements, and made situation for political activists to be dissatisfied.⁸⁶

Moreover, major events in 1977 and 1978 are as milestone for beginning April 27 coup, including travel of Daoud Khan and his delegation to the Soviet Union, meet the Head of Soviet Union, Reunite of two branches of People's democratic party of

⁸⁵. Mohammad Akram Andishmand, "Revolution or Disaster?", Anis newspaper (4 August 1979).

⁸⁶. Faiyaz, 2010, 217.

Afghanistan, the assassination of Mir Akbar Khyber which brought widespread protests of the People's democratic party in Kabul, and the subsequent of that, arrest of the party leader.

Daoud Khan traveled from 13 to 15 April 1977. In the second day of the session some words were exchanged between Brezhnev and Daoud Khan that made upset Daoud Khan and he leave the session. Three months after the return of Mohammad Daoud Khan from the Soviet Union in August 1978, leaders of the irreconcilable of the Khalq (people) and Parcham (Flag) branches were unified. Sultan Ali Kishnamand had been written in his political memoirs: "In May 1977 while leaders of both branches of the party had believed that the unity of party is an unavoidable necessity, leaders of both branches (Noor Mohammad Taraki and Babrak Karmal) were met."⁸⁷

After this, the overthrow of Mohammad Daoud's regime with the assassination of Mir Akbar Khyber became completed, Kishnamand had been written: "The turning point of crisis was the time, when on 17 April 1978 in Kabul a member of the Central Committee of the PDPA, the famous revolutionary (Mir Akbar Khyber) that had the reputation and enormous popularity among the soldiers, workers, state employees, students, and the country's intelligentsia, were assassinated. This political killing that the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, the Mohammed Daoud's government, and in total shook all political circles in the country, and was explosion of anger and disgust among the broadest strata of the people."⁸⁸

However political analysts and Afghan historian about the assassination of Mir Akbar Khyber have different opinions, as Kishnamand said, Karmal stated that the prevailing thought that the conspiracy was taken by Hafizullah Amin, because He always had problems with Khyber⁸⁹. Nabi Azimi also blamed Hafizullah Amin, while others blamed Karmal. But pro-West analysts, including Seyed Qasem Rashtiya known Aboluf employee of the Soviet Embassy in Kabul as the main cause of Khyber's death.⁹⁰ This last reason is logically stronger than any other speculation, because according to Malik

⁸⁷. Sultan Ali Keshtmand, political Notes and historical events, vol. 1, (Jacket print, 2002), 280.

⁸⁸. Sultan Ali Keshtmand, political Notes and historical events, vol. 2, (Jacket print, 2002), 324-325.

⁸⁹. Ibid, 326.

⁹⁰. Panjshiri, 1998, vol.2, 60.

Satiz "crucial political decisions adopted in the Kremlin, and would be implemented by the leaders of the People's democratic party." on the other hand, "Selig Harrison," Afghan expert about this subject said that Hafizullah Amin as one of the important leaders in Khalq branch had confidential relationship with the Soviet intelligence agency (KGB).⁹¹

On 19 April funeral of Mir Akbar Khyber with of thousands of members and supporters of the People's Democratic Party was held. The funeral has become one of the largest political rallies in Afghanistan's history up to that time. People's Democratic Party leaders' speeches at the funeral made Daoud Khan angry. Following the speeches, Daoud Khan harsh confrontations with the leaders of the People's Democratic Party began arrested some of them. Finally,⁹² following these events, 27 April 1978 coup took place and Afghan people quench in blood and tears.

Khaled Hosseini In the "The Kite Runner" novel mentioned this coup as the official end of the Afghan people's life, and didn't explain it more.

"The end, the official end, would come first in April 1978 with the communist coup ..." "Hosseini, 2003, 34."

But in the "A Thousand Splendid Suns" novel explained further about this matter, however this expressed in the form of a quote:

"On April 27, Mariam's question was answered with crackling sounds and intense, sudden roars. She ran barefoot down to the living room and found Rasheed already by the window, in his undershirt, his hair disheveled, palms pressed to the glass. Mariam made her way to the window next to him. Overhead, she could see military planes zooming past, heading north and east. Their deafening shrieks hurt her ears. In the distance, loud booms resonated and sudden plumes of smoke rose to the sky....
... After the music faded, a man's voice came on the radio. He announced himself as Air Force Colonel Abdul Qader. He reported that earlier in the day the rebel Fourth Armored Division had seized the airport and key intersections in the city. Kabul Radio, the ministries of Communication and the Interior, and the Foreign Ministry building had also been captured. Kabul was in the hands of the people now, he said proudly. Rebel

⁹¹. Jamal aldin Mousavi, "Mir Akbar Khyber socialist theoretician", BBC Persian website, (20 April 2008).

⁹². Panjshiri, 1998, vol.1, 61.

MiGs had attacked the Presidential Palace. Tanks had broken into the premises, and a fierce battle was under way there. Daoud's loyalist forces were all but defeated, Abdul Qader said in a reassuring tone....

... Rasheed turned up the volume and leaned in closer. "A revolutionary council of the armed forces has been established, and our watan will now be known as the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan," Abdul Qader said. "The era of aristocracy, nepotism, and inequality is over, fellow Hawaiians. We have ended decades of tyranny. Power is now in the hands of the masses and freedom-loving people. A glorious new era in the history of our country is afoot. A new Afghanistan is born. We assure you that you have nothing to fear, fellow Afghans. The new regime will maintain the utmost respect for principles, both Islamic and democratic. This is a time of rejoicing and celebration."

Rasheed turned off the radio.

"So is this good or bad?" Mariam asked.

"Bad for the rich, by the sound of it," Rasheed said. "Maybe not so bad for us." "Hosseini, 2007, 90-92."

3.1.3. Aim and Achievements of Coup

In the beginning, "coup massage" was as follows:

"Dear compatriots! For the first time in recent history of Afghanistan, remnants of the reign of oppression, tyranny and power of dynasty Nader Khan family ended and took over state power by the people of Afghanistan. State power is totally at the hand of military Revolutionary Council. Dear compatriots! Your nation state, which is in the hands of the Revolutionary Council, informs that any counter-revolutionary elements that hope to stand in front of instructions and regulations of the Revolutionary Council, will deposit to revolutionary military as soon as possible."⁹³

When the coup took place at 27 of April, the ruling party as the only official party was behind all the institutions of power, and the new rulers not only dissidents also even the opposition party and their competitors also violently suppressed. Thus, the coup was named the National Democratic Revolution but never showed democratic character. Also imported the strong tendency of leftist thought and made the party affiliation. Shortly after coup the country was a lot in chaos. Government outside the cities hadn't great influence and every part of the country was under the influence of local Islamist forces.

⁹³. Afghanistan's Yearbook, "Palace of the last executioner of Nadir Shah Dynasty collapsed forever (First Declaration of the Revolutionary Council of the Armed Forces of Afghanistan)", (Kabul: Publication of the Ministry of Information and Culture, 27 April 1979), No. 44.

3.2. Noor Mohammad Taraki

Noor Mohammad Taraki was the first leader of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, and President of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

3.2.1. Biography

Noor Mohammad Taraki was born on 14 July 1917. From 1937 until his death settled in Kabul.⁹⁴ In 1932 he went to look for job in Kandahar, where the "Pashtun Company" hired him and he employed as an office worker. After a while, because of the intelligence and honesty which showed, this company sent him as representative of the company in Bombay, appointed as secretary.⁹⁵ Taraki in India to learn English, Returned to Afghanistan in 1937, and settled at Kabul.

Noor Mohammad Taraki's first political activity began in the term of Shah Mahmoud Khan's chancellery; he joined to the "Vish Zalmi" party (Awakened Youth). He had written articles with radical rhetoric in the "Angaar" gazette which was publication of this party.⁹⁶ Taraki in these articles had not directly expressed his belief in Marxism. While Shah Mahmoud Khan had stopped presses and put a number of leaders including Taraki in jail. In 1952 Noor Mohammad Taraki along with a number of other leaders of the party, after his release from prison went to visit Shah Mahmoud Khan, and announced his loyalty to the Chancellor.

Shah Mahmoud Khan sent Taraki as Afghanistan press attaches to Washington, but after a year in America, Sardar Muhammad Naim ambassador of Afghanistan in America, described him as incompetent and was sacked.

When Taraki sacked, in a press conference said that Afghan government is a "dictatorship", and said he wants to remain as refugees in America. Apparently, America's government refused to give asylum to Taraki. Then went back to Kabul and in

⁹⁴. Atai, 2010. 412.

⁹⁵. Afghanistanis Yearbook, "Noor Mohammad Taraki", (Kabul: Publication of the Ministry of Information and Culture, 27 April 1979), No. 44, 5.

⁹⁶. Haroon, 2005, 162.

1965 founded "People's Democratic Party" with Babrak Karmal.⁹⁷ And after the 1978 coup was elected as the first president of democratic government in Afghanistan.

3.2.2. Revolutionary Reforms

Taraki had hard insisted on Revolutionary reforms in the field of economic and social issues. Division of land among peasants, canceled or discount-minded landowners and profiteers of the peasantry, equality for women, compulsory education for literate women and reduce the cost of weddings were from those issues that Taraki made reform.⁹⁸ But the industrial working class was not in Afghanistan, Muslim and tribal society of Afghanistan was very different from the Soviet Union and Europe with industrial society, Taraki with all his bloody actions couldn't be successful in his reforms.

Taraki in September 1979 to participate in the nonaligned conference went to Havana, and on the way back went to Soviet Union and met Brezhnev.⁹⁹ Apparently the Soviet authorities inform Taraki about their dissatisfaction about the problems that he had with Hafizullah Amin, and told him to be careful about his relation with Amin.

3.2.3. Taraki's Murder

Taraki after a dispute with Amin, he had given orders to kill him. While ordered to shoot, Amin could run away with his car. Immediately after the escape ordered to arrest Taraki and immediately presidential guard in the palace, in the presence of advisers of Soviet ambassador has caught Taraki, and then Amin had ordered to kill him and they killed Taraki by the pillow.¹⁰⁰

In September 1979 Kabul radio announced death of Taraki as follow: "Noor Mohammad Taraki Chairman of the Revolutionary Council had serious illness recently, and yesterday morning died, and buried in his family tomb." At the time of Babrak Karmal, murder of Taraki was under investigation, "the result was told that Yaqub (chief

⁹⁷. Atai, 2010, 451.

⁹⁸. Faiyaz, 2010, 224-226.

⁹⁹ Ibid, 235.

¹⁰⁰. Mubariz, 1996, 409.

of staff), Jandad (Guard commander), Roozy (Guard's political deputy) and an officer named Abdul Wodood had murdered Taraki with to choke out through the pillow."¹⁰¹

3.3. Hafizullah Amin

Hafizullah Amin, from September to December 1979 was the second president of the communist regime.

3.3.1. Biography

Hafizullah Amin in 1929 was born in Kabul. After finished study in science faculty, was elected as a teacher in schools, in 1957, by the Higher Education ministry was sent to America to take his master's degree.¹⁰² While studying in America in 1963 was elected as head of the student union at the Columbia University. According to some sources, this issue about Amin had raised some speculation as he absorbed in America Intelligence Agency (CIA) at that time. As Sultan Ali Kishtamand, an unrelenting opponent of Amin had written:

"After returning of Amin to Afghanistan, a number of clamors were released, that the former head of this student's association has been a member of the CIA. These clamors create many doubts about Amin and his past."¹⁰³

However, Amin before finishing his doctorate returned to Afghanistan in 1965. While in the US he was a student had become a leftist politician and soon became an important member of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan.

Amin was very clever, and never said anything his past. His presence in the People's Democratic Party was one of the fundamental causes of successive splits in the party. As Kishtamand said, although the struggle for power between the leaders of the People's Democratic Party had provided situation for the split, but in the meantime Hafizullah Amin had played a provocative role.

He took over Military Committee's responsibility to recruit troops, and he was the commander at April 1978 coup. After the coup, he was appointed as Vice Chancellor

¹⁰¹. Atai, 2010, 412.

¹⁰². Keshtmand, 2002, vol. 1, 171.

¹⁰³. Ibid, 173.

and Minister of Foreign Affairs. In April 1978 just one year after the coup became Chancellor. On 16 September 1979 with Taraki murder, took leadership of the party and the government, and with using the slogan of safety, legality and justice had took live of thousands innocent people and had believed that Afghanistan didn't need a big number of population.¹⁰⁴

3.3.2. Absolute Sovereignty

Rule of Hafizullah Amin in Afghanistan was absolute. After the killing of Taraki, in addition to the president of the People's Democratic Party, and head of the Revolutionary Council also took prime ministry. And about a hundred days was the only power man, and in many parts of Afghanistan his government was very rough.

As a new president said Taraki did all brutalities in the past, and has announced the list of twelve thousands of the alleged victims and said all of them were executed on the orders of Taraki.

After the murder of Noor Mohammad Taraki, Amin regime was falling across a slope. According to "Lyakhovsky" in "storm in Afghanistan" book, "after the coup, Amin's government came to power, violence and terror in the country reached its peak. Amin with nationalist slogans, chatter, vain, empty and hollow speeches, work to establish a regime led authoritarian and dictatorial."¹⁰⁵

Day by day the severity of popular resistance increased, and as more resources have emphasized, Hafizullah Amin had started contact and communication with America and Pakistan. In a letter to General ZiaulHaq, pointed improve relations between the two countries. Amin's relationship was not limited with these two countries, and as Sayed Mohammad Gulabzoy in an interview with the newspaper "The truth of the April Revolution" claimed that Amin was also in contact with Gulbuddin Hekmatyar and

¹⁰⁴. Faiyaz, 2010, 237.

¹⁰⁵. Alexander Lyakhovsky, Storm in Afghanistan, translate: Aziz Arianfer, (Kabul: Massoud Foundation, 2004).

proposed a coalition rule. And Hekmatyar have accepted this proposal. Although Hekmatyar had denied that he had such a relation with the Amin.¹⁰⁶

3.3.3. Amin's Murder

In the last days of Amin's regime, the Russians thought that by keeping Amin in power, the uprising and resistance will not be inhibited, and also Amin's relationship with America and Pakistan was caused of panic for Moscow, that Afghanistan will be converted to a the new military base for America. Accordingly the Soviet government decided to send troops to Afghanistan and replace Babrak Karmal instead of Hafizullah Amin.

On 27 December 1979, the Soviet military aircraft, one after another came to the Afghanistan's military airports. On the same day Hafizullah Amin was invited all members of the Politburo to his residence place for the meeting. And all members of the meeting were guests of Amin; the first food for guests was soup which had been poisoned by Russian chef. In a 45-minute operation, Amin was killed in front of his family members. ¹⁰⁷ Amin's body was buried at night. He had no plaque or sign left on the graves, and remain Amin's family who survived, was taken into custody

Already had been announced that on the night of 6 December " Supreme Commander of April Revolution and the Revolutionary Council Hafizullah Amin", will give a speech, but suddenly Kabul radio's regular programming was interrupted, and voice Babrak Karmal was playing with a proud resonance,¹⁰⁸ that congratulated the "fatal fall and overturning the fascist regime of Amin, the bloodthirsty imperialist spies, and tyrant dictator and demagogue" to Afghan people.

¹⁰⁶. Basir Ahmad Hasanzade, "Amin's biography, from born up to death", BBC Persian, (22 December 2009).

¹⁰⁷. Nasir Ahmad Sultani, Great superpower confrontation in Afghanistan, (Herat: Diqat publication, 2016), 84-85.

¹⁰⁸. Egor Evsikov, "Soviet Intelligence in Afghanistan: The Only Efficient Tool of the Politburo", Baltic Security & Defense Review, Vol 11, (2009), 48.

3.3.4. The Soviet Invasion

Soviet military invaded Afghanistan in 1979 during the reign of Hafizullah Amin. First Soviet troops entry apparently was invited by Amin. However, these force upon arrival and deployment in Afghanistan, had killed their motive and host.

Role of People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan in invasion of the Soviet Union was not the main role. However Hafizullah Amin had invited the Soviets and Babrak Karmal by the invasion of Soviet troops became the leader of party, but they were considered as victims in this fall and rise. We can properly acknowledge this fact by considering the Soviets actions about the leaders of the People's Democratic Party. Despite that Karmal's role in the invasion of Soviet Union was as a true friend and loyal to the Russians, but the facts in the context of soviet invasion and their next performance were different stories. When the Soviet leaders in Kremlin decided to remove Amin, and Brezhnev talked about this decision with Taraki in September 1979, Babrak Karmal was not taken into consideration as first leader of the party and the government in Kabul. But when Amin had killed Taraki, it forced Soviet leaders to select Babrak Karmal as head of the party and the government in Kabul.¹⁰⁹

3.3.4.1. Soviet Forces' Attack

In the morning of 27 December 1979 by hundreds of air flight five thousand troops had entered to Kabul and Bagram Airport. At noon of that day armored forces which on 25 December crossed Ammo, came to Kabul. Soviet advisers in the Afghan army had pretended that arrivals of these forces are for military training. Any states of emergency or serious concerns were not in Kabul.

In that day noon Amin was host of Politburo's members and member of the People's Democratic Party. Amin with members of Politburo's members talked about his speech in the fifteenth anniversary of the People's Democratic Party, and his meeting with the "Fikryat Akhmedzhanovich Tabeyev" Soviet ambassador. Amin said: "The Soviet ambassador on behalf of the leadership of the Soviet government has assured him that the Soviet government as Vietnam will have technical, financial and military assistance

¹⁰⁹. Hamid Ilmi, *Trips and memories*, (Peshawar: Peshawar Print, 1997), 209.

to Afghanistan and will help our country against interventions, and the interference of Pakistan and other countries in the region."¹¹⁰

When soviets' military force in order to overthrow Amin's government had started moving towards the city center, Amin understood that soviets don't want him. Invading forces afternoon of 27 December detonated telecommunications in the city center, and before the attack on the palace, disrupted all relationships between parts of the army and accommodation of Amin. Invading forces had killed Amin in his palace.¹¹¹

Khaled Hosseini had known invasion of Russians into Afghanistan worse than April 1978 coup. He mentioned April coup as end of Afghanistan's good situation, and Soviet invasion is complement of this end, as said in the "The kite runner" novel:

".. none of us had any notion that a way of life had ended. Our way of life. If not quite yet, then at least it was the beginning of the end. The end, the official end, would come first in April 1978 with the communist coup, and then in December 1979, when Russian tanks would roll into the very same streets where Hassan and I played, bringing the death of the Afghanistan I knew and marking the start of a still ongoing era of bloodletting." "Hosseini, 2003, 34"

3.4. Babrak Karmal

Babrak Karmal was Afghanistan's President from 1979-1986. He was third President of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

3.4.1. Biography

Babrak Karmal was born in 1929 in South of Kabul. People called him "the second Shah Shuja", because Shah Shuja¹¹² was directly under support of Britain and Karmal was directly under support of Russians.

After graduation from High School in 1947, Karmal started Law faculty in Kabul University. In the University for the First Time became familiar with Marxist political activist. And soon became the leader of the democratic students' movement.

¹¹⁰. Seyed Ali Mousavi, Analytical history of Afghanistan- From Zahir Shah up to Karzai, (Kabul: Balk publication, 2009), 132.

¹¹¹. Pierre Allen, Dieter Kläy, The reality of Soviet invasion in Afghanistan, Translate: Abdul Rahim Parwani, (Peshawar: Maiwand Publishing, 2004), 203, 204.

¹¹². Shah Shuja Durrani, king of Afghanistan in 1803-1809 and 1839-1842.

3.4.1.1. Political Activities

Karmal in the mid-1950s, was imprisoned because of anti-government activities. In 1956 was released from prison and as a clerk in the Ministry of Planning (Ministry of Planning and Budget) was appointed. In January 1965 Noor Mohammad Taraki along with 29 of his comrades and some authors founded People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan.¹¹³ In 1965 and 1968, each time for four years Karmal was elected as a member in the Afghan parliament. People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan in 1967 was split into two branches (People's branch and flag branch). Karmal became leader of the flag branch.¹¹⁴ Despite of Karmal opposition, party re-united in 1977. After April 27 coup, People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan assumed the role of the government. Karmal had appointed as Vice-Chancellor. In July 1978 members of flags branch was removed from their jobs in the government, Karmal was sent as ambassador to Prague. In August 1978, along with five other members of the flag branch fired on charges of treason, and was called to the country. He disagreed with this statement. By invasion of Russians in Afghanistan, Karmal became president of Afghanistan up to the 1986.

After 1986, Karmal was under the patronage of General Dostum in Mazar-e-Sharif, but he returned to Moscow. In 1995, when Karmal was living in the small town of Hairatan in northern Afghanistan, Mustafa Danish radio BBC's expert in term of Middle East, met Karmal for the last time. Danish had written:

"When I saw the former president, at first he did not recognize me. He was worn and broken old man with cancer illness. In previous years more than ten times I had talked with him. During the cold war he had a lot of credit as one of the important pieces of East bloc. In that last meeting he talked about his goals and plans with endless excitement and confidence."¹¹⁵

In the same year Karmal succeeded to take visa and went to Moscow, where he died the following year. His body was taken to Afghanistan and was buried in Hairatan, but when Taliban seized Hairatan, exploded his grave in 1998.

¹¹³. Atai, 2010, 451.

¹¹⁴. Sultani, 2016, 125.

¹¹⁵. Mustafa Danish, Memories of the last meeting with Babrak Karmal, BBC Persian, (23 December 2009).

3.4.1.2. Internal Policy

Karmal called his government defender of the April revolution's great achievements.¹¹⁶ To make it happen, urgent measures were fully implemented on the first night, those were releasing of flag branch's activists from prison, and imprisonment of some of activists and leaders of People branch. A few days later political prisoners with the exception of 80 were released.¹¹⁷

Karmal's government policy was based on "basic principles of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan", which according to, Afghanistan should follow the ways that the countries of the Soviet sphere of dominance were force to chase it. The inclusion of some of expediency on the basic lines of government did not get any benefit to his regime. Here are two examples:

1. In the context of Islam they had said: "decisively we will follow the religion of Islam",¹¹⁸ while all were aware that members of the People's Democratic Party were far away from religion's belief and they had materialist ideas. But his government to prevent further gap between the party and the vast of majority people, was pretending to be Muslim. For this not their claim, and not their dramatic gestures such as the present of party leaders in the mosques and religious circles has convinced people that they are Muslims.
2. Karmal's regime claimed that "contrary to human dignity punishment and torture is not permitted".¹¹⁹ But practically in the Karmal's regime like the former period torture were forced confessions, various harassment, and gross violations of human rights, hanging and firing.

Education and all the cultural institutions had been affected of the invasion's goals, and the rule of Karmal. All were required to advertise in the ideology of the party. In the basic principles of Karmal's regime, for scientific and artistic activities, such a framework had set: "Freedom of scientific, technical, cultural and artistic is accordance

¹¹⁶. Afghan calendar, (Kabul: state publication), No. 45/46, 8.

¹¹⁷. General Umarzai, Nights in Kabul, 2. Edition, (Peshawar: ---, 2014), 376.

¹¹⁸. Declaration of Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, to approve and confirm the basic principles of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, A discussion in the field of political activity of secular people in Islamic countries, April 14, 1980.

¹¹⁹. Basic principles of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, 14 April 1980, article 30.

with the goals of April revolution."¹²⁰ So the quality of education had reduced. The collapse of basic education especially in rural areas increased. Akram Andishmand in his own comprehensive study of the state of knowledge at that time had written: "The decline of education after the Soviet invasion in Afghanistan extended ..."¹²¹

After the April 1978 coup, during Taraki and Amin's governments spy and informer had increased, everyone was likely to be a spy. But at the time of Babrak Karmal spy had reached at its limit, even it was in people's homes, in the case Khaled Hosseini also said:

“... You couldn't trust anyone in Kabul anymore, for a fee or under threat, people told on each other, neighbor on neighbor, child on parent, brother on brother, servant on master, friend on friend. I thought of the singer Ahmad Zahir,¹²² who had played the accordion at my thirteenth birthday. He had gone for a drive with some friends, and someone had later found his body on the side of the road, a bullet in the back of his head. The rafiqs, the comrades, were everywhere and they'd split Kabul into two groups: those who eavesdropped and those who didn't. The tricky part was that no one knew who belonged to which. A casual remark to the tail or while getting fitted for a suit might land you in the dungeons of Poleh- charkhi. Complain about the curfew to the butcher and next thing you knew, you were behind bars staring at the muzzle end of a Kalashnikov. Even at the dinner table, in the privacy of their home, people had to speak in a calculated manner, the rafiqs were in the classrooms too; they'd taught children to spy on their parents, what to listen for, whom to tell.” “Hosseini, 2003, 104-105.”

University professors, schoolteachers and students who were not in party, didn't have safety. Many of them had bound for prison. Countless young persons were forced to go to war. In this respect people had tried that their young children leave Afghanistan. And in this period a lot of peoples had leaved Afghanistan.¹²³

¹²⁰. Ibid, article 29.

¹²¹. Muhammad Akram Andishmand, modern education in Afghanistan, (Kabul: Maiwand publication, 2010), 158.

¹²². Ahmad Zahir (14 June, 1946 - 14 June 1979) the most popular singer in Afghanistan. Who had been killed at age of 33.

¹²³. Afghanistan year book, Statistics of 1984, 5.

3.4.1.3. External Policy

According to the nature of invasion, Karmal's regime policy was exactly in alignment with the regional and global policy of Soviet Union. State's officials in Moscow even were sensitive in determining the policy details in Kabul.¹²⁴

Although the Soviet Union was present in Afghanistan, however Karmal had called Afghan government "one of the non-aligned countries". In this case Karmal replied to questions from a German reporter: "This is a principle objective that Afghanistan to protect national sovereignty and territorial integrity needs material and spiritual assistance of the Soviet Union, but Afghanistan is one of the non-aligned countries."¹²⁵

Problems with Pakistan were more than any time, and with Iran, Karmal's government was trying to adopt a policy that was responsive to somehow align action against America. Based on such expectations Karmal had sent a letter to Ayatollah Khomeini, but received no reply.

America in the foreign policy of Karmal's regime was like an enemy; also this regime had bad political relations with Egypt and China.

3.4.2. End of Babrak Karmal's Regime

Democratic People's Republic of Afghanistan headed by Babrak Karmal had been receiving any aid which was in order to deploy soviets' proposes. The Soviet Union and its allies had given all the needed resources and advice to his regime.¹²⁶ But soviets couldn't achieve their goals as they wanted, even the situation became worse for soviets forces in Afghanistan, because Afghan's Mujahedin always attacked them and these attacks day by day increased. So exchange policy of Moscow had begun and they wanted to remove Karmal from power. Then the question was this: "Who will come instead of Babrak Karmal?"¹²⁷

¹²⁴. Boris Gromov, Red Army in Afghanistan, Translate: Aziz Arianfer, Vol 1, (Tehran, 1996), 75-80.

¹²⁵. Babrak Karmal press interviews. with local and foreign journalists, No. 3, (15 January 1980).

¹²⁶. A group of scientists from the Institute of Historic Military of the Russian Federation, The war in Afghanistan, translate: Aziz Arianfer, (Peshawar, Maiwand Publishing, 1999), 285-286.

¹²⁷. Lyakhovsky, 2004, 4.

Babrak Karmal in spite of his unhappiness first removed from party leader in 1986 and then from head of government, And Doctor Najibullah came to power instead of him. Karmal after years of wandering died in 1996 in Moscow.

3.5. Doctor Najibullah

Doctor Najibullah Ahmadzai was the last president of the Soviet-backed communist government in Afghanistan (from 1986 to 1992). Compared to the other three presidents before him, he had has the more influence among the people and supporters of the party.

3.5.1. Biography

Najibullah son of Akhter Mohammad born in 1947 in Kabul, his family was Pashtun. In 1965 Najibullah started his study at the Medical Faculty, in the same year became a member of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and began to read Marxist literature.¹²⁸ In the Sixties and seventies were involved in intellectual student's movements in Kabul. In 1969 as a result of participating in anti-government protests was jailed for four months. Once again in 1970 was imprisoned for 9 months. However, finally at age of 28 in 1975 achieved his doctoral degree from Kabul University.

Doctor Najibullah was members of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan in flag branch, and with the rapid progress in infrastructure, soon became very close to Babrak Karmal, leader of this branch. After the 27 April coup started to work in the Party organizations and political activities. In June 1978 was sent as ambassador to Tehran, and later dismissed from work and was summoned to Kabul. Najibullah between 1980 and 1986 was head officer of the Afghan secret police (KHAD). This office was known as the dreaded and homicide office,¹²⁹ and many experts are believed that Najibullah under the presidency of KHAD had killed a lot of people. In this case Khaled Hosseini said:

“... On the wall behind Khala Rangmaal's desk was a map of the Soviet Union, a map of Afghanistan, and a framed photo of the latest communist president, Najibullah, who, Babi said, had once been the head of the dreaded KHAD, the Afghan secret police...” “Hosseini, 2007, 101”

¹²⁸. Atai, 2010, 443.

¹²⁹. Sultani, 2016, 147.

Here Hosseini want to show another fact, that there were some people that had liked communists, but the number of these people were low, and now no one of the accept that they were in communist party, or they had liked communists. Doctor Najibullah in 1986 as an alternative to Babrak Karmal was elected as president of Afghanistan.

3.5.2. Reforms

President Najibullah had brought many reforms in the regime and partisan politics, even changed the name of the party, and had renamed People's Democratic Party to Watan party.

He held grand assembly in 1987 and made a new constitution. In the constitution freedoms for citizens, including freedom of press, and political parties were guaranteed.

Respect for "Islam religion", and follow it was mandatory to the government, and even Najibullah had attended in some religious gathering in Kabul. Still, in the early years of his governance many ads were about the Soviet, and this was boring and unbearable for people. As in "A Thousand Splendid Suns" on page 101 Hosseini about the advertisement for the Soviet Union in schools, said:

"She said that the Soviet Union was the best nation in the world, along with Afghanistan. It was kind to its workers, and its people were all equal. Everyone in the Soviet Union was happy and friendly, unlike America, where crime made people afraid to leave their homes. And everyone in Afghanistan would be happy too, she said, once the anti-progressives, the backward bandits, were defeated. "That's why our Soviet comrades came here in 1979. To lend their neighbor a hand. To help us defeat these brutes who want our country to be a backward, primitive nation. And you must lend your own hand, children. You must report anyone who might know about these rebels. It's your duty. You must listen, then report. Even if it's your parents, your uncles or aunts. Because none of them loves you as much as your country does. Your country comes first, remember! I will be proud of you, and so will your country." "Hosseini, 2007, 101"

In every regime some people are opposite and some are agree, some people like it and want to advertise it, as in this part Hosseini said about a teacher that had been agree with politics of Soviet union and communists.

3.5.3. National Reconciliation

Adoption of new policies in the field of negotiation and dialogue with the Mujahideen, or opposition forces, and participation of leftist groups in governance called as national reconciliation policy, which was one of the other policies of Najibullah to consolidation and development of his government's power.¹³⁰ Even though the national reconciliation's policy had been failed, but it was one of the controversial issues in time of Najibullah.

Najibullah on 18 January 1987 took his first step towards national reconciliation policy, and for a group of foreign journalists, said: "Reconciliation is to make peace with someone, and it has two sides. This process requires compromise and forgiveness and high political culture, the ability to think a prospect, or as we like to say, the ability to Forecast and not to live for one day."¹³¹ But in the practice, Najibullah's national reconciliation policy never showed equal participation, and bilateral with Mujahideen.

Najibullah with intensifying war and the suppression of the Mujahideen had thought that it's time for national reconciliation. The National Reconciliation that he had considered was the acceptance of people's Democratic Party rule by the Taliban and Mujahideen leaders. At the time he thought about the national reconciliation, also had expanded military forces in different provinces.

Najibullah always had known himself as a patriotic and tried to show that he is the only person who thinks about Afghanistan and he should be on top of power. This was the issue that Mujahideen didn't believe it and had made them far from reconciliation. While Najibullah had declared national reconciliation policy to reach peace with the Mujahideen, once at the end of the press conference said: "here is not a war on Islam and blasphemy, in our country war is war of interests, class war, progressive and progressive

¹³⁰. Golaqa Akbari, National Reconciliation policy and character of Dr. Najibullah, (Dehli, 2003), 101-103.

¹³¹. Press conference, the answers of Comrade Najibullah general secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan to the questions of foreign journalists, published in Kabul, (18 January 1987), 2.

social classes against the reactionary class. It is war between those who have been sold, and those who are thinking about their homeland."¹³²

3.5.4. Geneva Agreements and the Withdrawal of Soviet Forces

Two years after start of national reconciliation, soviet troops left Afghanistan. The Soviet's withdrawal agreement was signed in Geneva, but its negotiations had been started at the time Babrak Karmal.¹³³

In the first meeting with Gorbachev, Karmal showed that without reasonable assurance about the stop interference of Pakistan is not satisfied to sign an agreement, but for Gorbachev military withdrawal was an irreversible decision. Najibullah had accepted Gorbachev's decision,¹³⁴ and paved the way to the signing of the Geneva agreements. The Geneva agreement was decent excuse for Moscow to distance itself from the quagmire of Afghanistan.

In the "A Thousand Splendid Suns" novel about the Geneva agreement had been said:

"... Six months later, in April 1988, Babi came home with big news. "They signed a treaty!" he said." in Geneva. It's official! They're leaving. Within nine months, there won't be any more Soviets in Afghanistan!" Mammy was sitting up in bed. She shrugged. "But the communist regime is staying," she said. "Najibullah is the Soviets' puppet president. He's not going anywhere. No, the war will go on. This is not the end" "Najibullah won't last," said Babi." "Hosseini, 2007, 138."

Many people and Mujahideen leaders had considered the Soviet withdrawal as a victory for jihad in Afghanistan. Soviet with military intervention in Afghanistan had made Afghanistan as a field for interference of all countries. But after nine years of war and the spread of instability in Afghanistan, without practical agreements in order to restore peace and stability had left Afghanistan with irresponsible, and behind them remained an unstable country and mired in destruction and war, and soviets had a leading role in this conflict and instability.¹³⁵

¹³². No name, Historical documents about national reconciliation, (Kabul: Party print, January 1987), 13-30.

¹³³. Akbari, 2003, 96.

¹³⁴. Ibid, 97.

¹³⁵. Farhang, 2001, 335.

Soviet army in Afghanistan had killed a lot of people; by the Soviet's withdrawal Afghanistan's people were celebrating. In the "A Thousand Splendid Suns" novel in this case had been said:

"One cold, overcast day in January 1989, three months before Laila turned eleven, she, her parents, and Hasina went to watch one of the last Soviet convoys exit the city. Spectators had gathered on both sides of the thoroughfare outside the Military Club near Wazir Akbar Khan. They stood in muddy snow and watched the line of tanks, armored trucks, and jeeps as light snow flew across the glare of the passing headlights. There were heckles and jeers. Afghan soldiers kept people off the street. Every now and then, they had to fire a warning shot." "Hosseini, 2007, 139."

Even in the "The kite runner" novel about the hatred of the Afghan's people against the Russians had described, and it shows how much Afghan's people hate Russians because of their cruelty in Afghanistan. Amir's father in spite of serious illness would not allow the Russian doctor to touch him.

"The visit with the pulmonologist, Dr. Schneider, was going well until Baba asked him where he was from. Dr. Schneider said Russia. Baba lost it. "Excuse us, Doctor," I said, pulling Baba aside. Dr. Schneider smiled and stood back, stethoscope still in hand. "Baba, I read Dr. Schneider's biography in the waiting room. He was born in Michigan. Michigan! He's American, a lot more American than you and I will ever be." "I don't care where he was born, he's Roussi," Baba said, grimacing like it was a dirty word. "His parents were Roussi, his grandparents were Roussi. I swear on your mother's face I'll break his arm if he tries to touch me." "Hosseini, 2003, 143."

Although both superpowers (the Soviet Union and America) as guarantors of the Geneva had signed this agreements, but their foreign ministers said that they will continue their support to their parties. America's Foreign Minister George Sholter in a statement said: if the Soviet Union continues to support the Kabul regime, America will continue their contributions to the Mujahideen.

The most important issue about Geneva agreement is that, Geneva agreement did not end the war in Afghanistan, and would not cut off foreign intervention and the restoration of stability, also instability and conflict in various fields has expanded.

3.5.5. Najibullah after the Withdrawal of Soviet Forces

When Soviet troops withdrew from Afghanistan began in early 1988, parties by effort of United Nations in Afghanistan had launched political dialogue, but the responses were cold. At that time Diego Cordovez representative of United Nations to Afghanistan and his secretor Binon Sivan, had discussed about the facilities to an acceptable government for Afghan, Afghan Mujahideen groups, independent Afghan leaders and important figures like former Shah (Zahir shah).¹³⁶ Also they considered the relations of Afghan government with Pakistan, US, and Soviet in their discussions. But over hastiness of the Soviet Union to withdraw from Afghanistan, and the oppositions' believes that Kabul government will immediate collapse after the Soviet withdraw had prevented from any agreement.

Simultaneously with the withdrawal of the last Soviet soldier in February 1989, the Consultative Council of Mujahideen groups were in Pakistan, in the Rawalpindi city, which aimed to establish a transitional interim government.¹³⁷

Doctor Najibullah's government in Kabul, contrary to the predictions and expectations of the Mujahideen, immediately after leaving the Soviet forces did not fall. In the days that resistance groups engaged in debate about transitional government, Najibullah had tried to reaffirm its position. He declared a state of emergency and the defense of the capital and cities against the Mujahideen had put on the agenda. Differences in the resistance and regime's military superiority were two factors which had benefit to the Najibullah government. But in the meantime mujahedin began a major attack for fall of the government in Jalalabad. This war had faced with government forces' fierce resistance. Victory in this war had given confidence to the Najibullah government, and strengthened the spirit of the army and pro-government supporters.¹³⁸

In early March 1990, in another effort, the bloody coup took place in Kabul, which was led by the defense minister Shahnawaz Tanai. But the coup was suppressed and the coup

¹³⁶. Farouq Azam, "The Geneva accords on Afghanistan", (July 1993), 1.

¹³⁷. No name, "A Brief History of Five decades in Afghanistan", (Kabul: Mohsen publication, June 2014), 64.

¹³⁸. Evsikov, 2009, 54.

plotters fled to Pakistan. The failed coup was a victory for Najibullah, but had weakened the position of People's Democratic Party.

Meanwhile, President Najibullah tried to consolidate his political position in favor of using victories. Najibullah hoped that regime's stand against its opponents after the Soviet forces' withdrawal will change the US policy about his regime, but as Zalmay Khalilzad, adviser to the US State Department said at the time that immediately changing US policies is a difficult thing.¹³⁹

Mujahideen leaders' response to the Najibullah's demand for negotiation and compromise was negative. Gulbuddin Hekmatyar leader of the Islamic Party of Afghanistan at the time insisted that negotiation with Najibullah is not possible. Najibullah in his speeches had said: foreign countries' are trying to make problems and make opposition to the national reconciliation' policy.¹⁴⁰

However, Najibullah to continue his national reconciliation's policy had accepted the formation of the Interim Administration, and even agreed to hold elections. But internal differences and problems at the country in the final years of his rule, he was on the verge of collapse. In the "A Thousand Splendid Suns" novel had mentioned as follows:

"In Kabul, Najibullah changed tactics and tried to portray himself as a devout Muslim. "Too little and far too late," said Babi. "You can't be the chief of KHAD one day and the next day pray in a mosque with people whose relatives you tortured and killed" Feeling the noose tightening around Kabul, Najibullah tried to reach a settlement with the Mujahideen but the Mujahideen balked." "Hosseini, 2007, 144"

When General Abdul Rashid Dostum, leader of militants in northern Afghanistan and Najibullah's supporter became against him, Najibullah government had faced with imminent collapse.

Najibullah that within five years had answered to the question of journalists about his withdrawal from the leadership of the government, and said that "it is no time to go, but

¹³⁹. Zalmay Khalilzad, *The Envoy: From Kabul to the White House, My Journey Through a Turbulent World*, Translate: Haroon Najafi, (Kabul: Hazim Publication, 2016), 63.

¹⁴⁰. Tanin, 2006, 339-350.

the time that become a union", with the adoption of the United Nations in the eighteenth March 1992 was ready to resign. The plan by the Secretary-General on 27 January 1992 was announced.¹⁴¹

In the case of Najibullah's surrender in the "A Thousand Splendid Suns" mentioned that:

"And, eventually, they did. In April 1992, the year Laila turned fourteen. Najibullah surrendered at last and was given sanctuary in the UN compound near Darulaman Palace, south of the city." "Hosseini, 2007, 144"

Philip Corwin, one of the senior officials of the United Nations in Afghanistan was a member of the delegation of the United Nations Transitional Administration in order to transfer power from Najibullah clearly stated about Najibullah's resign: "The decision of the Secretary-General about the Najibullah's resigns was due to the demands of all major players in the Afghanistan's war. And to convince Najibullah to resign, the Secretary-General should be guaranteed to protect him. Otherwise there was no way, except that tell Najibullah please "put your head to the corded, because we want to move forward with the peace process."¹⁴²

3.5.6. Najibullah Failed Attempt

Najibullah in the evening (April 16, 1992) had decided to withdraw from Kabul, but was not successful.¹⁴³ And with his companions and officers of the United Nations went back to the UN office in Kabul. He still hoped that UN Secretary General's representative will make facilitate for his exit from Kabul. Binon Sivan remained in Afghanistan see up to 23 April 1992, and despite of many efforts, including talks with Ahmad Shah Massoud in Charikar, and Abdul Rashid Dostum in Mazar-e-Sharif, did not succeed in removing Najibullah from Kabul.

Mujahedeen arrived in Kabul on 28 April 1992, shortly after the civil war began in Kabul and it continued almost five years in Kabul and up to ten years in various regions

¹⁴¹. Phillip Corwin, *Doomed in Afghanistan: A UN Officer's Memoir of the fall of Kabul and Najibullah's Failed Escape 1992*, (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2003), 53.

¹⁴². *Ibid*, 33.

¹⁴³. Azimi, 1999, 556.

of Afghanistan. Destruction, bloodshed and displacement of people in these wars were the cause that a number of people remembered the words of Najibullah, who said, “ in our country "bloodbath" will be ongoing, if the power do not transferred to a government which all Afghans will be agree to."

3.5.7. Factors of Fall

Is Najibullah government fell in military terms? This is a complicated and difficult question, which cannot only be answered by yes or no offer. Democratic People's Party government led by Najibullah in 1990 has had four hundred thousand troops, arms and equipment. But these forces during the years that the party and the government went into decline, had two unsolvable problems, which they failed in perform their duties in defending the sovereignty of the Democratic People's Party, and the party and government were shattered. On the one hand they sank in the division and hostility within the party, and on the other hand continued and incessant assistance of Soviet Union were suspended. In addition, the crisis and the decline of the People's Democratic Party ideology had taken motivation from army.¹⁴⁴

Another factor was that Najibullah had no clear policy, and want to do a lot of things behind the scenes and without the participation of the people and the party. Under his leadership in the party, people branch scared from flag, and the flag branch scared of people branch, and both of them scared from Mujahideen.

3.5.8. Najibullah's Murder

When the Taliban had arrived in Kabul, Ahmad Shah Massoud twice had suggested to Doctor Najibullah to leave the country. He had refused and thought that Taliban will not kill him. But the Taliban presence in the country and capture a large part of Afghanistan, when they came in Kabul, on the first day (26 September 1996), they arrested President Najibullah and his brother Shahpur Ahmadzai, who were hiding at UN headquarters in Kabul. After that they had executed them in public.¹⁴⁵ Their bodies had transferred to Paktia province by tribal people.

¹⁴⁴. Abdul Godus, Gorbani, A look at the history of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, (Kabul: Maiwand Publishing, 2000), 132.

¹⁴⁵. Sultani, 2016, 150.

Some researchers believe that Najibullah in the final moments of his life also was victim of hatred and hostility which was in the party. Although apparently after four years of asylum at the UN office in Kabul, he had been hanged by the Taliban, but some analysts have linked his murder to the People's branch, which he was killed by Shahnawaz Tanai, who was in the Taliban group.¹⁴⁶

Nowadays Najibullah by a large number of Afghans, to adopt the policy of national reconciliation, predicted the civil wars, is lauded.

¹⁴⁶. Razzaq Mamoon, the secret lies "Secrets of Dr. Najib's death ", (2007), 86-97.

4. BETWEEN 1992 – 2001

In this part I want to write about the Mujahedeen and Taliban.

4.1 Mujahedeen

Afghan Mujahedeen or Islamic resistance groups of Afghanistan that their roots are in the Islamic movement of this country in the decade of democracy (the last decade of Mohammad Zahir Shah's reign), fought nine years against the Soviet forces bravely. In the first, followers of the Islamic Movement of Afghanistan between the Commons had been known as "Akhwani", and their aim was to establish an Islamic government in Afghanistan. At the time of Soviet invasion in Afghanistan, they have been known as Mujahedeen.¹⁴⁷ Later their violent and bad rule in Afghanistan after the fall of the Communist regime cause that now people know most of them with bad names.

4.1.1. History

Afghan Mujahedeen, begun their armed resistance against the communist regime in Kabul before the invasion of the Soviet army in December 1979. When the Soviet troops came to Afghanistan to reinforce their regime, the resistance movement increased and had begun across the country. The main objectives of these resistances were summarized in two parts:¹⁴⁸

- 1- Immediate and unconditionally withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan
- 2- Establish an Islamic state in Afghanistan

For the first aim, with the exception of supporters of the puppet regime in Kabul, the vast majority of the Afghan people had same opinion, but for the second aim unity between the Mujahedeen did not exist.

¹⁴⁷. Sultani, 2016, 110-111.

¹⁴⁸. Atai, 2010, 331.

However, at that time the Mujahedeen had full support of the Afghan people, and with the passage of time, their struggle against the Kabul government and the occupation forces had become invincible, and the government despite the potential and actual power has failed in repression of Mujahedeen. With this disability the Soviet and Kabul authorities had understood this truth that the Afghan issue should be resolved through political means.

Then, at the international level Geneva negotiations were continued, but Mujahedeen did not participate in these negotiations, because they claimed that they have 80 percent of Afghanistan under their control. From the first they declined and emphasized that in the absence of actual parties of conflict in negotiations reaching to an agreement and its implementation would not be possible.¹⁴⁹

In January 1987, the process of national reconciliation began. The Kabul's regime proposed top positions in the government and several other privileges to Mujahedeen but they did not show any flexibility in their demands. However, lack of integration and influence of foreign governments were in the resistance, such as seven- alliance party in Pakistan, and the unity of the eight parties in Iran, but Mujahedeen had refused all solution in which elements of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan were on one side. They had decided to continue their struggle until withdrawal of the last Soviet troops from Afghanistan, and establishment of an Islamic state in the country.¹⁵⁰

However, sometimes the Mujahedeen had some difference ideas on some issues such as election, the role of Mohammad Zahir Shah in the future of Afghanistan, and the adoption of the Geneva negotiations, but these differences did not deviate them from their original purpose.

Presence of Soviet military in Afghanistan for nine years, eventually with the sustainable resistance of Mujahedeen had led to the fiasco. The occupation of Afghanistan not only damaged the reputation of the Soviet Communist government in

¹⁴⁹. Sultani, 2016, 130-135.

¹⁵⁰. Press conference, the answers of Comrade Najibullah general secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan to the questions of foreign journalists, published in Kabul, (18 January 1987), 2.

the world, also had damaged its economy. So, when Mikhail Gorbachev, the last Soviet leader came to power, and found his way to the Kremlin, had spoken about the necessity of withdrawing Soviet troops from Afghanistan, and did it so consistently.¹⁵¹ As Hosseini mentioned in *A Thousand Splendid Suns*:

“The Soviet Union crumbled with astonishing swiftness. Every few weeks, it seemed to Laila, Baba was coming home with news of the latest republic to declare independence. Lithuania. Estonia. Ukraine. The Soviet flag was lowered over the Kremlin. The Republic of Russia was born.” “Hosseini, 2007, 143-144”

There are different ideas about the collapse of Soviet Union; some writers believed that cold war and economic problems were the reasons of Soviet Union’s collapse, but some writers, especially writers that were agree with Mujahedeen groups believed that failure of Soviet in Afghanistan was a big reason of it collapse.

4.1.2. Groups of Mujahedeen

Before any small categorization of Mujahedeen or their parties, they should be generally divided into two categories: The first category small group of Islamic fundamentalists, who had tight fit relation with the intelligence of Afghanistan neighboring countries, especially Pakistan and Iran. Mujahedeen leaders are often from the same range. The second group is majority of Afghanistan people who were naked feet and poor. After 1978 coup and particularly after the Soviet military occupation in Afghanistan had started fight against the rule of the puppet government and the occupation forces. Because they were poor and empty hands people, they had to join to the first group (with the exception of small and dispersed groups of Afghan educated intellectuals, who even hadn’t confirmed Mujahedeen positions in the trench of resistance).

4.1.3. Mujahedeen Government 1992-1996

On 18 March of 1992, under pressure of the United States and Pakistan via the United Nations, Najibullah agreed to resign as president of state as soon as a transitional authority was formed. Dr. Najibullah appeared on Afghan television to make the announcement. The next day, General Rashid Dostum, the government’s main military

¹⁵¹. Akbari, 2003, 96.

leader in the north, defected from the government and formed a coalition force with other mujahedeen commanders. This new unified force took control of the northern city of Mazar-e Sharif and surrounding areas. Also the border of Pakistan, already held by other mujahedeen forces, Kabul was now effectively surrounded.¹⁵²

Mujahedeen took power in Afghanistan. Before the Mujahedeen government, power was monopolized by Pashtuns, but the Mujahedeen government shattered this monopoly. As stated in the *A Thousand Splendid Suns* book:

“... Baba said that there were tensions between their people-the Tajiks, who were a minority, and Tariq's people, the Pashtuns, who were the largest ethnic group in Afghanistan. Tajiks have always felt slighted, Baba had said. Pashtun kings ruled this country for almost two hundred and fifty years, Laila, and Tajiks for all of nine months; back in 1929” “Hosseini, 2007, 117”

When the Najibullah government had collapsed by Ahmad Shah Massoud's forces in Kabul, political leaders of Mujahedeen were in Peshawar, Pakistan. It was clear that none of the leaders can rule Afghanistan individually, and coalition should be created between them. So in an agreement that the leaders signed in Peshawar on 24 April 1992, defined the initial framework of Afghanistan's interim government. Leaders agreed that Sibghatullah Mojadidi who is a Pashtun, would be the head of the interim government for a period of two months, and then Burhanuddin Rabbani who was a Tajik, would be the head of the interim government for a period of four months, and then a council of elders will be responsible of the interim government for 18 months, to provide the context of the election.¹⁵³ As in *A Thousand Splendid Suns*, Khaled Hosseini mentioned:

“It was a dazzling, cloudless day, perfect for a party. The men sat on rickety folding chairs in the yard. They drank tea and smoked and talked in loud bantering voices about the Mujahedeen's plan. From Baba, Laila had learned the outline of it: Afghanistan was now called the Islamic State of Afghanistan. An Islamic Jihad Council, formed in Peshawar by several of the Mujahedeen factions, would oversee things for two months, led by Sibghatullah Mojadidi. This would be followed then by a leadership council led by Rabbani, who would take over for four months. During those six months, a loyajirga

¹⁵². Assadollah Wolwalji, What occurred in the northern plains of Afghanistan during the planning and implementation of the withdrawal of the red army from this country, (Peshawar: Golestan, 2001).

¹⁵³. Atai, 2010, 464- 467.

would be held, a grand council of leaders and elders, who would form an interim government to hold power for two years, leading up to democratic elections.” “Hosseini, 2007, 148-149”

But Rabbani had remained on the head of the interim government for a longer time. The elders Council (Loya Jirga) had held meeting in Kabul and due to circumstances, which caused by the opposition of some Pashtun groups, such as Hekmatyar, had decided that Rabbani remain on government head for a period of two more years.¹⁵⁴

4.1.4. Mujahedeen’s Leaders

During the Mujahedeen government two of leader (Sibghatullah Mojadidi and Rabbani) at different times were head of government, and also several other commander had outstanding contribution. In his books, Khaled Hosseini also repeated their names many times.

As mentioned in an episode of A Thousand Splendid Suns:

“The jihad was over. The various communist regimes that had held power since the night Laila was born were all defeated. Mammy's heroes, Ahmad's and Noor's brothers in- war, had won. And now, after more than a decade of sacrificing everything, of leaving behind their families to live in mountains and fight for Afghanistan's sovereignty, the Mujahedeen were coming to Kabul, in flesh, blood, and battle-weary bone. Mammy knew all of their names. There was Dostum, the flamboyant Uzbek commander, leader of the Junbish-i-Milli faction, who had a reputation for shifting allegiances. The intense, surly Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, leader of the Hezb-e-Islami faction, a Pashtun who had studied engineering and once killed a Maoist student. Rabbani, Tajik leader of the Jamiat-e-Islami faction, who had taught Islam at Kabul University in the days of the monarchy. Sayyaf, a Pashtun from Paghman with Arab connections, a stout Muslim and leader of the Ittehad-i- Islami faction. Abdul Ali Mazari, leader of the Hizb-e-Wahdat faction, known as Baba Mazari among his fellow Hazaras, with strong Shi'a ties to Iran. And, of course, there was Mammy's hero, Rabbani's ally, the brooding, charismatic Tajik commander Ahmad Shah Massoud, the Lion of Panjshir.” “Hosseini, 2007, 144-145”

As we see in this part auteur had mentioned some Mujahedeen’s leaders and now I want to write a little about some of them, as follow:

¹⁵⁴. Ibid, 482.

4.1.4.1. Sibghatullah Mojadidi: He was born in 1927 in Kabul. In 1992, when Mujahedeen government was made in exile, in Pakistan, Sibghatullah Mojadidi was appointed as head of the Islamic State of Afghanistan.¹⁵⁵ After the victory of the Mujahedeen, he had taken over the government officially from Khaliqyar, Prime Minister of Najibullah. Sibghatullah Mojadidi after two months according to previous agreements gave the government to Burhanuddin Rabbani leader of Jamiat-e Islami party.

In the reign of Mr. Mojadidi and then, because of various factions or parties of Mujahedeen, Kabul was divided into various parts and every party had controlled one part. Intergroup conflict among the various parties of Mujahedeen was the most important events of this period.

After the fall of the Mujahedeen government by Taliban Mojadidi again returned to Pakistan, and continued their resistance to retake Kabul, although he did not accept to join the northern alliance, as the most important opposition group against the Taliban in Afghanistan which was led by Ahmad Shah Massoud.

4.1.4.2. Burhanuddin Rabbani: He was leader of Jamiat-e Islami party in Afghanistan, and also one of the establisher of Islamic fundamentalism in the country.

Mr. Rabbani was born in Faizabad in the East of Afghanistan, in 1940. He had completed his Islamic education in Cairo, and then returned to Kabul in the 1960s, and had become one of the opposition against Zahir Shah's secular reforms in Afghanistan.¹⁵⁶

Burhanuddin Rabbani in 1971, founded the Jamiat-e Islami Party (Islamic Society party), a party that had experienced a lot of ups and downs during Afghanistan's civil war, and also headed by Mr. Rabbani until he had died.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁵ . "Sibghatullah Mojadidi", (November 22, 2007). <http://www.payam-af-tab.com/fa/doc/news/166>

¹⁵⁶ . Burhanuddin Rabbani, President of the Mujahedeen, BBC Persian site: Tuesday, August. 6. 2009.

¹⁵⁷ . Ali Reza Sharif, Afghanistan's democracy discourse analysis-discursive barriers of democracy, (Kabul: Farhang publication, 2013), 156.

In 1992, when Mr. Rabbani was president of the Mujahedeen government, seemed he was reluctant to step down from power after his term was completed. He could extent his presidential term for several months because of security problems, and then reached an agreement which still remain as president, and his main rival Gulbuddin Hekmatyar became Prime Minister of Afghanistan.

When Taliban came to power in 1996, Mr. Rabbani went to his home province, and formed anti-Taliban Front. In areas under his control, unlike other parts of Afghanistan, which was in the hands of the Taliban, women were allowed to work outside the home, and go to school or university.

Following the collapse of the Taliban regime in 2001, Mr. Rabbani, who until then was known as the Afghan president, officially gave the power to Hamid Karzai head of the Interim government of Afghanistan, but did not place in the new cabinet of Afghanistan.

Mr. Rabbani has always been a critic of President Hamid Karzai's government in Afghanistan. He was expected as a candidate in the first presidential elections in 2004, but at the last minute had changed his decision. Mr. Rabbani participated in the Afghan parliamentary elections in 2005, and won the country's membership of the House of Representatives. He heads a major opposition group called the National Front in the time of Hamid Karzai's government, this opposition group also were chaired a number of former jihadi commanders.

Burhanuddin Rabbani was killed in 20 September 2011 by a suicide bomber in his home. At the time of the bombing, several members of the Afghan Peace Council in his house had a meeting with two members of the Taliban; one of the representatives of the Taliban who was hide explosives in his turban (turban on head tie) blown up and killed Mr. Rabbani. In the last years of his life, Mr. Rabbani was head of Afghan Peace Council.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁸. "Burhanuddin Rabbani killed in Kabul", (BBC Persian, September 20, 2011), http://www.bbc.com/persian/afghanistan/2011/09/110920_130_afghanistan_rabanni_killed

4.1.4.3. Ahmad Shah Massoud: Ahmad Shah Massoud's life was short but full story. At least half of the forty-eight years of his life had passed in guerrilla skirmishes, had experienced many failures and success, and was considered one of the important elements in Afghanistan's political system.

Less political figures can be found in Afghanistan, that public opinion about his role and place in his lifetime and also after his death have consensus; Massoud also is no exception. He is a national hero for some, and for others he is one of the main causes of the Civil War, and as its result Kabul was destroyed, and thousands were killed during the war.

In the "A Thousand Splendid Suns" has mentioned Ahmad Shah Massoud as a hero.

"And, of course, there was Mammy's hero, Rabbani's ally, the brooding, charismatic Tajik commander Ahmad Shah Massoud, the Lion of Panjshir. Mammy had nailed up a poster of him in her room. Massoud's handsome, thoughtful face, eyebrow cocked and trade mark pakol tilted, would become ubiquitous in Kabul. His soulful black eyes would gaze back from billboards, walls, storefront windows, from little flags mounted on the antennas of taxicabs. "Hosseini, 2007, 145"

Ahmad Shah Massoud son of Dost Mohammed, who was a senior police officer, was born on 01/09/1953 in Panjshir. Massoud had learned religious lessons in Herat. After that went to Kabul, and finished high school in Istiqlal High School. His native language was Persian; in addition he could speak Pashto, Urdu, French and Arabic as well.¹⁵⁹

Massoud became famous when he was leader of a Mujahedeen group in the Panjshir Valley; this group was affiliated with the Jamiat-e Islami which was led by Burhanuddin Rabbani. Soviet troops and the Kabul government had organized several massive attacks to conquer the Panjshir valley, but just one time government forces and the Soviets could go down to the Panjshir Valley, other times the valleys have always remained under control of Massoud and his men. Perhaps for this reason, Massoud name and Panjshir always come together.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁹. Najib Kohistani, "The biography of martyr Ahmad Shah Massoud, leader of the resistance and jihad", Northern elite magazine, (August 22, 2009). <http://kohistanwakohdaman.persianblog.ir/post/3/>

¹⁶⁰. Ibid.

Massoud's actions during the war were strange, for example, Massoud at the time of war with the Soviets, in June 1982 signed a one-year cease-fire with Russian generals.¹⁶¹ Almost all of the Mujahedeen commanders know this cease-fire as Massoud's betrayal to Jihad and the people of Afghanistan, but no one knows the real aim of Massoud for this cease-fire. As shown in *A Thousand Splendid Suns*:

"From the excited voices around her, Laila caught snippets that she put together: The fellow at the politics table, a Pashtun, had called Ahmad Shah Massoud a traitor for "making a deal" with the Soviets in the 1980s. The kebab man, a Tajik, had taken offense and demanded a retraction. The Pashtun had refused. The Tajik had said that if not for Massoud, the other man's sister would still be "giving it" to Soviet soldiers. They had come to blows. One of them had then brandished a knife; there was disagreement as to who." "Hosseini, 2007, 154"

In 1992, forces led by Massoud entered Kabul from the north, and seized parts of the city including the presidential palace. Ahmad Shah Massoud was the most senior Mujahedeen commander, and Mujahedeen accept him as defense minister in the Mujahedeen government, and in real he was the leader of the Mujahedeen troops.

Massoud in his new position has shown new figures of him. Massoud's critics say he has failed as a statesman; he couldn't well know crisis that had afflicted the country at that time, and help people and his country through the crisis. Massoud in the 09 September 2001, two days before the incident of September 11, in an attack by two Arab suicide bomber was killed.¹⁶²

In the *A thousand splendid suns*, Khaled Hosseini has mentioned this even as follow:

"One Sunday that September, Laila is putting Zalmai, who has a cold, down for a nap when Tariq bursts into their bungalow.

"Did you hear?" he says, panting a little. "They killed him. Ahmad Shah Massoud. He's dead."

"What?"

From the doorway, Tariq tells her what he knows. "They say he gave an interview to a pair of journalists who claimed they were Belgians originally from Morocco. As they're

¹⁶¹. Joseph J. Collins, "The Soviet-Afghan war: The first Four years", *Parameters-Journal of the US Army war college*, Vol 14, no.2, (1984), 49-62.

¹⁶². Paul Wolf, "The Assassination of Ahmad Shah Massoud", *Centre for Research on Globalization*, (14 September 2003). <http://www.globalresearch.ca/articles/WOL309A.html>

talking, a bomb hidden in the video camera goes off. Kills Massoud and one of the journalists. They shoot the other one as he tries to run.

They're saying now the journalists were probably Al-Qaeda men."

Laila remembers the poster of Ahmad Shah Massoud that Mammy had nailed to the wall of her bedroom. Massoud leaning forward, one eyebrow cocked, his face furrowed in concentration, as though he was respectfully listening to someone. Laila remembers how grateful Mammy was that Massoud had said a graveside prayer at her sons' burial, how she told everyone about it. Even after war broke out between his faction and the others, Mammy had refused to blame him. He's a good man, she used to say. He wants peace. He wants to rebuild Afghanistan. But they won't let him. They just won't let him. For Mammy, even in the end, even after everything went so terribly wrong and Kabul lay in ruins, Massoud was still the Lion of Panjshir." "Hosseini, 2007, 339-340"

No one knows if he was alive in Afghanistan after the September eleventh, what role he would play? Could he make a better situation for Afghanistan political system? There are a lot of questions such as these about Ahmad shah Massoud.¹⁶³ In Afghanistan the title of national hero is just for Ahmad Shah Massoud, and every year the anniversary of his martyrdom is a public holiday.

4.1.4.4. Abdul Rashid Dostum: Abdul Rashid Dostum was born in 1954 at an Uzbek family in Jawzjan province. After six years of elementary education in his hometown, he had left school and entered the labor market. During the occupation of Afghanistan by the Soviet, he went to military, in the time of Babrak Karmal - former Afghan president; Dostum was commander of a unit of Uzbek militants in the north of the country.¹⁶⁴ In the time of Doctor Najibullah, he became a prominent local commander, and in the fall of Najibullah's government, he had a big role. He established National Islamic Movement of Afghanistan in 1992. After that he had made a coalition with other Mujahedeen against Taliban and named Islamic Front. After the Taliban Dostum was in Afghanistan as a General and an ethnic commander, but in 2014 presidential election he became First vice president of Afghanistan.

In the Afghan civil war under the Mujahedeen rule, only about 65 thousand people died in Kabul, and the city was completely destroyed. Rashid Dostum, leader of the

¹⁶³. Daoud Najy, "Ahmad Shah Massoud, three images in a frame", BBC Persian: (September 10, 2011).

¹⁶⁴. Andy Heil, "Afghanistan: Biography of Abdul Rashid Dostum", Radio Free Europe, (March 02, 2005). <https://www.rferl.org/a/1057815.html>

National Islamic Movement of Afghanistan, on the eve of presidential elections, said: "I apologize for civil war.

The statement said: "The time has come for all of us, to apologize from all of Afghans from the negative effects of our policy in the past. I want to be proactive in this regard, and want to say that from all those, who were suffered on both sides of the war, we want an apology. "¹⁶⁵ Some people believe that He had the biggest part in civil war, most of innocent people had been killed by his men.

4.1.4.5. Abdul Rasul Sayyaf: Abdul Rasul Sayyaf, an important commander during the fight against the Soviet army. He was born in 1946 in Paghman district of Kabul province.¹⁶⁶ Mr. Sayyaf at first was in the Jamiat-e Islami Party, but then had separated from the party and made a new party called the Islamic Union of Afghanistan. Mr. Sayyaf has finished his religious education in Muslim countries, so he had special support of these countries, and particularly Saudi Arabia.

After the fall of the Najibullah's regime, he was the most important supporter of the government led by Burhanuddin Rabbani. When Taliban entered to Kabul, Sayyaf along with Ahmad Shah Massoud, had left the city, and stationed in the north of Kabul, where he was largely under the control of Commander Massoud.¹⁶⁷

After the fall of the Taliban Sayyaf returned to Kabul, and had played various roles in the creation of government in the country. He had attended in the emergency and constitution Loya Jirga (meeting of Afghan elders), and later became a member of parliament from Kabul at the Afghan parliament.

4.1.4.6. Gulbuddin Hekmatyar: Gulbuddin Hekmatyar was born in 1947 in the northern province of Kunduz. He pursued for a small period in Engineering Faculty, but according to the opposition to the government he had left faculty and went to Pakistan.

¹⁶⁵. "Dostum: I apologize for the Civil War", BBC Persian: (October 7, 2013).

¹⁶⁶. "Rasul Sayyaf, from the years of jihad to attend Parliament", BBC Persian: (July 20, 2009).

¹⁶⁷. Ibid.

There with the help of the Pakistani government began attacks against communist government.¹⁶⁸

Hekmatyar has called his group "Islamic Party of Afghanistan" and for jihad in Afghanistan, the party attracted 70% of international assistance, and had spent most of them in the civil war.¹⁶⁹ Hekmatyar also accused of assassinating journalists and intellectuals, who had courage to talk against him. A lot of Arabs were included in his party that later had joined in the al-Qaeda group. Hekmatyar after the withdrawal of Soviet troops, with the help of then-Defense Minister General-Tania, had made a failed coup against Najibullah's regime.¹⁷⁰

After the victory of the Mujahedeen and the establishment of Islamic rule in Afghanistan, Hekmatyar and his group were the only people who didn't accept this government. He was there in Chahar-Asyab near Kabul, and destroyed the city with rockets. According to the UN, some of which 3,000 rockets were fired in a day, more than 20,000 innocent people were killed, and the city destroyed.¹⁷¹ In the last year of Mujahedeen government, he accepted and became prime minister. When Taliban entered Kabul, Hekmatyar escaped to Iran. During this time several times had begged the Taliban to discuss with him and become partner, but the Taliban leaders denied. After the fall of the Taliban, Hekmatyar left Iran to an unknown place, in the recent explosion that took place in Kabul, security officials have accused Hekmatyar, and up to 2017, with the Afghan government was in a position of conflict, and earlier this year signed a peace contract with the Afghan government.¹⁷²

4.1.5. Description of the Civil War in Kabul

A few months after the fall of the Najibullah, Kabul Civil War started. During this multiple faction's war, every group fought in the capital and provinces against each

¹⁶⁸. "Biography of Gulbuddin Hekmatyar", <http://thebiography.us/en/hekmatyar-gulbuddin>

¹⁶⁹. Hamid Wahed Alikuzai, *A Concise History of Afghanistan*, Vol 25, (Indiana: Trafford publication, 2013), 567.

¹⁷⁰. Safa Akhwan, *An oral history of Afghanistan from 1992 until 1900*, (Tehran: Ministry of Foreign Affairs Central Publications, 2001), 207.

¹⁷¹. Sultani, 2016, 159.

¹⁷². *Ibid*, 160.

other. Despite the intervention of the United Nations, some neighboring countries did not allow to achieve any political consensus and partnership forces.

Following the talks with some former commanders, who were allied with Najibullah, Ahmad Shah Massoud's forces entered to Kabul, and other troops were in other areas in the vicinity of Kabul. A portion of the remaining forces of the Najibullah government had joined Massoud, and other parts with the other factions, and some were simply left Kabul.¹⁷³

Basically war was almost between the forces of Ahmad Shah Massoud and Gulbuddin Hekmatyar's forces. Massoud's forces together with Dostum's forces and some other commanders had aimed the Islamic Party by rockets. Whereas Islamic Party had aimed places like Airport, apartments, the Presidential Palace, the Ministry of Defense and Kabul Garrison by rocket attacks. On 26 April 1992 the Mujahedeen leaders in Peshawar, Pakistan, signed the agreement, which was agreed on the interim government and the elections. Massoud was appointed minister of defense. At the same time, most of the Mujahedeen parties agreed to this agreement, but Hekmatyar didn't.¹⁷⁴ So in the first year the main enemy was the Islamic Party. In the *A Thousand Splendid Suns*, Hosseini mentioned:

“The leadership council was formed prematurely. It elected Rabbani president. The other factions cried nepotism. Massoud called for peace and patience. Hekmatyar, who had been excluded, was incensed. The Hazaras, with their long history of being oppressed and neglected, seethed. Insults were hurled. Fingers pointed. Accusations flew. Meetings were angrily called off and doors slammed. The city held its breath. In the mountains, loaded magazines snapped into Kalashnikovs. The Mujahedeen, armed to the teeth but now lacking a common enemy, had found the enemy in each other.”
“Hosseini, 2007, 154-155”

In another part about Massoud and Hekmatyar has written:

"Laila went into his study every day after sundown, and, as Hekmatyar launched his rockets at Massoud from the southern outskirts of the city," "Hosseini, 2007, 160”

¹⁷³. A. Liakhovsky, “The Civil War in Afghanistan”, *National security and the future* 1(1) 2000, 185-212.

¹⁷⁴. Atai, 2010, 464.

In June 1992, immediately between Sayyaf who was leader of the Islamic Union party, headquartered in Paghman in West Kabul, and Abdul Ali Mazari who was leader of Wahdat party war began. During the war Union forces and Wahdat forces were kidnapped or murdered civilians. In the case Khaled Hosseini said:

“In June of that yeah, 1992, there was heavy fighting in West Kabul between the Pashtun forces of the warlord Sayyaf and the Hazaras of the Wahdat faction. The shelling knocked down power lines, pulverized entire blocks of shops and homes. Laila heard that Pashtun militiamen were attacking Hazara households, breaking in and shooting entire families, execution style, and that Hazaras were retaliating by abducting Pashtun civilians, raping Pashtun girls, shelling Pashtun neighborhoods, and killing indiscriminately. Every day, bodies were found tied to trees, sometimes burned beyond recognition. Often, they'd been shot in the head, had had their eyes gouged out, their tongues cut out.” “Hosseini, 2007, 159”

Both side of war had attacked in civilians homes, in the first Union party's forces raped a number of Hazara women and against Wahdat party's forces did the same action to the Pashtun women. According to international laws of war sexual violence is considered war crimes. In Afghanistan mainly rape did not use as a weapon of war during the communists. There were some few cases of rape or kidnap of women. But during civil war in Kabul from 1992 to 1996, this crime has increased. Each group of Mujahedeen committed rape, with the specific purpose of punishing entire communities for the understanding of cooperation with their opponents. Sexual assault as well as other targeted attacks on civilians also had the issue of race. In some cases has been used for ethnic cleansing.¹⁷⁵

In December 1992, Professor Rabbani, who passed more than four months in his presidency, chaired a meeting to postpone his President time. According to this meeting Rabbani remained in power and also agreed for establishment of a parliament which representatives from across the country should be present in this parliament.

In late 1992 Wahdat Party withdrew from the government, Massoud made a new strategy against Islamic party and Wahdat party. Ittehad forces (Union party) played a major role in this attack. In *A Thousand Splendid Suns* mentioned as followed:

¹⁷⁵. Hiram A. Ruiz, “Afghanistan: conflict and displacement 1978 to 2001”, (UNHCR, FMR13, 2001), 9.

“Rasheed kept bringing home news of the war, and Laila was baffled by the allegiances that Rasheed tried to explain to her. Sayyaf was fighting the Hazaras, he said. The Hazaras were fighting Massoud. "And he's fighting Hekmatyar, of course, who has the support of the Pakistanis. Mortal enemies, those two, Massoud and Hekmatyar. Sayyaf, he's siding with Massoud. And Hekmatyar supports the Hazaras for now." As for the unpredictable Uzbek commander Dostum, Rasheed said no one knew where he would stand. Dostum had fought the Soviets in the 1980s alongside the Mujahedeen but had defected and joined Najibullah's communist puppet regime after the Soviets had left. He had even earned a medal, presented by Najibullah himself, before defecting once again and returning to the Mujahedeen's side. For the time being, Rasheed said, Dostum was supporting Massoud.” “Hosseini, 2007, 206-207”

Dostum made agreement with Hekmatyar in January 1994, and attacked to Massoud and that terrible war happened. After the fall of President Najibullah it was biggest war which 25,000 persons were murdered in the city from January up to Jun. Khaled Hosseini has mentioned:

“Early the following year, in January 1994, Dostum did switch sides. He joined Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, and took up position near Bala Hissar, the old citadel walls that loomed over the city from the Koh-e-Shirdawaza Mountains. Together, they fired on Massoud and Rabbani forces at the Ministry of Defense and the Presidential Palace. From either side of the Kabul River, they released rounds of artillery at each other. The streets became littered with bodies, glass, and crumpled chunks of metal. There was looting, murder, and, increasingly, rape, which was used to intimidate civilians and reward militiamen. Mariam heard of women who were killing themselves out of fear of being raped, and of men who, in the name of honor, would kill their wives or daughters if they'd been raped by the militia.” “Hosseini, 2007, 226-227”

In 1994, Suddenly Taliban took Kandahar, and the situation in Kabul changed. They had full support from the Pakistan and at the end of 1994, started to go toward Kabul, Uruzgan and Zabul provinces, and 14 February 1995 they took a part of Kabul. Hekmatyar escaped and Massoud had time to take control of the city.¹⁷⁶ In March, Massoud launched attacks against Wahdat, and Ali Mazari made unity with Taliban and allow them to enter into Kabul. But Taliban killed Ali Mazari. Some writers and said that Taliban they took Mazari with them, and he died in unclear circumstances in the Taliban helicopter in the way of Kandahar. In the *A Thousand Splendid Suns* Hosseini said that they executed him:

¹⁷⁶. Micheal Griffin, *Reaping the Whirlwind: Taliban Movement in Afghanistan*, (London: Pluto Press, 2001), 44-45.

“For two years now, the Taliban had been making their way toward Kabul, taking cities from the Mujahedeen, ending factional war wherever they'd settled. They had captured the Hazara commander Abdul Ali Mazari and executed him.” “Hosseini, 2007, 245”

In the “The kite runner” book, he mentioned the destruction of Kabul with examples:

“Rahim Khan told me how, when the Northern Alliance took over Kabul between 1992 and 1996, different factions claimed different parts of Kabul. "If you went from the Shar-e-Nau section to Kerteh-Parwan to buy a carpet, you risked getting shot by a sniper or getting blown up by a rocket- if you got past all the checkpoints that was. You practically needed a visa to go from one neighborhood to the other. So people just stayed put, prayed the next rocket wouldn't hit their home." He told me how people knocked holes in the walls of their homes so they could bypass the dangerous streets and would move down the block from hole to hole. In other parts, people moved about in underground tunnels.” “Hosseini, 2003, 184”

In another part:

“We were driving westbound toward the Karteh-She district on what I remembered as a major thoroughfare in the seventies: Jadeh Maywand. Just north of us was the bone dry Kabul River. On the hills to the south stood the broken old city wall. Just east of it was the Bala Hissar Fort- the ancient citadel that the warlord Dostum had occupied in 1992 on the Shirdarwaza mountain range, the same mountains from which Mujahedeen forces had showered Kabul with rockets between 1992 and 1996, inflicting much of the damage I was witnessing now. The Shirdarwaza range stretched all the way west. It was from those mountains that I remember the firing of the Topeh chasht, the "noon cannon." It went off every day to announce noontime, and also to signal the end of daylight fasting during the month of Ramadan. You'd hear the roar of those cannon all through the city in those days.” “Hosseini, 2003, 226”

4.1.6. The Fall of the Mujahedeen and Out of Kabul

Although the Mujahedeen had support of the people, but due to ethnic and political differences between them, they had failed to make a common political program to run the country. For this reason that Mujahedeen didn't want to be under control of Pakistan, Pakistan had made a big problem for them with Islamic party. Gulbuddin Hekmatyar who was leader of Islamic party destroyed Kabul.

When Rabbani remained in power more than four months that they were accepted in Peshawar agreement, Pashtuns didn't accept it. And this made situations worse. At the

first Hekmatyar had fought with Massoud and Dostum. Other side Sayyaf had fought with Ali Mazari, and then Hekmatyar made agreement with Dostum and had fought with Massoud. Pakistan and Iran were the countries that supported these groups directly. These entire situations had made people too tired of war and they just wanted peace.

When Pakistan realized that people want peace and it can defeat Mujahedeen with new power, had made new power to deal with Mujahedeen and the new power named "Taliban movement" had come to bring peace and people accepted them happily.¹⁷⁷ With the advent of "Taliban", Hekmatyar lost his position, and once again made government with the Mujahedeen and in January 1994 became Prime Minister of this government.

Hekmatyar had tried to show that is the only solution for Afghanistan and He can bring an argument between Taliban and Mujahedeen, but he failed, and the Rabbani's government was forced to leave Kabul for Taliban.

4.2. Taliban

Taliban in Afghanistan for the first time in 1994 as a new group was seen in the report, when the Taliban seized some parts of East and southern Afghanistan, such as Spin-Boldak, Kandahar and Jalalabad cities. As mentioned in the "A Thousand Splendid Suns":

"Mariam had first heard of the Taliban two years before, in October 1994, when Rasheed had brought home news that they had overthrown the warlords in Kandahar and taken the city. They were a guerrilla force, he said, made up of young Pashtun men whose families had fled to Pakistan during the war against the Soviets. Most of them had been raised-some even born-in refugee camps along the Pakistani border, and in Pakistani madrasas, where they were schooled in Shari'a by mullahs. Their leader was a mysterious, illiterate, one-eyed recluse named Mullah Omar, who, Rasheed said with some amusement, called himself Ameer-ul-Mumineen Leader of the Faithful."
"Hosseini, 2007, 244"

They were successful in 1995 and they had advances in other areas of Afghanistan such as Herat and ten other provinces, and surround Kabul. Ahmad Shah Massoud who

¹⁷⁷. Najib Lafraie, "Post-Soviet Pakistani Interference in Afghanistan: How and Why", middle east institute, December 2009, 1.

was Rabbani's defense minister had stopped them on the outskirts of Kabul for a year, but was forced in September 1996 to strategically retreat from Kabul due to the Taliban's Rising Power they had hired new forces, and also some local commanders especially Pashtuns had joined the Taliban.¹⁷⁸

The Taliban after Kabul started toward Mazar-e-Sharif and the northern regions. With the help of students from Pakistan and in the shadow of betrayal of some local commanders and also disagreements between Dostum and Abdul Malik they took control of Mazar-e Sharif in May 1997 and one day after the Taliban by uprising of people in Mazar-e-Sharif, and operations of Unity Party were defeated, and withdrew from Mazar-e Sharif. During this period, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates had recognized Taliban as the legitimate government of Afghanistan. After retreating from Mazar, Taliban began to strengthen its military forces and buying new weapons, and in the middle (early August 1998) were successful to take Mazar-e Sharif.

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Although the Taliban had initially claimed that they are against drug production in Afghanistan, but reportedly in addition of foreign aid, a significant part of their income was from drugs production. Taliban leader Mullah Mohammad Omar, who had lost one of his eyes during the war with the Soviets, was responsible of Taliban's government. He had changed the name of Afghanistan from Islamic Republic to "Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan".

4.2.1. Factors of the Taliban's Growth and Their Victories

Internal and external factors should discuss in this regard.

1. The political instability and civil war after the Soviet withdrawal is one of the most important factors which Taliban had raised in Afghanistan. Inability of Mujahedeen's leaders for establishment an inclusive government in Afghanistan, and the desire of some of these groups to exert more sway over the Mujahedeen government particularly

¹⁷⁸. Fatima Qamar, "The Rise and Fall of Taliban Regime (1994-2001) In Afghanistan: The Internal Dynamics", IOSR Journal Of Humanities And Social Science (IOSR-JHSS) Volume 19, Issue 1, Ver. I (Jan. 2014), 35-46.

¹⁷⁹. Ahmed Rashid, Taliban: Militant Islam, Oil and Fundamentalism in Central Asia, (London: I.B. Tauris, 2000), 58.

the case is true in Pashtun groups, such as Hezb-e Islami under the lead of Gulbuddin were most important problem.¹⁸⁰

With the start of the Civil War, not only the Kabul divided and devastated between warring factions, each of the warring factions dominated one part of the country, and sought to gain more territory. This conflict, instability, insecurity, and economic crisis imposed on Afghanistan. The absence of a government led over the Kabul caused that other parts of the country became under control of different factions, leaders and local authorities from one side, and armed gangs on the other side had started arbitrary measures, and by controlling roads and towns, and arbitrary taxes, made the grounds for expansion of economical and physical insecurity. The spread of instability and insecurity was the most important contribution to the emergence of the Taliban and under the pretext of security through the elimination of Mujahedeen warring factions had begun their actions. The Taliban's early victories in the south of Afghanistan in Kandahar and Jalalabad were due to this weakness of the central government, and people accepted them happily.¹⁸¹.As in the book of "A Thousand Splendid Suns" also said:

"The Taliban had one thing the Mujahedeen did not, Rasheed said. They were united. "Let them come," he said. "I, for one, will shower them with rose petals."
"Hosseini, 2007, 245"

2. Economic crisis, poverty, cultural and influence of religious traditions: Ten years of widespread war between Mujahedeen forces and the Soviet Union troops in Afghanistan, in the period between 1979 and 1989 from one side, and the spread of instability and interior conflict among Mujahedeen on the other side, were disrupted Afghanistan's economic fundamentals, and caused the general poverty in the country. The persistence of this poverty on the one side, and the enduring influence of religious traditions from other side were important factor in the rise of Taliban. This is especially significant in this respect to know that the majority of Taliban forces and its core group were formed from young and poor people, especially the Pashtuns. Beside

¹⁸⁰. Sharif, 2013, 118-119.

¹⁸¹. Genghis Poladin, "Mazar government; another speech about the continuing crisis of legitimacy in Afghanistan," political information - in economic numbers 128-123.

this economic factor, religious ideas also was an important factor, Taliban leaders not only paid to their fighters high wages, especially compared with the amount paid in Afghanistan, also they were convinced that fighting on the side of the Taliban and trying to establish "Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan" is a kind of jihad and to test their faith, and complement of implement lessons that they had learned in religious schools in Pakistan.¹⁸²

3- Ethnic factor: the ethnic factor in the growth of the Taliban along with religious beliefs, and financial incentives in rise and growth of the Taliban has been very effective. Categories of leadership and basic constituent of Taliban were Pashtun. According to this, that Pashtuns, traditionally from the eighteenth century onwards have power in Afghanistan, the Taliban were Pashtuns and had known themselves as the heirs of power. Because most Mujahedeen's leaders were non-Pashtuns, and president Rabbani was Tajiks and also his government phenomenon was unprecedented in Afghanistan's contemporary history. During clashes between the Taliban and the opposition, not only the majority Pashtun commanders and fighters at the Rabbani - Ahmad Shah Massoud's front went to the Taliban, also Pashtuns living in non-Pashtun areas, (such as the Pashtuns around Mazar-e Sharif and the North), often acted as the fifth column of the Taliban in these areas.¹⁸³

4- Pakistan and the Taliban: Before addressing the role of Pakistan in organizing and strengthening the Taliban, I must refer to this important point, that Pakistan had effective role in the military, political and financial protection from the major groups of Mujahedeen against the Soviet. Also all financial and military assistance from the West, especially from United States of America during the 1980s, had sent by the military authorities of Pakistan to the Mujahedeen.¹⁸⁴ Thus, Pakistan had known itself as a major part in determining the constitution of Afghanistan after the Soviet withdrawal.

Pakistan has sought; through the Islamic Party of Gulbuddin Hekmatyar exert its influence in Afghanistan. Hekmatyar was also supported by Pakistan against

¹⁸². Gilles Dorronsoro, "The Taliban's winning Strategy in Afghanistan", Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, (2009), 11.

¹⁸³. Ibid, 24-27.

¹⁸⁴. Mohammad Akram Arefi, "The role of a secret ISI in the Afghan Jihad", Siraj: no 13, (1998), 133-107.

Sibghatullah, and then Burhanuddin Rabbani. But Pakistanis distrust to Hekmatyar because of his anti-American stance, and also his inability to defeat Rabbani and Ahmad Shah Massoud were the factors which disappointed Pakistan from Hekmatyar. Since mid-1993, Pakistan's intelligence agency paid attention to several thousands of Mujahedeen who had disappointed from war, and came to religious schools in Pakistan. Thus, Pakistanis were trying to create a new group with the organization of Afghan students in religious schools in Karachi, Peshawar, Islamabad, Lahore and other Pakistani cities.¹⁸⁵

The Pakistan's government also used political and diplomatic strategies to strengthen the Taliban, and undermine Rabbani's government. Taliban hurriedly identified as the official state of Afghanistan by Pakistan was the most obvious show of this policy.¹⁸⁶ Pakistan also in a successful diplomatic effort could take the seat of Afghanistan in the Organization of the Islamic Conference from the Rabbani government, and also had tried to take Afghanistan's UN seat from Rabbani's government.¹⁸⁷

5- Saudi Arabia and the United Arabic Emirates: If we know Pakistan as mastermind who organized and trained the Taliban, the next level was financial support of the Taliban, which Saudi Arabia, and the United Arabic Emirates had done it. Saudi Arabia's had been support Taliban against Iranian influence in Afghanistan, and thereby isolate Iran in central Asia.¹⁸⁸

A factor that had caused strongly supported of Saudi Arabia from the Taliban reduced, was existence of the Saudi extremist religious opponents, such as Osama bin Laden in Afghanistan. Osama bin Laden and his followers among immigrants, or radical Islamist Arab students had formed an extensive group, which had done propaganda against the Saudi regime. And had sought to establish an Islamic regime that he had called (pure Wahhabi). Bin Laden, after pressure from Saudi Arabia and America, was

¹⁸⁵. Atai, 2010, 507.

¹⁸⁶. "The Battle of Afghanistan", the Economist (May 31. 1997), 59-60.

¹⁸⁷. Poladin, same article, 10-101.

¹⁸⁸. Shahram, Chubin, and Charles Trip, "Iran - Saudi Arabian Relations and Regional Order", (London: Adelphi Paper 304, 1996), 48-65.

forced by Sudan's government to leave the country, and he went to Afghanistan in 1996. Taliban had support his and refused to surrender him to Saudi Arabia.¹⁸⁹

Khaled Hosseini has written about the support of Saudi Arabia and Pakistan:

"Meet our real masters," Rasheed said in a low-pitched voice. "Pakistani and Arab Islamists. The Taliban are puppets. These are the big players and Afghanistan is their playground." "Hosseini, 2007, 274"

In the "The kite runner" book, he also mentioned about the Chechens' supports beside of Arabs and Pakistanis:

"He drove us into a wide street with fairly clean sidewalks and walled homes on either side." The people behind the Taliban. The real brains of this government, if you can call it that: Arabs, Chechens, Pakistanis," Farid said. He pointed northwest. "Street 15, that way, is called Sarak-e-Mehmana." Street of the Guests. "That's what they call them here, guests. I think someday these guests are going to pee all over the carpet." "Hosseini, 2003, 239"

It is clear that Pakistan is supporter of Taliban and other groups in Afghanistan, from the past up to now it has been policy of Pakistan to make problem in Afghanistan and gain benefits. The most important benefit is Durand line. If Afghanistan became secure and peace, it will claim the Durand line, for that Pakistan don't want peace in Afghanistan, also it has a lot of other benefits. About the supporting of Arabs from Taliban, there were different ideas in the past. But in the course of time that also became clear, and some evidences showed that Arabs also support the Taliban.

4.2.2. Mohammad Omar

Mohammad Omar Akhund Zadeh, who known as Mullah Omar, born in 1959, was the religious leader of the Taliban, and ruled from 1996 until the end of 2001 in Afghanistan. When Afghanistan was occupied by the Soviet Army, he had joined the anti-Soviet jihad in Afghanistan, and said that in the jihad was wounded three times. After that he went to the Pakistani religious schools.

¹⁸⁹. "Mujahid Osama Bin Laden Talks Exclusively to 'Nida'ul Islam'," Nida'ul Islam (October - November 1996).

After the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, between 1989 and 1994, Mullah Omar was imam of a village mosque in Kandahar city. In October 1994, Mullah Omar selected as the Amir or leader of the Taliban by the religious leaders in Kandahar.¹⁹⁰ In *A Thousand Splendid Suns* Taliban leader has been described as follow:

“Their leader was a mysterious, illiterate, one-eyed recluse named Mullah Omar, who, Rasheed said with some amusement, called himself Ameer-ul-Mumineen, Leader of the Faithful.” “Hosseini, 2007, 244”

4.2.3. The Rapid Advance of the Taliban

Taliban quickly had occupied territories in southern Afghanistan which was under the dominated of Mujahedeen’s government. They had taken Kandahar Province just one month and two days after the declaration. The Taliban had continued their advances and a number of provinces were occupied without a fight. They took Kabul with few conflicts in September 26, 1996. Although in *A Thousand Splendid Suns*, mentioned this date as September 27:

“Two and a half years later, Mariam awoke on the morning of September 27 to the sounds of shouting and whistling, firecrackers and music. She ran to the living room, found Laila already at the window, Aziza mounted on her shoulders. Laila turned and smiled. "The Taliban are here," she said.” *A thousand splendid suns*, p. 274”

4.2.4. Islamic Emirate

Taliban had changed Afghanistan name to Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan and announced its organization through Radio Afghanistan. Pakistan, the United Arab Emirates and Saudi Arabia were the only three countries that recognized the Taliban as the official government.¹⁹¹

4.2.5. Killing Hazaras

Following the reports of international human rights institutions, Taliban during their rule had killed thousands of Hazaras people. This can be regarded as genocide. Killing of Hazaras in Mazar-e-Sharif in August 1998, which thousands of Hazaras had been killed over several days, is considered one example of this massacre. According to

¹⁹⁰. Abu Muslim Shirzad, *the Taliban Behind the Mask: The Secret of the rise, fall and the mystery of birth again*, (Kabul: Saeed publication, 2014), 52.

¹⁹¹. *Ibid*, 50.

Human Rights organization, Taliban governor at that time, after the capture of Mazar-e-Sharif, referred Hazaras as infidels, and ordered to kill them. Before that, they had executed Hazara leader Abdul Ali Mazari,¹⁹² as mentioned in *A Thousand Splendid Suns*:

“They had captured the Hazara commander Abdul Ali Mazari and executed him.”
“Hosseini, 2007, 275”

Between 1999 and 2001 massacres of Hazaras in Bamiyan and Seripul provinces, is another example of the genocide. Human Rights organization published a documentary in the 2001, and showed massacre.¹⁹³ In the “*The kite runner*” novel about the behavior of the Taliban with Hazaras also pointed out:

“I told you how we all celebrated 1996 when the Taliban rolled in and put an end to the daily fighting. I remember coming home that night and finding Hassan in the kitchen, Listening to the radio. He had a sober look in his eyes. I asked Him what was wrong, and he just shook his head. "God help The Hazaras now, Rahim Khan Sahib," he said. "The war is over, Hassan," I said. "There's Going to be peace, Inshallah, and happiness and calm. No more rockets, no more killing, no more funerals!"

But he just turned off the radio and asked if he could get me anything before he went to bed.

A few weeks later, the Taliban banned kite fighting. And two years later, in 1998, they massacred the Hazaras in Mazar-i-Sharif.” “Hosseini, 2003, 197”

In other part, killing of Hazaras in Mazar-i-Sharif has mentioned as follow:

"... So, _Inshallah, you enjoyed the show today?"

"Was that what it was?" I said, rubbing my cheeks, hoping my voice didn't betray the explosion of terror I felt inside.

"Public justice is the greatest kind of show, my brother. Drama. suspense. And, best of all, education en masse." He snapped his fingers. The younger of the two guards lit him a cigarette. The Talib laughed. Mumbled to himself. His hands were shaking and he almost dropped the cigarette. "But you want a real show; you should have been with me in Mazar. August 1998, that was."

¹⁹². Zalmay Khalilzad, “Afghanistan in 1995: Civil War and Mini Great Game .Asian Survey”, Vol 36, No. 2, (1996), 190-195.

¹⁹³. Michael Semple, “The rise of the Hazaras and the challenge of pluralism in Afghanistan 1978-2011”, Carr Center for Human Rights Policy (2001), <https://cmes.fas.harvard.edu/files/cmes/files/semplepolicysummary.pdf>

"I'm sorry?"
"We left them out for the dogs, you know."
I saw what he was getting at." "Hosseini, 2003, 55"

As it has said by Hosseini, Killing the people by the Taliban was the most treble action of them; they had killed many people by different reasons. Killing people was like a habit and a normal thing, they even proud for this, and these actions were the reason that people never accept them as a government or as leaders.

4.2.6. The Destruction of the Statues of Buddha

Two Buddha statues in Bamiyan were the tallest standing statues of the Buddha in the world (each 56 m in length). Scientific and Cultural Organization UNESCO, had mentioned these two sculptures on the list of the most valuable monuments in the world, and were the only listed World Heritage as human heritage of Afghanistan. In March 2001, Taliban destroyed these statues.¹⁹⁴

In *A Thousand Splendid Suns* has mentioned:

“A month before that, Laila had learned that the Taliban had planted TNT in the crevices of the giant Buddhas in Bamiyan and blown them apart, calling them objects of idolatry and sin. There was an outcry around the world, from the U.S. to China. Governments, historians, and archaeologists from all over the globe had written letters, pleaded with the Taliban not to demolish the two greatest historical artifacts in Afghanistan. But the Taliban had gone ahead and detonated their explosives inside the two-thousand-year- old Buddhas. They had chanted Allah-u-Akbar with each blast, cheered each time the statues lost an arm or a leg in a crumbling cloud of dust.”
“Hosseini, 2007, 278-279”

4.2.7. Different Government

A number of the people in Afghanistan because of the strain from civil war had preferred the Taliban. But the Taliban had collided with closed ideas, and varies opinion with environment, and the world, and with putting people under pressure caused dissatisfaction of many Afghan people. They had ignored repeated resolutions of the

¹⁹⁴. Christian Manhart, “The Afghan Cultural Heritage Crisis: UNESCO’s Response to the Destruction of Statutes in Afghanistan”, *American Journal of Archaeology*, 105 (3) (July 2001), 387-388.

Security Council of UN, and a number of foreigners were expelled. The Taliban government was opposed radio, television, music, painting, sculpture and art.¹⁹⁵

They also did not allow women to leave their home alone. Sodomy and adultery were punishable by death. And those who were stealing had to be amputated. People forcedly had been sent from their shops to mosques for prayers. Men in the Taliban regime should have Beard and their hair should be short.

Khaled Hosseini has said about the Taliban as Follow:

“Men wielding pickaxes swarmed the dilapidated Kabul Museum and smashed pre-Islamic statues to rubble—that is, those that hadn't already been looted by the Mujahedeen. The university was shut down and its students sent home. Paintings were ripped from walls, shredded with blades. Television screens were kicked in. Books, except the Koran, were burned in heaps, the stores that sold them closed down. The poems of Khalili, Pajwak, Ansari, Haji Dehqan, Ashraqi, Beytaab, Hafez, Jami, Nizami, Rumi, Khayyam, Beydel, and more went up in smoke. Laila heard of men being dragged from the streets, accused of skipping namaz, and shoved into mosques. She learned that Marco Polo Restaurant, near Chicken Street, had been turned into an interrogation center. Sometimes screaming was heard from behind its black-painted windows. Everywhere, the Beard Patrol roamed the streets in Toyota trucks on the lookout for clean-shaven faces to bloody. They shut down the cinemas too. Cinema Park. Ariana. Aryub. Projection rooms were ransacked and reels of films set to fire.” “Hosseini, 2007, 250”

Along with killing people and other crimes, Taliban even had closed the schools and universities for girls, and also for the boys it was too difficult to go to university. Also they had closed a lot of libraries, cinemas and other cultural places by using the name of Islam in wrong way. In Islam it isn't said to don't let girls to school or university, or to close the libraries.

4.2.8. Taliban and Politics

Political thought of the Taliban like other religious movements had based on Islamic caliphate. Taliban's politics in all positions and levels, macro-level and macro level was based on idea of Amir (Mullah Omar). So the Taliban movement, which claims the Islamic state had left step to fight against all who don't accept them. In this view of

¹⁹⁵. Rashid 2000, 98.

political structure of this government was not necessary that Amir (president) have complete descriptions of science, justice and piety. But Taliban had believed that they have to obey him without any exception. Mullah Omar exactly from the same position had right to declare war and peace, forgiveness and punishment. His position against most of countries was bad and he believed that others are enemy. He said "America is the enemy of Islam". There wasn't any proper foreign policy.

4.2.9. Social and Political Violence

Acts of social violence in implementing of the religious objectives of Taliban was a phenomenon that existed in all spheres of society. Taliban for stabilization of their political rule had used violence as the main tools of government. However, social violence was the main tools for the Taliban ruling. The forced emigration of Hazaras, Tajiks and Uzbeks, and two times massacre of innocent people in northern Afghanistan are symbols of Taliban violence policy. In short, the Taliban political and social positions was based on their own Islamic religion (as they said but it was not real Islam) and this intellectual bigotry was cause that they didn't accept any new idea and dealing with new phenomenon and social issues by their violence. Mohammad Omar in an Eid message told that every person who talks about foreign ideas (human values, justice, peace, equal distribution of resources and independence) is enemy.¹⁹⁶

4.2.10. Taliban and the Terrorist Attack of 09.11

September eleven terrorist attack had made problems for Taliban, Before September eleventh Ahmad Shah Massoud had warned America about Taliban, as Hosseini said:

“This was a few days after Laila heard that Ahmad Shah Massoud had gone to France and spoken to the European Parliament. Massoud was now in his native North, and leading the Northern Alliance, the sole opposition group still fighting the Taliban. In Europe, Massoud had warned the West about terrorist camps in Afghanistan, and pleaded with the U.S. to help him fight the Taliban. "If President Bush does not help us," he had said, "these terrorists will damage the U.S. and Europe very soon." “Hosseini, 2007, 278”

¹⁹⁶. ‘Eid ul-Fitr Message from Taliban Leader Mullah Omar’, MEMRI Special Dispatch No. 2550, (September 2009).

But America had started in September eleventh and claimed that Osama bin Laden, leader of the Islamist group al-Qaeda, is responsible for the attacks, and asked from Taliban Surrender him to America, but Taliban had refused. The terrorist attacks of September eleventh and Taliban defiance from the America's order were pretext for America to invade Afghanistan. United States of America on 7 October 2001 in collaboration with members of the Taliban opposition (Mujahedeen) in Afghanistan attacked Taliban, and President Hamid Karzai's interim government started.¹⁹⁷

Khaled Hosseini about the events of September eleventh and America's attacks has mentioned in his both books.

In A Thousand Splendid Suns:

“The TV is tuned to BBC. On the screen is a building, a tower, black smoke billowing from its top floors. Tariq says something to Sayeed and Sayeed is in mid reply when a plane appears from the corner of the screen. It crashes into the adjacent tower, exploding into a fireball that dwarfs any ball of fire that Laila has ever seen. A collective yelp rises from everyone in the lobby.

In less than two hours, both towers have collapsed soon all the TV stations are talking about Afghanistan and the Taliban and Osama bin Laden.

"Did you hear what the Taliban said?" Tariq asks. "About bin Laden?"

Aziza is sitting across from him on the bed, considering the board. Tariq has taught her to play chess. She is frowning and tapping her lower lip now, mimicking the body language her father assumes when he's deciding on a move. Zalmai's cold is a little better. He is asleep, and Laila is rubbing Vicks on his chest.

"I heard," she says.

The Taliban have announced that they won't relinquish bin Laden because he is amehman, a guest, who has found sanctuary in Afghanistan and it is against the Pashiunwali code of ethics to turn over a guest. Tariq chuckles bitterly, and Laila hears in his chuckle that he is revolted by this distortion of an honorable Pashtun custom, this misrepresentation of his people's ways.

A few days after the attacks, Laila and Tariq are in the hotel lobby again. On the TV screen, George W. Bush is speaking. There is a big American flag behind him. At one point, his voice wavers, and Laila thinks he is going to weep.

Sayeed, who speaks English, explains to them that Bush has just declared war.

"On whom?" says Tariq.

"On your country, to begin with."

"It may not be such a bad thing," Tariq says.” “Hosseini, 2007, 340-341”

¹⁹⁷. Ghulam Ahmad Waak, “A new history of Afghanistan”, (University of Helsinki, 07.26.2005), 9.

Also about Mr. Karzai has said:

“Then one warm night in July 2002, she and Tariq are lying in bed talking in hushed voices about all the changes back home. There have been so many. The coalition forces have driven the Taliban out of every major city, pushed them across the border to Pakistan and to the mountains in the south and east of Afghanistan. ISAF, an international peacekeeping force, has been sent to Kabul. The country has an interim president now, Hamid Karzai.” “Hosseini, 2007, 344”

In the “The kite runner” novel also mentioned as follow:

“While Sohrab was silent, the world was not. One Tuesday morning last September, the Twin Towers came crumbling down and, overnight, the world changed. The American flag suddenly appeared everywhere...

Soon after the attacks, America bombed Afghanistan, the Northern Alliance moved in, and the Taliban scurried like rats into the caves.

Suddenly, people were standing in grocery store lines and talking about the cities of my childhood, Kandahar, Herat, Mazar-i-Sharif. When I was very little, Baba took Hassan and me to Kunduz. I don't remember much about the trip, except sitting in the shade of an acacia tree with Baba and Hassan, taking turns sipping fresh watermelon juice from a clay pot and seeing who could spit the seeds farther. Now Dan Rather, Tom Brokaw, and people sipping lattes at Starbucks were talking about the battle for Kunduz, the Taliban's last stronghold in the north.

That December, Pashtuns, Tajiks, Uzbeks, and Hazaras gathered in Bonn and, under the watchful eye of the UN, began the process that might someday end over twenty years of unhappiness in their watan. Hamid Karzai's caracul hat and green chapan became famous.” “Hosseini, 2003, 333”

The September 11 was a very painful for all the world people, but it was the reason that other countries paid attention to Afghanistan and they saw pain of Afghans. They help Afghans and after destroying the Taliban, New Afghan government had made in the Bonn conference.

4.2.11. Fall of the Taliban and the Government of President Hamid Karzai

On 08.10.2001 USA and England's missiles and air attacks began in Afghanistan, and Taliban government fell on 14.11.2001. With the fall of the Taliban, the government of Mr. Rabbani was started in Kabul for a second time.

On 27.11.2001 Bonn conference in Germany, under the auspices of the United Nations was held for 14 days. According to the Bonn Agreement the new Interim

Government of Afghanistan headed by Mr. Hamid Karzai was formed and took power in Kabul on 22.12.2001.¹⁹⁸

On the base of the Bonn Agreement on 11.06.2002 Emergency Loya Jirga was held in Kabul, and the transitional government headed by Hamid Karzai was appointed for two years. The presidential election was held on 09.10.2004 and the permanent government was formed and President Hamid Karzai elected for five years.

At the beginning of the Taliban's fall, Afghanistan's various provinces was under control of local commanders, and the Kabul government had little control on the provinces. Gradually with the help of international forces, Security Assistance (ISAF) and the coalition led by America, the government has expanded its control over the provinces. However, Taliban militants to deal with the Kabul government and NATO forces led by America are still present in some southern and eastern provinces of Afghanistan.

¹⁹⁸. Nike Mohammad Kamrany, "Ending the 30-Year War in Afghanistan", middle east institute, Apr 19, 2012. <http://www.mei.edu/content/ending-30-year-war-afghanistan>.

5. WOMEN – ETHNICITY

In this part I want to write about two important subjects in the Hosseini's novels and also in the History and political history of Afghanistan. These are Women and Ethnicity.

5.1. Women

5.1.1. Women in The Hosseini's Novels

One of the topics that Hosseini based his books on is violence against women. This issue in the "A Thousand Splendid Suns" is more clear than "The Kite Runner". Active presence of women in the "The Kite Runner" novel is very low. Soraya and Khala Jamila are wife and mother in law of narrator, who are play a small role in the story. Sophia Akrami (Amir's mother), Sanaubar (mother of Hassan) and Farzane (wife of Hassan) are women that mentioned them while narrating, and their physical presence is not felt.

Rape is one of the elements of violence, which in the "The Kite Runner" novel has placed, if it is possible to exceed the rape's name to it. As described by the author about behavior of Sanaubar, this is a natural process and a tacit agreement between two sides:

"I'm told no one was really surprised when Sanaubar eloped. People had raised their eyebrows when Ali, a man who had memorized the Koran, married Sanaubar, a woman nineteen years younger, a beautiful but notoriously unscrupulous woman who lived up to her dishonorable reputation...." "Hosseini, 2003: 7"

Another component of violence against women is humiliation and insult. This has happened in the life of Soraya.

"When he brought me home, my mother threw her arms around me and she was crying too. She was saying things but I couldn't understand any of it because she was slurring her words so badly. So my father took me up to my bedroom and sat me in front

of the dresser mirror. He handed me a pair of scissors and calmly told me to cut off all my hair. He watched while I did it.

I didn't step out of the house for weeks. And when I did, I heard whispers or imagined them everywhere I went. That was four years ago and three thousand miles away and I'm still hearing them." "Hosseini, 2003: 165"

Other effects of violence against women in this novel are at the time of the Taliban, which in different parts had mentioned. But women have more important role in the "A Thousand Splendid Suns" novel. Women in the A Thousand Splendid Suns novel have a strong presence, and even are visible more than men. Of course, it must be so, because the core of this story is a woman, and women are advancing the narrative.

Mariam and Laila are the main characters of the story, which all events that narrated were revolve around their life and character. In terms of the type of personality are two kinds of women in this story: first traditionally women, who are generally women, low power, adhere to the tradition, live in poor neighborhoods, and have common dress and use veil, women like Mariam and her mother. Second group are modern women, publicly women with thoughts and coverage of non-traditional, have more stylish living in neighborhoods and homes, wear skirt and bare head, and sometimes think about the equality of women and men. Leila and her mother and Fariba are from this category.

Women in A Thousand Splendid Suns, even though they live in the wars in Afghanistan, and the war cast a shadow over their lives, did not approve role in the war and they don't have active presence in the war. Accordingly, it can be said that woman in this story in terms of "war" are in to the two groups: the first group, women who do not have any role, and even escape from war, women like Mariam, Laila and Hasina. Another group is women, who do not have active part in war, but they are in positions that approve one group, women like Fariba (mother of Laila) and Khala Rangmal (Teacher of Leila) of these are women. Fariba advocated the Mujahideen and Ahmad Shah Massoud because his two sons who were in the war. On the contrary, Khala Rangmal was on the opposite side of the Mujahideen and advocated the communists because of her ideals.

Overall, the picture that *A Thousand Splendid Suns* present from Afghan women in the war, is a woman of low-power, captured with the tradition and culture of the past, a woman who has not an independent existence, cannot stand alone, and inevitably marriage to his unwanted person to live in the shadow of a man, a weak and unstable woman in the situation of disaster and suffering of the war, when face to a disaster surrender or flee, or commits suicide.

5.1.2. Women in Afghanistan

Freedom of women to participate in politics and power do not have much background in the history of Afghanistan. The first steps were taken for participation and freedom of women was at the time of Amir Habibullah Khan (1901-1919). The presence of Mahmoud Tarzi in the kingdom of Amir Habibullah led to appear enlightened views about women on a limited basis among the government.¹⁹⁹ Mahmoud Tarzi, who was educated person and had experience of life in Turkey, was familiar with the presence of women in other countries.

Mahmoud Tarzi in *Siraj al-Akhbar* newspaper had made column under the title of "famous women in the world" and published articles about the advancement of women and their presence in the social life.²⁰⁰ Some people who were literate in Kabul were reading these articles. While in the villages of Afghanistan, people, who could not read such articles, were a lot. Prints of these articles were faced opposition from conservative circles but it was published.²⁰¹

For the first time, at the time of Amir Amanullah Khan (1919-1929) women could participate in important government circles. Queen Soraya daughter of Mahmoud Tarzi and the wife of Amanullah Khan was a symbol of a free-spirited woman in the recent history of Afghanistan.²⁰² She was the first woman in the recent history of Afghanistan

¹⁹⁹. Huma Ahmed-Ghosh, "A History of Women in Afghanistan: Lessons Learnt for the Future or Yesterdays and Tomorrow: Women in Afghanistan", *Journal of International Women's Studies*, Vol 4, May-2003, 1-14.

²⁰⁰. "Introduction to the World's Famous women", *Siraj al- Akhbar*, Vol.1, no. 23, August 28, 1912, 14-15.

²⁰¹. Senzil Nawid, "The Feminine and Feminism in Tarzi's work", *Annali*, Vol 55, no.3, 1995, 358-366.

²⁰². Shireen Khan Burki, "The Politics of Woman from Amanullah to Karzai", in *Land of the Unconquerable: The Lives of Contemporary Afghan Women*, (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2011), 46.

who had attended in a state ceremony without a headscarf. For the first time Queen Soraya with defense minister's wife and foreign minister's wife had attended in the independence celebrations in 1919.

In 1921 was founded the first school for girls in Afghanistan, in 1922 Arshadalinisvan Gazette was published, which was about women. A group of girls were sent to study outside of Afghanistan. Educations for girls between 6 to 11 years old were forced.

Amir Habibullah Kalakani In 1929 he began to reign, and his reign was just 9 months. In his time, obtained freedoms during Amanullah Khan became limit, and women were once again forced to wear the Islamic veil. Afghan women were deprived in the course of participation and social activities.

Restrictions against women during Mohammad Nadir Shah (1929-1933) reign continued, he founded women's charity in this time. Women of the royal family and some Kabul's wealthy women in this institution had social activities. Women's freedom was limited only to private parties, and women were absent from public and social circles. This trend has continued until 1974, the term of Mohammad Daoud Khan.²⁰³

Restrictions on women in the time of Mohammed Zahir Shah (1933-1973) also continued. Women were not permitted to social activities, and the freedoms were limited within the family, and some family circles. But in 1974, when Sardar Mohammad Daoud Khan became Prime Minister, the education of women was part of his government strategy. At the same time elementary school for girls was established, women belonging to families of government officials, as well as wealthy women, began to work in some government offices.

For the first time in the term of Daoud Khan chancellery, a woman's voice on the radio had published. This woman named Merman Parvin. In 1959 Daoud government asked from women to attend without wearing the burqa (Hijab) in the celebration of

²⁰³. Sultan Barakat, Gareth Wardell, "Capitalizing on Capacities of Afghan Women: Women's Role in Afghanistan's Reconstruction and Development", (Geneva: Recovery and Reconstruction Department, December 2001), 10.

independence. Midwifery schools and women secondary schools were established at the time of Daoud Khan.

Women were voting for the first time in 1964. Two of the women of Afghanistan for the first time attended in the 1964 constitution Committee, and appointed two women to the Senate; they began work in National Assembly.²⁰⁴

The first civil institution independent of the government in 1965 started to operate. This civil institution was the People's Democratic Party. However, this institution was more ideological, but women's issues also were raised. In the time of Daoud Khan's presidency, some conservative groups had forced him to make limits on women's freedoms.

During the period of People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (1978-1992) ideological slogans were for support of the women, and these slogans mostly were originated by the communist beliefs, and were not compatible with the social life of the Afghan people.²⁰⁵ During the rule of the People's Democratic Party, efforts of women continued, but a big movement that led to the improvement of women's status did not performed.

Mujahideen groups (1992-1996) after the failure of communist regimes took power. These groups have changed the style of women dress, so that in this period, women could not go out of home without Hijab and with modern. During this period, not only limited women, also women are the main victims of the war in Kabul. Kabul's women in the period had tolerant rape and violence.²⁰⁶

Afghan women under the Taliban period (1996-2001) spent darkest period. The Taliban did not allow women to work in government offices.²⁰⁷ Women were banned

²⁰⁴. David Cortright. Sarah Smiles Persinger, "Afghan Women Speak- Enhancing Security and Human Rights in Afghanistan", University of Notre, (Indiana: Dame Notre Dame, October 2010). 3.

²⁰⁵. Carol Mann, "Models and Realities of Afghan Womanhood: A Retrospective and Prospects", 6. http://www.womeninwar.org/CMann_afghanwomanhood.pdf

²⁰⁶. UNAMA, "Silence is Violence- End the Abuse of Women in Afghanistan", Human Rights, United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan, (Kabul: UNAMA, 8 July 2009), 5.

²⁰⁷. Seran de Leede, "Afghan Women and the Taliban: An Exploratory Assessment", ICCT – The Hague Policy Brief, (April, 2014), 4.

from traveling without a relative man. Under the Taliban, women were deprived from all of their rights.²⁰⁸

Hamid Karzai period (2001-2014) was an opportunity for women in the political, economic and social. Constitution about the rights of citizens, including women and men considered equality, and women were once again entered to different realm.²⁰⁹ Education and training for women was free and millions of girls as well as boys went to school. During the rule of President Hamid Karzai at least three women attended in the cabinet, and the Ministry of Women's Affairs was allocated to solve women's problems.

Afghanistan Independent Human Rights Commission has based and it was biggest achievement for women's rights. This Commission with publish of some reports from human rights abuses against women has made people and government to change the situation of women in Afghanistan.

In his period a lot of organizations and institutions have begun to work, some of these institutions led by women. And now there are enough women took part in decision-making institutions. Also in the army there are a lot of women, who works as police or officers. Today, Afghanistan has the highest percentage of women in the parliament, among the all parliaments in all countries. Afghanistan's parliament has 249 seats, and 69 seats have been considered for women.²¹⁰

5.2. Ethnicity

5.2.1. Ethnicity in The Hosseini's Novels

Khaled Hosseini one of the major problems, which exist in Afghanistan, has discussed a lot in his novels, this problem is discrimination and conflict between different ethnic groups that living in the country. Culture in society and culture of its people has caused some events in the story that represent different ethnic discrimination.

²⁰⁸. Rina Amiri, "Muslim Women as Symbols and Pawns", The New York Times, (New York, Nov 27, 2001).

²⁰⁹. Laura Grenfell, "The Participation of Afghan Women in the Reconstruction Process", <https://www.wcl.american.edu/hrbrief/12/1grenfell.pdf>

²¹⁰. Lena Ganesh, Massouda Kohistani, Rahim Azami, Women's Economic Empowerment in Afghanistan, 2002-2012: Information Mapping and Situation Analysis, (Kabul: Afghanistan Research and Evaluation Unit, November 2013), 14.

Over the years, this problem in Afghanistan has always been made bigger bad bigger by Afghanistan's neighborhood countries, like Iran and Pakistan.

The characters in the novels by Khaled Hosseini are assigned to one of the ethnic groups in Afghanistan. He has written in the "The Kite Runner" about Pashtuns and Hazaras, did not forget the nations, and explicitly attaches special importance to it. The Kite Runner has showed two classes of people. First one is rich and prosperous, and the second class is whimsical and subordinates.

In this novel, people are not equal in the law and civil rights. Ali and Hassan are Hazara, and the servants of Amir's family. Instead of insulting and humiliating people understand their community.

Although Hassan and Amir grew up together, Ali and Baba grew up together, had been playmate, Hasan was son of Amir's father, but did not had any social support and financial backing. Instead of backing, they always have insulting and humiliating of people in community.

In the Kite Runner, ethnic issue in the novel is linked with the characters, Baba is a symbol of Pashtun class, looked glorious and elegant, and had all economic and social advantages, of course refined example of Pashtun culture and thought.

By contrast, lame servant Ali, who every one contempt him. No one respects him and even don't know him as a human being, and he did not have any human and social rights. The face of Ali and his body had described very different than Baba's face.

"Ali had a congenital paralysis of his lower facial muscles, a condition that rendered him unable to smile and left him perpetually grim faced. It was an odd thing to see the stone faced Ali happy, or sad, because only his slanted brown eyes glinted with a smile or welled with sorrow. People say that eyes are windows to the soul." "Hosseini, 2003: 7-8"

In another part of this book that shows oppression of Pashtuns against Hazaras, and shows that they don't knows Hazaras as Human, is in the part that Assef want to rape Hassan, and even he believes that it is not a sin to rape a Hazara guy.

“Your father won't find out," Assef said "And there's nothing sinful about teaching a lesson to a disrespectful donkey." "Hosseini, 2003: 71"

In *A Thousand Splendid Suns* characters have been shown as Pashtun and Tajik. Mariam, Tariq and Rashid are Pashtun, Leila and her parents are Tajik. Leila's brothers had joined to Ahmad Shah Massoud, who is a Tajik commander. Rashid support Taliban or other Pashtun groups. In This novel, behaviors of characters are not because of their ethnic affiliation, with the exception of Rashid, because his support of the Pashtun and the Taliban is related to his Pashtun ethnic. Other characteristics of his personality and the motivation and behavior can be attributed to any other person, regardless of ethnicity among others. Rashid is example of an ignorant and illiterate person who defends Pashtun. He knows women as tools and animals, and knows his right to beat woman. Attributable people to Pashtun, Tajik and Hazara in this novel are more linked to jihadist group and Taliban.

Hosseini's novels have shown Pashtuns ethnic as an ethnic that knows themselves Premier than other ethnics; especially they are opposite of Hazara ethnic did a lot of oppression to them. And this is reality of Afghan ethnics.

5.2.2. Ethnicity in Afghanistan

Afghanistan has numerous ethnic groups, some of its ethnic are still unknown. It said that anthropologists have identified more than 20 Ethnics in Afghanistan. But Erwin Orywal and collaborators have listed 55 ethnic names in Afghanistan.²¹¹ Fourteen of these ethnic groups “Pashtun, Tajik, Hazara, Uzbek, Turkmen, Baluch, Nuristani, Pachaie, Aymaq, Arab, Qizilbash, Qirghiz, Gujur, Brahwui” are named in the Afghanistan's constitution.²¹²

5.2.2.1. Pashtuns

This ethnic mainly living in the East and South, and some of them are in the North and West of, their population is about 30 percent of the total population of Afghanistan,²¹³ the language of these people is Pashto which is a branch of Indo-

²¹¹. Erwin Orywal, *Afghanistan Ethnic Groups*, (Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1986).

²¹². Constitution of Afghanistan, Chapter one, article four, 2004, <http://www.afghanembassy.com.pl/afg/images/pliki/TheConstitution.pdf>.

²¹³. Masih Uruzgani, *Afghanistan Tribes rainbow*, (Kabul: Sobh Omid, 2011), 68-69.

European language. This ethnic vast majority are religious followers of Sunni Hanafi religion.

Pashtuns in terms of inter-ethnic are dividing into the two big parties "Ghalzaee" and "Durrani or Abdali",²¹⁴ which competed for political power between the two parties have existed from long time ago, and this was cause of a lot of wars. From the establishment of the Afghan government in 1747 by Ahmad Khan Abdali, the government of Afghanistan was dominated by this ethnic. "Ghalzaee" group, although participation in the political power structure, but has never been in the top of power as his rival. But after a communist coup, in 1987, political sovereignty became in the hands of this Pashtun group (Ghalzaee).²¹⁵ Thus, the political power structure was always in hand of Pashtuns has seen a political monopoly, According to which non-Pashtun ethnic groups, have been deprived from political participation.²¹⁶

5.2.2.2. Tajik

This ethnic according to the social and political situation is the second largest ethnic group in Afghanistan, the population of these people constitutes about 25 percent of Afghanistan's population.²¹⁷ They speak Dari (Persian) language, and they are Aryan people which from long time ago living in different parts of the country, especially the north and northeastern of Afghanistan. Despite monopoly on political governance, this ethnic always had a limited contribution in the political power structure.

Tajiks are mostly had abandoned tribal and tribal life, and have adopted somewhat advanced technique and urbanization life.²¹⁸ They are divided into four groups:

1 – Herat Tajiks: They are living in Herat and its environs, 60-65 percent are Sunni and others are Shia. Most of them are employee in agriculture, trade, industry and administration.

²¹⁴. Lindholm Charles, *Generosity and Jealousy: The Swat Pukhtun of Northern Pakistan*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982), 37.

²¹⁵. Mary Louise Clifford, *Afghanistan*, translate: Morteza Assadi, (Tehran: 1989), 53.

²¹⁶. Olivier Roy, "Afghanistan: internal politics and socio-economic dynamic and groupings.", UNHCR Emergency & Security Service, (Paris, 2003), 8.

²¹⁷. Uruzgani, 2011, 88.

²¹⁸. Abdul Ahmad Jawid, *a word about Tajiks, quoting of the Tajiks history*, (Kabul) 197-198

2 - Turkestan Range: The group are living in the north of the country, such as Mazar-e-Sharif, Kunduz, Baghlan, and... More Tajiks and Uzbeks have been mixed, and the majorities are Sunni Muslims.

3 - Mountain Tajik: They are living at high altitudes of the Hindu Kush and Pamir, have found very little racial mixing. Most are Sunni, and have spread to the China's border.

4. Semi-nomadic Tajiks: They are living in the valleys, mostly are Sunni.

5.2.2.3. Hazaras

Hazaras are almost 18-20 percent of Afghanistan's population, according to the theories they are one of the natives ethnics of this land.²¹⁹ In the past most of were lived in central of Afghanistan known as Hazarajat (place of Hazara people), but today they are living in most parts of the country.

Hazaras are old inhabitants of this land, some of the researchers believe that they are survivors of the Mongol, but perhaps Hazaras are a combination of Arian and Mongolian races. Regardless of its historical roots and discussions related to genealogy, mainly Hazaras are Shia religious followers, and few of them are Sunni that are living in parts of Badakhshan, Panjsher, Badghis, and Noorband. Hazaras are speaking in Persian (Dari) and the Hazaras language.²²⁰

In political issues Hazaras were fully in political isolation. Except in the Communist era, they have found their way to governed top officials, including Prime Minister Sultan Ali Kishtamand, who was a Hazara.²²¹ Even in Bonn agreement which was held in 2001 did not give any proportion in the country's political power structure to this ethnic, but now, after 2001 their participation in politics is increasing day by day.

5.2.2.4. Uzbeks

This ethnic are from Turkic peoples, are living in northern of Afghanistan, and mainly in the cities: Mazar-e Sharif, Sheberghan, Maimana, Khanabad, and Kunduz.

²¹⁹. Uruzgani, 2011, 95.

²²⁰. Ibid, 103.

²²¹. Ibid, 105.

With other ethnic of Turks, there population is 15 to 18 percent of Afghanistan's population.²²²

Uzbeks are descendants of Central Asian Turks, and they are employed to jobs such as agriculture and animal husbandry, and they speak Uzbek language, which is their mother tongue, and it is a combination of words in Turkish. And the religion of the majority of the people is Sunni Muslims.

Politically, they also like other nations were deprived of government, and have always been under pressure, so lived in poverty and deprivation,

5.2.2.5. Other Ethnics

Turkmen, Ghezelbash, Kergiz, Baluchis and other tribes are residing in Afghanistan. Most of Ghezelbash people are in the Ghazni, Kabul, Herat, and Kandahar cities,²²³ Turkmen are along the Amu River and borders of the northwest of Afghanistan, and often engaged in animal husbandry.²²⁴ Kergiz people are living in northeastern of the country.²²⁵ Baluchis are living in the southeast of the country near the Iranian and Pakistani Baluchistan.²²⁶

²²² Uruzgani, 2011, 108.

²²³ Uruzgani, 2011, 132.

²²⁴ Aminollah Guli, Review of social and political history of Turkmens, (Tehran: Ilim Publication, 1987),16.

²²⁵ Uruzgani, 2011, 151.

²²⁶ Shirin Akiner, Islamic peoples of the Soviet Union, translated: Ali Khazaei Far, (Mashhad: Quds publication, 1987), 437.

6. CONCLUSION

Historical and political issues in recent decades, including political coups, war with the former Soviet forces, civil war, the plight of people in the dark era of the Taliban, are the most important issues in Khaled Hosseini's novels.

The *Kite Runner* and *A Thousand Splendid Suns* are two political- history novels, which the author is linked political history with his story. The novels are remarkably interdependent with history, politics and ethnicity in Afghanistan. Events of these two novels have occurred in the Herat and Kabul cities in Afghanistan and Fremont state of America. The *Kite Runners'* events has occurred between 1975- 1996 years, also refers to the events of 1973 (the end of Zahir Shah's reign). *A Thousands splendid suns'* events have occurred between 1959 and 2003, but have not been paid much to the historical and political events which occurred before 1978, with the exception of Zahir Shah's reign and the beginning of President Mohammad Daoud. The political history events in this novel begin from 1978, which communist coup took place.

The novels, despite unbreakable band which have with the real political history of the Afghanistan, also are reinvented historical fact, and irrespective of the fact, political history at the thought of people could have different explain, these novels could be indicative of probable realities which had created at the scene of political and historical events in Afghanistan. The author has mentioned the events which coincide with the story's dates, even has mentioned the exact date of historical or political events along with analysis and personal feelings and states. He always in whole story talks about situations, circumstances and political- historical events. As in one part of the "The Kite Runner" novel, Amir, the main protagonist of story introduced with an old historical book:

“Then one day, I was in Baba's study, looking through his stuff, when I found of my mother's old history books. It was written by an Iranian named Khorami. I blew the dust off it, sneaked it into bed with me that night, and was stunned to find an entire chapter on Hazara history. An entire chapter dedicated to Hassan's people! In it, I read that my people, the Pashtuns, had persecuted and oppressed the Hazaras. It said the Hazaras had tried to rise against the Pashtuns in the nineteenth century, but the Pashtuns had "quelled them with unspeakable violence." The book said that my people had killed the Hazaras, driven them from their lands, burned their homes, and sold their women. The book said part of the reason Pashtuns had oppressed the Hazaras was that Pashtun were Sunni Muslims, while Hazaras were Shi'a.” “Hosseini, 2003, 8-9”

So author with this interpretation makes documentary of history and used it as a reference for his ideas. Also in different parts of his novels pointed out to political events, which makes reader familiar with the intensive political history of Afghanistan. The author's views that look at issues of political history from position of a free-thinking and individual person, makes historical fact seem to have their own way. In other words I can say that author harvest from historical events is based on his own ideas. In the real world person is a part of the society, but in the story he appears as a mirror of society, and novelist did not invent this mirror. Mirrors reflect everything real. When this reflection became opaque, it shows that the author looks to humans and issues according to his own idea.²²⁷

Khaled Hosseini in his novels, in every event has written from his own perspective, and he wanted to introduce Afghanistan to non-Afghan audiences by his own perspectives, and had built encyclopedias to introduce the Afghan people, its tragedies and human rights developments in this country.

Hosseini used novels to reflect the ravages of political, social and historical in the Afghan society. In his novels, from one side has pictured political situation in Afghanistan in the specified period, on the other side has showed bad habits, beliefs and behaviors of people.

In some part of novels, it seems that author try to mention those part of History and political events, which are help him in his story, like a part in the “The kite runner”

²²⁷. Michel Zeraffa, *Novel and Social Reality*, Translate: Nasrin Parvini, (Tehran: Forugi publication, 2007), 56.

novel that he didn't mention five years, although in these five years most important historical and political events had happened, he just ignored it and direct from 1976 went to the 1981 and continued the story.

In the "A Thousand Splendid Suns" political events are mentioned more specifically and with more details. He has discussed each one of the events, also characters in this story are discussed more about the political situation.

Overall Evaluation of Khaled Hosseini's novels and match it with the political history of Afghanistan and different historic books, demonstrates that he has been able for expression of political and historical issues, he has showed this ability in the "The Kite Runner" in general and with more detailed in "A thousand Splendid suns". There isn't a big difference in the expression of political issues in the novels with other historic books, according to a review of any issue with several historical and political books and analyze them together I can say that, Khaled Hosseini mentioned most of events as they were, except some part that author's thoughts and feelings have shadow on subject.

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