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# AFGHANISTAN

## Political crisis and the refugees

### 1. Introduction

Amnesty International is concerned that hundreds of Afghan asylum seekers in Europe, North America and other countries may be subjected to deportation to Afghanistan where they could risk serious human rights violations.

At least one Afghan asylum-seeker has been forcibly returned to Kabul in August 1993 from Denmark. He was reportedly escorted by two Danish police officials in an airplane until it landed in Kabul. At Kabul airport, he was taken away by armed guards; nothing has been heard of him since. His deportation was reportedly against the advice of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. The news prompted several other Afghans fearing deportation from Denmark to go on hunger strike, sewing up their own lips.

Other immigration authorities are believed to be currently considering the option to deport Afghan asylum seekers. In one case, authorities in Canada told an Afghan whose asylum application had been rejected on the grounds that he would no longer face persecution after the collapse of the former regime, that he would be forcibly returned directly to Kabul. Later he was informed that because of lack of security in Kabul, he would be sent to Pakistan from where he would be escorted to the border area and would be handed over to Afghan border guards. Still later, he was told that he would be sent to a refugee camp in Pakistan. As of mid-September 1993 the deportation order had not been carried out.

Some of those facing deportation had applied for asylum when the government of the former President Najibullah was in power in Afghanistan. In Canada, where 37 Afghan asylum applications were accepted and 15 were rejected during the first three months of 1993, the grounds given for the rejections were that the change of regime in Afghanistan has eliminated the risks such Afghans feared. In Germany, over 3'000 Afghan asylum applications have been rejected in the first eight months of 1993 while about 500 Afghans have been recognized as refugees during the same period. The grounds frequently given for rejections, however, are that since there is no effective state in Afghanistan to commit human rights violation against a returned asylum seeker, there is no obligation for the asylum country to provide asylum. Germany has nonetheless granted leave to anyone in possession of a valid Afghan passport to remain there for a limited period, leaving the majority of Afghan asylum-seekers with no option but to obtain passports, often in return for a large sum of money, from Afghanistan's diplomatic mission in that country. The Swedish Immigration Board is also believed to have refrained from

making any decisions on Afghan asylum applications in view of the current political situation in Afghanistan.

Amnesty International believes that under the present circumstances the majority of Afghan asylum-seekers could become the target of serious human rights violations if returned to Afghanistan. They remain, therefore, in need of effective and durable protection. The presumption that there has been an improvement in Afghanistan's human rights record since the fall of the former regime is unfounded and must not, in itself, form the grounds for the rejection of an Afghan asylum claim.

Authorities in a number of countries have considered refugee camps in Pakistan to be a safe destination for returned Afghan asylum seekers. According to Amnesty International's information, these camps are run by Afghan Mujahideen groups often hostile to refugees belonging to groups described in this paper. Afghan asylum seekers sent to a refugee camp in Pakistan could risk serious human rights violations on the grounds of past political affiliation, educational background or ethnic origin. It is also important to note that reports of refugees voluntarily returning to Afghanistan from refugee camps in Pakistan and elsewhere relate primarily to Afghan peasant families who fled the country under the former regime. Such reports must not be seen as an indication that conditions are generally safe for all Afghan refugees to return home under the present circumstances in the country.

Amnesty International is issuing this paper to provide background information on the human rights conditions in Afghanistan that have led some Afghans to flee their country, and hopes that the information given may contribute to a more thorough consideration of Afghan asylum cases.

The paper does not deal with the political situation in Afghanistan's Northern areas where Muslim Tajik rebel forces, reportedly with the involvement of some Mujahideen groups, are engaged in a war with the Tajik Government backed by the Russian forces. Border clashes and the political tension in these areas has made it difficult for independent observers to assess the current human rights situation there.

## **2. The political crisis in Afghanistan**

The fall of former President Najibullah's government in April 1992 and the subsequent formation of the Islamic State of Afghanistan changed the nature of the Afghan civil war, causing new groups of refugees to flee. Kabul and other major cities which had remained largely unaffected by 14 years of fighting between the former government and the armed opposition groups, the Mujahideen, became battle grounds for rival Mujahideen groups as they began to fight each other fiercely over the control of various administrative institutions.

Soon after the fall of the former government, Afghanistan plunged into lawlessness and much of the civilian population became target of a reign of terror by warlords seeking a greater share of power for themselves, for their political party or for their clan. The first interim government of the Islamic State of Afghanistan which assumed office for a period of two months could exercise its authority only over a few areas in Kabul, and the succeeding interim governments have not been able to expand their authority any further.

In Kabul, violent clashes between armed groups organized along ethno-religious lines led to arbitrary arrest of unarmed civilians, raids against their homes, and raping of women.

At the same time, old hostilities between two of the largest Mujahideen groups, *Jamiat-e Islami* (Society of Islam) led by the Interim President Burhanuddin Rabbani, and *Hezb-e Islami* (Party of Islam) led by the Interim Prime Minister Gulboddin Hekmatyar, resulted in the indiscriminate bombing of unarmed civilians. Government planes bombed areas under Hekmatyar's control in the outskirts of Kabul, while forces loyal to Hekmatyar launched missiles against civilian centres in the city including schools and hospitals.

In subsequent months, political authority has become even more fragmented and unstable. A coalition of the Tajik *Jamiat-e Islami* commander, Ahmad Shah Masood, the Uzbek militia of Abdul Rashid Dostum, and the Shi'a *Hezb-e Wahdat Islami* (Party of Islamic Unity) in April 1992 was formed with the stated aim of safeguarding the rights of minorities in Afghanistan against the dominant influence of the Pashtun majority which had ruled Afghanistan in the past. Fighting began in August 1992 between these forces on one side, and a Pashtun coalition of the *Hezb-e Islami* led by Gulboddin Hekmatyar and the *Ittehad-e Islami* (Islamic Alliance) led by Abdul Rasool Sayyaf on the other. In May 1993, the two coalitions which were based on ethnic issues were replaced by new coalitions based on political lines. The Pashtun forces of *Ittehad-e Islami*, the Tajik forces of Ahmad Shah Masood (also known as *Shura-e Nazar* [Supervisory Council]) and other forces of *Jamiat-e Islami* led by President Rabbani joined together to fight a coalition of the Pashtun *Hezb-e Islami* of Hekmatyar and the Shi'a *Hezb-e Wahdat Islami*. The forces of Abdul Rashid Dostum moved to the northern province of Mazar-e Sharif where he established his own separate administration.

Those who have fled Afghanistan since the start of this new civil war include people closely associated with the former regime, educated Afghan women in various professional capacities who had been forced to give up their jobs, academics and other Afghan professionals opposed to the new political system, members of certain ethnic and religious minorities, and ordinary, unarmed civilians fleeing the indiscriminate bombing of their homes and localities. Many Afghans have fled to neighbouring countries including Pakistan where they have joined former Afghan refugees who do not feel safe to return to Afghanistan; others have fled to seek protection in Europe, North America and elsewhere.

Lack of an effective central authority has created an environment for increased human rights violations in Afghanistan. According to reports, local warlords have established their own administration in areas under their control. A warlord is usually affiliated to one or more of the main Mujahideen parties, but in the daily affairs of the area which he controls, he has total autonomy and is not accountable to any authority. People travelling across these autonomous administrative divisions have testified that they had to pass through numerous chek posts and had to bribe armed guards to avoid the risk of being tortured or killed.

An undated decree issued by the present Afghan President, Burhanuddin Rabbani, gives assurances that Afghans who have taken permanent or temporary residence abroad up to 23 April 1993, are entitled to obtain visas from the Afghan Consulates in their country of residence and will be allowed to visit Afghanistan as and when they wish. They will be entitled to an exit visa on arrival "providing no unlawful act has been committed". The decree does not specify what constitutes an "unlawful act" which, in view of the disagreement between the Kabul Government's President and Prime Minister over the extent to which the Islamic law should override the criminal code, could be interpreted arbitrarily. Amnesty International has not been informed if any Afghan refugee has used the provisions of this decree to visit Afghanistan, but is concerned that the decree may not offer real protection to returning refugees in that it may not be recognized or have effect in the numerous autonomous administrations throughout the country. Furthermore, in view of the continued civil war between the forces of the Afghan Prime Minister and the Afghan President, a decree issued by the President may not be respected by the Prime Minister and his administration. According to reports, none of the 60 or so prominent Afghans abroad who had received personal invitations from President Rabbani to attend a meeting in Kabul in December 1992 to plan broad-based presidential elections in Afghanistan, felt safe enough to attend the meeting.

### **3. Educated Afghan women**

Soon after the arrival of Mujahideen groups in Kabul in April 1992, the new government renamed the country the Islamic State of Afghanistan and initiated changes to bring the legal and social systems into conformity with Islamic law.

According to reports, Mujahideen groups belonging to various parties entered workplaces and homes where they suspected the Islamic dress code was not being strictly observed. Amnesty International has received reports of rape of women and looting of homes by Mujahideen groups after the change of government in April 1992. In most cases, women working in government offices were the prime targets of these raids. No Mujahideen guard involved in these attacks is believed to have been brought to justice.

In August 1993, human rights activists visiting a group of about 300 Afghan women in a mother-and-child clinic in Peshawar have reported to Amnesty International that the women

who had recently fled Kabul included medical doctors, nurses, teachers and university lecturers. These women reportedly complained that their husbands were badly tortured and were some killed by various armed groups including members of *Hezb-e Wahdat Islami*.

Educated Afghan women have continued to be at risk under successive interim governments in Kabul. Some Mujahideen groups, both in Kabul and in other parts of the country, apparently consider education under the former regime to have "poisoned" the women's minds, turning them into potential enemies of Islamic principles. Although a few girls' schools have reportedly re-opened in some parts of the country, the safety of educated Afghan women seeking work is far from being guaranteed.

Interim governments of the Islamic State of Afghanistan have not themselves sanctioned attacks against Afghan women, but armed groups affiliated to the central government in Kabul or to other autonomous structures exercising state authority in other parts of the country continue to take the law into their own hands. Each Mujahideen group appears to have its own standards for the application of Islamic principles, but they are all united in the overall belief that women should not seek work outside their homes. Afghan women with a background of higher education appear to be at risk of human rights violations because they are seen as having violated Islamic law.

#### **4. Afghan academics and other professionals**

Dozens of Afghan academics and professionals fled the country after the fall of the former regime in April 1992. Others continue to leave Afghanistan when they can. Following the occupation of Kabul University by the Shi'a party, *Hezb-e Wahdat Islami*, and the appointment by this party of Hussain Amiri as the university's rector, almost all university lecturers and their families are believed to have left Kabul. The University is reportedly still closed and neither the government nor *Hezb-e Wahdat Islami* have managed to provide adequate safety to allow students to enrol and for lecturers to return to their posts.

Armed groups belonging to *Hezb-e Wahdat Islami* have reportedly looted books and equipment from the university library, while armed groups belonging to *Shura-e Nazar* of Ahmad Shah Masood have looted the library of the Academy of Science in Kabul. Books have been reportedly sold to bulk paper traders in Pakistan to produce recycled paper.

The same pattern has been reported in other institutions. In a race to take control of Kabul, Mujahideen groups of various political affiliations have occupied ministries, schools and other institutions, creating a highly dangerous atmosphere for the employees to work. Most employees have abandoned their jobs for fear of losing their lives. All schools in Kabul are reportedly occupied by armed Mujahideen groups who have burned school furniture for heating.

Many Afghan academics and professionals have fled to Peshawar in Pakistan, hoping to move on from there to a safer place. Some have refused to be housed in refugee camps run by Afghan Mujahideen groups, so as not to be exposed to further risks. In the past, Afghan intellectuals facing arbitrary arrest, torture and execution by the former regime on suspicion of anti-government activity also fled to Peshawar or to Quetta in Pakistan. There, too, they lived under the threat of extrajudicial execution by some Mujahideen groups. Dozens of Afghan academics living as refugees in Pakistan received death threats for advocating an end to the Afghan conflict through dialogue and democracy. These death threats were at times followed by killings for which the more extreme Mujahideen groups, in particular *Hezb-e-Islami* led by Gulboddin Hekmatyar, were believed to be responsible.

Amnesty International has received reports that prominent Afghans in Pakistan continue to receive death threats for their opposition to the Mujahideen leaders whom they see as perpetrators of the continued civil war. It believes that under present circumstances certain Afghan academics or professionals are at risk of serious human rights violations, including politically-motivated extrajudicial executions, in Pakistan.

## **5. Members of some ethnic and religious minorities**

Members of specific ethnic or religious groups, including children, have also been subjected to frequent attacks. Immediately after the fall of President Najibullah's government, Amnesty International expressed concern at reports that hand grenades had been thrown by unknown persons into the houses of Sikh and Hindu families in Kabul.<sup>1</sup> Attacks against members of these two religious groups have continued, reportedly leading to the departure of almost all Sikh and Hindu families for Pakistan from where many have been moving on to India.

Attacks against members of larger ethnic or religious groups have occurred in the context of endemic tribal clashes or national minority conflicts in Afghanistan. Most of these groups have been at times the target, and at other times perpetrators, of the attacks.

The first groups of armed Mujahideen who arrived in Kabul in April 1992 were non-Pashtuns including the Tajik forces of Ahmad Shah Masood and the Uzbek forces of Abdul Rashid Dostum. They carried out raids against members of the Pashtun community who formed almost half of Kabul's inhabitants. According to reports only a small number of Pashtun families who for some reason or another have survived armed raids against Pashtun homes have remained in Kabul.

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<sup>1</sup> See *Afghanistan: Reports of torture, ill-treatment and extrajudicial execution of prisoners, late April - early May 1992*, (AI Index: ASA 11/01/92).

According to reports, members of the Hazara minority, a Shi'a sect, have also been particularly at risk in Kabul as they have fallen victim to indiscriminate raids on their homes in the Afshar area of Kabul, often by government soldiers but also by armed guards belonging to other Mujahideen factions. There has been no effective protection against these raids and government troops have justified the attacks by blaming Hazaras for the ethnic clashes.

Continued fighting in Hazara areas in Kabul has reportedly made it difficult for journalists to cover the situation. In at least one case in February 1993, government troops are reported to have taken side with members of the Sunni party *Ittehad-e Islami* (Sayyaf) against members of the Shi'a party *Hezb-e Wahdat Islami*. The fighting reportedly spread into the Afshar residential areas in Kabul. Government troops reportedly killed unarmed Shi'a civilian men in front of their families, and raped women and set Shi'a homes on fire.<sup>2</sup> These attacks were reportedly in retaliation for earlier attacks by Shi'a activists against people in areas of Kabul controlled by the Sunni party. Six hundred Shi'a men are reportedly still in the custody of *Ittehad-e Islami* while over 60 Sunni men are held by *Hezb-e Wahdat Islami*. Armed groups of both sides have been responsible for torture and extrajudicial killings of members of the other groups or unarmed civilians. No agreement to release the prisoners has yet been reached.

## 6. Unarmed civilian families fleeing the war

Hostilities between the two Mujahideen groups, *Hezb-e Islami* of the Interim Prime Minister Gulbuddin Hekmatyar and the *Jamiat-e Islami* of the Interim President Burhanuddin Rabbani came to a head when the *Jamiat-e Islami* forces of Ahmad Shah Masood and his ally Abdul Rashid Dostum took control of Kabul after the fall of the former regime. As neither side could agree on a plan for the peaceful settlement of their differences, both sides became engaged in attacks and counter attacks against each other's positions. The most devastating aspect of this conflict was missile attacks against civilian residential centres in Kabul for which members of the Interim Prime Minister's party are believed to be largely responsible. Indiscriminate bombings of homes of unarmed civilians, hospitals and mosques have killed hundreds of people, and has left thousands injured. More than half of Kabul's two million inhabitants are reported to have fled the city during the past year.

According to Amnesty International's information, refugees currently arriving in Pakistan also include families coming from other parts of the country.

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<sup>2</sup> See *Afghanistan: Amnesty International concerned by wide-scale reports of human rights violations* (AI Index: NWS 11/22/93 date March 1993).



## 7. Officials of the former government

The majority of people in this group, which forms a significant proportion of recent Afghan refugees, have sought asylum in Russia. Some have moved on to other Eastern European countries. The Russian Government has not taken any action to recognize them as refugees, nor has there been any report to suggest that the government may be considering deportation of these Afghans. The majority of them stay in Russia as "illegal" immigrants making a living through whatever menial jobs are available. A number of these Afghans have managed to obtain forged travel documents for Western European countries where they have sought political asylum on arrival.

Reports received by Amnesty International indicate that officials of the former government remaining in Afghanistan continue to be at risk of serious human rights violations by government forces or armed guards belonging to other Mujahideen factions.<sup>3</sup> An amnesty guaranteeing no prosecution of the officials of the former government which was declared by the first Interim President after April 1992 is reported to have been ignored by local warlords in Kabul and the rest of the country.

According to reports, in Ghazni Province alone dozens of former members of the *Watan Party* (Homeland Party) of the former government have been extrajudicially executed since April 1992 by the province's governor, Qari Baba who is affiliated to Moulavi Nabi Mohammadi's *Harakat-e Inqilab Islami* (Movement for Islamic Revolution). Some 14 members of the Parcham faction of the *Watan Party* were reportedly executed in July 1993 by Qari Baba's armed guards.

Another report relates to the trial by an Islamic court and subsequent execution of an unspecified number of *Khalqi* faction members of the *Watan Party* in Helmand province, which is controlled by Moulavi Akhondzada, believed to be also affiliated to *Harekat-e Inqilab Islami* of Moulavi Nabi Mohammadi.

Recent Afghan refugees have reported seeing people arbitrarily arrested by armed guards and tortured in the street, on suspicion of being sympathetic to the former regime. According to one of these reports, armed guards arrested a former civil servant named Azad in a Kabul street in late 1992/early 1993 and tied his hands and legs together with a rope. They told the crowd that the man would be sent as a "gift" to Herat's governor, Commander Ismail Khan, explaining that the governor had a personal feud with the man and would be pleased to see him.

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<sup>3</sup> See *Afghanistan: Reports of torture, ill-treatment and extrajudicial executions of prisoners, late April - early May 1992*, (AI Index: ASA 11/01/92).

In mid-1993, joint forces of Ismail Khan and Moulavi Naqib Akhondzada, both affiliated to President Rabbani's *Jamiat-e Islami*, occupied Helmand province which had until then been controlled by members of the Khalq faction of the former government. They reportedly arrested and extrajudicially executed some two hundred suspected *Khalqi* supporters.

## 8. Islamic Courts

Each Mujahideen commander in control of an area has set up an Islamic court which functions under the commander's direct supervision. The government in Kabul has also set up an Islamic court which functions in areas under its control. The number of clerical judges, the composition of the court and trial standards vary from one area to another. Trials by these courts do not conform to international standards for fair trial. In most cases, the sentence is usually a formal confirmation of an order passed by the commander of the area. Those tried are rarely given the right to defend themselves, and those sentenced have no right to appeal against their sentences. The core offences for which sentences of death or amputation are imposed are murder, adultery or theft, but prisoners have reportedly been sentenced to death for minor offences under a commander's directive or the judge's will. Dozens of people have reportedly been extrajudicially executed in Kunar and Kandahar provinces after orders from commanders without any court formality.

Even in areas under the control of the Afghan President or the Prime Minister, government ministers can solicit the imposition of a death sentence on an accused if they deem this to be in the interest of their affiliated government faction. In September 1992 when three men were publicly hanged for a range of offences including theft and looting in Kabul, a Defence Ministry spokesman declared that their deaths served as an example to others and were necessary to restore law and order in the capital.<sup>4</sup> Foreign journalists were reportedly unable to obtain the names and identities of the three men who were believed to have been members of the Khalq faction of the former government's party.

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<sup>4</sup> See *Afghanistan: New forms of cruel, inhuman or degrading punishment*, (AI Index: ASA 11/02/92, dated September 1992).

## **APPENDIX - 1**

### **Major Mujahideen parties in Afghanistan:**

**Ittehad-e Islami** (Islamic Alliance, Sunni) led by Abdul Rasool Sayyaf, controls some areas in south and south-east of Kabul as well as in Kandahar province.

**Harakat-e Inqilab Islami** (Movement for Islamic Revolution , Shi'a) led by Sheikh Asif (Mohseni), influential in Shi'a areas in Afghanistan.

**Harakat-e Inqilab Islami** (Movement for Islamic Revolution, Sunni) led by Moulavi Nabi Mohammadi, supported mostly by the rural clergy and influential in Helmand, Farah and Logar provinces.

**Hezb-e Islami** (Party of Islam, Sunni) led by Gulboddin Hekmatyar, believed to be influential in most areas of Afghanistan, with solid support in Paktia and Logar provinces.

**Hezb-e Islami** (Party of Islam, Sunni) led by Moulavi Yunus Khalis, a splinter group from *Hezb-e Islami* (Hekmatyar), influential in Nangarhar, Paktia and Kandahar provinces.

**Hezb-e Wahdat Islami** (Party of Islamic Unity, Shi'a) led by Abdul Ali Mazari, with solid support in Hazara areas in Kabul, the central highlands of Hazarajat and in Herat province.

**Jabha-e Nejat-e Melli Islami** (National Islamic Salvation Front, Sunni) led by Sebghatollah Mujaddedi, supported by small Sufi communities in southern and western Afghanistan.

**Jamiat-e Islami** (Society of Islam, Sunni) led by Burhanoddin Rabbani. Its military commander, Ahmad Shah Masood controls parts of the Panjshir valley in northern Afghanistan under a coalition of Mujahideen commanders called **Shura-e Nazar-e Shomal** (Supervisory Council of the North). The party is believed to be strong in northern Afghanistan, and in Herat and Kandahar provinces.

**Mahaz-e Melli Islami** (National Islamic Front, Sunni) led by Pir Syed Ahmad Gailani, supported by educated nationalists, moderate Muslims and tribal people in Nangarhar, Paktia and Kandahar provinces.

## **APPENDIX - 2**

### **Local administrations set up by Mujahideen commanders**

The list given below is by no means comprehensive and the information given may have changed since the list was compiled.

According to reports, each Mujahideen party commander involved in the administration of one or more of Afghanistan's 29 provinces or *Walayats* is usually affiliated to at least one of the main Mujahideen parties. In each *Walayat*, there is a 'leadership council' headed by the Mujahideen commander with the strongest military power functioning as a *Wali* (governor) or an *Amir* (leader).

With the exception of one or two major parties, other Mujahideen parties have strong support only in the birthplaces of their leaders. For example, Ahmad Shah Masood in Panjshir, Moulavi Khalis in Jalalabad (Nangarhar), and so on.

**Badakhshan.** Governor: Ghulam Mohammad Arian Pur was killed two months ago when his airplane crashed. Both *Jamiat-e Islami* and *Hezb-e Islami* (Hekmatyar) have strong bases there.

**Badghis.** Governor: Ismail Khan affiliated to *Jamiat-e Islami*.

**Baghlan.** Governor: Seyed Jaffar Naderi, head of the Ismaili Sect and a general in the former government's army who, together with Dostum, allied with the Mujahideen groups in April 1992.

**Balkh** (capital: Mazar-e Sharif). Chief Administrator: General Abdul Rashid Dostum, head of his own National Islamic Movement (established in 1992 with the help of other military officials of the Parcham faction of the previous government's party). Provinces of **Jowzjan** and **Faryab** are also under Dostum's control.

**Bamiyan** (populated by the Shi'a Hazaras). Controlled by *Hezb-e Wahdat Islami*.

**Farah.** Is controlled by a coalition of Hekmatyar, Gailani and Ismail Khan commanders.

**Faryab.** See Balkh above.

**Ghazni.** Governor: Qari Baba, affiliated to Moulavi Nabi Mohammadi's party, sharing power with a coalition of commanders belonging to Moulavi Nabi Mohammadi, Hekmatyar and Sayyaf's parties.

**Ghor.** Previously the stronghold of the former government's *Watan Party*, recently the taken over by Ismail Khan's forces.

**Helmand** (capital: Lashkargah). Until July 1993 was controlled by a Khalq Party (a faction of the former government's *Watan Party*) administration and militia affiliated to the Khalq Party. It was the only province not controlled by a Mujahideen group. Now controlled by joint forces of Herat's governor, Ismail Khan, and Kandahar's governor, Moulavi Naqib Akhondzada.

**Herat.** Governor: Ismail Khan, affiliated to *Jamiat-e Islami*.

**Jowzjan.** See Balkh above.

**Kabul.** Divided in two parts. Northern and Eastern parts are controlled by Ahmad Shah Masood's *Shura-e Nazar* affiliated to *Jamiat-e Islami*. Western parts are controlled by *Hezb-e Wahdat Islami*. Southern suburbs are controlled by a coalition led by Hekmatyar's *Hezb-e Islami*. The strong military presence of General Abdul Rashid Dostum, in alliance with Ahmad Shah Masood, around Kabul airport and other strategically-important areas outside the city has kept the balance of forces among rival Mujahideen groups.

**Kandahar.** Governor: Moulavi Naqibullah Akhondzada, affiliated to *Jamiat-e Islami*. Parties led by Hekmatyar, Sayyaf and Gailani are also believed to have strong military bases there.

**Kapisa.** See Parwan below.

**Khost** (bordering Pakistan). Governor: Rasool (as known), formerly a Khalq Party member, now affiliated to the Gailani's Mujahideen party.

**Kunarha.** Governor: Rosie Khan, head of his own Wahhabi Mujahideen group.

**Kunduz.** Is divided into four parts, controlled separately by Ahmad Shah Masood's *Shura-e Nazar*, Hekmatyar's *Hezb-e Islami*, Dostum's National Islamic Movement and Sayed Jaffar Naderi (head of the Ismaili sect). A great number of refugees from Tajikistan have settled in Kunduz.

**Laghman.** Controlled by various armed groups including Nooristani militia men.

**Logar.** Controlled by parties led by Hekmatyar, Yunus Khalis and Moulavi Nabi Mohammadi.

**Maidan.** Controlled by Hekmatyar's *Hezb-e Islami* and *Hezb-e Wahdat Islami*.

**Nangarhar** (capital: Jalalabad). Governor: Haji Qadir, affiliated to Moulavi Yunus Khalis' *Hezb-e Islami*.

**Nimroz**. Controlled by Baluch militia affiliated to various Mujahideen parties.

**Paktia**. Governor: Moulavi Jalaluddin Haqqani, affiliated to Yunus Khalis's *Hezb-e Islami*. Haqqani shares power with commanders affiliated to Hekmatyar, Gailani and a few other Mujahideen party leaders.

**Parwan and Kapisa** (north of Kabul; Afghanistan's main military airport is located in this area). Controlled by Ahmad Shah Masood's *Shura-e Nazar*. Some areas in these two provinces are controlled by Hekmatyar's *Hezb-e Islami*.

**Qalat**. Controlled by Mujaddedi's *Jabha-e Nejat-e Melli Islami* and Gailani's forces.

**Samangan**. No governor. Controlled by a coalition of forces from *Jamiat-e Islami*, Abdul Rashid Dostum and Sayed Mansoor Naderi (head of the Ismaili sect).

**Takhar**. Governor: Ahmad Shah Masood, head of *Shura-e Nazar*, affiliated to *Jamiat-e Islami*.

**Urozgan**. Controlled by *Hezb-e Wahdat Islami*.

Kabul's main commercial centres have suffered extensive damage as a result of Mujahideen infighting over the control of the city.

Residential areas in central Kabul after a rocket attack launched by a Mujahideen group in August 1993.

Kabul's main commercial centres have suffered extensive damage as a result of Mujahideen infighting over the control of the city.