

From here . . .
At the distant bloody horizons of the East
Some plentiful / plenteous stars
In the clear blue skies of a holy land
Are eye-catching . . .
That's my land of birth... the bleeding land!
The place where based upon my right of birth
With little happiness and infinite endless sufferings . . .
I will not forget . . .
My beloved land, my love, my mother!
I am devoting "our" stories of pain, grief and agony to you.

Nabi Azimi

The Army and Politics

Volume 1

Ascension

WHATEVER HAPPENED TO THE AFGHAN ARMY BETWEEN (1963-1993)?

Foreword

It is said that telling lies, spreading propaganda and creating fictional versions of legendry to be accepted as truth can only occur when those who witnessed and experienced what actually took place choose to stay silent, for whatever reason.

It has been many years since the collapse of the Republic of Afghanistan and its powerful army - years in which I somehow vainly kept silent, believing that one day, sooner or later, an independent, free thinking writer would dig up the truth behind the massive collapse of a once ancient and proud nation, and the huge fallout which followed, by getting in touch with those witnesses and bystanders who knew the truth - and were at last willing to divulge the undiscovered secrets to a nation of people, desperate to find out.

I've read many books regarding what actually happened during the past three decades in Afghanistan, but none of them ever satisfied my thirst for the truth. Some analysed the military and political events during this period in Afghanistan from their own narrow, one-sided, grudge and hostile viewpoints, invariably anti-Russian and anti-Communist in sentiment and detail.

Some preferred only their own personal, partial, group, family, tribal, and language interests which is why their accounts contain a great deal of fanatical prejudice in the very first lines.

Some thoughtless writers also, having no real idea of the events and incidents that took place during this time, have carelessly made up stories based on hearsay and exaggeration and have had the nerve to call it history. In doing this they have willy nilly crucified their own work and the traditions of honest journalism.

Recently, writing Afghan memoirs has become fashionable. Some write with their eyes closed and some, with dark consciences, telling rousing lies, trying to magnify events. By this they hoped to please the former ruling Mujahideen or the Taliban when they were in power. Having no fear of panegyrising and verbally abusing certain individuals, these so-called writers have brought shame and disgrace upon other writers and the whole of humanity through their lack of conscience or self-respect.

I have undoubtedly, at the same time, also come across some however rare but pure and honest pieces of literary work which have been fully truthful and accurate.

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I believe that it is difficult for anyone to accomplish writing about a significant era of history because of the high standard of professionalism and historical knowledge that is required. Therefore, not everyone can claim to be a historian simply by writing about a period of history since historical writing must be based on concrete evidence, and not on hearsay.

A valid historian must have a comprehensive, factual knowledge of the events and incidents he chooses to write about, as well as an honest conscience and a mind free from deception and hypocrisy. A valid historian must be impartial and possess, in analysis, a rare honesty and independence.

Today's historians are different from the historians of yesteryear, who feared their lords, kings and masters, and as such, wrote only that which met with their master's favour regardless of the principles and rules of the art of writing history.

A historian today needs to be courageous and intelligent and in possession of thoroughly researched information to enable them to present readers with inevitable and authentic evidence.

A valid historian never uses his own fanaticism, fantasy tales, imagination and self-belief to record historical events. This is the way of story telling, but, it belongs to the far past by word of mouth, from the past, by which the actual content of events became subtly changed as the story was relayed from one person to another.

A historian must not use flattery or lie about facts and realities. They must write convincingly and truthfully, satisfying the reader with diligently researched factual information.

In this book, I do not claim that all the bitterness and sweetness of the facts and realities of the past as well as of those during our reign I have chosen to write about have been thoroughly reflected and that my account is completely error free, because my long lasting memories from those days are like terrifying nightmares which will stay with me forever.

It is natural that the majority of these memories stand out in my mind and in my soul in an unforgettable way - and never lose their effectiveness. But, through the intervals of time, which have elapsed during those terrifying moments in Afghanistan's history, which I have

written about, there are many other incidents I may not be aware of, which may cause some misjudgment in the mind of the reader.

My personal immense endeavor in this respect has been to reduce those intervals as much as possible by studying the work of other writers. Since this book is not anything more than an eventful piece of writing, I would like to take this opportunity to present it as a gift to those who may wish to research in the future about the rise ascension and fall of the previous Afghan army.

It contains the words by my colleagues, sincere and intimate friends, and some of the country's well-respected dignitaries including Serdar Mohammed Dawood, Dr Najeebullah and Babrak Karmal etc and other powerful figures of integrity whose accounts are pricelessly retained in this book.

These words have also been enriched by my own notes from my period of national service, which has remained with me as a hugely valuable treasure during my migration.

The core of this book is mainly based on my own personal impressions, which I have expressed her in words, faithfully, sincerely, from the heart - the words on an honest soldier with a conscience...

In the introduction context of this book, there is a brief explanation about the gradual development of the Afghan Army and the role of politics within it. Undoubtedly, this image is incomplete and I'm the first to admit it.

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After that, I have talked of the first coup of Afghan Army up until the very recent political changes, incidents and events, as I was myself eye witnessing them being involved in the heart of the events, and even in some cases I had the key role in managing them. If readers find my name mentioned in this book excessively within the context of this book is because of the inevitability issue and dialectic and logical interconnections of the incidents and their quotes, but neither because of any sort of selfishness nor for any exaggeration purposes.

This piece doesn't reflect, neither it supports any party, organisation, group or individual's opinions and ideas. It is also free from any verbal assaults and abuses on others. But, if there has been any pauses over the specifications of some important individuals, is again due to that "inevitability" because, knowing those great figures and personalities would resolve a lot of questions which consequently brings up the question of "Why did all this happen?"

The writing of this book was accomplished around the days the previous President of Afghanistan Dr. Najeebullah was executed by the Taleban and Babrak Karmal who also passed away soon after.

It is a huge pity that we do not have them with us any more so that they could indicate the correct and incorrect points on this piece.

But, fortunately, there are still many magnanimous great personalities from the era of our power who could spell out and indicate the correct and incorrect points on it.

I take responsibility over what I have said in this book and am always prepared to defend the Mohammed I am very much hopeful that my friends, my kind nation, clear sighted personalities and even oppositions would assist me in enriching this piece for its second by expressing their opinions, criticisms and comments.

Wishing for a permanent peace and stability throughout our beloved country of Afghanistan!

With reverence,

General Mohammed Nabi "Azimi"

June 1999

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Introduction

The Afghan Army through the course of history until The Coup of July 1973

The history of Afghanistan which begins from the dawn of the worldwide civilisation has a deep and strong connection with the history of genesis and evolvement of armies and regiments born one after another fighting for the sake of defending their people, for freedom and independence of this land from the warriors and gladiators who were moving across towards the wealthy and legendary land of India, which cannot be regarded to as separate from one another.

When we talk of our people's resistance and perseverance against the attacks of the Sakayis, Partts, the White Hoons, Mongols, Tatars and Uzbeks, in fact we talk of those public troops, regiments and armies that were formed by the gatherings of young, dauntless and liberal knights who adorned golden pages of history by their epic and bravery. Gradually, there were some top unique commanders born and grown up in the armies who then became well known and famous warriors.

Due to that age's circumstances these armies were rather plainly equipped. They were armed with bows and arrows, slings and stones, spears and swords to fight the enemies of their country's liberty.

But, pitifully and regretfully we do not as yet possess a more descriptive history about these brave liberal men and these resistant armies.

Undoubtedly, it has been many centuries since the establishment of the first resistance armies followed by the formation of a powerful and honoured army in the eighteenth century under care of Meerwais Khan Hootaki. The centuries during which the Afghan battles and conflicts manifested against the occupying and aggressing forces, and in which the incidents and crimes of the centuries had been washed out by the chaste blood of freedom and human loving knights. But, once again, it is a pitiful and painful situation as we do not know much about these very sacrificed lives and these bloodshed heads and will never know as hoped.

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During the 18th century, the very first heralds and indications of a substantially fully sophisticated, qualified and magnitude army is recorded on our country's history which withstands and strives under the command of Meerwais "The Grand Father" against the massive occupying Iranian army.

This history, however briefly, but with honesty and depositary, talks of the victories and won glories and honours of the Afghan Army. It also talks about the Army's rather basic weaponry and equipment and its brief and simple formations as well as introducing the famous commanding figures.

Shah Mahmood Hootaki is another war commander who has around twenty eight thousand troops under his control and fights in Gulna Abad area and consequently conquers Isfahan. His circle of battle fiercely threatens even the Russian and Turkish colonists.

He won all these victories with such an army that consists of only a few fruitful heavy artilleries famously known as Zanboorak (Little Bee).

When we turn over the pages of history, we come across the name of Ahmad Shah nick named “BABA” (The Father), the brave Serdar and a great militant who founded a stable and centralised government in our country. This foundation of a new and powerful army played a significant role in terms of consolidating his reign and conquests.

It was him who associated those of the tribal troops along with the Royal Knights. With these expeditionary forces he invaded the land of India ten times. He succeeded in the “Battle of Paani Patt” and invaded Herat and Mashhad as well as liberating Balkh and Badakhshan from the hands of the local militants.

However, his battling style in India was unjust but, it was the necessity and need of that era.

It was him who presented his son Timor Shah with an army of seventy thousand troops with a sufficient quantity of equipment, heavy artillery and a great brave war commander such as Mohammed Jaan Khan. By this blessing and security of this sophisticated army Timor Shah managed to suppress revolts and protect the newly founded Kingdom of Abdaali. He also invaded Naishapoor and Mashhad and fought against the King of Bukhara. He reduced to obedience every one of them and preserved his father's territories and border integrity along with the political independence which highly promoted country's dignity and credit to such a point that the Sadozayi government was consequently considered as one of the most powerful forces in the East.

Regrettably, soon after his death, this greatly experienced and powerful army disintegrated away as a result of the discord, brother killing and greed of his sons and eventually was misused for fighting among themselves. Consequently, the national unity was damaged which caused the collapse of the Sadozayee's. Meanwhile, foreigners got the opportunity to interfere and infiltrate. The lack of a unified compact army resulted in disorder and anarchism until the emergence of Emir Doost Mohammed Khan's era.

In the second phase of his emirate, Emir Doost Mohammed Khan tried hard to create a disciplined army.

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At that time, the Disciplined Army of Afghanistan was called “The Official or Paid Knights” including the Afghan infantry and cavalry, Farseewaan, Farseewaan-i-Hazara and Uzbek whose number did not exceed 30,000. Emir Doost Mohammed Khan used this army to try to consolidate his power and protect his family. But, either he was not able or did not want to use The Afghan Army in the legitimate battles of independence against the British, nor did he use it to increase national unity and border integrity.

According to Meer Ghulam Mohammed Ghubar, it was during Emir Shir Ali Khan's power when the formation of a “permanent organised army” was accomplished and gradually developed. It also went through the military education. The army got militarily uniformed and gained discipline and organisation. The three infantry, cavalry and heavy artillery classes were established within The Army which settled down in the newly founded Sheerpoor Castle.

Deceased M. G. M. Ghubar writes: “The Army consisted of 57 infantry regiments, 20 cavalry regiments and 26 mountain, cavalry and elephant battalions totalling up to around 50,000 troops who were recruited permanently and in a modern style. In terms of the management of the Afghan Army there were Indian and British generals and officers being used within it in

addition to the Afghan military officers such as Serdar Bahadur Khan, Fatih Ali Khan, Ghulam Naqshband Khan.

The salary of the infantry individuals was seven Afghani rupees while the cavalry individuals were paid fourteen Afghani rupees. Even though, Shir Ali Khan's army was educated and experienced enough, due to his poor confidence and critical health condition which had been caused by the death of his ideal son Crown Prince Abdullah, he wasn't allowed to participate in the Jihad against The British. As such, Emir Shir Ali Khan with flurry and confusion moved to Tash-Qurghan and to Turkistan thereafter and consequently his den of army collapsed.

Emir Abdul Rahman Khan considered a special dignity for the formation of a permanent and organised army amongst all the other government affairs. He had devoted a once a week supervision on the invasion affairs.

Meer Mohammed Sideeq Ferhang describes in his book (Afghanistan in the Last Five Centuries) the number of troops in that age as follows:

Infantry Forces: 80 platoons, each platoon containing 700 troops, totalling 56,000 troops.

Cavalry Forces: 40 platoons, each platoon containing 400 troops, totalling 16,000 troops.

Heavy Artillery Forces: 100 batteries, each battery containing 100 troops, totalling 10,000 troops.

The Royal Guard:

Infantry: 4 platoons, each platoon containing 1000 troops, totalling 4000 troops.

Cavalry: 3 platoons, each platoon containing 800 troops, totalling 2400 troops.

Footnotes:

1- Afghanistan in the Path of History, by Meer Ghulam Mohammed Ghubar

2- Afghanistan in the Last Five Centuries, by Meer Mohammed Sideeq Ferhang, volume 1, page 430

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Therefore, Emir Abdul Rahman Khan's Army totaled up to 88,000 to 90,000 personnel. This did not include the security and police forces but, it was still considered as the most sophisticated powerful force through the course of the history of Afghanistan.

Additionally, the Maasheen Khana (The Artillery Magazine of Kabul) which consisted of moulding, rifle and cannon plants, production of gunpowder and bullet, cold weaponry, the Mint and etc was established by him in order to eliminate the needs and improve this brand new army.

In terms of help with weaponry, Emir did not only rely on the British, but he also purchased through his agents and functionaries a number of cannons and rifles from Germany and France. On average, he managed to form an army that was superior to other tribal armies in terms of fire forces, organisation and discipline.

But, he never used this army for the sake of his country's freedom under the yoke of colonialism. Instead, he used it against Hazara and Nooristani tribes and many other innocent and beggarly tribes of Afghanistan.

It was during Emir Habibullah Khan's era, when some progressions emerged within the army. Amongst those was the establishment of the military school in 1909 which would be to supply the military personnel of The Army in Kabul and which initially had 150 students enrolled.

Some time later, there were up to 900 students learning and studying theory and practical military lessons. These students ranked between section commandership to company commandership graduated from this school and were dedicated to the Afghan army where they were then undertaken by the Serdar Mohammed Nadir Khan for further promotion.

Mohammed Nadir Khan dislocated the previous formation of the army which had been created by his father and divided the capital's army into two brigades. Each brigade consisted of three legions and each legion included four thousand soldiers who in total summed up to 24,000 permanent troops in Kabul. The duty of this army mostly included the security of the King and the Royal Family as well as strengthening the internal security and discipline.

During Emir Amanullah Khan's reign, in order to fortify the Afghan Army, some new armouries were purchased from Germany, England, Italy and Belgium by his special envoy Brigadier Mohammed Azim Khan nicknamed (Brigadier Azimo).

These armouries included the English 12 BORE rifles, German 12 BORE rifles for the infantry and cavalry forces, the Italian 5 BORE rifles for the personnel and heavy artillery crew, the Belgian 5 BORE rifles for the Police Force, the 6 PAN cannons, the 9 PAN mule carried arsenals purchased from the Soviet Union, the 105 MM desert cannons known as the "36 PAN" carried over by six horses on the front were also purchased by him from France.

Additionally, the Austrian had presented four arsenals to Emir Ghazi as a gift which were then used in the battle of Tal and were strewn by flowers in every Independence Day celebration.

Furthermore, the German Krupp Factory had bestowed precious bars of rifles to the above Brigadier who then devoted them to Emir Amanullah Khan. Subsequently, the Emir bestowed the above rifles to Wali Khan Derwazi and they eventually fell to the hands of Habibullah Kalakani.

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In the future, new armoury was purchased for the second time by General Mohammed Arif from the Rayne Metal in Germany and light artillery and tanks from the Skoda factory in Czechoslovakia. As we know, in the following years military equipments were purchased from the previous Soviet Union, which we will read about in the next chapters of this book.

Meer Ghulam Mohammed Ghubar writes that The Army did not significantly improve during Amanullah Khan's power. The only improvements were the foundation of the sample unit, recruitment of Turkish officers and teachers, despatching of some officers to Turkey and other countries for the purpose of higher military education and the purchase of a few aeroplanes and long range cannons.

He adds that instead of creating an organised and powerful army, The King caused its weakness by recruiting Muslim foreigners into The Afghan Army such as Mahmood Saami and whether consciously or not giving them the authority over the management of The Army. (Mahmood Saami was the Kabul Corps Commander)

Mohammed Sideeq "Ferahng" adds by confirming Ghubar's suggestions in this regard.

Following the battle of Mangal area, King Amanullah Khan should have started fortifying The Army as mentioned on the top of his amendment agenda. But, he didn't pay the attention needed.

However, some quantity of brand new weaponry including aeroplanes had been imported from abroad. But, the actual and necessary action regarding teaching the use of those weapons to the individuals did not take place.

As such, historians gradually began to mention the name of the Afghan Army in their history contexts as well as its role in the just and liberal battles and combats.

The army that was now being sometimes used to suppress oppositions, once upon a time had been used for oppressing public revolts, riots and fighting. This army was even more broadened and developed for anti-public purposes along with the protection over the interests of the ruling class and the oppressors. And as mentioned before, once upon a time, even foreigners lost their lives in this army for the sake of the national interests and border protection. But, the army had been politically kept in the dark during this period. Orders given by the commanders and authorities in charge were blindly obeyed. Civilised and bright opinions and ideas in the Afghan Army were suffocated in their cells while liberal tendencies of the Army youths which sometimes emerged individually and sometimes as a group were responded to with an exceptional violence, severity and fierceness.

Footnotes:

Afghanistan in the Last Five Centuries, Volume 1, page 546

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Indian and Turkish officers and foreign advisers had a rather limited influence over the Afghan Army. These soldiers and officers were presumed as the most Royal Fundamentalist Muslims of their country, representing live images of trust and honesty towards their benefactors.

The Afghan Army participated in the just and liberal battles many times as well as in the Anglo-Afghan wars.

Explaining all these battles and combats in this writing is impossible. On the other hand, it is out of the aim of this book since my main aim has been to present those eager readers with a brief image of the role and of the Afghan Army in various incidents, a series of conspiracies and substantial political changes in recent years, as I was myself an army officer in Afghanistan and witnessed different sorts of incidents and events.

Therefore, after a brief review over the liberal independence battles and the military incidents during the Kingdom of Emir Amanullah Khan Ghazi, Emir Habibullah Kalakani and Mohammed Nadir Khan, we will read about the development of the army during the Kingdom of Mohammed Zahir Shah and its entry into politics.

-2-

In the beginning of the 19th century when the English were ruling slavery and oppression over millions of innocent people around the world, especially in the East in the Indian subcontinent, Afghanistan was a country free and independent caught up into pointless brother killings, and destructions.

The course of history of Afghanistan in the 19th century was formed by the rivalry of the two super powers (English and Russian) which dragged Afghanistan into a dangerous game.

The English expeditionary forces attacked Kabul twice but got forcefully expelled each time. This happened when the Russian's intention of invading Afghanistan through the riverside of the Amu River had just been smelt. So, as for the English based in Calcutta, in order to neutralise Russia's invasion plot, and to take precedence of the invasion, they decided to invade Afghanistan first.

In 1839, 54,000 troops (Indus) under General Keen's command and by the advice and guidance of the political representative McNaughton attacked the city of Kandahar via Sind River, Quetta and Kozhak-By-Pass which led them to the conquest of Kabul and Kandahar. Subsequently, they settled down at the Bala Hissar of Kabul and the Sheerpoor Military Base and asserted their puppet Shah Shuja as the King.

The English claimed that they supported Shah Shuja and his supporters and would withdraw from Afghanistan as soon as peace and security were reinstated in the capital as well as along the borders.

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But, the presence of British Forces in Afghanistan caused people's minds to be filled with a huge indignation and anger and as such, The Mujahideen and Ghazis began their revolts and riots against the British.

George Arne who himself is an English native suggests in this regard as:

“In January 1843, the Sind Army which used to be immensely powerful began its fighting under the leadership of General Alfenstone. Among the 16,000 soldiers and their companions who had begun the attack, only a few Indian individuals and one British army surgeon managed to get themselves back to their garrisons based in Jalalabad. The rest had either been killed or arrested.

Towards the end of the year, the British army's prestige was restored only when they managed to conquer the despatched Kabul forces and blow up the famous bazaar of Charchata. But, in spite of that, this catastrophe cost the British India far too much.

Researches show that there was a tremendous amount of expenditure taking place. As a result, fifteen thousand people were killed. Fifty thousand camel fell away which also included the loss of victory character and the gain of Muslims hostility.”

Regarding the second Afghan British war, George Arne writes that this battle was based on fantasy rather than on anything else. The British forces successfully conquered Kabul and Kandahar. They persuaded the Emir of Kabul to resign. Later on, the Russian army acted in the same way. Improvement of the tribal resistance associated with the Royal family leaders, the gathering of the forces became available in the north and in the west of the country. This caused the British to feel the pressure of their limited occupation in Afghanistan. The liberal government of Goldstone that had newly been elected, ordered the British after eight months to withdraw from Kabul.

Suggestions by the Secretary of State for India are as such: “As a result of the two victorious battles, recruitment of large forces and highly financial expenditure, what is achieved is division of a government which had been hoped to be powerful, friendly and free.”

Finally, The British reluctantly recognised Emir Amanullah Khan, nephew of Emir Shir Ali Khan, however unwillingly as the Emir of Afghanistan who had just arrived from Russia but, under a conditional offer that the foreign political policies of Afghanistan must be determined by the British.

The British withdrew their forces from Afghanistan after a military expedition into Kandahar. It is natural that the withdrawal of the British Forces which had sustained thousands of deaths over their limited occupation of our country, did not take place simply and by their own will. But, it was the logical result of the devoted Afghans' Jihad and the martyrdom of the rose coloured shroud of the brave Afghan Army who were the leaders of freedom and independence in the East.

Footnotes:

Afghanistan the Passage of Conquerors, pages 8 and 9, published 1991

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By the coming to power of His Highness King Amanullah Khan Ghazi, the successor of the final battle for liberalism and independence of Afghanistan, seeking independence emotions of the Afghan people entered its critical and conclusive stage.

The voice of Holy Jihad had reached its peak for the sake of the pure sanctuary of the native's freedom.

This liberal commander of the Afghan Army divided this brief Army force into three squads. The first and biggest squad under the control of Serdar Salih Mohammed Khan was despatched in the east of the country. The second squad under the order of the General Mohammed Nadir Khan was despatched to Khoost and Paktiya. Respectively, the third squad under the leadership of the Prime Minister Abdul Qudus Khan was despatched to Kandahar.

Meanwhile, groups of people and liberal tribes of Afghanistan who had welcomed their government's call for Jihad associated with the Afghan Army. In the battle of Tal, the British sustained a scandalous defeat. In majority of the battlefields also the British were given a hard time despite being equipped with the most sophisticated weaponry, armour and Air Force. Eventually, the British had to give a positive response to the King Amanullah's letter dated May 24th 1919 by accepting the abandonment offer. Finally, Afghanistan's independence was recognised by the British on the 8th August 1919.

Afghanistan victoriously and proudly emerged through these battles embracing its deep in heart desire of the regained independence by the bravery of the devoted Afghan Army and chivalry Ghazis.

There have been written a lot about these battles in more detail in the history, and there is no need for any further pauses. But, in regards to the period of His Royal Highness Amanullah's kingdom, the civilised and metabolic broad minded King and his military problems during this era, it is necessary to briefly review them through.

His Royal Highness the Warrior Amanullah Khan was a man who loved his country and wished that it would soon get through the path of civilisation, advancement and exhilaration so that it could be ranked amongst the developed and industrial countries of the world.

He was a young, revolutionary, passionate and proud man as well as emotional, kind and compassionate. He was of middle stature with a friendly feature and a sharp look. He was an honest Muslim but against the Islamic fundamentalism. However, he was barely ambitious and hasty. He supported civilisation and developed cultures. He was hostile towards superstitions, backwardness and vandalism. He was the pioneer of his age and the scout of movement and modernity. He was a man of chastity and piety. Contrary to his father and his grandfathers, there was only one queen residing at his sanctuary named as Suraya who was the daughter of Mohammed Bigg Terzi.

But, was he a Communist? Or was he a nationalist, or a crusader and an atheist? Was he a supporter of The Soviet Union or not?

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These are questions that millions of Afghan people interested in history expect to receive a truthful and honest answer to.

Writers of our age such as Dr. R. Sh. N. Haqshinas and even some cultural and literary dignitaries of the country consider him with the poorest references and unfounded evidence as a devotee to the Russians as well as an atheist. They also condemn him for his hostility towards the British invaders.

Haqshinas says: As the Percham (Flag) and Khalq (People) Parties admire him and despite the disapproval of Communism over kingdom regime and its principles, their opinions about him resulted in a different interpretation and explanation

He adds: All this is due to the closeness of the King Amanullah Khan with the Russians and his assistance in order to facilitate grounds for the infiltration of Bolsheviks. In fact, it was him who for the first time opened the way for exploitation and siege to the dirtiest hands of the people of the world. Consequently, the conquest became a good cause for the colonialism plans of the Russians which had initially been master minded by (Peter the Great) and then approved of by Lenin.

I wish Mr Haqshinas (Mr Grateful) had understood the meaning of gratefulness. He with his eyes closed and without having any idea about the world around him condemns the King for his friendship contract with the Russians as well as to why in one of his letters he had nicknamed Lenin "The Eminent".

Therefore, according to Haqshinas it was the King Amanullah Khan who caused the Russians' occupation into Afghanistan. Haqshinas is angry and furious as to why The Percham and Khalq Parties complimented the King.

But, does he not realise the fact that today or even yesterday when the Percham and Khalq Parties did not at all exist, the King was adored, praised and complimented by the ordinary people. And if the conspiracies of these unjust individuals had not taken place against his brave and impetuous movements, Afghanistan would have been one of the most developed countries of the world as well as in the region.

In his book, Haqshinas should have mentioned about the movements and developments of the other two Muslim nations (Iran and Turkey) which had begun in the early 1920s. He should have analytically researched about those two nations' victories as well as The King Amanullah's defeat.

We all know that in the early 1920s, the civilised and open minded Turkish Muslim leader Ata Turk emerged through, who changed the ruined land of Osmanis into a civilised and developed Turkey and always stood against the global imperialism.

By the support of the people and an authoritarian and powerful army, he managed to eliminate religious resistances against the new changes and reforms. Any opposition ideas were antiquated. He managed to turn the back warded ruined Turkey into a civilised and developed country without causing any damage to Islam religion and its great intellectual values.

The same was the case for Iran as the King Riza Shah had accomplished it.

Footnotes:

The Russian's Conspiracies and Crimes in Afghanistan, page 56, by Dr Sh. N. Haqshinas , 1st volume 1985, published by the Cultural Committee of the Central Offices of Jamiyat-i-Islami of Afghanistan - Tehran

(12)

This brave Serdar had managed to use force and resources in order to establish new and modern reforms and amendments. These included prohibition of veil, central bureaucracy and the civilisation of Iran.

Why did these amendments and reforms doom in failure in Afghanistan as the neighbouring country of Iran?

In 1928, the King's ideology changed by visiting Iran and Turkey. Consequently, he made an effort to get Afghanistan on the same path of civilisation and development as Iran and Turkey. But, even when he was yet in abroad, it was these unjust individuals who opposed and called him an apostate. They described his reforms as non Islamic and rumoured that the new King would annihilate all the Islamic and Afghani traditions.

Which reforms were they?

Establishment of a constitutional kingdom and an elective committee, independent judgment system, freedom for women, prevention of plurality, compulsory education for boys and girls, increase on taxes, boys and girls schools, the unveiling of women, sending of a number of girls and ladies abroad for higher education, making people wear foreign design clothes instead of the traditional clothes (Pirahan-Tunban), forbiddance of snuff, gambling, hashish and alcohol, propagation of leisure facilities and complexes such as cinema, theatre etc.

These reforms and amendments that King Amanullah Khan had expressed to the people's representatives and tribes in the Loya Jirga (The Great Assembly) in Paghman caused both open as well as hidden disagreements.

George Arne writes: But, The King's final reformation agenda was the one that he submitted to the tribes' leaders. Their anger emerged only when the King appeared in a black suit and tie. Talk lasted for five days. King Amanullah Khan presented a long statement about the current backwardness and absurdity throughout the country and also played a film of his journey abroad.

Linda Humphrey wife of the British Minister Francis Humphrey who was sitting among the audience, later on wrote in her memoirs:

(The dramatic moment was when the King excitingly and emotionally tied his hands up and requested the people to leave their wives alone. The King signalled his wife Suraya with his hand, addressing the people: "Anyway, you will now see my wife". Suraya took the veil off her face in front of the audience.)

This was a complete impudence as the religious establishments could not bear it any more.

Ghubar writes: "After the formation of the Amaniye government, almost all of the various society classes rose for the support of the government as in The Anglo Afghan war feudal and clerics and peasants took a major part in the front line of their government. But, after the end of the war and the beginning of the reformations, rows of people parted from each other due to their class distinction interests.

Footnotes:

1 – "Pirahan-Tunban", essentially being a traditional Indian dress which Afghan people across the country also tend to put on

2 - George Arne, Afghanistan the Passage for Conquerors, page 19

3 - Afghanistan in the Path of History, page 805

(13)

But, all the above mentioned cases would not have been able to stop the enforcement of the government's reforms, had the government front not incurred a crack within itself and nor had it caused any contradictions, as the nation still stood in support of the King and the government.....

It had been a while since the cabinet and ministries had developed a critical crack within themselves, meaning that the cabinet had been formed of two distinctly different opinionated factional elements, one of which supported the amendments agenda in a rapid way within the home policy as well as the stabilisation of a positive independence and impartiality within the foreign policy.

The other faction supported gradual amendments and a moderate method along with a one sided compromise with one of the powerful enamouring governments. Therefore, these two factions tried to neutralise each other's ideas and views. Meanwhile, King Amanullah Khan was preached that opposition factions within the sensuality of the government would obstruct

the process of amendments and at the same time would become an obstacle towards his sanity.

This management corruption along with the weakness of this ruler of all prevented the Afghan people from supporting and protecting the government.

On the other hand, the covert plans of conspiracy and intrigue by the internal reactionary elements associated with the colonialist espionage activities and actions and consequently Afghanistan got overturned in the threshold of a social historical change.

Riot and anarchy were the result of these affinities and dependencies and schism within the government and its ministries.

His Highness Sheikh of Light Serdar Mohammed Nadir Khan, who had refused to lead the military operations against Mullah-i-Lang (The Lame Mullah), formed two powerful cores of opposition against The King, one of which operated outside the country while the other one operated inside the country. Therefore, The King had to appoint Mohammed Wali Khan as the Defence Minister instead of Mohammed Nadir Khan and deploy him as the head of government forces against the rioters.

In the province of Junoobi, the Defence Minister managed to route out the rioters forces after a long and fierce fighting and eventually conquer the Khoost Military Headquarters. However, the rioters once again made an attempt in order to put Kabul under pressure through Logar and Werdak but, their efforts did not achieve any eye catching results.

In mid November 1928, the Shinwar Tribes set both The King's Palace and the British Consulate in Jalalabad on fire. Initially, The King sent Shir Ahmad Khan Head of General Inspection to Jalalabad as the Head of Regulations. But, because Shir Ahmad Khan failed to succeed, The King bounded Ghulam Sideeq Khan the Foreign Minister in order to suppress the riots. Ghulam Sideeq Khan successfully managed to hold talks with the Momands and went into the heart of the Shinwar Tribes in order to hold talks with the Shinwaris. But, his efforts also remained fruitless due to the development of a sort of resentment by the above factions' incitements, to such a point that even the government forces decided to associate with the anarchists and did so. Amongst them, the Tutor Son of Tagab who had initially co-operated with the King Amanullah Khan and had been rewarded with the title Fakhr-ul-Mashayikh (Sheikh of Pride) by his majesty, like most of the great clerics opposed the Amaniye amendments. He ambushed and annihilated the military squad that had been deployed in order to transfer him to Kabul.

(14)

It was a good opportunity for Habibullah Kalakani to take over Kabul once again. Habibullah Kalakani well known in history as "Son of Water Carrier" was the one who once again had the impeccable Kabul in his hands.

As disorder had increased in Kabul, and the flatterers of the King were feeling terrified being in fear of their future, King Amanullah was left in abstraction and seclusion. But, sadly, lack of attention by the young King towards the fortification of the army and not having professional and reliable commanders resulted in Habibullah Khan's second attack which took place on the night of 13/14 December 1928 leading to the defeat of The King. Consequently, The King resigned for the interest of his elder brother Commander Inayatullah and hurriedly departed from Kandahar.

It has been mentioned in history that army individuals had the best strategic position on the Valley of Khayr Khana. But, due to the management weaknesses, instability, doubt and lack of fighting moral most officers left their defensive positions and took their ways home.

Prof. Abdulhai Habibi, the country's prevailing historian argues in detail about the cause of failure and downfall of the Amaniye government. After a number of criticisms, lack of the

application of the first Afghan Constitution compiled in Act 73 he mentions, "The Prime Minister and other ministers are elected and appointed by The King (Act 28).

Also, the ministers can only be considered responsible by the King only (Act 31).

The King who is irresponsible for these acts is determined as an absolute dictator. As such, The King and his ministers have no responsibility towards people and people's representatives and only The King can determine people's positions within the government body. In this case, apparently, the planner, the determiner and the signatory of a law or legislation is The King himself only. In reality it was the same, as this situation was eliminating the Constitutional government.

However, the King himself during the very first years of his reign was immensely encumbered with the legislations and in this Constitution also rights of public included security of postage. This was the first fruitful and prosperous step in the course of history of Afghanistan.

But, because there actually existed no responsible government within the origins of the Constitution, the King's prosperous intentions and devotions could not therefore on its own prevent the corruption of the regime.

After a few years, we witnessed that the ignorant and corrupt elements surrounded the ministries and trapped the country into the anarchy of the winter 1307. It also became a victim of the inadmissible and actions of the corrupt governmental individuals and his harmful colleagues. But, these were not the only causes of the down fall. Anarchies and riots influenced by the provocation of the outsiders, conspiracy theories of the British agents and puppets in Kabul, conspiracies of the spiritual and religious classes, compromising of Serdar Mohammed Nadir Khan and his brothers with the British, haste and hurry of the King concerning the application of the amendments,

Footnotes:

1- The Constitutional Movement in Afghanistan, by Abdulhai Habibi, pages 160-161

(15)

lack of the existence of a powerful government and supportive of the amendments, lack of supply to the army and lack of reliable and experienced commanders along with the lack of attention by The King towards these vital issues, centurial backwardness and illiteracy of the Afghan people and tens of other factors include the causes behind the downfall. King Amanullah Khan did not pay attention to Ataturk's advice and suggestions in regards to a tribal and aristocratic society which consisted of various tribes with distinctive languages and the existence of the Shi'a and Sunni religions that formed the cultural foundations of the country, postponement of the reforms till the new co ordination of management.

Instead, The King exceptionally hastily started planning and enforcing the reforms. Foreigners' interference, disputes over the difference between the amendments and the governing class' (great clerics, feudal, proprietors and magnates) interests were of the main causes.

Also, the King's nature, habit and personal character in which extravagance and hastiness played a major role, demonstrated the mental causes behind this downfall.

Anyway, this King of all the bravery and patriotism who went walking into the heart of the town on his own (unguarded), socialised and mixed with people, visited schools in person, listened to people's needs and comments, was aware of the high street market prices and personally looked after it. He was hostile to bribery. People intimately and heartily loved him. But, he became a victim of his own obsessive love for his native land and by this he

stimulated tens of conspiracies and treasons against his newly established reforms and therefore, obligingly had to leave the country permanently.

Prof. Abdulhai Habibi has written his observations in the book “The Constitutional Movement” with regard to the expedition of the spring of 1308 from Kandahar towards Ghazni, in which The King led an army of ten thousand Kandahari and Hazara tribes.

Now, for the sake of a happy conclusion on this golden era, we are going to read through his observations.

“Fortunately, people were devoted to The King and trying to return him back to the throne. But, after the capturing of some suspect elements along the way between Muqor and Ghazni who were holding British Political Espionage documents, and when it was proved that some of clerics and Mullahs who acted more in a religious way but, in fact were of British agents also had hand in stimulating tribes wishing to take advantage of the tribal disputes between the Durani and Ghilji and to inflame the fire of sedition, there were about twenty Farahi (Durani) men of the Intelligence Department killed in the Ghilji resided area. Their corpses were chopped and hanged on the crooked telephone posts. It had been written on a piece of paper in an illegible clerical writing as follows: (This is the Ghilji Tribes' invitation to Duranis as well as to The King.)

As the deceased Amanullah Khan observed this horrible, tragic scenery, he gathered the people of Kandahar around telling them that: (It is now proved that the foreign enemies seek to erect war and corruption amongst our tribes, so that we kill each other with our own hands, in which case I would be the cause for such an impermissible act as the massacre and bloodshed would arise because of my reclamation of throne.

Footnotes:

The Constitutional Movement in Afghanistan, pages 170-171

(16)

Therefore, my dear people! You must understand that I can not endure these sad scenes of tribal and civil war and do not want you to involve yourselves into acts like these because of reclamation of my throne. Hence, I must get away from you so that I will not be the cause for such massacre and bloodshed.

You my dear nation and Afghanistan will remain alive but, the infinite disgrace; the responsibility of this indecent scene and uproar will be recorded under my name. Whereas, since the first day of my kingdom I had promised to work for the protection of the country's independence and integrity and the prosperity and unity of all the people of Afghanistan.

Look! The reason for our people's disaster over the past ages of history was that princes used to fight each other over winning the kingdom position, through the course of which they provoked you people on tribal war and enmity. I did not want my era of kingdom to be as such. Instead of sending people to war against each other, I should be the pro-claimer of friendship and unity, prosperity and fraternity of the people of Afghanistan. As I can now see that you are plunging into a tribal war, I would like to leave the field for the Afghan people themselves including my followers as well as those opposing me...A cousin of mine has arrived in Para-Chinar and another spiritual brother of mine down here are setting up the home to home war. But, I am not a man of such an act and my recommendation to you is this: compromise with each other, unite, protect your independence and do not leave your country to the foreign enemies! I am one of you and if you are prosperous, it would be my very prosperity and joy. But, if you welter in blood and dust like this, it would cause me a permanent disaster and vexation.

You fight instead of peace and make peace instead of fight
My friend, what is this trick and deceit for?
I am going away from you so that you do not hear my name
For the reason that perhaps hearing my name disdains you

The kind hearted, sentimental and benevolent King read out the above poem by “Waqif Lahori” tearfully, with heartache and a sad and hoarse voice and said God bless you...

Hereby, this great brave Ghazi King, the devoted revolutionary youth who was fond of justice and truth and in support of peace and democracy, in the very last moments when he could have won the victory, took his hand off power just to prevent any fratricide war and bloodshed of his dear compatriots and chose to seclude himself. God bless him!

(17)

Regarding Habibullah Kalakani who nicknamed himself “The Servant of Islam”, there have been various judgments made by the historians, as some of them have regarded to him as a thief, fool and as someone to be blamed by the history, while some of them have counted him as a great man, as “The Rustam”, as The Robin Hood, as a free imposter and even their tribal and local interests have influenced them so much that by telling and writing tales and elegies they have tried to glorify his name in history.

But, what interests us in terms of military is his qualities and particulars of commanding, power of coordination, attracting rapture and infiltration into the people's spirits and souls as well as into the society, his courage and dexterity in rifle shooting and individual military trainings. Between the years of 1920 to 1923 the young Habibullah voluntarily enrolled at the sample unit which had been formed by the help of Turkish officers during the era of His Majesty Amanullah Khan. In 1924, he took part in the riot of “Mangal”. After returning from this mission he stood up against brutality and oppression and left his job due to the conspiracy laid out for him by one of the time's rulers. He was a skilful shooting rifleman. His closest colleague was called Hussein both of whom managed to get their feet in the capital by widely spreading their area of military operations in Koohdaman and Koohistan as well as by carrying out a series of courageous operations by which Habibullah leant on the kingdom throne with the title of “The Servant of Islam”. It is said that he forgave The Royal Unit's prisoners of war who had been fighting against him with a valour addressing them as zealous and gratuitous enemy. This was the reason why he divulged one of the “imposture” qualities dominant in his soul and spirit... “generosity and manliness”

Habibullah quickly formed his army consisting of his companions, confederates and riflemen of Koohdaman and Koohistan as well as the remainders of the former army personally taking charge of its management. His famous successor and confederate Sayd Hussein was appointed on the post of defence ministerial winning the regency title. The Defence Ministry's deputyship was run by Habibullah Khan one of the renowned military figures during the age of Amanullah Khan and was later on executed without being proved guilty. Historians have estimated the number of Habibullah's army personnel around twenty thousand. Hameedullah the brother of Habibullah nicknamed “The Deputy King” and Pordil and Ghiyassudeen with lieutenant ranks along with some others titled as brigadier generals and colonels mostly formed of Koohdaman as well as other parts of the northern regions' volunteers emerged on the leadership of the army units. Malik Muhsin the owner of Kalakan of Koohdaman was appointed as Mayor of Kabul and his brother Sayd Mohammed became in charge of defending Citadel of Kabul. Also, 4-Star Mohammed Omar, Abdul Qayoom Khan Paghmani

and the regiment chief Abdul Raheem Khan Koohistani one of the officers of Amanullah Khan's army started collaborating with the regime. (1)

(18)

George Arne writes in regards to The King Habibullah Kalakani's nine month period of kingdom: (2)

“Anyway, Habibullah did not have the grounds and conditions set up for the kingdom. Even the rapturous spiritualists who had welcome his arrival in Kabul despite the decision over the appointment of the religious sage class in the governmental positions, soon turned up against him. Normal life was brought to a halt in the city and schools closed down.

(Son of Water carrier)'s army got busy with plunder and massacre. Kabul and its surroundings were howling during the course of nine months reign of terror. Whilst most people of the country refused his reign as a child of Tajik.

Ghulam Nabi Khan Cherkhi, Amanullah Khan's ambassador in Moscow, passed through the northern borders of Afghanistan after the collapse of his kingdom trying to gather some forces for the purpose of war against Habibullah Kalakani and managed to conquer Mazar-i-Sharif and advance as far as Aybek. It is said that a number of Russian soldiers also supported his opinion.

But, as soon as G. N. Cherkhi became aware of His Highness Amanullah Khan's journey and His giving up of Kandahar as well as hearing the message “No further bloodsheds for the sake of gaining my kingdom back.” stopped the war. But, in the early 1929, in the south of the country, his companion brothers headed by Commander in Chief Mohammed Nadir Shah along with his brothers Shah Mahmood Khan and Shah Wali Khan went to India and gained support of the British for reoccupying Kabul.

George Arne adds: “Such an opportunity for Britain was a God given gift.”

In 1929, the Serdar Mohammed Nadir Khan formed a joint army consisted of Jaji and Wazeeri tribes and departed towards Kabul in order to defend Habibullah's riot and capture Kabul. His brother Shah Wali managed to push away and leave behind the Saqawi Army in Gardiz as well as Saqawi's other militiamen based in Greater Loger led by the Red-General (an old military term used for generals) by deceiving them and by the association of the Eastern militias led by Mohammed Gul Khan Momand approaching via Waghjan Pass and Mohammed Agha, disintegrated Habibullah's militiamen and got up to Chahar Asiyab and eventually to Kabul. They soon managed to besiege the Citadel.

Luck was not with Habibullah Khan. Mohammed N. Khan's heavy artillery kept bulleting The Citadel. The ammunitions depot caught fire. The Defence Minister Sayd Hussein procrastinated supply of force aid. The governmental planes did not fly and the heavy artilleries either did not seek to or could not target Mohammed Nadir Khan's positions.

Footnotes:

1- Afghanistan in the Last Five Centuries, pages 576-578

2- Afghanistan the Passage of Conquerors, page 21

(19)

Habibullah was forced to leave The Citadel and managed to escape off to Chaharikar. Mohammed Nadir Khan occupied Kabul without facing any sort of resistance.

His militiamen plundered and devastated the City of Kabul and its innocent and helpless civilians.

As Mohammed Nadir Khan had arrived in Kabul on 15 October 1929, in the assembly which included leaders of Junoobi and Wazeeri militias, elderly and influential men and dignitaries of the Amaniye government held in the Greeting House of Citadel, announced himself as the King of Afghanistan.

He immediately sent out a mission to Habibullah Khan with a message saying that if he stopped resisting, his crimes would be forgiven. It is said that this promise had been written and signed on the margin of The Holy Quran.

By the encouragement of Sayd Hussein, Habibullah Khan accepted Mohammed Nadir Khan's offer and along with Sayd Hussein, Shir Jaan, his brothers and some other government leaders came to Kabul and surrendered. On 1 November 1929, Habibullah Khan and sixteen of his pals got killed and their bodies were hung for a few days in Huzoori Recreation Ground so that it became a lesson to the others.

Anyway, Habibullah Kalakani known as an insubordinate knight, pioneer of fear, strangulation and terror, a manifestation of credulity and honesty, penniless and magnanimous Serdar, a kind and faithful Muslim figure, who sought to win The Sandal Gate and conquer Bukhara retaliated back and became a victim of a revengeful hand of cowardly bullets on his forty year old sturdy body. This was a revenge taken by the hand of destiny for the unreasonable bloodsheds caused by him.

This was the price of his rebellion against the young beloved King of one and all throughout Afghanistan that he was now paying back.

Mohammed N. Shah, after gaining his peace of mind back and getting rid off Habibullah Khan whom he had murdered in spite of his vow, was concerned about the country's security. He soon conquered Kandahar by his brother Mohammed Hashim Khan and later on appointed as The Prime Minister and head of the cabinet formation. Mohammed N. Shah appointed his other brother Shah Mahmood Khan as the Defence Minister.

First of all, Mohammed Nadir Khan was concerned about the creation and formation of a powerful army by which he could manage to destroy any disorder throughout the country and build a stable and reliable security.

Sideeq Ferhang writes: "Mohammed Nadir Khan made a huge effort in order to create a disciplined army. He constructed a new military school in Bala Hissar of Kabul while he had exempted the Junoobi tribes and some of the Mashriqi and Kandahar tribes from the military service.

Footnotes:

Afghanistan in the Last Five Centuries, 1st volume, page 605

(20)

He intensively applied the military service onto the rest of the people through a draw and within a little while managed to create a more disciplined and powerful army than the one during the King Amanullah Khan's era. He equipped some of the army with the sophisticated weaponry received from the British as a contribution and equipped the rest of the army by purchasing weaponry from many countries.

As the British government in light of its promises and vows alongside conquering Kabul and killing Habibullah Khan and the lack of restoration of Amanullah Khan Ghazi's kingdom, contributed ten thousand rifles model (303 BORE), five million bullets and a sum of one hundred and eighty thousand pound sterling to Mohammed N. Shah. The British government had also promised Mohammed N. Shah political and moral help which were already continuing.

George Arne has recorded the number of Mohammed Nadir Shah's army personnel as forty thousand individuals. (Refer to page 114)

In terms of military, Mohammed N. Shah didn't really face any setbacks as he himself was an intelligent experienced Serdar. His attendance in the Third Anglo Afghan War and the removal of the nine month anarchy during Habibulah Khan's kingdom had made him especially famous and reliable amongst the militants and army individuals. Therefore, in 1930 when the massive armed revolt happened in Koohdaman, the main incentive of which had been created by the pessimism of the officials and government dignitaries towards the people of Shamali and by plundering properties and belongings of the local residents, Mohammed N. Khan deployed part of his newly formed army under the command of the Deputy Chief Abdul Wakeel Khan Nooristani in order to suppress the people of Shamali.

But, the above Deputy Chief was killed and his army accepted the defeat. Mohammed N. Khan went confused and this time deployed the Junoobi Tribes along with his army to confront the enemy.

The rioters were defeated. Their properties and possessions got looted and plundered and a number of the family members of Koohdaman and Koohistan people were taken to Junoobi as hostages bitter memories of which still remain in the people's minds to date.

The other military confrontation during Mohammed N. Shah's kingdom was the revolt of the immigrants led by Ibrahim Bigg "Laqi", a liberal Uzbek who had crossed through the Amu River and was carrying out some activities in Afghanistan.

In 1931 the Defence Minister Shah Mahmood Khan had been assigned in order to confront Ibrahim Bigg. In this confrontation Ibrahim Bigg was defeated and went back to The Soviet Union where he got arrested and executed.

With the settlement of the situation and the progression of peace in the country, Mohammed N. Shah succeeded in establishing a centralised and somewhat stable government in Afghanistan.

His very first step included supporting the religious leaders who had played a key role in failing the reforms and the Amaniye Amendments Testament. Mohammed Nadir Shah retained a negative attitude towards the Amaniye government amendments and announced it to the people as part of his government policy.

(21)

He put aside the Constitution of the year 1302 (1923) and entrusted the Courts of Law back to the religious sage persons. He obliged women to wear veil and became hostile to freedom of speech and writing.

His self created National Council approved the new Constitution under the title "The Constitution of the Government of Afghanistan" which consisted of 110 articles.

This Constitution which apparently appeared a constitutional divided the country's final authorisations and decisions between the King and the clerical class.

The new regime in spite of being capable of having a cabinet, Constitution, The National Council Assemblies and The National Magnate Assemblies was in fact in favour of the family interests as their companion brothers and relatives played an embossed role in it.

Before his kingdom, Mohammed Nadir Shah had promised The British he would consult the foreign policy with them. In reality, this issue was damaging Afghanistan's independency and caused the opposition of the Afghan liberal and civilised elements.

The reason Mohammed Nadir Khan has been mentioned as a murderer ruler in history is that he suppressed the seed of any opposition to him in its core.

Mohammed N. Khan clearly realised that the army had to be kept away from politics. He was opposed to any progression or development. He fascistically treated and defeated the

revolutionary and fundamental ideas in their cores that came from the officers and commanders in chief such as Mohammed Wali Khan, Ghulam Nabi Khan Cherkhi, Mahmood Saami, Ahmad Shah Khan, Sayd Mohammed Khan, etc which sometimes embossed as of a group and sometimes as of an individual.

He was trying to establish such an army that absolutely acted under his order without showing any belligerence or hard feelings towards him.

But, as a poet composes:

The sigh of the oppressed resembles a file
A file that if not cutting would still sharpen the cutter

Soon after, in 1933, The Minister Mohammed Aziz Khan, the elder brother of Mohammed N. Shah was assassinated by a gunshot by an Afghan student named as Sayd Kamal in Berlin. On 8 November 1933, the King himself was assassinated by one of the Nijat High School students named as Abdul Khaliq in a party held in the Citadel Gardens in respect to the distribution of high school students' certificates.

The assassin got arrested and on that same day Mohammed Zahir Shah, Mohammed N. Shah's nineteen year old son accessed the throne.

There has been written about Abdul Khaliq: "The above named was Khuda Daad's son, a migrant from the Deherwadi of Uruzgan who had to flee Uruzgan during Abdul Rahman Khan's reign.

Footnotes:

The Reminiscence Epistle: The campaigner of liberty and hero of anti-despotism Abdul Khaliq, pages 40-60, written or published by The Authors' Cultural Centre of Afghanistan, 1st volume, 24, 12, 1993, Iran

(22)

They moved to Ghazni and then to Loger and made their living by working as peasants on the fields of Ghulam Hayder Khan Cherkhi's family and the omnipotent Serdar Abdul Rahman Khan.

In 1933, Abdul Khaliq was an eleventh grade student at Amani School and was a grown up fellow with a mature mentality when embarking upon the assassination of Mohammed N. Shah. Supposedly, the opportunity to gain his education arose through his father and family's connection with Cherkhi family.

The most important objectives of the constant terror acts by Abdul Khaliq and his friends which included the assassination of Mohammed Nadir Shah are as follow:

- The announcement of opposition against The British policy, dependency on the foreign authorities and defending the independence.
- Resistance against tyranny and dictatorship of the Nadiri regime.
- Defending the legitimate rights and freedoms.
- Campaign against the policy of tribal discrimination, national oppression and the perilous decisions by Mohammed N. Shah against the Hazara people.

But, some historians such as S. Ferhang and Sayd Mihdi "Farukh" describe Abdul Khaliq's revolutionary movements as being influenced by the provocation of the Cherkhis' family and Abdul Khaliq's loyalty to this family.

Anyway, on the 17th Aqrab 1312 (07 November 1933), during the distribution celebration of the students' certificates held at the lawn of The Exhilarant Citadel by Mohammed Nadir Shah Khan, Abdul Khaliq with an absolute coolness fired bullets three of which hit Mohammed Nadir Shah Khan in the mouth, heart and brain and forth of which hit one of the King's servants. Mohammed Nadir Shah was immediately dashed down on the floor while others started running away. Even Mohammed Zahir and Shah Mahmood escaped off and Shah Mahmood's cap and sword fell down while Mohammed Zahir Shah was heard crying.

But, Abdul Khaliq confidently and solidly without feeling any fear or making any escape pounded his gun that had now gone empty on Mohammed Nadir Shah Khan's broken up head and eventually got arrested by the executioners.

It has been mentioned in Abdul Khaliq's treatise that after this arrest, Turah Baz Khan the commander of Kootwaali, Abdul Hakeem Commander of the Police Force, Mirza Mohammed Shah Head of The Secret Agency, Sayd Shareef the Chief Assistant, Faiz Mohammed "Zikriya", Abdul Ghani Qala-i-Biggi and other militiamen were making efforts to make him confess so that they discovered the names of his colleagues and successors by torturing and tormenting him which included fuel heating, nail pulling, needle merging, underarm burning using heated metal, using steel tools normally used for chopping wood. But, Abdul Khaliq remained consistently silent and stable. He was saying: "no one else is my partner, I committed this act myself."

(23)

Abdul Khaliq's trial was commissioned on Qows 24, 1312 (14 December 1933). Consequently, seventeen people led by Abdul Khaliq himself were sentenced to execution. They included Abdul Khaliq, his father side uncle Mowladaad, his father Khuda Daad, his friend Mahmood, his uncle Qurban Ali "cold water retailer", Rabani, Lateef a member of the Cherkhi family, Mohammed Zaman, Colonel Ali Akhter Khan, Mahmood a worker of the Aneesss Printing House, Mirza Masjidi, Mohammed Ayoub The Director assistant of the Amani school, along with two others whose names are not known.

The execution sentence was carried out at the rear of Dihmazang Prison on 4th Jadi 1312 (24 December 1933).

Initially, Abdul Khaliq's nose and brain were cut off by Mohammed Hayder Khan's knife, son of Abdul Qudus Khan the Deputy Prime Minister.

His ears were cut off by another person. Subsequently, soldiers poked spurs and carpals into his body which eventually tore his body apart and he didn't reach the hanging rope. They treated his friend Mahmood the same way.

Thus, Abdul Khaliq merged amongst the legends and was titled as the hero martyr, the opposition to tyranny and the campaigner of liberty while Mohammed Nadir Khan gained an undesirable image among the public.

-5-

When Zahir Shah came to the throne after his father's death, he was regarded to as a symbolic figure for a long time. His uncle Mohammed Hashim Khan had allocated himself with the real power and was not prepared to entrust it to anyone else. Mohammed Hashim Khan who did not have any children was famous in being blatant and atrocious, terrorising and strangulating, cruel and implacable. He was counted as a symbol of sovereignty, constraint, intimidation and an absolute force. He was specifically opposed to the revolutionary and progressive ideas. He treated liberalists, constitutionalists, supporters of democracy and social justice with an unlimited hostility and hatred. His cold putrefying prisons and dark wells were constantly full

of liberalists and secularists. He possessed a variety of inhumane tortures from eye and nail pulling outs to burning out human beings in boiling oil and benzene. His name brought shock and anxiety and his voice brought death and destruction.

Day by day, different tortures and wild executers emerged through and every night there were more innocent and sinless individuals being trapped in the agony, torture and death cliff.

(24)

But, Mohammed Hashim Khan was an efficient and intelligent person. He made all his efforts in order to provide national security, protect his position and family interests, solidify and improve the army and develop the national economy.

He counted himself higher than the law and possessed a broad and sophisticated apparatus called “The Secret Agency” which emerged through anywhere and knew about everyone's and everything's circumstances and situations, even about people's turkeys.

He had a discriminating attitude towards the tribes and regarded with contempt the Hazara, Uzbek etc minorities. He preferred Pushto language and made its learning obligatory. He was greedy in such a way that his assets were estimated as millions of rupees and he was regarded to as the American “Rockefeller”.

During Mohammed Hashim Khan's reign the army was subject to his orders and instructions. But, The King was lawfully considered as the High Commander of The Armed Forces of Afghanistan and had the authorities and controls below:

- Announcement of war and end of truce or ceasefire
- Announcement of military deployment
- Planning and confirming the military doctors of the country (offensive or defensive)
- Increase or decrease formations of the army
- purchasing new weaponry and sophisticated armour as well as exchanging weaponry and armour
- Removing and appointing senior officers of the armed forces
- Promoting, retiring, rejecting and dismissing the army officer
- Granting medals and badges
- Announcing state of emergency and enforcing the military government etc...

The Army of Afghanistan was called “The Royal Army of Afghanistan” which was abbreviated as The Royal Army.

The King graduated in France where he had been Dawood Khan's classmate.

They both then studied together the military lessons in the military training camp of Kabul and like most soldiers participated in the march-past ceremonies of the Restoration of the Afghanistan Independence.

Riding his horse and later on in his convertible car, The King supervised through the military units where he was saluted by The Army. The march - past took place after his brief oration. The King had expressed his view in one of his orations about the progress and development of the Afghan Army as follows:

(1) “Today, it is thanksgiving that the Afghan Army has accomplished significant amendments and improvements and we still hope our army progresses more than ever before. Our dear nation profits from the sufficient military training camps. And the Afghan Army gets equipped with modern appliances and tools. Home security and defence are exclusive to an organised and principled army.

This year, we have issued strict orders to the Ministry of Defence and the Cabinet so that they contribute in regards to the purchase of the military appliances and tools. The knowledgeable

and prudent civil officials of the army are the soul of the army and Afghanistan immensely needs them.

In order to reach this goal, we hugely take into consideration the military school and hope the necessities and required teachers are provided for the school.

Military training camps have been created which serve with the best effort.

Footnotes:

The Yearly-Book of Kabul, 1934, pages 66-67

(25)

We are very much grateful to the people of Afghanistan as they are prepared to serve the regime with a complete zeal. Certainly, serving the regime is serving the religion and serving the chastity of the country. This service is incumbent on every Muslim individual”.

But, the army was not yet fully set under the control of the King. Because, The Prime Minister Mohammed Hashim Khan had even limited Defence Minister's authorities gradually entrusting them to the commander Mohammed Dawood Khan who was being promoted against The Prime Minister

But, despite all these domestic violence and internal skirmishes, the basis of a disciplined and sophisticated army was being gradually founded based upon the needs and circumstances of the friendship morals or the antagonism with Afghanistan's neighbours, considering the issue that the essential objectives of fortifying the army was formed by strengthening the Kingdom regime more than ever before, suppressing the malcontent elements as well as revolts and anarchies and protecting the interests of The Royal Family and the ruling class.

A glance at the Army's Formations and the concentration of forces in “Kabul” indicates how the main part of the forces had been transposed in Kabul and its outskirts for the security and safety of the capital and protection of The Crown and Throne, and how the country's long borders in the north were left almost unguarded, while the southern borders of were being defended.

This brief glance can illustrate the military and political views of the magnanimous men of that age as well as giving a clear image on the degree of friendship and hostility with the neighbouring countries.

In 1313 (1934), the formations of The Afghan Army and its Management Committee were as follows:

The Defence Minister - Commander in Chief Serdar Shah Mahmood Khan

The Secret Agency Director - Chief of Company Mohammed Omar

The General Defence Chief of Staff - Deputy Chief of Division Mohammed Omar Khan

The Military Assistant Chief - First Chief of Regiment Mustafa Khan

- The General Circle (Operation):

The Defence Military Movements General Circle Director - Deputy Chief of Regiment Sarajudeen Khan

- The General Circle of Education:

The Defence Military General Director - Deputy Chief of Regiment Sayd Mohammed Akber Khan

The Army Directorate:

- The Army Chief – His Highest Dignity First Chief of Division Ahmad Ali Khan

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- The General Director of Military Officials – Deputy Chief of Regiment Abdul Khaliq Khan
- The Military Director of Receiving Soldiers – First Chief of Regiment Habibullah Khan
- The General Directorate of Military Transport H Mohammed Yaqoob Khan First Chief of Regiment

The Military Directorate:

- Deputy First Chief of Division His Highest Dignity Chief Sayd Hassan Khan
- His Highest Dignity Lt Chief Shir Ahmad Khan General Director of Equipment
- Deputy Chief of Regiment Sayd Mohammed Hussein General Director of Military Tribes
- First Deputy Chief of Regiment Sayd Ali Khan General Director of Military Courts of Trial
- First Chief of Division His Highest Dignity Mohammed Omar Khan Director of Amendment and Progression Movement

The Military Hospital:

- His Highest Dignity Head Doctor Sayd Abdul Ghani Shah Khan

The Aircraft Commandership:

- First Chief of Regiment Military Commander Mohammed Ihsan Khan
- Deputy Chief of Regiment Military Group Director Ghulam Dastageer Khan

Commandership of School of Army:

- His Highest Dignity Commander Ali Shah Khan First Chief of Division
- The Military Infantry Class Teacher Lateef Ahmad Khan the Deputy Chief of Regiment
- The Military Heavy Artillery Class Assistant Teacher Ali Ahmad Khan the Deputy Chief of Regiment
- Head Teacher of Consolidation Force Honourable Makai Ahmad Bigg Effendi (Turkish)
- Head Teacher of Heavy Artillery Class His Highest Dignity Zafar Hassan Khan (Indian)
- Russian Language Teacher His Highest Dignity Abdul Rahman
- Teacher of Ju Jid Su His Highest Dignity Abdullah Khan

School of Enterprise:

- School Director Chief of Company Ahmad Shir Khan

School of Summons:

- Deputy Teacher His Highest Dignity Deputy Chief of Division Abdul Lateef Khan

School of Corporals:

- The Corporals School Consultant Chief of Company Aqa Mohammed Khan

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School of Music:

- The School of Music Consultant Chief of Company Shireen Khan

The High Course of Officers:

- The High Course Consultant Mohammed Omar Khan Deputy Chief of Regiment

The Directorate Military Factories:

- His Highest Dignity Director Sayd Abdullah Khan First Chief of Division

The Military Equipment Factory:

- Noor Mohammed Khan Chief of Regiment

The Central Military Commanders:**- The Royal Division:**

- His Highest Dignity Commander Serdar Assadullah Khan First Chief of Division

The Central Army Corps:

- The Army Corps Commander His Highest Dignity Lt Chief Mohammed Ghowss Khan
- The First Army Corps Division Commander His Highest Dignity First Chief of Division Abdul Ghani Khan
- The Second Army Corps Division Commander Consultant His Highest Dignity Deputy Chief of Division Abdullah Khan
- The Third Army Corps Division Commander His Highest Dignity First Chief of Division Noor Mohammed Khan
- The Heavy Artillery Division Commander His Highest Dignity First Chief of Division Abdul Qayoom Khan

The Rural Military Commanders:

- Ghazni Military Commander His Highest Dignity Deputy Chief of Division Khan Zaman Khan
- Kandahar Military Commander His Highest Dignity Deputy Chief of Division Serdar Mohammed Dawood Khan
- Ferah and Chakhansoor Military Commander His Highest Dignity Deputy Chief of Division Serdar Mohammed Dawood Khan
- Herat Military Commander His Highest Dignity Deputy Chief of Division Abdul Ahad Khan
- Mazar and Maimana Military Commander Consultant His Highest Dignity First Chief of Regiment Allahdad Khan
- Badakhshan and Qataghan Military Commander Consultant His Highest Dignity First Chief of Regiment Mohammed Alam Khan
- Mashriqi (Jalalabad) Military Commander His Highest Dignity Deputy Chief of Division Mohammed Jaffer Khan
- Junoobi Army Corps Commander His Highest Dignity First Chief of Division Mohammed Afzal Khan
- The First Army Corps Division Commander His Highest Dignity Deputy Chief of Division Peer Mohammed Khan
- Junoobi Second Army Corps Division Commander His Highest Dignity Deputy Chief of Division Abdul Qayoom Khan

(28)

Also, in the above annual book there was a list of dignitaries and senior military officers who had helped Mohammed Nadir Khan win the throne. The list is as follows:

- His Highest Dignity Lt Chief Mihr Dil Khan Kandahari
- His Highest Dignity Lt Chief Mohammed Nayeem Khan Badakhshi
- His Highest Dignity Lt Chief Mohammed Omar Khan Nassiri
- His Highest Dignity Lt Chief Ghulam Nabi Khan Nassiri
- His Highest Dignity Lt Chief Ser Buland Khan Jaji
- His Highest Dignity Lt Chief Zer Khan Wazeeri
- His Highest Dignity Lt Chief Abdul Ghani Khan Mohammedzayi
- His Highest Dignity Lt Chief Zamai Khan Mangali
- His Highest Dignity Chief of Division Azam Gul Khan Tootakhil
- His Highest Dignity Chief of Division Ghulam Nabi Bigg Khan Hazara of Soofi Valley
- His Highest Dignity Chief of Division Mohammed Ibrahim Bigg Khan Ahmadzayi
- His Highest Dignity Chief of Division Noor Ahmad Khan Herati
- His Highest Dignity Chief of Division Fazel Ahmad Khan Popalzayi
- His Highest Dignity Chief of Division Dawood Shah Khan Tarakhil
- His Highest Dignity Chief of Division Mohammed Hashim Khan Logari
- His Highest Dignity Chief of Division Saadat Khan Ahmadzayi
- His Highest Dignity Chief of Division Mohammed Aseel Khan Mangali
- His Highest Dignity Chief of Division Abdullah Khan Werdaki
- His Highest Dignity Chief of Division Serkai Khan Ahmadzayi
- His Highest Dignity Chief of Division Ameer Khan Massudi
- His highest Dignity Chief of Division Ramazan Khan Massudi
- His Highest Dignity Chief of Division Mohammed Ismail Khan Wazeeri
- His Highest Dignity Chief of Division Abdul Ghani Khan Ahmadzayi
- His Highest Dignity Chief of Division Mohammed Shah Khan Tarakhil
- His Highest Dignity Chief of Division Ali Doost Khan Hazara
- His Highest Dignity Chief of Division Ghulam Mohammed Khan Tagabi
- His Highest Dignity Chief of Division Abdul Ghafoor Khan Mohammedzayi
- His Highest Dignity Chief of Division Abdul Raoof Khan Oryakhil

(29)

The majority of these senior officers were illiterate and knew nothing about the art and profession of military. But, because they had helped Mohammed Nadir Khan in gaining the throne they had been promoted to honourable ranks from sergeant to Lieutenant Chief based on the order of the King and had all the advantages as an active officer.

During the King Zahir Shah's domination and even up until our time, these figures' children and grandchildren were treated as sweethearts who were normally and regardless of their entitlements benefited from the special advantages and considerations such as enrolling in the military high schools and faculties, scholarships to abroad, getting recruited in the commandership positions of the army, receiving awards, medals and badges etc...

The other innovation was that the majority of these sons of gentlemen, who were exempt from the military service based on the order of the King, got appointed as commanders, mayors and lords over the majority of tribes and nations under oppression.

They commanded with harshness, discrimination and even hate.

This in fact was the national oppression. This was the exploitation of the ruling class over the tribes and the condemned minorities, a fascistic type of tyranny that Mohammed Nadir Khan had established and Mohammed Hashim Khan was following.

The number of Afghan Army personnel excluding the Police and Gendarme Forces reached 90,000. The Afghan Army did not possess any foreign combating experience. It acquired

affairs related to the execution of war and fighting tactics on the training fields. The Army was building on the above potentials in the military collations and fighting games.

There were a few officers sent abroad for the purpose of getting military training. Turkish and Indian teachers were used to a large extent in order to teach the military school students. The combating techniques and tactics had more similarity to the Turkish technique which itself was an extract from both the British and American Military Training Legislations and had less compatibility with the mountainous land of Afghanistan.

Even though, the republicans and the government Opposition and the supporters of Amanullah Khan Ghazi (The Warrior) had been disintegrated who filled up Hashim Khan's prisons and dreadful dungeons, there were still some revolts and uprisings taking place here and there. For instance; the revolt of Kandahar's Zameen Dawar Organisation which had been caused by the provocation of its influential class over the people against the education. This revolt was brought down to silence by the army and bombardment by a minor airforce of the country.

The confrontation of the Suleymankhil gypsies in 1316 and 1317 that had attracted people of Matoon Hill in Khoost, was stopped by the help of the British government airforce an made them return to their homes and regions.

Footnotes:

1- Afghanistan and the Union of Socialist Soviet of Russia, by Henry Bradshire, 1st volume, June 1991, translated by the Afghan Cultural Council. Henry Bradshire writes that Shah Mahmood was intending to form a small internal security force but trained and organised. Until 1955 whilst the number of Central Police Force developed up to 20,000, the number of Afghan Army personnel reduced to half rounding down to 45,000, page 45

(30)

In regards to the foreign policy issue between the years 1936 and 1940, Afghanistan left behind its former internationally abstracted policy and tried to develop and spread its relationships with foreign countries.

The Defence Minister Shah Mahmood Khan's travel in order to participate in the Berlin Olympic Game and Mohammed Hashim Khan' travel to Germany for his treatment.

The Foreign Minister Faiz Mohammed Khan's and The Finance Minister Abdul Hameed Khan Zabuli's come and go for the purpose of talks and negotiations over the purchase of weaponry, industrial military machines instruments and employment of the German experts established a good relationship between the two countries.

According to Mohammed S. "Ferhang's" claim these connections and relationships had deep and affirmative effects on the mind of governmental dignitaries of Afghanistan and they realised that the new "Hitler regime" had been based on three elements such as racial discrimination, privatised dictatorship and the government's assistance with the capitalists. The above three elements were concurrent with the personal opinion of the Afghan dignitaries such as Mohammed Dawood, Commander Mohammed Nayeem and Abdul Majeed Zabuli.

In respect to the economy issues also the relationships built up with Japan and Italy. The government also tried to attract interests of the other world's super power America.

During the World War II the Prime Minister Mohammed Hashim Khan succeeded to manage Afghanistan's foreign policy in such a way that the country's well being necessitated, and to prevent interference of the foreign countries into Afghanistan, especially those trapped in the war.

(6)

The Prime Minister Mohammed Hashim Khan was made to resign after seventeen years on the evening of 9th May 1946. He was pressurised by the family and the King himself who was now thirty years of age and wanted to prevent his uncle's fundamentalist behaviour based on the undesirable reflections of the Home policy at an international level. This occurred in a situation that his place of residence had been laid siege on by The Army individuals and he had no alternative but to act according to the order of The King.

The King then appointed his uncle Shah Mahmood Khan as the head of the cabinet's formation.

Shah Mahmood Khan began his premiership with a more moderate attitude alongside of people than his brother Mohammed Hashim Khan and gained some popularity. In 1947, he introduced the new legislation of the councils based on the establishment of the elections and facilitated the opportunity for the members of the parliament elections.

In 1950, he issued the Law of Media that gave a limited freedom and publication allowance to the non-governmental newspapers. But, it faced Mohammed Dawood Khan and Mohammed Nayeem Khan's opposition.

(31)

But, anyway, he got the opportunity to practise the limited democracy.

(1) George Arne writes:

“The former parliament had been formed by soulless ignorant members such as conservatives, landlord, Members of the Royal Family, tribes' leaders and clergy.

In 1949, a comparatively free elections created a different type of parliament members, more than one third of whom were contracted as Liberal Reforms which were supported by the Middle Class. This was the young graduates' category from The West named as The Movement of Weesh Zalmiyan.

The agenda of this movement published in 1947 required re-establishment of women's rights, extinction of bribery and corruption, industrial growth, social justice etc and use of the National sources.

According to a Pakistani liberal opinionated person Raja Anwer, the above agenda watered the flower that Emir Amanullah Khan had seeded twenty years before.

Along with the Liberal Parliament elections in 1949, there was the nightly liberal newspaper being distributed which included some critical issues. The Students Association was established in the university where the youth discussed from democracy to atheism.

The Islamic Conservative traditionalism was a good target but, at the same time The Royal Family also ironically found itself among the writings.

After two years, the ruling establishments became fed up with the increasing liberal chanting and by creation of the political parties. Consequently, The Students Association got closed down, printing the non - governmental publications became forbidden and the fundamental oppositions were sent to jail.

However, by the rise of the new elections the situation got normal but, dissatisfaction within the circles of Kabul's educated class had to be quenched for a while which all round couldn't be promising.

An agreement was reached after stealth talks within The Royal Family concluding that the old generation had to leave its place for the new generation. To this manner, Shah Mahmood Khan resigned and Mohammed Dawood Khan the King's cousin who was full of energy took charge of his position.

Commander Mohammed Dawood Khan became in charge of the cabinet formation on 6th September 1953.

An open minded opinionated person he decided to bring modernisation and civilisation to the country without agreeing with the democratic freedom orders by the King Shah Mahmood.

His government policy was founded by the fortification of the army, the resolution of Pushtoonistan's Dilemma, reduction of the stubbornness of tribes and use of foreign help for the purpose of growing the country's economy.

He was also in charge of the Defence Affair of the country. His government' foreign policy was dealt with by his brother Mohammed Nayeem Khan. The financial and material affairs were carried out by his close friend Abdul Malik "Abdul Raheemzai" who was the Finance Minister as well as being the Business Minister too.

Footnotes:

Afghanistan the Passage of conquerors, pages 320-330

(32)

A. Malik "Abdul Raheemzai" was one of the intelligent and outstanding officers of the Army in the Logistic Department. Being the Head of the Army Equipment Department, he used to collaborate with the time's Defence Minister Mohammed Dawood Khan. He carried out the modern economy policy of Mohammed Dawood Khan with a special dexterity and determination. In order to attract foreign subsidies, he travelled to some countries including the United States. But, he soon became a victim of the King's jealousy as he had brought the expenditure affair of The Royal Family under his control. By the backbiting of Serdar Abdul Wali and Major of the 8th Division, he was arrested and imprisoned by the allegations concerning his anti-kingdom conspiracy.

Based on the above report, on the first day of Sacrifice Festival (Eid-i-Qurban) in 1957, General Khwaja Khaleel should have clicked on the conspiracy from The Martial Castle which had used to be called the "8th Division" under the leadership of Abdul Raheemzai and the announcement of the conspiracy via the radio would have taken place by Mihdi Zafer a student of Istiqlal High School.

It was said that Abdul Raheemzai was a loyal and entirely faithful to Mohammed Dawood Khan. But, if the allegations about his conspiracy were true, this could then be considered as the first failed military action by the Afghan Army against the Kingdom.

Anyway, the submitted requests for military collaborations to America remained result less because America had already promised collaboration to Pakistan in December 1953.

This fact upset Dawood Khan considering its trueness to be dangerous for the security of Afghanistan. Dawood Khan' diplomatic efforts also remained fruitless until when Richard Nixon had come to Afghanistan in 1954, these requests were formally made to him. But, he was not convinced and returned back to America.

Haqshinas writes in this regard: (1)

"Towards the end of November 1954 during the days when Richard Nixon had the duty of Presidential Deputyship of America, he arrived in Kabul where he visited streets and bazaars there. His intention was to assess our regime and society and to establish America's future policies accordingly.

During his talks with Nixon, Mohammed Dawood Khan did not mention a word about the backwardness and disasters of the Afghan people the need of help and attention to our country. Instead, regardless of all the difficulties and problems, he brought up the

Pushtoonistan's Dilemma case and also gave Nixon a letter in this respect so that he presented it to Eisenhower, the President of America.

In one of his interviews, Nixon had suggested that there was no sign of life in Afghanistan and whatever was obtained from in and outside of the country was consumed by the arbitrariness and revelry of a few thieves and bandits dominating the country.

Footnotes:

Conspiracies and Crimes, pages 92-93

(33)

However, Richard Nixon was a tall man but, in respect to his judgment above he has acted logically and consciously."

As Sh. "Haqshinas" supposes all the world's tall men to be credulous and simple minded, he still believes that in his talks Mohammed Dawood Khan had not mentioned anything to Nixon about the backwardness of our people and the disasters they used to go through, nor had he requested any help, while in the mutual announcement between the two sides, the formal request made by the Afghan government has been mentioned.

Mohammed Dawood Khan's brother Mohammed Nayeem travelled to America for the above reason and the widespread diplomatic efforts were being continued.

Anyway, Mohammed Dawood Khan had no other alternative but to resort to The Soviet Union. Undoubtedly, The Soviet Union intensively wished that their southern neighbour was a dependent of them in terms of economy as well as military rather than of their big rival America. Those who suppose Mohammed Dawood Khan was dependant to Moscow, and blame him without studying the history, unquestionably commit one of the biggest mistakes in the history and ignorantly damage those who are trying to metamorphose reticent realities of history.

The Soviet Union government welcomed Afghanistan's request for help and entrusted a loan for the sum of 3.5 million American Dollars to its government.

Receiving this loan by which the Central Baking House (Silo) and the grain depots were constructed and streets of Kabul got asphalted assured Mohammed Dawood Khan of the Soviet Union's company as well as raising his moral against Pakistan.

In 1955, after the joining of the northern bordering provinces to the western part of Pakistan, the voice of objection rose through the Afghan government and the diplomatic crisis shaded over the atmosphere of relationships between the two countries.

The demonstrations signalled by Mohammed Dawood Khan started against Pakistan outside the Pakistani Embassy and its agencies. The Pakistani Embassy's flag in Kabul was declined as well as at the Pakistani Consulates in Kandahar and Jalalabad facing humiliation.

This action was responded to by the same reaction outside the Political Administration of Afghanistan based in Pakistan. The propagandising Cold War between the two countries increased but, Pakistan was pretended in the minds of inhabitants of the world to have been right and as a result the Afghan government had to after a while raise the Pakistani flag back with the necessary formalities over the Pakistan Embassy in Kabul as well as at its Consulates in Kandahar and Jalalabad. Pakistan also acted in the same way.

(34)

These incidents allowed Mohammed Dawood Khan to make the efforts to strengthen and fortify the Afghan Army in terms of weaponry, fighting armours, educating the personnel to confront any arising danger from Pakistan. Therefore, he held The Great Assembly in which

he mentioned the Pushtoonistan's Dilemma along with suggesting the need for purchase of weaponry from abroad for the sake of fortification of the Army.

These suggestions were approved of by The Great Assembly as to follow up with the Pushtoonistan's Dilemma as well as with the purchase of weaponry from any potential country. The Great Assembly's conclusion was approved of by the King.

The governmental and partial mission of The Soviet Union led by Khrushchev and Bulganin revisited Afghanistan in December 1955. A one hundred million dollar credit contract vowed by them along with the military aid, quantity of which had not been announced proved to be true by the import of the first bundle of weaponry and The Soviet Union armour in 1958.

With the import of the new weaponry and armour Mohammed Dawood Khan got highly moralised and tried to change the Afghan Army that was powerless and weak in comparison with the neighbouring armies into a modern and sophisticated army. At the time, the Army's Formations saw the following changes:

The name of the Ministry of War was changed to The Ministry of Defence which consisted of management assistance, the Army Directorate managements, formations, logistic and supplement managements, general commanding office of heavy artillery, Air Force and air defence commanding offices, education management, commanding office of health in the military university, military high school, school of corporals, school of music and the military factory and etc...

The Chief of Staff was counted as someone who had authorities over the Operation branches and managements, relay, fortification and etc..., authority over planning and practicing orders and commands of The Defence Minister at the army units. The Chief of Staff in fact was the first Defence Minister assistant.

The Army consisted of three army corps, divisions, brigades and independent regiments detailed below.

1- The Central Army Corps also known as the Number One corps based in Kabul city included the 7th, 8th and 11th Divisions which were situated in Reeshkhor, Qerga, and Ningerhar respectively and called "Type A Corps". And its divisions were also of the Type A. This means that these armies possessed personnel weaponry and fighting armour according to their own formation and were fully supplied.

2- Corps of Kandahar was of the Type B and one of its three divisions that had the number 100 was active. The other two divisions were used for personnel.

3- Corps of Paktiya was of the Type B and its 12th Division in Gardiz, the 14th Division in Ghazni and the 35th Division in Khoost which were also of the Type B were included in its formation.

(35)

The dependant divisions of the Ministry of Defence were the 17th Division in Herat, the 18th Division in Mazar-i-Sharif and the 20th Division in Nahrein. Also, some of the brigades and regiments had been established due to the strategic directions significance.

These massive divisions and units of the Army were situated in the crucial strategic directions of the country. They had the duty of screening the borders and defending the National Independence as well as the land integrity of Afghanistan.

The distribution of these corps took place based on the nature of relationships with the neighbouring countries. Therefore, there were three corps situated in the directions of borders with Pakistan.

The capacity of the Army during the Premiership of Mohammed Dawood Khan was promoted up to 80,000 personnel and still carried the same amount of capacity in deployment situations and during the war. The Army was capable of forming extra corps and divisions from within its stocks. Deployment of the massive divisions and units of the Army took place according to the specified normative. For instance; there was a period of seventy two hours allocated for "Type B" divisions to be deployed so that it changed into "Type A" and appeared to the gathering locations as a compact unit.

Fighting tactics were practically and theoretically taught to the Army personnel in the classes and on the training fields by the officers and corporals. These tactics were generally The Western fighting tactics which The NATO countries were using. However, these tactics were not really compatible with Afghanistan's land conditions and its old fashioned weaponry.

The Army's weaponry was mainly made in England, Italy and Germany.

Within the Army's Formations there were cavalries included too which were used on the mountainous lands and increased the manoeuvre ability of the Afghan Army. Also, the transportation of the heavy artillery cannons of type (18-PAN) and etc... was carried out by horses which incurred costly, extensive formations.

The military trainings were based on understanding the internal services as well as the military punishments which were the basis of the military management and control and the domineering iron discipline within the Afghan Army.

On their very first days of enrolment in the military service, soldiers undertook military principles, tactics of section, the use and technique of weaponry.

In their second year of service after learning the tactics of section, soldiers continued with their military service as corporals and experienced individuals.

A soldier's wages entitlement consisted of the monthly sum of 30 afghanis and their provision means of subsistence for a day included (1 kg of bread, 400 grams of meat).

(36)

A 200 gram bar of soap and a bottle of shoe polish were provided to the soldiers on a monthly basis as well as two sets of pajamas per annual and one set of military suit every two years.

The above means were provided according to the seasonal weather changes.

During the whole period of the first two years a soldier was entitled once to a twenty day holiday after his first year of service to which his travel time was added. After the termination of the two year period, the soldier was released by which his first period of service came to an end and his name was entered amongst the reserve.

In the case of the deployment of the Army, these soldiers were recruited back again. The recruitment of the reserve soldiers was enforced through the districts and counties. After a list of eligible individuals had been handed over to the manor and village man of a village by a government soldier individual normally being a police or gendarme officer, the manor notified the mentioned individuals in less than twenty four hours. Those eligible along with the government soldier individual arrived in the relevant deployment locations.

In the larger provinces and districts there were special locations called "The Compulsory Directorates" available for deployment of soldiers which in fact were branches of the Army's Formations.

Avoiding going to the deployment locations was impossible and the eligible individuals appeared at the military service voluntarily and even without having to receive any orders or any acquisition warrants.

These new soldiers brought along with them their beds (duvet and mattress) and some other essentials such as plate, cup, bowl etc from their homes since The Army was not yet capable of proving supply of these essentials. There was no power facility and the soldier lived his life

under a tremendous amount of difficulty. Soldiers lived in dark box-rooms as their bedrooms were without beds and the cafeterias, toilets and bathrooms did not as yet exist and therefore, these soldiers merely got the opportunity to wash their clothes and clean their bodies.

The existence of lice, fleas, butterflies, mosquitoes and even scorpions had made an Afghan soldier's life hell.

Religious matters were carried out by pontiffs elected by the soldiers themselves. The prayers payment time and the accomplishment of religious duties had been shifted in to the 24 hour program. The soldiers were bound to an absolute and unquestionable accomplishment of the orders.

The older and more experienced individuals spoiled the new soldiers' daily life and whatever the new soldiers brought from their homes fell to the lot of them. There was no sign of any recreations or pleasures nor was there any sign of politics around. The situation among the officers also had no notorious difference. The same basic life conditions, the same scanty wages and the domineering atmosphere of strangulation and fear were the elements of this disaster.

The officers were entitled to 25 pounds of flour (granary) and lawfully reserved the right to use one of the soldiers as their personal servant. These officers had the power to recruit the soldiers in their place of work in order to carry out their personal office work on them or make them do their house work by sending them to their houses. These soldiers were not paid for the work they did.

The young and junior officers were perspiring on the training fields from dawn to dusk. Their latter entertainments included cleaning weaponry, sorting and tidying up the weaponry depots, protecting and looking after the armour and taking care of the soldiers' living conditions.

(37)

There was no sign of any newspapers, magazines or books either. Radio hardly ever existed within the military unit and no one was interested in politics. Keeping away from politics wasn't of their own will, but it was based on the government's policy. Fear from prosecution also played a key role as the unit commander's secret agents and the senior commanders' were active and present everywhere. Therefore, this was a soul less, cold and intensively strangulated environment.

As mentioned already, the officers' education took place at both Development and Summons Schools. Some were absorbed into the corporal, music, health schools etc, while some others were absorbed into the military school and faculty.

Officers' military knowledge was improved by practices, on field military trainings, learning the military legislations and regulations. The top officers were promoted up to the Military High Course. A few numbers of officers went abroad, usually to Turkey in order to study the military sciences and arts.

Graduates from the various forces' classes were called "chief of army staff". However, this issue was accomplished after the assassination of Mohammed Nadir Shah Khan and during the reign of Mohammed Zahir Shah Khan but, the number of these graduates was very low and their influence and experience over the promotion of the level of the military forces summons were rather little.

Briefly, it was still an army without a policy, having little manœuvre, lacking experience, possessing limited potentials, desperate for a few foreign teachers. It was an army soulless, young and naive.

Commander Mohammed Dawood Khan realised all of these needs. But, because he claimed to confront Pakistan and talked for the motive of Pushtoons, he therefore, had to change and improve the Afghan Army in terms of any shortages and quality pretty soon.

(7)

For the purpose of creating a powerful and omnipotent Air Force, on the very first days of 1958 the Army of Afghanistan initially received the following weaponry and heavy artillery vehicles from Russia;

Five Triggered Kara-Been rifles, machine guns of type (P. P. SH) and Greenov machine guns. Later on, rifles and machineguns of type (AUTOMATIC), hand operated light rocket launchers of type (RPK), anti-tank middle and heavy rocket launchers were supplied. Following this, (PK) machineguns, mortar bombers of type (82mm) for the Infantry Units, armour plated tanks of type (BTR-40) and (BTR-152) for the Mechanism Units, tanks (T-34) for the Tank Brigades as well as for the Tank Companies of Divisions, cannons (M30 & D30), mortar bombers (107mm), anti-tank cannons (57mm) and anti-aircraft cannons (37mm), machineguns of type (4-shafted) for the Heavy Artillery and Air Defence Artillery Units, air-fighters of types (SU-7 and MIG-19), military bombers of type (EL-28), air-fighters of type (HUNTER MIG-17), training air-fighters (MIG-15), military transporter helicopters of types (MEY and MEY-6), transportation aircrafts (EL-14 & EL-18), training aircrafts (LK-18) and offensive-aircraft of type (AN-2).

(38)

But, the majority of this weaponry and fighting armours had been used in The World War II and were almost outdated in the Soviet Union and in the Socialist countries. Even in some cases their factories had been closed down and their parts were hardly found in within The Soviet Union.

The above mentioned weaponry had been painted, nicely oiled, greased and packed. A number of these weapons had actually been newly produced and because they were not being used in the Soviet Union any more, they were sold to Afghanistan, Vietnam, Egypt and other countries, or they were given out as foreign gratuitous or long term loans.

This was to for the purpose of creating a source of financial or economic revenue for the Soviet Union in order to manufacture newer weaponry and technique so that it could keep up with those of The NATO.

The above weaponry and armour needed skilful, professional and technical personnel. Therefore, the emergency and short-term courses on how to become an officer (Officer Training) were established within the Afghan Army. The Russian experts and militants were mustered. After passing the University Concore Examination (equivalent to GCSE and A Level), the Army officers were sent to The Soviet Union in order to study technical and professional sciences in their initial period of education. These individuals were normally consisted of junior officers.

At the start of the aviation classes (Pilot and Technique) corporals and officers who were distinctively more intelligent than the others were despatched to The United States of The Socialist Russia.

The fighting tactic also changed as well as occurring changes within The Military Regulations. The weaponry legislations changed and were translated. There was a broad mutation created in all of the military terms. The intensive courses were created in which the educational students of grade ten were attracted voluntarily as well as compulsorily. The top graduates of grade twelve of the capital's high schools were compulsorily attracted into the University of Army.

The Faculty of Army was promoted to The University of Army and faculties of infantry, heavy artillery, air defence, relay, fortification and logistic were founded in it.

The Faculty of Aviation was established for the purpose of educating the aviation classes. The young army officers were despatched to USSR and the Russian military advisors were mustered into Afghanistan for education on commandership of various forces classes and other professions.

The construction work of airports in Asafzar of Shindand started in 1959. The strategic positions were created for the rocket force as well as for the tank units (4th and 15th Armoured Brigades). Other important and necessary establishments such as the military technique and aeroplane workshops, the new military technology as well as other military essentials workshops were built up one after another based on the necessities.

For the purpose of the modern Army's management, Commander Mohammed Dawood Khan normally used the commanders and generals who were mostly loyal to himself and to the interests of The Royal Family.

(39)

Mohammed Dawood Khan preferably considered priority to those of Pushtoon people and army dignitaries as well as to the Mohammedzayis. The crucial positions of the Army belonged to them.

The Hazara and Uzbek minorities had the least rights in terms of the management of the Army while more than 50% of the individuals and soldiers of the Army consisted of these oppressed minorities children. For instance; the patriotic commanders and generals of the Afghan Army who following the assassination of Mohammed Nadir Shah and during Mohammed Zahir Shah's power played a key role in strengthening the Afghan Army and endured indefatigable troubles may be named below:

Lt General Mohammed Arif, 4-Star General Khan Mohammed Khan, Lt General Khan Mohammed Khan (Assistant), Lt General Ghulam Farooq Khan, Lt General Abdul Kareem Khan Mustaghni, Lt General Nazeer Khan Saraj, Lt General Abdul Rizaq Khan (Aviation), Lt General Abdul Rezaq Maiwand, Lt General Sayd Hassan Khan, Lt General Sadullah Khan, Major General Abdul Rawoof Rassul, Lt General Hussein Khan, Major General Nik Mohammed Khan Mangal, Major General Mohammed Sideeq Khan, Lt General Murad Ali Khan Nassiri, Lt General Mohammed Nayeem Wazeeri, Lt General Mohammed Azim Khan, Lt General Mohammed Isaa Khan Nooristani, etc...

The above named were representing the old, conservative typical army generation.

The other army dignitaries who were cultivated during this era, many of whom had studied in Turkey and later on undertook the management of the Army and won special popularity and trust are listed below:

Major General Nik Mohammed Khan Suhaak, Major General Mohammed Ismail Khan, Major General Abdul Shukoor Khan Azimi, Major General Mohammed Assif Khan Mihr, Major General Mohammed Raheem Nassiri, Major General Mohammed Zahir Khan Laghmani, Major General Ghulam Nabi Khan Farahi, Major General Sayd Kareem Khan, General Mirza Wazeer, Major General Zikriya Khan Abawi, Commander in Chief Abdul Wali, Colonel Commander Abdul Azim, General Abdul Ali Werdak, General Mohammed Yahya Nowrooz, General Mohammed Younos, General Mohammed Assif Laghmani, General Nazeem Khan, General Nawaz Khan, General Mohammed Osman, General Abdullah Rokay, Mohammed G. Abdul Aziz Siyah (Black), General Meer Ahmad Shah Khan, General Gulbahar Khan, Major General Abdul Majeed Khan, Major General Abdul Qadir Khan, Major General Qamarudeen Khan, Major General Shahpoor Ahmadzai, General Abdul Hakeem Khan Katawaazi, General Abdul Qadeer Khaliq, Major General Baba Jan Khan,

Major General Meer Tahmas Khan Raooof, Colonel Abdul Hinaan Werdak, Colonel Jamaludeen Omar.

One of the other changes was the changing of the names of military rankings which are listed as follows:

Corporals to brigadier, platoon commanders to third, second and first lieutenancy, chief of company to captaincy and first captaincy, chief of company to major, deputy chief of regiment to second colonel,

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