Afghanistan Through The Eyes Of Pakistani Cartoonists

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Abdurrahim Alireza
Akhtar Shah
Fawzia
Feica
Jawed Iqbal
Khalid

Maxim
Mushtaq
Shujaat
Tahir Mehdi
Tilloo
Vai Ell

Zahoor

Chronology

Nancy Hatch Dupree

Peshawar
1994
TO
LOUIS
IN MEMORY
PREFACE

This collection of cartoons grew steadily after my arrival in Peshawar in 1989 to work with the Afghan refugees. The cartoons continued to accumulate without any specific end in mind until the middle of 1993 when the unwieldy bulk of the file demanded some sort of action.

The simplest was to consign it to the wastebasket. My training as an historian rebelled at this. The cartoons covered years of stirring action and from even a cursory glance it was obvious that the talent and insights of the cartoonists deserved acknowledgement.

I am so happy I stayed my hand over that wastebasket! It has been a delightful experience working with these gifted, most personable artists. They have extended their support in full. Thank you, one and all.

Dr. Shaukat Mahmood, 53, the Maxim of these cartoons, is from Peshawar. He studied architecture at the University of Engineering and Technology (Lahore) before earning a M.Sc. from Heriot-Watt University (England) and a PhD in Islamic architecture from the University of Edinburgh. Dr. Mahmood is now a professor of architecture at UET, specializing in the conservation of Islamic architecture. Professor Mahmood took up publishing cartoons incidentally in 1964, in order to earn a little pocket money during his student days. He joined The Nation as a cartoonist in 1986.

Yusuf Lodi, 48, who signs his cartoons as Vai Ell, has published nine books of political cartoons while also serving as editor and special correspondent as well as cartoonist for numerous newspapers such as The Pakistan Times, the Frontier Guardian, The Muslim, The Frontier Post, and The News. He was awarded the Sitara-e-Imtiaz in 1990, the Prime Minister’s Award in 1989, and the All Pakistan Newspapers Society Award in 1984. He is from the North-West Frontier Province.

Jawed Iqbal, 46, from Sialkot, began his career as a cartoonist at the age of 17 at the monthly magazine Chand. He received a B.A. in Fine Arts from the University of the Punjab. His work has been published in Nawa-i-Waqt, Dhanak and Jang; currently he is associated with Jang, The News and MAG magazine. He has published seven books of cartoons, held exhibitions in the USA and Canada, Scandinavia, Europe, Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan, the Far East, and appeared on TV. He won the All Pakistan Newspaper Award (1986), Best Cartoonist (1987), and the President’s Award For Pride of Performance in the field of art (cartoons) in 1993.
Mushtaq, whose cartoon appeared in DAWN, is 45.

Imam-ul-Haq, 40, also known as Tilloo, is from Rawalpindi. After obtaining a Masters degree in Economics, he took up cartooning as a profession in 1978. Since then he has been associated with various Urdu dailies such as Pukar, Markaz, Tameer, Masum, and, currently, Khabrain.

Rafique Ahmad, 36, known to the cartoon world as Feica, is from Multan. He graduated from the National College of Arts in Lahore before taking up a career as a cartoonist with The Daily Star (Karachi), The Muslim, The Frontier Post, Sajan (Punjabi), Slogan and, since 1992, with DAWN and the Herald Monthly. In 1991 and 1992 he learned modern techniques of film animation while working with professional animators in the USA and England. He is a member of the Association of International Animators, Sweden. He has held solo shows in all of Pakistan's major cities and has received the All Pakistan Newspapers Society Award (1987), the Sagar Siddiqee Award (1987), the Democracy Award (1988), and the Abbasi Shaheed Award (1990).

Akhtar Shah, 34, cartoonist for The Muslim, is from Skardu in Pakistan's mountainous northern areas. He attributes his talents in cartoon drawing to his early addiction to comic books. With no formal training in art, he worked as a graphic designer before taking up his profession as a cartoonist in 1987. He won the All Pakistan Newspapers Society Best Cartoonist Award in 1988.

Mohammad Zahoor, 32, from the North-West Frontier Province, earned a Diploma in Fine Arts from Peshawar University before starting work as a cartoonist with The Frontier Post in 1989. He won the Best Cartoonist Award from the All Pakistan Newspapers Society three years running, in 1989, 1990, and 1991.

Tahir Mehdi, 33, from Multan and Shujaat, 23, from Rawalpindi, both with The News, profess to be only part-time cartoonists. Khalid, 27, now works for the Frontier Post Lahore.

As to the chronology. It is not intended as a complete record of events. The selections were chosen simply to jog the reader's memory regarding the events that inspired the cartoons.

In addition to reiterating my gratitude to the cartoonists for their generosity in permitting me to publish their work, it is indeed a pleasure to thank Muzaffar Shah Afridi, Editor, The Frontier Post, Farhad Zaidi, Editor-in-Chief, The Muslim, and Dr. Maleeha Lodi, Editor of The News, for their
support. Unfortunately I was unable to visit Lahore and Karachi to meet with the editors of *The Nation* and *DAWN* but I compliment them for publishing the cartoons.

Sincere recognition goes also to those who have so ably assisted me in editing and production: Ahmad Shafiq, Carla Grissmann and Robert MacMakin.

Nancy Hatch Dupree

Peshawar
December 1993
THE CARTOONS

PRELUDE: 1978 - 1988

1989  5
1990  11
1991  27
1992  39
1993  77
PRELUDE TO THE EVENTS

1978 April 27:
A coup in Kabul brings to power the Peoples Democratic Party of Afghanistan - the PDPA.

1979 December 24:
USSR invades Afghanistan.

1981 February 11:
Javier Perez de Cuellar appointed UN Secretary-General’s Special Representative for Afghanistan.

1982 February:
Perez de Cuellar becomes UN Secretary-General; appoints Diego Cordovez Special Representative for Afghanistan.

1982 June 16:
First UN-brokered talks in Geneva between Pakistan and Afghanistan.

1985 March:
Mikhail Gorbachev succeeds to Kremlin leadership.

1986 May 4:
Dr. Najibullah replaces Babrak Karmal as President of the Republic of Afghanistan.

1988 April 14:
Geneva Accords signed: bilateral agreements between Afghanistan and Pakistan, guaranteed by the USSR and the USA, call for a phased withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan: to begin in May 1988; and to be completed by 15 February 1989. Afghan mujahideen reject the Accords because they were not party to the negotiations.

USA and USSR agree on "positive symmetry," whereby both superpowers would continue to supply their respective allies with weapons.

1988 August 17:
President Zia ul-Haq of Pakistan, staunch supporter of the Afghan Resistance, dies in a plane crash.

1988 December 2:
Benazir Bhutto becomes Prime Minister of Pakistan.
July 1988
For the first time in his six years of negotiations, Cordovez meets directly with the refugees, at Nasir Bagh, Peshawar. His new proposal for a neutral caretaker government is summarily rejected after 20 minutes of discussions.
1989

14 February 1989
The Afghan Interim Government (AIG) is formed after 13 days of contentious debate among the mujahideen parties, in Islamabad: President, Sibghatullah Mojaddedi; Prime Minister, Abdur Rab Rasul Sayyaf; Foreign Minister, Gulbuddin Hekmatyar.

15 February 1989
Last Soviet troops leave Afghanistan.

Early March 1989
The Battle of Jalalabad begins. The premature decision to progress from guerrilla to full-scale conventional warfare, occasioned by euphoria over the Soviet withdrawl, a misguided belief that the Kabul government would collapse, and the desire to secure a city to which the AIG could move inside Afghanistan, is fatal as the mujahideen are insufficiently trained in conventional tactics and unable to coordinate strategies.

While the stalemate at Jalalabad grinds on into the fall of 1989, demoralizing the mujahideen on the one hand and renewing the confidence of the Kabul army on the other, a variety of players quicken their efforts to find a formula for the establishment of a broad-based government.

For many, the formation of a broad-based government would necessarily include an intra-Afghan dialogue between the mujahideen, certain members of the regime in Kabul, and the ex-king Zahir Shah together with members of his former cabinet, a concept categorically rejected by the mujahideen.

Meanwhile, dissension between groups continues to plague the mujahideen.
29 August 1989
Gulbuddin Hekmatyar breaks with the AIG accusing it of bias against him over the Takhar Incident (9 June) in which mujahideen from his party ambushed and killed 30 Jamiat-i-Islami commanders under Ahmad Shah Masood.
Hekmatyar accuses the USA of seeking alternatives for the AIG by reducing the supply of arms and by courting ex-King Zahir Shah.

Peter Tomsen, US Special Envoy to the Afghan Resistance (appointed 7 April), denies reports that US meetings with ex-king Zahir Shah reflect a change in US policy. "Zahir Shah is a significant member of the resistance and has an important role to play," says Tomsen.
November 1989
At the US-USSR Summit at Malta, Eduard Shevardnadze, Soviet Foreign Minister, is reported to have stressed the fact that "Najibullah cannot be removed because he gets stronger each day."

TOMSEN ASKS AIG TO BROADE BASE — (NEWS)
23 November 1989
The AIG announces that elections for a 500-member transitional Shura will be held in April 1990.

18 December 1989
Stephen Solarz, Chairman of the US House of Representatives Subcommittee on Asia and the Pacific, reveals that the US now attaches more importance to a political settlement and warns the mujahideen that the failure to find a solution would be due to their disunity, not to a decrease in US assistance.
PM Benazir Bhutto, criticized at home for her failure to accommodate the opposition, is also faulted for her inconsistency in urging the AIG to negotiate with Kabul while at the same time pledging continued support for the mujahideen.
4 January 1990
PM Bhutto changes her stance and seeks the assistance of Khan Abdul Wali Khan, the prominent Pakistani politician known for his close ties to Kabul since the leftist take-over in April 1978.

10 January 1990
A Scud missile lands close to Pakistan's largest Ordnance Factory, not far from the capital city of Islamabad.

12 January 1990
PM Bhutto warns Kabul of serious consequences if such an act is repeated.
14-15 January 1990
UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar meets with Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, in Moscow, to seek backing for a new peace initiative. The UN plan suggests that a broader grouping of independent field commanders, Afghans living abroad, Shias, and supporters of ex-King Zahir Shah, summon a Loya Jirgah which would select a coalition government to replace the AIG.

The USA, unenthusiastic about the UN plan, hopes the AIG can be built into a credible alternative.

17 January 1990
A delegation led by Robert M. Kimmit, US Under Secretary for Political Affairs, arrives in Pakistan seeking new insights for diplomatic initiatives, including a larger role for the UN, a coalition government, and the possible return of Zahir Shah. In talks with the mujahideen, the mission stresses the need to reduce internal differences but assures them the search for new directions does not signal a change of US policy in support of the mujahideen.
21 January 1990
A Soviet official states Najibullah is willing to transfer power to a coalition government headed by Zahir Shah.

Zahir Shah rejects any idea of power-sharing.
27 January 1990
Seeking to project a credible, independent image, the AIG announces it will hold elections for a broad-based Shura in February. The tenure of the AIG, due to expire in February, is extended until the creation of such a broad-based Shura.

6-7 February 1990
James Baker, US Secretary of State, and Eduard Shevardnadze, Soviet Foreign Minister, meet in Moscow to discuss a phased transition. During Phase I, President Najibullah would remain in power while the AIG holds a consultative assembly; in Phase II, Najibullah loyalists would negotiate with the mujahideen on arrangements for internationally supervised elections; in Phase III, Najibullah would resign, but he would be allowed to contest the elections.

While conceding it will no longer demand the removal of Najibullah prior to the initiation of peace talks, the US insists, unequivocally, that the USSR must guarantee his eventual removal.

US suspends $30 million of food aid to the mujahideen because of difficulties in monitoring and of reported misappropriations. Assurances that aid would resume is widely discounted.
4 March 1990
The UN, reporting that $650 million worth of pledges are unfulfilled, appeals for humanitarian assistance to meet severe food shortages in Afghanistan.
6 March 1990
An abortive coup against President Najibullah is staged by General Shahnawaz Tanai, Defence Minister and leader of the Khalq faction in Kabul. Gulbuddin Hekmatyar openly supports the coup. Tanai flies to Pakistan (9 March) and then joins Hekmatyar inside Afghanistan. Hekmatyar is roundly censured by the other parties for "joining hands with a confirmed communist" although Tanai insists (17 March) he has only a "tactical understanding, not an alliance" with Hekmatyar.
7 April 1990
In Washington, Soviet and US officials announce they have narrowed their differences and agreed to a reduction of arms as well as to elections.

USAID distributed 93,000 apple seedlings to farmers in the provinces of Ghazni and Logar.
4 May 1990
In the latest US-Soviet discussions, the Soviets agree to drop their insistence that Najibullah be guaranteed a place in any future government, while the US softened its insistence that Najibullah should permanently renounce his claim to the presidency. Both decided elections would be best.

6 May 1990
Afghan Foreign Minister Abdul Wakil appeals to the US to drop its embargo on contacts with Kabul, saying the peace process would speed up if the US would talk directly to Kabul.
19 May 1990
At a press conference after meeting again with Eduard Shevardnadze, James Baker says Moscow and Washington are slowly moving closer toward an agreement on internationally supervised elections for Afghanistan.
28-29 May 1990
Addressing the Loya Jirga called to initiate sweeping reforms, Najibullah announces the introduction of a multi-party system for Afghanistan. The Afghan flag is changed from red to green and, on 29 June, the PDPA is officially renamed the Watan (Homeland) Party.

4 June 1990
After a 4-day summit, Andrei Grachev, Foreign Policy Advisor to the Central Committee of the Communist Party, said in Washington that the specific topic of discussion concerned the "eventual international control over the future elections." However, although "major principles" had been agreed upon, the two sides have totally different perceptions concerning the future of President Najibullah: while agreeing that he may contest the elections, the US insists that he resign prior to the holding of the elections; the Soviets insist that he remain in office until he hands over power to those who win the elections.
June 1990
Hekmatyar proposes a Shura of Jehad parties, without exception, which would establish a Central Shura and a Leadership Council (Qiyadi Shura) which would in turn form a Commission to draft a Constitution.

14 June 1990
Najibullah seeks the restoration of Afghanistan's seat in the Organization of Islamic Council given to the AIG in 1989. Saudi Arabia and Pakistan oppose the move. On 5 August, in Cairo, a mujahideen delegation, led by Burhanuddin Rabbani, attends the OIC meetings for the first time.
16 July 1990
Najibullah forwards a new formula: an interim commission consisting of members of the Kabul government together with "like-minded mujahideen" to keep law and order and conduct national elections.
25 July 1990

The 3-month Voluntary Repatriation Pilot Project intended to facilitate the spontaneous return of refugees begins. Upon cancellation of their ration cards, each refugee family is offered a one-time contribution of Rs. 3,300 ($150) toward transportation and initial settlement costs, plus 300 kgs of wheat, an amount estimated to be sufficient to sustain a family for three months.

AIG Interior Minister Khalis calls the scheme "an imperialist conspiracy," Hekmatyar styles it "an organized conspiracy," Rabbani calls it "illogical and a violation of human rights," while AIG President Mojaddedi censures it as "meaningless in view of the continued fighting and the danger that Kabul will drop bombs on the returning refugees."
1-2 August 1990
Baker and Sheverdnadze meet for the 11th time in 1990, in Irkutsk, but there is still no breakthrough on determining transitional mechanisms conducive to holding democratic elections. US-USSR efforts are likened to the concocting of a "Kabuli Pilao."

2 August 1990
The Gulf Crisis begins.

6 August 1990
The government of PM Bhutto is dismissed and Mian Nawaz Sharif becomes Prime Minister of Pakistan.
1990 ends as it began, with the frantic search for a solution no clearer. Power struggles within the AIG belie its superficial unity, and mounting frustration infects all sides.
With world attention focused on the Gulf, Pakistani columnists take the government to task for being "unmindful of the boiling cauldron next door." Last US-Soviet talks were dominated by the Middle East.
But throughout Afghanistan security posts are besieged, attacks and counterattacks are launched; retaliatory bombing raids pound villages, and rockets blast Kabul. Pakistani border villages suffer accordingly.

31 March 1991

The fall of the strategic city of Khost, 15 miles from the Pakistani border, is hailed as a major victory for the mujahideen. Massive looting and wrangling over unprecedented quantities of captured weapons, however, tarnish their image.
3 April 1991
Najib vows he will recapture Khost.

3 April 1991
Hekmatyar vows he will take Kabul.

3 April 1991
Pakistan and its politicians urge the UN to stop Kabul’s Scud missile and aerial attacks on Khost.
3 April 1991
Pakistan makes a major policy shift and decides to press for political solutions with the USSR, Iran, and Saudi Arabia. Despite the fall of Khost, major, prolonged military victories no longer appear viable because of on-going factional strife among the mujahideen parties.

11 April 1991
Benon Sevan, the UN Secretary-General's Personal Representative in Afghanistan and Pakistan, begins another hectic round of shuttle diplomacy between Kabul-Islamabad-Peshawar-Tehran, yet the mujahideen continue to insist on pursuing a military solution.

YOUNUS KHALIS RESIGNED FROM AFGHAN INTERIM GOVT LAST WEEK. HE HAS REFUSED TO RETURN TO THE FOLD — (NEWS ITEM).

The Nation 12 May 1991

5 May 1991
Mawlawi Mohammad Yunus Khalis, AIG Interior Minister and leader of Hezb-e-Islami (Khalis), resigns. The AIG is so weak, so ready to compromise with Kabul, and so intent on providing a separate identity for the Shia, that they are encouraging party rivalries rather than functioning as a unified institution, says Khalis.
21 May 1991

Acknowledging that Afghanistan had become a "forgotten people" at a time when other developments were attracting world attention, mindful of active hostilities in Afghanistan over the past few weeks, sensing Pakistan had changed toward a political rather than a purely military solution, and aware of the inability of the US and the USSR to sort out their differences, UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar presents a 5-point peace formula.

The plan includes: a call for the cessation of hostilities during a transition period leading to the election of a broad-based government; a plea for an agreement to end arms supplies, to all sides, from whatever source; an appeal for financial resources for reconstruction; and a commitment to the creation of favourable conditions for the voluntary repatriation of refugees. Intended as a statement of principles, the plan suggests that the detailed mechanisms for implementation be determined through an intra-Afghan dialogue.
A flurry of political activity after the announcement of the UN 5-point formula points to new alignments and directions.

25 May 1991
The Iran-based Shia Afghan Hezb-i-Wahdat party and the AIG meet and agree to strive jointly toward a solution. On 27 May, Hekmatyar dismisses these talks as a superpower plot to use the "weaker parties with no grass roots support" for their own designs.

27 May 1991
Najibullah offers a truce; Sayyaf scorns the offer saying this would "allow Kabul to win after having lost on the battlefield."

27 May 1991
First Pakistan-Soviet talks in Moscow. Pakistan proceeds from the premise that the mujahideen will negotiate only after Najibullah resigns, while the Soviets stand firmly against the removal of any major political force until a transitional body is in place.

28 May 1991
Speaking for the AIG, President Mojadeddi announces that the AIG is unable to accept the UN peace formula because the majority of its members believe in a military solution.

11 June 1991
Representatives of ex-King Zahir Shah arrive in Islamabad.

13 June 1991
Iran-Soviet talks in Moscow discuss a comprehensive settlement for Afghanistan.

16 June 1991
The Pakistan Foreign Ministry and the AIG President invite a 28-member Joint Commission of mujahideen parties to submit proposals for solving the Afghan crisis. Hezb-i-Wahdat boycotts the meeting over the number of seats allotted to it.

29 July 1991
First Trilateral Pakistan-Iran-Mujahideen meetings in Islamabad agree that a political settlement will be concluded.

23 July 1991
The Assistant Secretary-General of the OIC meets with the mujahideen in Peshawar and asks for their formula to replace that of the UN.
15 August 1991
The July 1990 repatriation pilot project was extended because of encouraging results. By 15 August, 28,573 families, totalling more than 140,000 persons out of the estimated 3.5 million Afghan refugees in Pakistan, had indicated their intention to repatriate by encashing their ration books.

A letter from UNHCR to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs suggesting Pakistan might prepare for the legal integration of those refugees not wishing to return created a furor among both Pakistanis and Afghans. One report stated that 1.3 million Afghan children had been born in Pakistan, all of whom were eligible for Pakistani citizenship. Furthermore, under the law the government cannot force any person eligible for citizenship to leave Pakistan.
20 August 1991
An abortive coup takes place in the Soviet Union. On the 30th the Communist Party is officially declared defunct. The tempo of negotiations over the Afghanistan issue quickens.

29 August 1991
The Tehran Declaration issued at the conclusion of the 2nd 2-day Trilateral talks in Tehran states that there shall be no negotiations with Kabul, that the mujahideen shall continue military pressure while talks continue, and that the mujahideen leaders are ready for a serious dialogue with the Soviet leadership. All "relevant parties" had accepted the UN 5-point formula in principle, while seeking clarifications.

Eleven mujahideen parties attend, but Sayyaf and Khalis boycott the meetings while Hekmatyar denies his party took part in the proceedings.
Sibghatullah Mojadeddi might become president of an interim government while retaining the Kabul government Prime Minister Fazal Haq Khaliqyar, a non-party member, as his deputy.

The idea of such a coalition government is anathema to Sayyaf, Khalis and Hekmatyar - and countless other Afghans in Pakistan.
The fracas over the proposal for a coalition government widened the rift between moderate mujahideen seeking a political settlement and hard-liners looking for a military victory.

2 October 1991
A UN General Assembly resolution stresses the cessation of hostilities and an "early start of an intra-Afghan dialogue." Perez de Cuellar redoubles his efforts to convene a peace conference in Geneva, but is rebuffed by the mujahideen.

13 October 1991
Mojadeddi speaks out against the military offensives raging around Gardez and Jalalabad, saying the cities ought only to be besieged in order to bring pressure on Kabul.

24 October 1991
At a crucial meeting with PM Nawaz Sharif, Rabbani is chosen over Mojadeddi to lead an upcoming delegation to Moscow.

24 October 1991
Mojadeddi lashes out at Pakistani interference, charging the ISI with plans to destroy the Naglu, Darunta, and Khajakai dams in Afghanistan.
New activity is stimulated by the US-USSR accord on negative symmetry (13 September 1991) according to which both sides agreed to cease arms supplies on 1 January 1992.

8 November 1991
After Rabbani returns from consultations in Tehran, following briefings in Islamabad, an 11-member delegation led by Rabbani leaves Peshawar for Moscow with a 2-day stopover in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia. A second Iran-based delegation led by Sayyad Rahmat Murtazawi, joins them. The hardliners, Sayyaf and Khalis, decline; Hekmatyar's participation is hesitant.

11-15 November 1991
This first official visit of Afghan mujahideen to the Soviet Union is a decisive step, yet the two sides remain divided on the central issue of removing Najibullah. The Moscow Declaration acknowledged the need to transfer power to an "Islamic transitional government" until elections were held, pledged both sides to release POWs, and agreed to pursue negotiations. Acrimonious debates followed.
21 November 1991
The UN Security Council chooses Boutrous Boutrous-Ghali to replace Javier Perez de Cuellar as UN Secretary-General as of 1 January 1992. In the interim, Cuellar and Benon Sevan, his Personal Representative in Afghanistan and Pakistan, step up their shuttle diplomacy on behalf of the UN 5-point formula for Afghanistan.

27 December 1991
Mikhail Gorbachev resigns.
Long-standing disputes over a role for Zahir Shah build to a new pitch with the widely held perception that Pakistan, under US pressure, seriously intends to bring about the return of the ex-king of Afghanistan.

14 January 1992
Najibullah issues a decree restoring the previously confiscated properties of Zahir Shah.

17 January 1992
The new UN Secretary-General, Boutrous Boutrous-Ghali, asks his Personal Representative to intensify his efforts to convene an assembly of neutral Afghans to prepare for an interim government.
27 January 1992
Siddiq Kanju, Pakistan Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, announces his government's decision to support UN efforts. "The ball is now in the UN's court."

Pakistan's U-turn in policy is precipitated by the defection of Najibullah's key army and militia generals in the north, by continued mujahideen infighting, and, not least, by the lure of lucrative trade prospects with Central Asia.
February 1992

Hekmatyar, Sayyaf and Khalis promise armed resistance against any move to bring back ex-king Zahir Shah and openly express their determination to obstruct UN efforts unless the Najibullah government is removed.

To many, Najibullah is seen as the winner in any UN solution since the mujahideen, bitterly divided, are unable to carry out effective, coordinated military actions.
10 February 1992
In Kabul, before leaving for Tehran, Benon Sevan opines that, "If a political solution is not found within the current year, there is a real threat that the territorial integrity of Afghanistan will be irreparably shattered."

16 February 1992
Senator Qazi Hussain Ahmed, Amir of the Jamaat-i-Islami Pakistan Party, staunch defender of hard-line mujahideen views, leads a chorus of opposition voices in slating the government for "toeing the American line" in its shift to the UN formula.

Controversy over the UN plan, therefore, splits not only the mujahideen but also the partners of PM Nawaz Sharif's coalition government.
23 February 1992
President Ghulam Ishaq Khan tells reporters the settlement is in its "final stages."

24 February 1992
PM Nawaz Sharif: "The stepping down of Najib is a must for a logical end to the matter."

27 February 1992
The Minister for Foreign Affairs defends his policy before the National Assembly -

- while Qazi Hussain Ahmed continues to castigate the government for its Afghan policy.
Golden prospects in Central Asia excite both commercial and political circles in Pakistan.
PM Nawaz Sharif while addressing the World Economic Forum in Switzerland (2 February): "Afghanistan provides the gateway for an effective cooperation with Central Asia and therefore a peaceful solution of the Afghanistan problem should be found in the immediate future."

7 March 1992
Benon Sevan on BBC: "The UN peace process is going well and there is no one who can sabotage this process."

Despite the fact that on
2 March 1992
Hekmatyar announces "We shall boycott any assembly." - and on
6 March 1992
Sayyaf tells a meeting of his party that the assembly is "an exercise in futility because all the 150 names being considered by the UN were pro-Western, anti-mujahideen, of dubious character and worse than communists."
18 March 1992
At the end of the latest round of talks with Benon Sevan, Najibullah announces that he and his government would step down "when a neutral transition government is ready to take up its duties."

19 March 1992
Major sections of the strategic northern city of Mazar-i-Sharif come under the joint control of mujahideen and segments of defecting government militia forces once loyal to Kabul.

20 March 1992
Rabbani reacts to Najibullah's offer to step down with skepticism saying: "We do not see anything new. His offer is tied to the formation of a new regime and that will keep him in power for a long time. But Najib knows full well his days are numbered. He is like a suspended tear drop about to fall."

24 March 1992
Benon Sevan rushes back to Kabul at Najibullah's request for an unscheduled visit following "tense" crisis meetings among key members of the Watan Party considering the implications of the mutinous situation developing in Mazar-i-Sharif.
10 April 1992
Boutrous-Gali announces that a "pre-transition" 15-member council would be formed to take power "now." The larger assembly would be called later.

12 April 1992
US State Department asks the mujahideen to refrain from fighting and join the new UN peace process.

14 April 1992
A coalition of mujahideen and Afghan army officers secure the strategic air base at Begram, 56 km north of Kabul. Forces loyal to Hekmatyar move toward Kabul from the south.

8 April 1992
Speaking to diplomats in Islamabad, Benon Sevan says that as "new tribal and military conflict is mounting" an accelerated plan would be in place by 28 April.
Night of 16-17 April 1992 - in Kabul
As the mujahideen close in on Kabul, President Najibullah is removed from office and replaced by a council of Afghan army officers and political associates in the Watan Party.

Najibullah's unsuccessful attempt to leave the country is thwarted by his one-time loyal militia. He takes refuge in the UN compound.
With Kabul the prize, the long-standing rivalry between Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, leader of Hezb-e-Islami (Hekmatyar), and Jamiat-e-Islami's Commander Ahmad Shah Masood, intensifies. Hekmatyar stands ready in Logar, 30 km south of Kabul, while Masood is poised at Charikar, 60 km north of the city.
17 April 1992 - and thereafter
Benon Sevan’s efforts to secure Najibullah’s departure are rejected by Kabul’s new leaders.

18 April 1992
The Afghan Foreign Minister, Abdul Wakil, concludes a Cooperation Accord with Masood, adding fuel to the Masood-Hekmatyar rivalry.

19 April 1992
Masood forms an Islamic Jehad Council, a coalition of government militia and mujahideen forces, excluding Hezb-e-Islami (Hekmatyar).

19 April 1992
Hezb-e-Islami (Hekmatyar) fires mortars into Kabul stuffed with leaflets calling for the unconditional surrender of Kabul forces by 26 April. If not, they will storm the city.

21 April 1992
Fighting breaks out south of Kabul, in Paghman to the west, and from hilltops surrounding the city.
Night of 18-19 April 1992 - in Peshawar
Pakistan PM Nawaz Sharif, with his ministers of Defence, State and Religious Affairs, the Chief of ISI, and Qazi Hussain Ahmed, hold a stormy meeting with the mujahideen in Peshawar to discuss the crisis in Kabul.
19 April 1992
The Pakistan Foreign Office announces that "a broad consensus, in principle, has been reached for the formation of a 20-member Mujahideen Council to effect the orderly transfer of power from the Kabul authorities." The spokesman says Benon Sevan has agreed to accept the mujahideen list of nominees, suggesting the UN plan for a "pre-transition" council has been set aside.

The press, however, reports that Hekmatyar, Sayyaf, Khalis, and Mojaddedi did not attend and that heated arguments raged over the nominations.

Believe me gentlemen, a consortium has got nothing to do with consorts.

The Nation 28 April 1992
21 April 1992
The Foreign Office announces that the Mujahideen Council will be formed shortly, though "it is not possible to say precisely when."

22 April 1992
In Vienna, PM Nawaz Sharif says a settlement in Afghanistan is now "within our grasp as the Mujahideen Council is expected to take over in Kabul in a few days."
23 April 1992

Benon Sevan returns to Islamabad after a 9-day tour of Afghanistan during which he met the Commander of the Uzbek militia in Mazar-e-Sharif, Abdul Rashid Dostum, and Ahmad Shah Masood, but not Gulbuddin Hekmatyar. He tells PM Nawaz Sharif that a "dangerous power vacuum exists in Kabul which could lead to disastrous effects if not filled."
24 April 1992
Upstaging all other players, the Afghan army and the mujahideen take Kabul peacefully, and the various factions stake out zones of control throughout the city.

24 April 1992
Galvanized into action after nine days of tortuous debate, the mujahideen in Peshawar, with Hezb-i-Wahdat and Hezb-i-Islami (Hekmatyar) absent, announce the details of an interim governing arrangement. This complex Peshawar Accord calls for a 50-member Leadership Council, led by Professor Sibghatullah Mojaddedi, to function for two months. Comprised of 30 commanders, 10 ulema, and one nominated member from each of the 10 major mujahideen parties, the Council is charged with the task of transferring power to an interim government headed by Jamiat-i-Islami’s Professor Burhanuddin Rabbani, who will serve for four months while preparing for elections. Cabinet portfolios are to be equally divided among the parties.
26 April 1992
As Mojaddedi makes his way toward Kabul, fierce battles between rival mujahideen factions and their allied government and militia forces erupt through the streets of Kabul. Rocket, tank and machinegun fire is intense.
27 April 1992
A ceasefire negotiated by PM Nawaz Sharif and Saudi Prince Turki al-Faisal comes into effect at 2:30 pm, following talks with the leaders of the 10 major parties in Peshawar and telephone conversations with Hekmatyar and Masood inside Afghanistan. The ceasefire does not hold for long.
28 April 1992
Professor Sibghatullah Mojaddedi is sworn in as caretaker Interim President of the Islamic State of Afghanistan. Near-by, heavy exchanges of artillery fire interrupt the ceremony held at the Foreign Ministry in Kabul.

The new administration is challenged immediately by Pir Sayed Ahmad Gailani, leader of the National Islamic Front of Afghanistan, who declares that NIFA will not join a government headed by a Hezb-i-Islami (Hekmatyar) prime minister. Mohammad Karim Khalili, representing the alliance of Iran-based Shia parties, also declares the Council unacceptable because it is unrepresentative.

29 April 1992
PM Nawaz Sharif and a high-ranking entourage, including Prince Turki-al Faisal, OIC Secretary-General Hamed al-Gabid, numbers of Pakistani federal ministers, the Army Chief of Staff, and Chief of the ISI, visit Kabul to show their support for the newly installed government.

Rockets falling all around the airport delay the departure of the Pakistani dignitaries.
30 April 1992

Hekmatyar demands that the Leadership Council expel all militia groups, whom he blames for wide-spread looting and lawlessness, and that they dismiss all members of the former communist regime. Mojaddedi's willingness to share power with the former regime is "high treason," says Hekmatyar.
The most prominent militia forces, paid and armed by the former regime and now serving under generals Rashid Dostum, Syed Mansoor Naderi, and Baba Jan, are the real bones of contention between the government and Hekmatyar.

22 May 1992
Mojaddedi promotes Dostum, an Uzbek, to full general in an official ceremony in Mazar-i-Sharif. A furor of disapproval follows, even from his own Defence Minister-designate Ahmad Shah Masood.
May 1992
Benon Sevan resumes his fast-paced rounds of negotiations on peace, emergency food, humanitarian assistance, and repatriation. There is, however, no breakthrough in his attempts to secure the release of Najibullah.

27 May 1992
At a press conference in Islamabad, Mojaddedi refutes reports that he intends to cling to power and extend his tenure for two years.
25 May 1992
Addressing a joint press conference after a 9-hour face-to-face meeting in the outskirts of Kabul, Hekmatyar and Masood announce an accord calling for the complete cessation of hostilities, the removal of the militia and the maintenance of security by all parties. Emphasizing that the 2-month interim government can not be extended, the accord calls for elections under the guidance of a joint commission within six months.

31 May 1992
Mojaddedi supports the ceasefire but finds no "legal basis" for the withdrawal of security forces, which cannot be done without the approval of the government, and he contends that elections under present conditions would not be "practical." Khalis also observes that Hekmatyar and Masood have no authority to promise elections.
16 June 1992

Mojaddedi repeats his contention (voiced since 2 June) that delegations were "insisting" he stay in office and that he will ask "the public to decide whether to go or stay." According to the Peshawar Accord his term expires on 27 June.
24 June 1992

The fighting escalates and Masood takes control of strategic government installations. "My Minister of Defence would not even allow me to go to my office," complains Mojaddedi.

During the week all major party leaders call for adherence to the Peshawar Accord. With no support-

- President Sibghatullah Mojaddedi hands over power to the Leadership Council at the Presidential Palace (28 June) and Professor Burhanuddin Rabbani is named President of the Islamic State of Afghanistan. His term expires on 28 October.
2 July 1992
Operation Cleanup begins. While speaking in a mosque, Rabbani promises that the "armed groups roaming around Kabul" would be pushed out of the city "at any cost." His words are drowned out by the roar of tanks and artillery fire.

5 July 1992
Khalis says his mujahideen will not lay down their arms "until a permanent peace is established."

9 July 1992
Operation Cleanup is "suspended" because "there was some resistance from some mujahideen." One "humiliated" commander took over four power plants and cut Kabul's electricity supply. "A change of style," emphasizing negotiations instead of forced vacation of premises, will be introduced.

20 July 1992
Operation Cleanup resumes.
3 July 1992
In his first speech, Rabbani appeals for aid from all nations and calls on Russia to pay reparations for their years of destructive occupation.

21 July 1992
After three days of bitter sectarian street fighting between the Shia of Hezb-i-Wahdat (Abdul Ali Mazari), backed by Iran, and the Sunni of Ittehad-i-Islami (Sayyaf), backed by Saudia Arabia, the warring factions agree to a ceasefire.
Yet anarchy and lawlessness grip Kabul for three weeks. Showers of rockets and missiles rain down daily from Hezb-i-Islami (Hekmatyar) bases on the periphery of the city. Within the city each street is ruled by faction-driven armed groups which often clash. Looting, plunder, theft, and abduction are the order of the day. The city is besieged and faces acute shortages of food and fuel. But there is no breakthrough in the consolidation of power.
7 August 1992
Sotirios Mousouris replaces Benon Sevan as the UN Secretary-General's Personal Representative in Afghanistan and Pakistan.

14 August 1992
UNHCR reports 10-15,000 refugees are repatriating every day; almost a million had returned by June. They warn, however, that over two million remain in Pakistan and UN efforts may run aground because funds are drying up at an alarming rate due to Kabul's unsettled state and new disasters developing in Bosnia and Somalia.
18 August 1992
In a statement released by his office in Peshawar, Mojaddedi, now on a visit to the US, condemns Hekmatyar's brutal attacks on Kabul and says: "I am obliged to raise my banner of Jehad against this injustice and brutality."
24 August 1992
A high-level policy meeting presided over by Pakistan's President Ghulam Ishaq Khan decides "not to allow anyone to sabotage the Peshawar Accord and to continue to extend full support to the present Afghan government."
28 August 1992
An accord between the government and Hekmatyar is signed after 10 days of negotiations by a 5-faction delegation despatched by Haji Qadeer, Governor of Ningrahar, Laghman and Kunar provinces, and led by Commander Shomali. A ceasefire is to begin at noon on the 29th.

A Pakistan mission headed by Siddiq Kanju, arrives in Kabul on the evening of 28 August. He meets with Rabbani immediately, but is unable to visit Hekmatyar until the 29th, after the accord is signed.

Under the terms of this 12-point accord the government would dismiss communists from key posts and demobilize the militia, while Hezb-i-Islami’s forces would simultaneously withdraw from bases on the periphery of Kabul. The accord, signed separately, with different texts, is full of ambiguities.
1 September 1992
The accord is broken as planes from Mazar-i-Sharif bomb Hezb-i-Islami (Hekmatyar) bases in Shindand, Farah Province.

2 September 1992
The Foreign Office says Pakistan will make sure the ceasefire is durable, "though it is not an easy task."
6 September 1992
The 5000-strong peace-keeping force mobilized by the mediators of the 28 August accord begins to take over both government and Hezb-i-Islami (Hekmatyar) positions to form a buffer-belt of neutral mujahideen around Kabul.
It, too, is riven by bickering.
26 September 1992
In Islamabad, PM Nawaz Sharif tells Rabbani Pakistan is firmly behind him and President Ghulam Ishaq says: "We would not allow our territory to be used for undermining peace in Afghanistan or its legitimate government."

26 September 1992
But Rabbani accuses Qazi Hussain Ahmed of "acting as a force of anarchy and destruction" in sending weapons to Hekmatyar, "thereby countering Pakistan's declared policy of non-interference."
6 October 1992
In a letter, Siddiq Kanju asks Qazi Hussain Ahmed to use his leadership qualities in an impartial and constructive manner, for peace and unity, rather than supporting efforts to destabilize Afghanistan.

31 October 1992
The Leadership Council, chaired by President Rabbani, extends the President’s tenure for 45 days, starting from 1 November, despite the stipulation in Paragraph 3 of the Peshawar Accord that his term was “not to be extended even by a single day” beyond 28 October.
The main task for the 45-day extension is to work out the composition of the Shura Ahle-Hal-o-Aqd (Council of Wisemen) which would elect a new president and arrange for the formation of a permanent government. Although the Shura is delayed due to opposition from most parties, Rabbani refuses to relinquish power on 15 December when his extended term expires.

15 December 1992
Responding to Rabbani's refusal to step down, fierce fighting occurs on the outskirts of Kabul as Hezb-i-Islami (Hekmatyar) forces advance to within 5 km of Kabul's center. Street fighting between Hezb-i-Wahdat and Ahmad Shah Masood's Shura Nazar forces escalates.
18 December 1992
The airlifting of Shura delegates from Peshawar by a special Afghan military plane adds to the many stories about Rabbani's recourse to vote-buying and tampering with electoral procedures in order to retain power.

30 December 1992
Rabbani is elected for two years, despite the boycott of five out of nine key leaders. Of the 1,335 delegates attending the Shura Ahle Hal-o-Aqd, 916 voted for, and 59 against Rabbani; 360 votes were unaccounted for. It was not clear whether they abstained or stayed away.
19 January 1993
A major government offensive launched to capture Hezb-i-Islami (Hekmatyar) positions around Kabul fails. Government forces retreat, leaving many areas under Hezb control.

23 January 1993
As three weeks of clashes continue with increased violence, Fahd ibn Abdul Aziz, King of Saudia Arabia, issues a joint appeal, with Pakistan's PM Nawaz Sharif:
"I fear Satan has planted the seeds of discord among yourselves to disrupt all that you have achieved with the blood of your martyrs. In the name of Islam, I call on you to put down your weapons, end the bloodshed and return to reason. Come to Saudia Arabia to examine your differences and start the reconstruction process."
31 January 1993
Six mujahideen groups in Jalalabad endorse a peace formula calling for a ceasefire and elections in less than a year. The agreement is brokered by the Saudia Arabian and Pakistani ambassadors to Afghanistan, but neither Jamiat-i-Islami nor Hezb-i-Islami (Hekmatyar) are represented. No formats for implementation are outlined so the effect is to further polarize the contending parties.

5 February 1993
Blistering rocket attacks hit Kabul.
8 February 1993
Kabul is pounded by a barrage of rockets during one of its worst days under assault.
9 February 1993
Retired General Hamid Gul, head of Pakistan's Inter-Service Intelligence (ISI) from 1987-89, arrives in Kabul to mediate.

10 February 1993
At the meeting of the Council of Ministers of the Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO), Dr. Ali Akbar Velayati, Iranian Foreign Minister, proposes trilateral Iran-Pakistan-Saudian Arabian talks to restore peace in the interest of regional development.
A ceasefire is announced while General (Retd) Hamid Gul initiates peace negotiations.

Qazi Hussain Ahmed, leading a conciliatory mission, arrives in Kabul on a special plane sent by Rabbani.
18 February 1993
Sixty American commandos arrive in NWFP for joint exercises with the Pakistan army. The rumor is that they represent the first contingent of a UN peace force destined for Afghanistan. Although widely believed, it proves to be false.
1 March 1993
Afghan leaders from rocket-battered Kabul arrive in Islamabad for peace talks.
2 March 1993
Meeting separately and collectively, the Afghan leaders deadlock over the question of power-sharing between President Rabbani and Prime Minister Hekmatyar.

Simultaneously, the Pakistani President and Prime Minister set the stage for a head-on collision in their own struggle for power as Nawaz Sharif prepares a bill repealing the 8th Amendment to the Constitution, which gives the President power to dissolve the National Assembly. "More powers will have to be granted to the Prime Minister," says Nawaz Sharif.
3 March 1993
Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif: "The talks are progressing constructively and meaningfully. We are close to an agreement and hope it will be achieved with a little more effort."
6 March 1993
The Islamabad meetings adjourn amid reports of renewed fighting in Kabul. The allocation of key ministries remains unresolved. Most agree that Rabbani may remain as president for 18 months with Hekmatyar as prime minister, but disagreement over the tenure of Ahmad Shah Masood as Minister of Defence is implacable.
7 March 1993
The Islamabad Accord is signed at 2:30 pm. Although hailed by President Ghulam Ishaq as an "historic starting point of a second Jehad for tranquility and reconstruction," many view it as a face-saving instrument masking Pakistan's embarrassment over its inability to broker a permanent peace. "The Accord smells of blood to me," says Khalis who boycotted the talks.
The temporary 18-month Islamabad Accord calls for the formation of a cabinet within 15 days and the election of a constituent assembly to draft a constitution within 10 months, with elections for president and parliament to follow. In the interim, Rabbani will continue as president and Hekmatyar will act as prime minister.

8 March 1993
Nawaz Sharif and eight signatories of the Islamabad Accord arrive in Saudia Arabia: Rabbani, Hekmatyar, Mojaddedi, Gailani, Mohammad Nabi Mohammadi, Mohseni, Ahmad Shah (representing Sayyaf) and Ayatullah Fazil (for Hezb-i-Wahdat).

12 March 1993
In Mecca, King Fahd and Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif endorse the Islamabad Accord" as witnesses and guarantors."
9 March 1993
On the second day after the Islamabad Accord is signed, fighting again breaks out in Kabul. "The Accord has not solved the problem, but they have gone to Saudia Arabia to thank God," says one distraught Kabul citizen.
"EVERYTIME WE CELEBRATE A CEASEFIRE BY FIRING IN THE AIR, ... THE OTHER SIDE BREAKS IT!..."
11 March 1993
At a press conference, Ahmad Shah Masood calls Hekmatyar a "madman" and his followers "fools," yet he promises to work with the prime minister as Minister of Defence. He warns the prime minister, nevertheless, that should he be removed as minister, he will withdraw his forces from the Defence Ministry's control.
March 1993
Hekmatyar to BBC:
"I have some reservations about the tenure of Professor Rabbani."
16 March 1993
Prime Minister-designate Gulbuddin Hekmatyar calls a meeting in Jalalabad to discuss the implementation of the Islamabad Accord and the formation of a cabinet. Postponed until 19 March because most leaders fail to appear, the discussions end inconclusively while the deadline for the formation of a cabinet (21 March) passes.

The issue of a role for General Dostum who, with Masood, maintains the peace of central Kabul is bypassed, as it was during the talks in Islamabad.

17 March 1993
Hekmatyar promises a suitable post for Masood but in the end Masood's name is dropped from the list.
30 March 1993
Hekmatyar presents a list of cabinet members to Rabbani and informs the President that "he has no business either to approve or disapprove." Rabbani rejects the list (15 April). The impasse between the two hardens.
9 April 1993
Assaults on Kabul begin once again and intensify throughout the month of April.

30 April 1993
All top party leaders meet for the first time on Afghan soil, at Bagh-i-Shahi in Jalalabad. Also for the first time, the Pakistani and Saudia Arabian representatives are excluded.

Although the meeting is convened to "restore peace," sharp differences surface immediately over the allotment of cabinet posts.

12-13 May 1993
As the Afghan leaders meet, Kabul endures the heaviest battering it has experienced in months.
20 May 1993
The Jalalabad Accord is signed, but the central argument over control of the Ministry of Defence is deferred rather than resolved by the compromise formation of a commission to run the Defence Ministry, chaired by Rabbani, and a commission to run the Interior Ministry, chaired by Hekmatyar.

Rabbani lauds the Accord as the "first comprehensive accord for the solution of the Afghan problem." Hekmatyar further describes it as an "historic event that will lead to a stable government and harmony in Afghanistan."

25 May 1993
Before the ink dries, 52 rockets slam into Kabul.
In the coming months exchanges between Mazari's Hezb-i-Wahdat and Sayyaf's Ittehad-i-Islami become continuous and brutal.
17 June 1993
President Burhanuddin Rabbani swears in Gulbuddin Hekmatyar as Prime Minister of Afghanistan at a ceremony held on the western outskirts of Kabul, at Arghandeh in Paghman District.

The Prime Minister remains at his base in Charasyab, 25 km southeast of Kabul.
Meanwhile, the saga in Pakistan builds to a crisis:

18 April 1993
President Ghulam Ishaq Khan dissolves the National Assembly and dismisses Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif.

26 May 1993
The Supreme Court holds the President's dissolution order illegal and restores the National Assembly and the Prime Minister.

18 July 1993
The Army ends the paralyzing power struggle by securing the resignations of both the President and the Prime Minister. Elections are scheduled for 6 October.

19 October 1993
Benazir Bhutto is sworn in as Prime Minister of Pakistan.

13 November 1993
Sardar Farooq Ahmed Khan Leghari is elected President of Pakistan.
7 September 1993
Commander Shomali Khan Ahmadzai, prominent member of the resistance, a leading negotiator with rival factions in Kabul and, until recently, deputy of the Ningrahar Shura, is gunned down in an ambush in Jalalabad.

10 October 1993
Ahmadzai forces seeking to avenge the killing of Shomali occupy rival bases, the hydroelectric dam and the town at Sarobi, midway on the Kabul-Jalalabad highway 70 km east of Kabul, and threaten to march on Jalalabad.

18 October 1993
Peace talks mediated under the leadership of Minister of Justice Jalaluddin Haqqani begin.

2 November 1993
Jalaluddin Haqqani announces the cessation of hostilities for one year.
The worst battle in six months erupts in the Tagab district of Parwan Province, 60 km northeast of Kabul and some 33 km north of the battle ground at Sarobi. The contending forces, commanded by former Minister of Defence Ahmad Shah Masood and Hezb-i-Islami (Hekmatyar)'s Commander Zardad Khan Ahmadzai, a cousin of Shomali Khan and leader of the Sarobi engagement, accuse each other of instigating the fighting.

1 November 1993
14 November 1993
As the battle continues and control over the valley of Tagab frequently changes hands, President Rabbani makes an overnight stay in Islamabad en route to Cairo. He meets with President Farooq Leghari and with PM Benazir Bhutto who, while expressing her concern over the civil strife in Afghanistan, announces the donation of Rs. 100 million as a gesture of goodwill.
30 November 1993
PM Gulbuddin Hekmatyar reiterates his readiness to resign (expressed on 8 September) provided President Rabbani also steps down in acknowledgement of the president's failure to bring peace to the country. In response, Rabbani asserts that he was elected by a legal body, the Shura Ahle Hal-o-Aqd, and only this elected body is entitled to authorize his removal. As the impasse hardens, predictions for a final showdown within Kabul mount.
1 January 1994
The battle begins.

The Frontier Post 3 January 1994

The Frontier Post 9 January 1994

The Frontier Post 6 January 1994

The News 7 January 1994
At this tragic juncture in Afghan history this account closes.