

**OVER A CENTURY OF PERSECUTION:
MASSIVE HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATION AGAINST HAZARAS
IN AFGHANISTAN**

CONCENTRATED ON ATTACKS OCCURRED DURING THE NATIONAL UNITY GOVERNMENT

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DATE: FEBRUARY,2019

ABBREVIATIONS

AIHRC	Afghanistan Independent Human Rights Commission
ALP	Afghan Local Police
ANA	Afghanistan National Army
ANBP	Afghanistan National Border Police
ANP	Afghanistan National Police
ANSF	Afghanistan National Security Forces
ANDS	Afghanistan National Directorate of Security
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
DFAT	Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade
EU	European Union
HRW	Human Rights Watch
IDE	Improvised Explosive Devices
IDP	Internal Displaced Person
ISAF	International Security Assistance Force
IS-PK	Islamic state- Khorasan Province
MP	Member of Parliament
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organizations
NUG	National Unity Government
PC	Provincial Council
UNAMA	United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan
UNDP	United Nations Development Programmes

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1. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Hazaras of Afghanistan has suffered losing of more than a thousand deaths and injured during the National Unity Government (NUG) in last five years. Almost all suicide and orchestrated attacks along with various target killing, beheading and kidnapping have been proclaimed by the Taliban and Islamic State-Khorasan Province (IS-PK). It surpluses the blatant discrimination of Afghan government and unclear security prospect steaming from rapid reemergence of the Taliban and new anti-Hazaras radical groups such as IS-PK across the country.

As stated frequently by Hazara activists in and outside Afghanistan, immense and increasing human rights violation is not one and only Hazaras' concern, rather the central question is Hazaras' survival by and large. This question particularly roused public alarms for the majority of Hazaras after they changed to the main target of around 30 suicide and orchestrated attacks by the Taliban and IS-KP in various public places such as schools, education centers, mosques, stores, and streets during demonstration and religious ceremonies only in past five years. Kidnapping, beheading, road blockage and direct massive attacks by the Taliban and IS-KP were of those horrific incidents which are never bounded to merely the NUG reign period. Although Hazaras encountered persecution and systematic discrimination in their chronicle for more than a century, however their well-founded fear was provoked once the NUG blatantly sidelined them from national economic, education, security and political decision making in various levels. Rerouting of electricity power line, higher education quota proposal and constant negligence of dozen target attacks against Hazaras were of many those examples occurred during the NUG which fascinated national and international medias' coverage.

Noticeable by Asiatic appearance, cultural and linguistic differences with Afghans, Hazaras have been carrying marks of ethnic cleansing, land confiscation, slavery and persecution since 1891. A recent study by impartial agency has recorded elimination of about 60% of Hazara population which was occurred only in the dawn of 20th century. Practicing Shiite faith of Islam by majority of Hazaras has been an additional motivation for further suppression, coercion and slaughtering. At the below, some horrific incidents, particularly those occurred in recent years are enumerated as following:

1. According to recent reports by the UNAMA, the total of civilian casualties' record between January of 2009 until September of 2018 are 70398¹.

¹https://unama.unmissions.org/sites/default/files/unama_protection_of_civilians_in_armed_conflict_3rd_quarter_report_2018_10_oct.pdf (Retrieved on 1th Dec, 2018)

2. The recent Taliban attacks on Jaghori, Malistan and Urozgan Khas left several hundred casualties, and approximately 10000 displaced families².
3. The Taliban and IS-KP have orchestrated at least 30 attacks against Hazaras in public places such as mosques, schools, educational centers, demonstration rallies, almost in all big cities of the country. The majority of incidents are enumerated and cited in details in next sections.
4. Historically and politically deprived, systematically discriminated and culturally distinct, Hazaras are still the victims of target killing, kidnapping, taking hostage and road blockage by the Taliban and other Islamic radical extremist networks.
5. By threatening and intimidating, the Taliban and IS-KP discourage female education, dissemination of human rights and other global values among Hazaras plus compelling to provide financial support (through Islamic tithe).
6. By blocking and banning the routes, the Taliban controls the majority of Hazara people movement and besieges practically all Hazara resident provinces and districts and putting them in acute pressure.
7. Hostage taking, abduction and kidnapping of the Hazaras are highly alerting in recent years. Tens of Hazara people have been kidnapped and killed by such a way in last 5 years. The prime examples are those incidents occurred in Zabul, Ghor and Parwan province where tens of Hazaras were abducted and beheaded³.
8. Based on latest published research, around 1500 Hazaras including children, women and men have been killed, mostly beheaded in Zabul province (Kandi Posht area) during the Taliban regime. Other sources consider the actual victims of Kandi Posht higher than of the earlier estimation by counting it around 3000 deaths⁴.
9. Due to security deterioration and recent Taliban's military progress in Afghanistan, Hazaras are susceptible for getting double-victimized by human traffickers and smugglers.
10. The recent attacks against Hazaras have not been a merely record, rather, they faced far larger ethnic cleansing in their chronicle which occurred in the dawn of the 20th Century. It ended to 50-60% elimination of entire Hazara population in a way to be killed, sold into slavery or forced to leave the country.⁵

² <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-afghanistan-attack/thousands-flee-as-taliban-attack-afghanistans-safe-districts-idUSKCN1NJ28K>
(Retrieved on 1th Dec, 2018)

³ https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/asia_pacific/after-suffering-under-the-taliban-an-afghan-minority-faces-new-threats/2015/04/08/035e1c4a-d71b-11e4-bf0b-f648b95a6488_story.html (Retrieved on 1th Dec, 2018)

<https://www.state.gov/documents/organization/236844.pdf> (Retrieved on 1th Dec, 2018)

⁴ For further details and various narrative sources, refer upcoming section, the subtitle "kidnapping and taking hostage" page 23-24 this report.

⁵ Jonathan L. Lee, Afghanistan: A history from 1260 to the present (2019), Reaktion Books(hardcover), p 399
And this source also provides further details: Hazaras in Afghanistan, DFAT thematic report (Sep, 2017), p4

2. SECURITY CONTEXT OF AFGHANISTAN

Security condition in Afghanistan has been dramatically exacerbated after 2014 controversial election which ended to establishment of NUG. The immediate repercussion was to putting almost all achievements, particularly human rights, security, education and business in jeopardy.

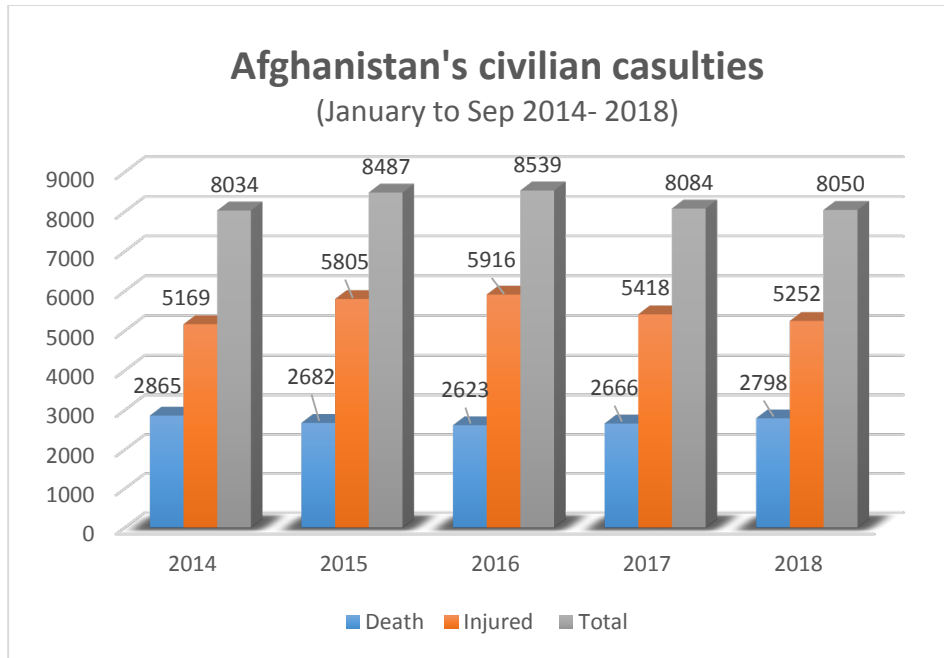
The widespread insecurity and unprecedented decrease of civilian casualties have been acute concern of Afghanistan's publics and international human rights organizations in recent years. According to the United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA), the total of civilian casualties' record from January, 2009 until September, 2018 are 70398⁶. Following the report, UNAMA has documented 8,050 civilian casualties (2,798 deaths and 5,252 injured) merely in the first nine months of 2018⁷. Pointing to the main causes of civilian casualties' rapid increase in recent years, the report stated that:

"The combined use of suicide and non-suicide improvised explosive devices (IEDs) remained the leading cause of civilian casualties in the first nine months of 2018, causing nearly half of all civilian casualties. The majority resulted from suicide and complex attacks, which increased both in frequency and in lethality to civilians, driving the overall rise in civilian deaths. Ground engagements were the second leading cause of civilian casualties, followed by targeted and deliberate killings, aerial operations, and explosive remnants of war. Civilians living in the provinces of Nangarhar, Kabul, Helmand, Ghazni, and Faryab were most impacted by the conflict."

The civilian casualty in Afghanistan is a pressing issue pointed out by the majority of recent published reports. Despite being the first priority, Afghan government and its supporters have constantly neglected the security needs of the Afghan citizens so far. As indicated in various reports, the main reason for the highest record of civilian casualties in recent years are the indifference and negligence of conflict parties to international human rights and humanitarian laws, particularly the Taliban, new emerged IS-Khorasan Province and other active terrorist networks.

⁶https://unama.unmissions.org/sites/default/files/unama_protection_of_civilians_in_armed_conflict_3rd_quarter_report_2018_10_oct.pdf (Retrieved on 1th Dec, 2018)

⁷ Ibid.



The figures used in this chart retrieved from the UNAMA report

By and large then, the security condition across Afghanistan stands to its alerting stage at recent years. Most of the areas are not easily accessible for the human rights monitoring groups to report the actual ground's reality. Hence, it seems that the true figures of civilian casualties are higher than those of officially published reports. According to numerous assessment, the Taliban controls more Afghan territory⁸ than any time during the last 17 years. As a tiny example, during only one week in august, 2018, the Taliban killed 200 Afghan police officers and soldiers, overrunning two major Afghan bases and the city of Ghazni⁹. Weeks later, it followed by Taliban's massive and unprecedented attacks on Jaghori, Malistan and Urozgan¹⁰ where it led to extensive civilian casualties and thousands of displaced families. Concerning to human rights situation, particularly the rights to life, it is deeply disappointing that Afghan government has either no preemptive measure or functioning governance for service delivery.

After 17 years of the United States (US)& North Atlantic Treaty Organizations (NATO) military presence, economic and political support of Afghanistan, the top policy maker in the US now certainly believe that the

⁸ <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-45507560> (Retrieved on 1th Dec, 2018)

⁹ <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2018/09/08/world/asia/us-misleads-on-afghanistan.html> (Retrieved on 1th Dec, 2018)

¹⁰ <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-afghanistan-attack/thousands-flee-as-taliban-attack-afghanistans-safe-districts-idUSKCN1NJ28K> (Retrieved on 1th Dec, 2018)

fight in Afghanistan is at a stalemate¹¹. Despite spending vast amount of blood and treasure in war against terror, specifically for dismantling the Taliban and Al-Qaida, the Trump administration began a negotiated settlement with the Taliban¹² which is considered to be totally pointless¹³.



Hazara resident areas, districts and provinces have been besieged and attack by the Taliban as shown in red line and red pointed places in the map.

¹¹https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/congress/us-general-tells-congress-war-in-afghanistan-is-at-stalemate/2018/12/04/7b1f12f4-f7e0-11e8-8642-c9718a256cbd_story.html?utm_term=.343e7e1d95af (Retrieved on 1st Dec, 2018)

¹²https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/its-time-to-get-out-of-afghanistan-heres-how/2018/08/02/afe21708-9691-11e8-810c-5fa705927d54_story.html?utm_term=.7cbe40273e0c (Retrieved on 1st Dec, 2018)

¹³<https://www.bloomberg.com/opinion/articles/2018-12-20/why-talking-peace-with-the-taliban-is-pointless> (Retrieved on 21st Dec, 2018)

3. METHODOLOGY

This report intends to reveal target killing, kidnapping, taking hostage, road blockage, orchestrated and suicide attacks against Hazara people in last five years. The report relies on primary and secondary data. The primary data has been provided by journalists and photographers who have actively reported incidents of the Taliban numerous attacks on Hazara resident areas. The secondary information has been collected from available literature and meticulous media monitoring. Likewise, the report has also enjoyed using thematic report, research studies, and published papers of national and international human rights organizations as anecdotal evidence of human rights violation which have been constantly happening against Hazaras.

Incidents of the recent Taliban attacks on Jaghori, Malistan and Urozgan includes IDPs, civilian casualties and physical damages of houses are used as primary information in the report. The rest of incidents and cases of attacks retrieved from a thorough media monitoring. National and international media have recorded different narratives from each incident targeting Hazara people. Hence, this report relied only on those sources which are reliable and widely cited by research organizations. Recognition of civilian casualties of the recent attacks on Hazara districts are entirely upon on journalists and photographers who contributed to data collection of this report.

4. THE EXTENT OF HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATION AGAINST HAZARAS IN AFGHANISTAN

Afghanistan is the state party of many international human rights conventions and treaties regardless of taking responsibility or fulfilling the subsequent obligations. In spite of enjoying full support of international community, Afghanistan has not accomplished its job for protection and fulfillment of international human rights commitments. Since 2001, International community's political, economic and logistical support have been uninterruptedly given to Afghan government, its operational institutions and line ministries, so despite such vast supports, they have remained too weak to securing civil and political rights, socio-economic rights and the right to development.

Pertaining to acute security threats, the Taliban accelerated their attacks on non-Pashtun areas; mostly on northern and central parts of Afghanistan in last 3- 4 years. To quicken control of the Hazara resident areas, the Taliban surprised almost all Hazaras in recent months by constantly attacks and expansion of territories both in direct or indirect ways.

Appearance of the IS-KP was the last stage of violence expansion and elimination agenda against Hazaras. The mosques, schools, educational centers, demonstration rallies, public places and almost all major resident areas of Hazara in big cities shifted to be the ultimate target of the IS-KP operations.

The Hazaras whose Asiatic appearance distinguishes them from the rest of Afghans have been historically persecuted in a massive way. Those Hazara who practice Shiite faith of Islam provide further stimulus for suppression, coercion and slaughtering by Afghan monarch and emirs (Who were mostly ethnocentric and religiously extremist figures) over the last one and half century.

The first record of Hazaras' massive persecution and ethnic cleansing returns back to the dawn of the 20th century when the founder of Afghan state, Amir Abdul Rahman Khan began his campaign of assimilation and integration of a multi-cultural and plural society for building an Afghan ethno-centrist state. According to Sayed Askar Mosavi, and recent book of Jonathan Lee around 50 percent of the whole Hazara population were either slaughtered or forced to leave their lands and resident areas during the war of Amir Abdul Rahman Khan against Hazara¹⁴. Jonathan L. Lee also states that:

"According to some estimates more than 50 per cent of the male Hazara population died as a direct or Indirect result of the wars. Thousands of women were forcibly married to Pushtuns in a deliberate attempt to destroy Hazara social and religious hierarchies. The Hazara populations of southern Uruzgan, Zawar [Zawoul], Ghazni and Maidan Shah were expelled and their land distributed to Muhammadzais, Ghilzai maldar and government loyalists."¹⁵

A report which is published by Australian Government's Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT) also describes that around 60% of the entire Hazara population were eliminated in different ways, most often by killing, selling into slavery or forcing into exile by the Emir¹⁶.

In practice, the Amir's war against Hazaras disintegrated the entire Hazara society in a way which they lost almost everything thereafter: Their lands, properties, and more than half of their population. Those who survived the war forcibly left Afghanistan towards Persia, Indian subcontinent and central Asian countries. The aftermath of Hazara ethnic cleansing, land confiscation, enslavement and selling, almost all Afghan society were silent and pointing to such historical humanitarian catastrophe was prohibited in Afghanistan official historiography. The trend continued for decades while Hazaras' enslavement was officially annulled in the third decade of 20th century by Amanullah Khan, but it was too embedded in Afghan politics and society

¹⁴Sayed Askar Mousavi, The Hazaras of Afghanistan: An Historical, Cultural, Economic and Political Study(1997), trans edit, Asadulah Shafayee,2000), p184.

¹⁵Jonathan L. Lee, Afghanistan: A history from 1260 to the present (2019), Reaktion Books(hardcover), p 399.

¹⁶Hazaras in Afghanistan, DFAT thematic report (Sep, 2017), p4.

to be obliterated in practice. Despite official annulment of Hazara enslavement, Afghan enmity and harsh pose against Hazaras were never stopped. the Taliban¹⁷ and the Kabul government¹⁸ slaughtered Hazara people in massive scale in 1990s. the below is Mullah Abdul Manan Naizi's speech, the former Taliban's Spokesperson & Governor of Balkh at the end of 1990s.

"Hazaras! Where are you escaping? If you jump into the air we will grasp your legs, if you enter the earth we will grasp your ears. Hazaras are not Moslems. You can kill them. It's not a sin. Oh Hazaras become Moslems and pray God as us. We won't let you to go away. Every border is in our control."¹⁹

However, after 2001, the Afghan government also failed to perform its task. Despite enjoying global community's presence and ample support, Afghan government neither provided public services for its citizens as a whole and Hazaras as vulnerable group in particular, nor built its capacities and institutions to function well and provide sufficient security services. Since then, the Taliban and their various fellow extremist, radical and terrorist groups kept active their operations against the Hazaras. Besides the Taliban attacks, other incidents also proclaimed by regional terrorist network like Sepah-E Sahaba²⁰, Lashkar-E Jangawi²¹ and IS-KP so far.

Historically and politically deprived, systematically discriminated, culturally distinct, Hazaras are still the victims of target killing, kidnapping, hostage, orchestrated attacks and road blockage by the Taliban and other radical groups. The Hazaras are not only the target of the Taliban and other radical groups, but Afghan government also treats them with overt discrimination and negligence. Afghan government's violent and discriminative acts against Hazara people have performed in different layers, either political, economic or in policy level. Albeit it has been overtly accelerated during the NUG period. The most recent example of such acts is the police shooting on Hazara demonstrators in Kabul which occurred on November 26, 2018. The media reported around 70 injuries and several deaths of demonstrators²² who protested in order to ask security institutions why the government has arrested an anti-Taliban local commander arbitrarily without considering legal or judicial due process. Although AliPour (the anti-Taliban local commander) was released hours later, however, Afghan government did not clarify neither about his arrest nor his release to the publics.

¹⁷https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/sites/default/files/ajpreport_20050718.pdf (Retrieved on 1st Dec, 2018)

¹⁸<https://www.hrw.org/reports/2005/afghanistan0605/afghanistan0605.pdf> (Retrieved on 1st Dec, 2018)

¹⁹ Cooperation Center for Afghanistan (CCA), Ethnic cleansing in Mazar: Eye witness stories, (Sep, 1998), p8.

²⁰<https://www.foxnews.com/world/afghanistans-president-says-death-toll-from-shrine-blast-has-risen-to-at-least-80>(Retrieved on 1st Dec, 2018)

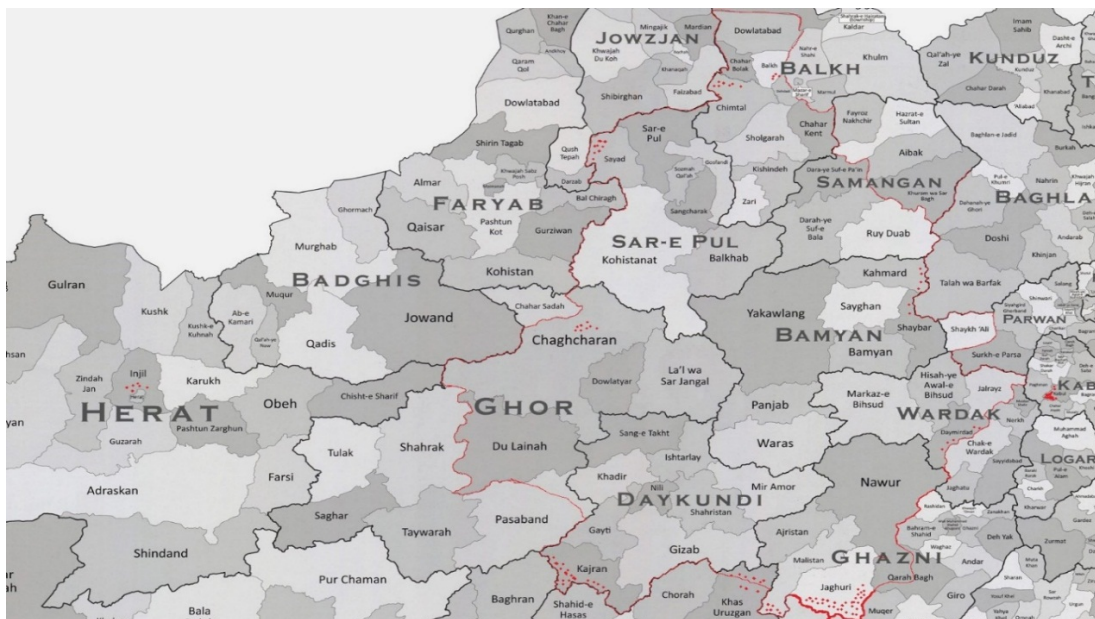
²¹<https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/afghanistan/8937414/Afghanistan-Kabul-shrine-suicide-attacks-kill-54.html> (Retrieved on 1st Dec, 2018)

²²<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/11/afghan-militia-commander-freed-killed-protests-181126192535063.html> (Retrieved on 2nd Dec, 2018)

It followed after a failed attempt of Afghan government to arrest the aforementioned commander in Ghour province which ended to killings of 12 civilians shot by Afghan forces²³. Afghan government ignored both incidents and their consequent civilian casualties which followed by silence of Afghan human rights organizations.

In recent years, few international media and international human rights organizations have touched on Hazaras' widespread human rights violations, in top the increasing security concern of Hazaras. Human Rights Watch (HRW) and Amnesty international have went deeper and addressed Hazaras widespread human rights violations. As instance, Human Rights Watch (HRW) recent report indicates:

“A number of particularly deadly suicide attacks in urban areas, some claimed by ISKP, killed and wounded more than 2,000 people across the country. A growing number of these attacks targeted Afghanistan’s Shia Hazara minority. Civilian casualties caused by government forces during ground fighting declined; however, US forces expanded their use of airstrikes, including drones, in military operations, causing increased civilian casualties²⁴.”



Besieging of Hazara resident areas, districts and provinces shown by red line and also attack on areas indicated through red points in the map.

The UNAMA quarterly report also pointed to the Hazaras as main victims of civilian casualties and the recent suicide attacks plus Improvised Explosive Devices (IEDs) as main causes. The report indicates:

²³Ibid.

²⁴<https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2018/country-chapters/afghanistan> (Retrieved on 2th Dec, 2018)

“The leading cause of civilian deaths and injuries from the armed conflict remained the combined use of suicide and non-suicide IEDs by Anti-Government Elements, reaching record high levels in the first three quarters of 2018, with Anti-Government Elements increasingly directing such attacks against the civilian population, including minority Shi’a Muslims, the majority of whom are ethnic Hazara.²⁵”

The recent cases of suicide, non-IED and massive attacks by the Taliban reminds those Hazaras who faced slathering, rape and mass exodus during 1990s at Kabul. Afghanistan justice project documented observations of eyewitnesses and various victims’ talks of Afshar horrific incident. The report states:

“Witness Sh. stated that after capturing Afshar, Ittehad-i Islami troops forcibly entered her house at 7:00 a.m. They raped four girls in their residential compound, including Sh. her sister, age 14 years, and two others²⁶.”

²⁵Quarterly report on the protection of civilians in armed conflict (UNAMA): 1 January to 30 September 2018.

²⁶Afghanistan Justice Project report (2005), p82.

5. TARGET KILLING AND ORCHESTRATED ATTACK

Hazara people endured very hard times since the National Unity Government came to power in 2014. Not only the Taliban increased attacks and focused more on Hazaras' areas, but the Islamic state IS-KP also began its target and orchestrated attacks on public places, such as schools, mosques, educational centers, religious ceremonies and demonstration rallies. The following are enumeration of the most horrific incidences which occurred during the last two years.



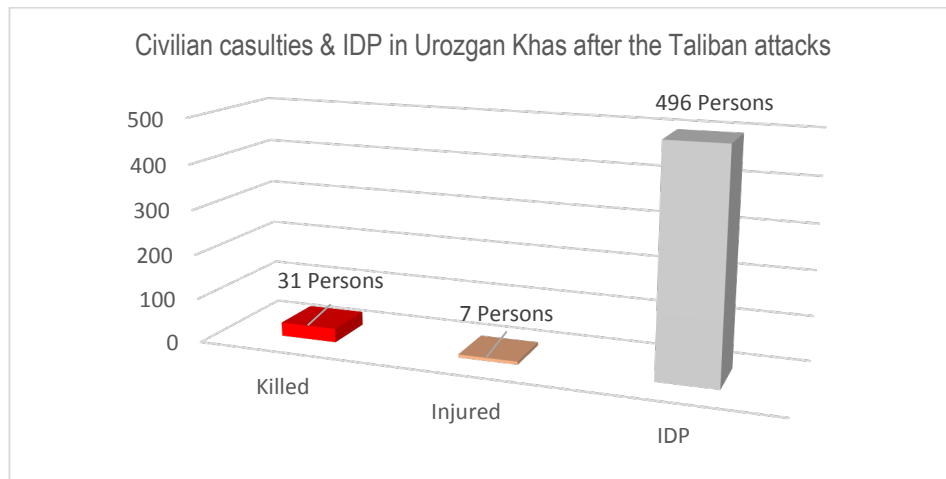
IDP of Jaghori district after the Taliban attacks. Photo provided by Bahrami

a. THE TALIBAN ATTACKS ON JAGHORI, UROZGAN AND MALISTAN

The Taliban orchestrated massive attacks on several Hazara resident areas beginning from a place called Kondolan located in Uruzgan Khas on 27 October 2018²⁷. At outset, the Taliban's attack reported to target only an opponent -anti-Taliban- commander. Expansion of Taliban attacks in the following days left unprecedented civilian casualties, displacement and humanitarian crisis to Hazaras of targeted sites.

²⁷<https://www.afghanistan-analysts.org/taliban-attacks-on-khas-uruzgan-jaghori-and-malestan-i-a-new-and-violent-push-into-hazara-areas/> (Retrieved on 10 Dec, 2018)

Despite release of various reports in the public media, no accurate figures of civilian casualties and Internal Displacement Persons (IDP) is documented so far due to insecurity and Taliban's irregular presence. Out of interviewees' saying and media sources, the current report also refers to information of local Hazara journalists. I have Also used a report prepared by Taqi Bakhtayari, a well-known Hazara novelist and writer which has been already submitted to Amnesty International- Australia office²⁸. The report documented 38 civilian casualties (31 deaths and 7 injured) from Urozgan and 496 IDP.



After Urozgan, the Taliban expanded their attacks and killed 11 Hazara civilians in three villages of Malistan district namely Shirdagh, Pashi & Zardak Zawli²⁹.

²⁸Afghanistan- situation of Hazaras: Taliban slaughtered dozens and displaced thousands, the growing potential of massacre in Urozgan, Jaghuri, and Malistan, Nov 16th, 2018, M. Jan Taqi Bakhtyari.

²⁹Ibid.



Burnt and damaged house at Malistan district, photo provided by: Bahrami

The last stage of the Taliban's orchestrated attacks was Jaghori district³⁰. By targeting the two frontline places at the beginning, the Taliban captured parts of Jaghori district in the following days.



Burnt and damaged house at Hotqul area, Jaghori district, courtesy provided by Eid Mohammad Poyesh

³⁰ <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/11/12/world/asia/afghanistan-taliban-attack-jaghori-district.html> (Retrieved on 2th Dec, 2018)

According to Reuters, the Taliban killed at least 35 Hazara civilians along with 7000³¹ (Seven thousands) IDP from Jaghori and Malistan to Ghazni, Bamiyan and Kabul after the fear of collective massacre prevailed in districts. The report states that:

“.. more than 7,000 people have fled from Jaghori and Malistan either to Ghazni or into neighboring Bamiyan and more than 3,000 homes had been razed. Abdul Rahman Ahmadi, spokesman for the governor of Bamiyan province, which is adjacent to Ghazni and has a large Hazara population, said more than 4,500 internally displaced people had sought shelter in schools, mosques and private homes there.”

Local sources in Jaghori district documented at least 38 deaths and several injured of civilians. The civilian casualties are more from those target sites particularly Hotqul area where the Taliban began their massive attacks which lasted for couple of weeks. The below is the table of civilian deaths along with their details.

³¹<https://www.reuters.com/article/us-afghanistan-attack/thousands-flee-as-taliban-attack-afghanistans-safe-districts-idUSKCN1NJ28K> (Retrieved on 2th Dec, 2018)

**CIVILIAN CASULTIS CAUSED BY THE TALIBAN ATTACK IN JAGHORI
(6 – 12 NOV 2018)**

NO	NAME	FATHER'S NAME	VILLAGE	AGE
1	Jawid	Abdul Latif	Shefqal Bala	23
2	Ramazan	Ghulam Hussain	Shefqal Bala	55
3	Ramazan Ali	Safdar Ali	Chambara	59
4	Mohammad Rahim	Eshaq Ali	Akhka	55
5	Kazem Ali	Chaman Ali	Akhka	51
6	Esmatullah	Ramazan Ali	Akhka	25
7	Mohammad Zaman	Chopan Ali	GolBand	45
8	Haji Eqbal Ali	Ali Reza	Koli	68
9	Khalifa Mohammad Ali	Ali Yawar	Gorg	50
10	Mohammad Ali Jafari	Qader Ali	Khosh Murad	56
11	Mohammad Razi	Salman Ali	Gardan	28
12	Azizullah	Hameedullah	Gardan	40
13	Juma Khan	Hussain Ali	Chahar Deh	54
14	Karbalayee Mohammad	Ghulam Reza	Mullah Sher Jan	55
15	Mohammad Taqi	Moheb Ali	Mullah Sher Jan	28
16	Mohammad Baqer	Murad Ali	Khosh Murad	43
17	Mohammad Anwar	Ali Yawar	Khosh Murad	45
18	Mohammad Ali Zabet	Kalbi Hussain	Meynga	60
19	Mohammad Yosouf	Abdul Aziz	Meynga	20
20	Esmayeel	Qambar Ali	Kohna Deh	55
21	Haji Ramazan	Qurban Ali	Shefqal Bala	65
22	Ramazan	Mohammad Ibrahim	Shefqal Bala	50
23	Ghulam Reza	Ali Khan	Shefqal Bala	32
24	Abdul Aziz	Bashi Nazar	Shefqal Bala	50
25	Sadiq	Mohammad Sarwar	Chambara	60
26	Nasrullah	Mohammad Musa	Khosh Murad	38
27	Ramazan Ali Nouri	Mohammad Amin	Khosh Murad	55
28	Mohammad Jan	Mohammad Hasan	Chahar Deh	30
29	Ali Sher	Qambar Ali	Chahar Deh	58
30	Mohammad Ibrahim	Abdul Rahim	Bedag	45
31	Ali Khan	Nowrooz Ali	Mullah Sher Jan	19
32	Mohammad Mahdi	Sofi Taher	Mullah Sher Jan	18
33	Ramazan Ali	Mohammad Nabi	Mullah Sher Jan	19
34	Abdul Hamid	Ghulam Shah	Chehl Baghtoo	45
35	Khadim Ali	Eqbal Ali	Chehl Baghtoo	50
36	Nawaz	Naser Ali	Chehl Baghtoo	30
37	Abdullah	Darwish	Hotqol	?
38	Gol Jan	-----	Hotqol	?

b. SUICIDE ATTACKS ON MAIWAND WRESTLING CLUB

On 5th September, 2018, around 6:00 pm, the IS-KP self-proclaimed twin suicide attacks targeted a wrestling club³² (Maiwand wrestling club) which is located in western part of Kabul, Qala-e Nazer. The second attack arranged by IED around half an hour later, promptly after the locals gathered to rescue the victims and those journalists who came for covering the incident. Such attacks were totally unprecedented with no similar record in public places like sporting club. The immediate media's coverage reported 90 civilian casualties³³ (20 deaths and 70 injured) at first moment while it increased to 130 civilian casualties³⁴ (35 deaths and 95 injured) hours later. The majority of victims were regular athletes of the wrestling club.

c. SUICIDE ATTACKS ON MAWDOUD EDUCATIONAL CENTER

The IS-KP self-proclaimed suicide attack on Mawdoud Education Center on 15th August 2018 was horrific in terms of both the target site and the casualties it left behind. The attack target was a purely educational center and its casualties were almost all girls and boy students of various schools who were getting preparation for university entry exam which is called "*concours exam*" in Afghanistan. The first published reports recorded less casualties³⁵ while after hours the number increased to 117 civilian casualties dividing into 50 deaths and 67 injured. The casualties of Mowdoud attack were almost all students. Likewise, the majority of victims were below 18 years old.

d. SUICIDE ATTACKS ON TAZKIRA CENTER – MAHTAB QALA

One of the deadliest suicide attack targeted the Tazkira registration center (National ID center) in Kabul, Mahtab Qala area on 22 April, 2018. The Tazkira center attack resulted to horrific civilian casualties with 69 deaths and 120 injured at first moment of media coverage³⁶. The real casualties of such attacks is far more than what recorded at first moments of media reporting. It is mostly due to medical insufficiency

³²<https://edition.cnn.com/2018/09/06/asia/kabul-attack-wrestling-intl/index.html> (Retrieved on 2th Dec, 2018)

³³<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/sep/05/at-least-20-people-killed-in-separate-bombings-at-kabul-wrestling-club> (Retrieved on 2th Dec, 2018)

³⁴<http://khabarnama.net/blog/2018/09/08/new-target-for-suppression-of-hazara-youths/> (Retrieved on 2th Dec, 2018)

³⁵https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/suicide-bomber-kills-at-least-25-in-shiite-district-of-afghan-capital/2018/08/15/c404df6e-a08b-11e8-a3dd-2a1991f075d5_story.html (Retrieved on 2th Dec, 2018)

<https://www.euronews.com/2018/08/16/suicide-bomber-kills-48-people-at-an-education-centre-in-the-afghan-capital-kabul/> Retrieved on 2th Dec, 2018)

³⁶<http://www.bbc.com/persian/afghanistan-43864238> (Retrieved on 2th Dec, 2018)

or of those victims' family unaffordability to cure the injured ones in proper way. In such attacks, the real figures of deaths are often increased days after the incident.

e. SUICIDE ATTACKS ON IMAM ZAMAN MOSQUE

The religious centers were also changed to be the frontline of terroristic attacks by the Taliban and IS-KP in recent years. One of the deadliest target of such attacks was a mosque called Imam-e Zaman on 20th of November 2017 which is located in western part of Kabul³⁷. According to Media's coverage, the attack on Imam-e Zaman mosque resulted to 111 civilian casualties (56 deaths and 55 injured) while the casualties increased rapidly hours later³⁸. The eyewitnesses reported that the actual casualties were far more than officially reported in the media.

f. ATTACKS AGAINST HAZARA CIVILIANS IN MIRZAU LANG SAR-E-POL PROVINCE

Mirzaulang, a village in Sayyad district of Sar-e Pol was the target of a massive attacks organized jointly by the Taliban and self-proclaimed IS-PK on 3th August of 2017. The attacks continued almost for three days which resulted to at least 50 deaths and several injuries³⁹. Most of the victims were beheaded and killed in a cruel manner according to eyewitnesses⁴⁰.

g. SUICIDE ATTACK ON BAQER-UL-ULOOM MOSQUE

Baqer-ul Uloom mosque was one of the various target of IS-PK self-proclaimed suicide attacks⁴¹. It was the deadliest attacks taking place on 21th of November, 2016. The targeted mosque located in western part of Kabul, a place with major Hazara residents. The suicide attacks targeted large publics who gathered in the mosque for a religious ceremony. The earliest number of the civilian casualties reported in public media was 40 killed and 80 injured⁴². The eye witnesses described horrific narrative both about the exact numbers and the actual scene of the event.

³⁷<https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2017/10/20/afghanistan-hit-suicide-bomb-attacks-mosques-leaving-63-dead/> (Retrieved on 11th Dec, 2018)
<https://www.reuters.com/article/us-afghanistan-attack-claim/islamic-state-claims-responsibility-for-attack-on-shiite-mosque-in-kabul-statement-idUSKBN1CP2T5> (Retrieved on 11th Dec, 2018)

³⁸<https://www.nytimes.com/2017/10/20/world/asia/afghanistan-kabul-attack-mosque.html> (Retrieved on 12th Dec, 2018)

³⁹<http://www.bbc.com/persian/afghanistan-40843178> (Retrieved on 12th Dec, 2018)

⁴⁰ It confirmed both the interviewees and locals of the village.

⁴¹<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/nov/21/kabul-mosque-hit-by-deadly-suicide-bomb-attack> (Retrieved on 12th Dec, 2018)

⁴²<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-45059701> (Retrieved on 12th Dec, 2018)

⁴² <http://khabarnama.net/blog/2016/11/22/the-security-forces-must-respond/> (Retrieved on 12th Dec, 2018)

h. SUICIDE ATTACKS TARGETTING DEMONSTRATORS RALLY AT DEHMAZANG

The twin suicide attacks on Hazara peaceful demonstration in Dehmazang square⁴³ was the deadliest and horrific incident in recent decades in Afghanistan. The first coverage of the public media and the UNAMA's investigation recorded at least 85 deaths and around 413 injured of Hazara civilians⁴⁴. Another report which published after the event recorded around 100 deaths and several hundreds injured in Dehmazang attacks⁴⁵. As eyewitness, I along with the supporter team enumerated 84 deaths and 500 injuries only in hospitals of western part of Kabul hours later after the incident. Some families transferred coffins of their victims to their birthplaces as soon as possible according to Islamic burying rituals. Tens of other deaths were buried in subsequent days which mad hard to know the real figure of casualties except those available official record.

The demonstration was organized by the "Enlightening movement" in order to mobilize Hazara people against the government decision for the route change of trans-regional electricity power line from Bamyān – Kabul to Parwan- Kabul through Salang Pass. The Hindu Kush crossing route through Bamyān to Kabul had been already chosen according to technical assessment, but an abrupt decision of Afghan government to reroute the line was resonated as truly discriminative act. The collective protests of Hazara people provoked large civil and social movement called "Enlightening movement". The attack on Enlightening movement's peaceful demonstration was truly alerting for Hazara people and it was the beginning of overt suppression and oppression of civic and peaceful demonstration thereafter⁴⁶. The government either neglected to provide security services for the demonstrators -when the most of such demonstrations targeted by terrorist groups thereafter- or directly targeted people's gathering and demonstration in different ways after Dehmazang incident.

⁴³<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jul/23/hazara-minority-targeted-by-suicide-bombs-at-kabul-protest> (Retrieved on 12th Dec, 2018)

<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-36874570> (Retrieved on 12th Dec, 2018)

⁴⁴https://unama.unmissions.org/sites/default/files/23_july_suicide_attack_against_peaceful_demonstration_-_18_oct_2016.pdf (Retrieved on 12th Dec, 2018)

⁴⁵Report Afghanistan: Hazaras and Afghan insurgent groups, p16, Land info (2017)

⁴⁶https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/asia_pacific/protests-over-arrest-of-anti-taliban-commander-turn-violent-in-afghanistan/2018/11/25/11512a08-f0c2-11e8-99c2-cfa6f610c_story.html?utm_term=.3bab3b54ec5f (Retrieved on 2th Dec, 2018)

لیست زخمی های حادثه دهمرزاد		
1	محمد حسینی	20 ساله
2	علی بابا	28 ساله
3	نورالدین	26 ساله
4	مهدی	19 ساله
5	فرهاد	33 ساله
6	مهدی	36 ساله
7	فرهاد	32 ساله
8	فرهاد	112 ساله
9	فرهاد	10 ساله
10	فرهاد	22 ساله
11	فرهاد	22 ساله
12	فرهاد	22 ساله
13	فرهاد	25 ساله
14	فرهاد	10 ساله
15	فرهاد	20 ساله
16	فرهاد	28 ساله
17	فرهاد	29 ساله
18	فرهاد	25 ساله
19	فرهاد	25 ساله
20	فرهاد	25 ساله
21	فرهاد	25 ساله

List of injured persons in first half an hour later of the incident- credited to M.H. Hasrat



Demonstration rally heading towards Dehmazang

6. INTIMIDATION BY THE NON-STATE ACTORS

The Taliban, the IS-KP and other similar groups increased and expanded their direct threats and Intimidation against Hazaras in recent years. Not only the conventional intimidation remained as usual, the new sorts of threats and intimidation raised. In rural areas, the Taliban wielded their violence machinery to put the Hazara people into severe pressure. It was mostly because of the Hazaras' conscious supporting of democratic and human rights values and denouncing violent acts. Likewise, the Taliban prevailed fair among Hazara female students by poisoning, intimidation, and discouraged them to stop dissemination of human rights education and other modern values.

The Taliban also threatens Hazara people to provide financial support (through Islamic tithe). Taliban have chosen public places such as schools, mosques, educational centers, streets and religious ceremonies in urban areas as their main target. While in rural areas, they threat people in public highways and remote areas where Hazara people are more vulnerable. The highways are a good target for Taliban to kidnapping, beheading, hostage taking, making money and utilize them as political leverage. The Taliban's threats and intimidation have been going on for more than a decade while Afghan government has done nothing to prevent it in practice. Afghan government continuous negligence has raised many questions, including the hidden contact of the Taliban with certain intelligent section of the government. It is mostly due to the Taliban's overt ethnic agenda of suppression and coercion of non-Pashtuns where they overlap with NUG and its predecessors, according to public opinion in Afghanistan. The most particular case of intimidation and the Taliban's threats are as following:

a. TALIBAN, ISLSMIC STATE–KP AND OTHER ILLEGAL ARMED GROUPS

The Taliban and IS-KP has put the Hazara in critical condition during the NUG period. By changing the conflict ground and expanding the geography of conflict, the Taliban gradually broadened their territory towards northern provinces and central highlands of the country. The ultra-radical fragments of the Taliban and regional radical groups came together to establish the IS-KP. Despite accusation of top governmental figure, specifically national security advisor of Afghan government; Mohammad Hanif Atmar and Masoum Stanakzai⁴⁷ the head of Afghanistan National Directorate of Security (ANDS) to facilitate establishing the IS-KP, no official investigation took place so far to refute or confirm the claim. Although such controversial news deserves proper inquiry, however its coverage mostly bounded by

⁴⁷<https://8am.af/x8am/1395/08/09/zahir-ghadir-daesh-afghanistan/> (Retrieved on 13th Dec, 2018)

national media's report and some international news outlets. Despite highly deserving, no remarkable report has been provided by international media about the linkage of top Afghan governmental figures with IS-KP formation or its rapid appearance in Afghanistan conflict scene. Besides the Taliban's continuous violent campaign against Hazara people for almost past two decades, the new emerged IS-KP organized deadliest attacks against Hazaras and Shiite mosque and followers⁴⁸ in last five years. Despite continuation of such horrific attacks against Hazara and Shiite targets, Afghanistan government behaved by unduly cautious manner so far. Neither taking preemptive security measure nor recognizing the vulnerability of Hazara people, Afghan government has encountered with the IS-KP phenomenon with obvious negligence.

b. ATTACKS ON SCHOOLS, MOSQUES AND PUBLIC PLACES

Many horrific suicide attacks have been orchestrated against Hazara in last 4-5 years. The Taliban and IS-KP have taken responsibility of almost all attacks. The mosque, schools, education centers, cultural hubs, festivals, public roads and highways changed to be the possible target of IS-KP attacks. The recent IS-KP proclaimed attacks targeted wrestling club and an education center during a week which ended to hundreds of civilian casualties. The details of all attacks either claimed by the Taliban or by the IS-KP is (with casualties and relevant details) summarized in the below table.

⁴⁸<https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-45059701> (Retrieved on 13th Dec, 2018)
<http://swn.af/Article.aspx?a=41480> (Retrieved on 13th Dec, 2018)

MAJOR ATTACKS AGAINST HAZARAS (2014-2018)					
TYPE	CLAIMED BY	PLACE	DATE	DEATH	INJURY
Massive Attack	Taliban	Jaghori- Ghazni ⁴⁹	07/11/2018	90	25
Massive Attack	Taliban	Malistan- Ghazni ⁵⁰	09/11/2018	10	15
Massive Attack	Taliban	Urozgan Khaas -Urozgan	27/10/2018	31	7
Suicide Attack	IS-KP	Wrestling club- Qala Nazer, Kabul	05/09/2018	35	95
Suicide Attack	IS-KP	Mawoud Educational Center-Kabul	15/08/2018	50	67
Suicide Attack	IS-KP	Tazkira center – Mahtab Qala-Kabul	22/04/2018	69	120
Suicide Attack	IS-KP	Nowruz festival- Karte-Sakhi –Kabul	21/03/2018	33	65
Suicide Attack	IS-KP	Baba Mazari Commemoration-Kabul	09/03/2018	9	18
IED	IS-KP	Kosar Danish Educational center Kabul	?/03/2018	-	8
Suicide Attack	IS-KP	Tebyan Center- Qala Nazer-Kabul	28/12/2017	52	90
IED	Unknown	Al Mahdi Library, Jebryeel City-Herat	21/12/2017	5	15
Suicide Attack	IS-KP	Imam Zaman Mosque – Pol- e Khoshk Kabul	20/10/2017	56	55
Suicide Attack	IS-KP	Qala-e Fathullah, Kabul	27/09/2017	5	20
Suicide Attack	IS-KP	Imam Zaman Mosque- north Kabul	25/08/2017	40	95
Suicide Attack	IS-KP	Jawadeya Mosque- BekrAbad- Herat	01/08/2017	50	80
Massive Attack	Taliban& IS-KP	MirzaUlang, Sayed district - Sar-e-Pol	3-6/08/2017	50	-
Suicide Attack	IS-KP	Al Zahra Mosque-Qala Nazer-Kabul	15/06/2017	4	9
Taking hostage	IS-KP	Tala-wa-Barfak – Baghlan province	06/01/2017	13	-
Suicide Attack	IS-KP	Baqer Ul Alom Mosque - Kabul	21/11/2016	40	80
IED	IS-KP	Balkh district, Balkh Province	12/10/2016	14	70
Suicide Attack	IS-KP	Sakhi Mosque - Karte-Sakhi –Kabul	11/10/2016	18	58
Suicide Attack	IS-KP	Dehmazang - demonstrator rally- Kabul	23/07/2016	85	500
Taking hostage	Taliban& IS-KP	Shajoy District- Zabul province	23/02/2015	7	-
Taking hostage		Badga-Ghoor province	25/07/2014	14	-

c. ATTACKS ON PEACEFUL DEMONSTRATIONS

As already stated, the Dehmzang⁵¹ suicide attacks were not the only example which hundreds of demonstrators injured and lost their lives. Rather, Afghan government negligence to provide sufficient

⁴⁹ According to locals and Villagers eye-witnessed. The overall IDP are around 5000 families.

⁵⁰ Based on an interview with a local journalist who confirmed around 2000 IDP families.

⁵¹http://www.bbc.com/persian/afghanistan/2016/07/160723_kk_kabul_power_demo_blast_death_toll(Retrieved on 14th Dec, 2018)

security services for Hazaras as vulnerable ethnic group, paved the way for subsequent incidents one after another.

Besides Kabul, the Enlightening movement demonstration in Bamyan was also attacked by the government and even some of protestors were put into custody according to media's report⁵².



An injured victim of Dehmazang attacks minutes after the incident. euronews twitter.

d. KIDNAPPING AND HOSTAGES

Taking hostage, kidnapping and abduction of Hazara people by the Taliban and IS-KP have also been increased in recent years. Although it occurs occasionally, but the extent of recent incidents has made many international observers and human rights organization to be quite sensitive. One of the horrific case took place in Zabol province where 31 Hazaras were abducted⁵³ in 2015. According to Washington post report, the masked gunmen collected identity cards of the kidnapped Hazaras at the first and then

⁵²http://www.bbc.com/persian/afghanistan/2016/08/160829_k02-bamian-ghani-protests (Retrieved on 14th Dec, 2018)

⁵³https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/asia_pacific/after-suffering-under-the-taliban-an-afghan-minority-faces-new-threats/2015/04/08/035e1c4a-d71b-11e4-bf0b-f648b95a6488_story.html (Retrieved on 15th Dec, 2018)

snatched their cellphones. Later on, they separated males from females and Sunni Muslims from Shiite Muslims. Out of those kidnapped Hazaras, seven of them were beheaded⁵⁴.



Kabul- Ghazni – Qandahar high way where the Taliban explodes lorry of gasoil or operate their daily business of taking hostage, kidnap of kill the people without any consequence so far. Hazaras of Jaghori and Malistan use this way to cross Ghazni with high risk of being kidnapped or killed by the Taliban or recently emerged IS-KP.

The same horrific happened one year earlier in Ghor province. The US department of state also touched up the incident⁵⁵. It indicates that:

“On July 25, insurgents stopped two minibuses in Ghor Province and ordered the passengers to disembark. They separated 14 Hazaras (including three women and one child) from the other passengers, bound their hands, and shot and killed them by the side of the road.”

According to BBC Persian, in Ghor incident, an unlucky couple; a bride and groom⁵⁶ were also among those 14 killed. One of the recent incident is kidnaping of 5 Hazara student including 3 girls⁵⁷. The majority of the kidnapping case are not reported. Some incidences are reported solely by local news⁵⁸ while few

⁵⁴<https://www.wsj.com/articles/gunmen-in-afghanistan-kidnap-group-of-hazaras-1448127673> (Retrieved on 15th Dec, 2018)

<https://thediplomat.com/2015/11/another-group-of-hazaras-taken-hostage-in-zabul/> (Retrieved on 15th Dec, 2018)

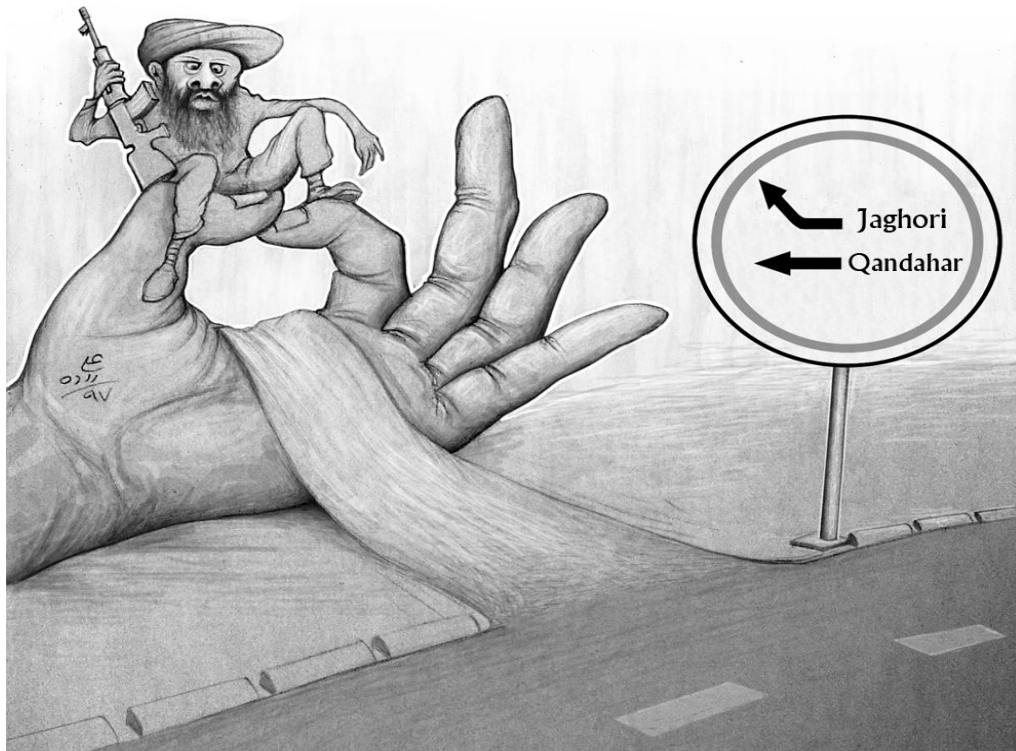
⁵⁵<https://www.state.gov/documents/organization/236844.pdf> (Retrieved on 15th Dec, 2018)

⁵⁶http://www.bbc.com/persian/afghanistan/2014/07/140725_k02-ghor-cilians-killed (Retrieved on 15th Dec, 2018)

⁵⁷<http://swn.af/Article.aspx?a=41173> (Retrieved on 15th Dec, 2018)

⁵⁸<http://swn.af/Article.aspx?a=43057> (Retrieved on 15th Dec, 2018)

of them are covered by international news outlets⁵⁹. Besides Ghazni – Gharabagh- Jaghori ⁶⁰ and Ghani- Nahoor way which is mostly used by Hazaras of Jaghori and partially Malistan Urozgan, the Jalriz pass in Maidan Wardak province and Ghorband valley⁶¹ are the next deadliest ways for Hazara passengers by media's record in recent years⁶². The Ghazni – Gharabagh – Jaghori rout is the only dangerous rout where kidnaping and killing cases are recorded almost by weekly bases. The majority of incidences are ignored by national news outlets. The negligence of such pain on Hazara people originates mostly from a widespread opinion considering them as deserving subject of victimhood (often for being historical victim). In other words, multitude and frequent occurrence of such incidents have changed them to normal reality.



Cartoon by a famous Hazara Cartoonist, Abdul Khaliq Alizadeh.

⁵⁹<https://www.reuters.com/article/us-afghanistan-kidnapping/gunmen-kidnap-12-minority-hazaras-in-east-afghanistan-idUSKCN0QH14W20150812> (Retrieved on 15th Dec, 2018)

⁶⁰<https://www.tolonews.com/afghanistan/10-more-hazara-passengers-abducted-ghazni> (Retrieved on 15th Dec, 2018)

⁶¹<http://swn.af/Article.aspx?a=41324> (Retrieved on 15th Dec, 2018)

⁶²<http://swn.af/Article.aspx?a=42454> (Retrieved on 15th Dec, 2018)

Likewise, the Jaghori – Zabul – Qandahar is the second insecure route for the residents of Jaghori district. Beside the aforementioned case of 31 kidnapped which 7 of them were beheaded, the Jaghori-Zabul-Qandahar rout has been insecure for almost 3 decades for Hazaras' passenger. One of the horrific - but unreported - case of Hazara mass killing in Zabul province goes back to the end of 1990s when the Taliban ruled parts of Afghanistan. Based on some late published studies, around 1500 Hazaras including children, women and men have been killed -mostly beheaded- in Zabul province, Kandi Posht area⁶³. The majority of victims were Hazara passengers from Jaghori who were used to go towards Quetta, Pakistan or Iran through the rout. However, some sources state that the victims of Kandi Posht were far more high than what has been reported. Based on the World Hazara Council, around 3000 Hazaras were brutally killed by the Taliban during 1994-2001⁶⁴.



Gharabagh desert (a way towards Jaghori, Malistan and Urozgan province) where the Taliban kidnap, take as hostage and kill Hazara passengers.

⁶³http://www.esalat.org/images/hojom_khodsari_kabul_4_ustad_sabah_16102013.htm (Retrieved on 16th Dec, 2018)

⁶⁴<http://www.worldhazaracouncil.org/%D8%A7%D9%85%D8%B1%D9%88%D8%B2-%D9%87%D8%B2%D8%A7%D8%B1%D9%87-%D9%87%D8%A7%D8%8C-%D9%81%D8%B1%D8%A7%D8%AF-%D8%AF%D9%8A%DA%AF%D8%B1%D8%A7%D9%86/>(Retrieved on 16th Dec, 2018)

e. ROAD BLOCKAGES

Road blockage is another strategy of the Taliban to putting the Hazara locals in acute pressure. By blocking and banning the routes, the Taliban control almost all Hazaras' movement and traveling⁶⁵. The road blockage had begun when the Taliban started their campaign to rule Afghanistan in mid of 1990s. Since the NUG government it has been intensified⁶⁶. The road blockage and siege of the Hazara area are the most effective tools of the Taliban either to subjugate the people or to attain their political and economic demand. Being double victimized in such circumstance, the Hazaras are used as scapegoat of both the Taliban and government.



Gharabagh desert where the Taliban control the areas and ways, kidnap, take as hostage or kill of Hazara passengers without any questioning.

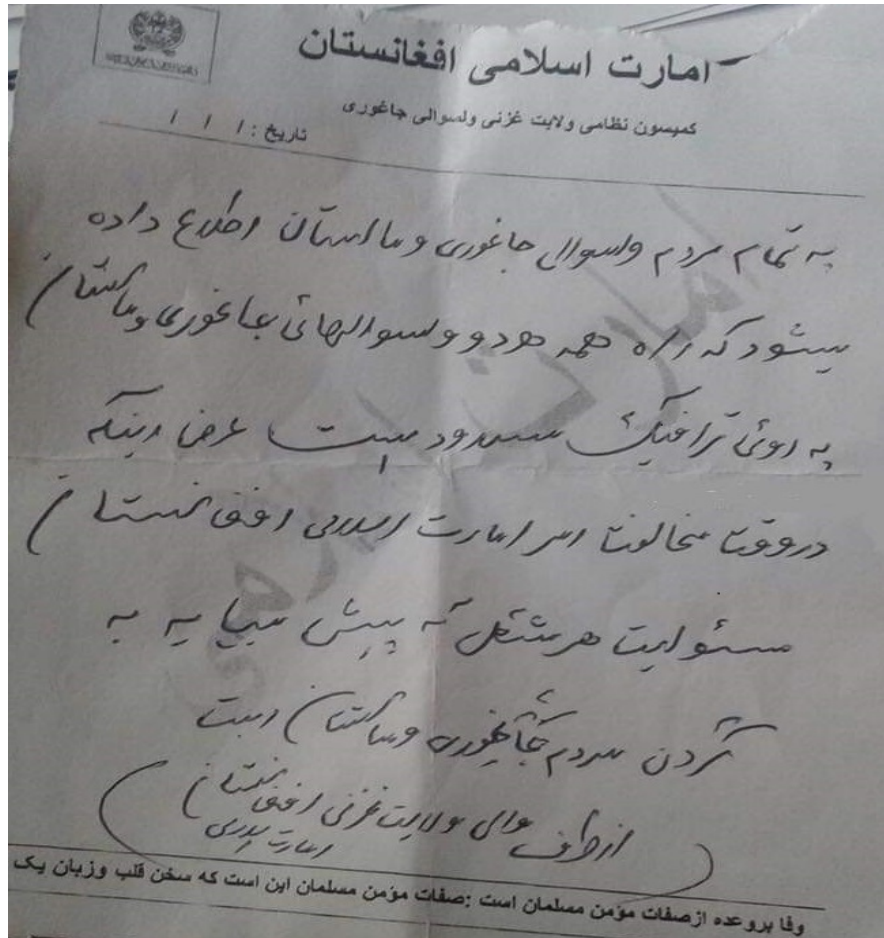
Ghazni, Ghor, Bamyan, Daykundi and Balkh are those provinces where the Hazaras are more susceptible for road blockage, movement ban and sanction by the Taliban. Not only for hours, but the Taliban can block the road even for weeks and even for months. According to the Ettilat-e Roz, a reliable daily in Afghanistan, the Jaghori and Malistan is currently blocked by the Taliban⁶⁷. The following reports

⁶⁵<http://www.1tvnews.af/fa/news/afghanistan/36437-2018-11-14-11-56-11>(Retrieved on 16th Dec, 2018)

⁶⁶<https://8am.af/x8am/1393/01/05/worry-of-blocked-way-qazni-jagori/>(Retrieved on 16th Dec, 2018)

⁶⁷https://etilatroz.com/69937/roads-of-malistan-and-jaghori-districts-of-ghazni-province-have-been-closed-since-two-weeks/?fbclid=IwAR0kKUXJILwL_79NzoVBjRMA16g3vwWjOTz6dGM_-xFMqg8NWHdPSeTBn5Y#xzz5aSxMBlu7(Retrieved on 24th Dec, 2018)

by Ettilat-e Roz indicates that the road blockage has continued since the Taliban attacks on Jaghori and Malistan. In urgent medical condition or circumstance like that, the people of these districts cross the Taliban controlled areas only by paying to local smugglers⁶⁸. On 14, December, 2018, the Taliban warned all Hazara resident of Ghazni, particularly Jaghori and Malistan to abstain traveling through Jaghori- Gharabagh- Ghazni and also Ghazni- Nahor until next information, local contact indicated.



The Taliban warning letter before blockage of Jaghori Malistan road. The Taliban warns all people of Jaghori Malistan saying: all people of Jaghori and Malistan are informed that all roads of these two districts are blocked. It is said that all consequent responsibilities will go to those who deny of Islamic Emirate's order after learning of this warning letter. From Ghazni government, Islamic Emirate.

⁶⁸<https://etilaatroz.com/70635/passengers-from-jaguri-to-kabul-smuggling/> (Retrieved on 16th Feb, 2019)

f. HUMAN TRAFFICKING

Due to security deterioration and recent Taliban's military progress in Afghanistan, Hazaras are easily trapped by smugglers and are the main target for human traffickers. Hazaras are mostly targeted in three hubs: Afghanistan (mainly big cities), Iran and Pakistan. The recent report published by the state department of the US government clearly indicates that:

"members of the Shia Hazara minority group were victims of forced labor. Those Afghan returnees from Pakistan and Iran and internally displaced Afghans are vulnerable to exploitation in sex trafficking and forced and bonded labor⁶⁹".

The report adds that: *"Afghanistan is a source, transit, and destination country for men, women, and children subjected to forced labor and sex trafficking⁷⁰"*

despite enacting a revised penal code which predicts a penalty for human trafficking crimes and criminalized additional activities relating to *bacha bazi* (a practice in which men exploit boys for social and sexual entertainment), incidents of various kinds of human trafficking have been recorded.

1. **Afghanistan:** The main cities such as Kabul, Ghazni, Mazar-e Sharif, Herat, Qandahar and Nimroz⁷¹ act as main hub for human trafficking and exchange of costumers for smuggling and human trafficking purposes. After EU countries' opening migrant policy, mainly in response to Syrian humanitarian crisis in 2015 for refugees, the smugglers' chose other destination. Despite Afghan government claims to build solid legal foundation and fight against human trafficking⁷², many reports shows that human trafficking's has still kept its market in Afghanistan.
2. **Iran:** Despite being one of the most apparently generous country to host more than one million Afghan refugees, the majority of refugees endure discrimination and overt negligence by the Islamic republic of Iran. Among various ethnic groups in Afghanistan, Hazara refugees and immigrants are the main target of discrimination and hate both steaming from state oriented policy and acts and social sensitivity against Afghan refugees and immigrants. According to newly published report by medalist institute⁷³, the recent systematic misusing of Hazara refugees are putting them in a

⁶⁹<https://www.state.gov/tip/rls/tiprpt/countries/2018/282596.htm> (Retrieved on 18th Dec, 2018),

⁷⁰<http://prod.tolonews.com/afghanistan/children-main-victim-human-trafficking-afghanistan-report> (Retrieved on 18th Dec, 2018)

⁷¹http://www.bbc.com/persian/afghanistan/2015/02/150204_k03_afghan_child_labour_smuggling (Retrieved on 18th Dec, 2018),

⁷²<https://www.reuters.com/article/us-afghanistan-humantrafficking-laws/human-trafficking-on-the-rise-in-afghanistan-despite-new-laws-idUSKBN1H52U8> (Retrieved on 18th Dec, 2018),

⁷³ https://www.mei.edu/sites/default/files/2018-11/PP11_Schneider.pdf (Retrieved on 18th Feb, 2019)

condition by either going to Syria for fighting in favor of the Islamic republic of Iran or being deported back to Afghanistan. Indoctrination by the Islamic republic version of Shiism and promising for permanent staying visa, citizenship and noticeable economic rewards, Iran government urge refugees to fight for the sake of Islamic republic. Afghans as whole - and Hazaras as particular - are considered to be the main victims such proxy war waging by Iranian regime. To misusing them for low paid, hard physical work plus recent regional proxy war, the Iranian regime has been exploiting Hazara refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants in different manner for the last some decades. Despite urgency of such misconducts, a few Persian media⁷⁴ touched upon the issue so far.

- 3. Pakistan:** Pakistan is another main hub acting both as transit and destination country for victims of human trafficking. In Baluchistan, Quetta as main Hazara resident area (Hazara expatriates) is still favored by those Hazaras of Afghanistan who choose Pakistan either for transit or destination purposes. Based on BBC report, Pakistan and Iran are used not only as final destination but they are considered to be transit place towards Turkey and EU countries as well. According to the report, it is charged for customers around 1600USD for every person for reaching Turkey through Nimroz-Pakistan– Iran rout ⁷⁵. The state department report touched on certain vulnerable groups for being victims of human trafficking in Pakistan. The report pointed to some religious and ethnic minorities such as Christians and Hazaras as particularly vulnerable to trafficking in Pakistan⁷⁶.

g. HATE SPEECH AND RESENTMENT AGAINST HAZARAS

Hate speech, ethno-phobia and resentment dissemination in Afghanistan social, public medias and more particularly in Afghan politics and governance are very common. It is mostly noticeable against Hazaras. Having different appearance, Hazaragi accent of Persian language, and mostly carrying Shiite as distinctive religion of Islam in Afghanistan's majority Sunni Muslim country, Hazaras have been suitable target of hate speech and phobia for long time. Albeit, Instance of hate speech is not only bounded in social or public media, rather Afghan government also enjoyed it as leverage to blame certain ethnic group; mostly Hazara people for justifying their weaknesses.

⁷⁴<https://www.radiozameh.com/222287> (Retrieved on 18th Dec, 2018),

⁷⁵<http://www.bbc.com/persian/afghanistan-38872140> (Retrieved on 18th Dec, 2018),

⁷⁶<https://www.state.gov/j/tip/rls/tiprpt/countries/2018/282725.htm> (Retrieved on 18th Dec, 2018),

RadioAzadi (Radio free EU), the Dari service multiplied its broadcasting program with obviously deviance from impartial and fact based reporting standards. Moreover, Radio Azadi/ Dari service resentment dissemination against Hazaras provoked reactions of some other medias⁷⁷.

Likewise, Farooq Azam public speech's⁷⁸ in presidential palace is another obvious example where he called mass participation and acceptance of Hazara students, naming clearly Daikundy students in universities' entry tests are unbearable. The speech presented in presidential place where top governmental and political figures including Afghan president; Mohammad Ashraf Ghani were among participants. The speech was resonated widely in public media and many people consider it as hate speech against Hazaras. In response, Hazara intellectuals interpreted such public hate as internalized and prevailing ethno-phobia, deep-rooted hate and resentment against Hazaras in Afghanistan. By having no remarkable share in Afghanistan's actual politics, policy making and national economy, Hazaras have to be very cautious about their survival, Mohammad Jawad Sultani a Hazara writer said⁷⁹. Another obvious example of such insult against Hazaras is a book which published by Afghan science academy. Full of wry argument, the book claimed that Hazaras are hairless and sort of a very different species. Because of its crude offense against Hazaras, it caused public reactions. Eventually, Hamid Karzai, former Afghan president intervened to solve inconvenient Hazaras⁸⁰. Such insulting approach has gone beyond the media and political circles. Some of Afghan academics have also fallen to such hate dissemination environment. A famous Afghan historian, Hasan Kakar has also pointed to Hazaras(Mostly Jaghori people) with overt offense against them⁸¹ which is properly false.

⁷⁷<https://www.hushdar.com/1397/09/05/3506/> (Retrieved on 18th Dec, 2018)

⁷⁸<https://8am.af/x8am/1395/02/11/farooq-azam-taliban-afghanistan-president/>(Retrieved on 18th Dec, 2018)

⁷⁹<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=91S-wayyIKs> (Retrieved on 18th Dec, 2018)

⁸⁰http://www.bbc.com/persian/afghanistan/2012/06/120619_mar_karzai_academy(Retrieved on 18th Dec, 2018)

⁸¹Hasan Kakar, A political and diplomatic history of Afghanistan, (Boston,2006) p124.

7. KOCHIS ATTACKS ON HAZARA LANDS

The relationship between Afghan Kochis and Hazara people, particularly since the reign of Rahman, has been difficult. After Hazara ethnic cleansing by Amir Abdul Rahman Khan, his successor Mohammad Yaqub Khan rewarded vast grazing lands and even cultivating lands to Kochis based on official governmental decree⁸².

By going towards Hazara farmlands during spring seasons, various violent conflicts have been taken place between the Kochis and residents of Behsood and Nahoor in recent years⁸³. After resistance of the locals of Maidan wardak, and Ghazni, Kochis mostly resorted to acute violence including burning and plundering houses. Some of those incidence which were mostly occurred in Behsood and Nahor⁸⁴ have been recorded. The conflict deteriorated after Kohchis attacks on local natives, their houses and cultivated lands. Besides civilian casualties, tens of burnt houses have been documented by AIHRC.

The new wave of violent conflict raised while Behsood's local natives were attacked by the armed Kochis in 2007. The attack resulted to heavy local casualties and enforced inhabitants of around 25 villages⁸⁵ to leave their houses and flee towards Kabul.

In 2010, it was reported that 8 local Hazaras residents have been killed in the fighting of 15 and 16 May in Daimirdad. Thereafter, numbers of displaced persons increased steadily due to deteriorated situation. The total of 1,958 family were displaced, almost 1,000 of from Daimirdad was documented⁸⁶.

The same incidents happened in other places as well. According to Afghanistan Independent Human Rights Commission (AIHRC) report, Kochis attacked on 36 villages in Nahoor district burning all of their firewood and hay reservoir used for cows and sheep⁸⁷ during winter. Despite continuation of attacks for three days, AIHRC's team has monitored and documented at least 10 villages which were damaged more than other areas. According to AIHRC report which has been quoted from a Ghazni member of Parliament (MP), prior to attack, Kochis have coordinated with the Taliban, then destroyed telecom towers to cut communication of Nahoor residents with neighboring Hazara districts. Promptly after that, the Kohchis organized their massive attacks with heavy arms and targeted at least 36 districts. The attacks resulted to displacement of 782 Hazara families, pillaging of houses, burning 20 buildings including 72 rooms, and depriving around 2030 school students to attend class for long time⁸⁸.

⁸²<https://areu.org.af/wp-content/uploads/2018/06/1801D-Typologies-of-nomad-settler-conflict-in-Afghanistan.pdf> (Retrieved on 20thDec, 2018).

⁸³Report Afghanistan: Hazaras and Afghan insurgent groups, p7, Land info (2017)

⁸⁴<https://www.aihrc.org.af/media/files/Reports/Daily%20report%20Dari/Nahorreport.pdf> (Retrieved on 20thDec, 2018)

⁸⁵http://www.bbc.com/persian/afghanistan/story/2007/07/070724_shi-afghan-nomads.shtml (Retrieved on 20thDec, 2018)

⁸⁶<https://www.afghanistan-analysts.org/the-kuchi-hazara-conflict-again/> (Retrieved on 20thDec, 2018)

⁸⁷<https://www.aihrc.org.af/media/files/Reports/Daily%20report%20Dari/Nahorreport.pdf> (Retrieved on 20thDec, 2018)

⁸⁸Ibid.

The next horrific attacks of the armed Kochis occurred in first days of June 2012⁸⁹ in Behsood district which ended to civilian casualties of Hazara locals, desolation of several houses and fleeing of many families.



A burnt building in Nahoor District; the photo is provided by AIHRC staff.

⁸⁹<http://fa.rfi.fr/%D8%AC%D9%86%DA%AF-%DA%A9%D9%88%DA%86%DB%8C-%D9%87%D8%A7-%D9%88-%D9%87%D8%B2%D8%A7%D8%B1%D9%87-%D9%87%D8%A7-20120806/%D8%A7%D9%81%D8%BA%D8%A7%D9%86%D8%B3%D8%AA%D8%A7%D9%86> (Retrieved on 20thDec, 2018)

8. HAZARAS AND AFGHAN GOVERNMENT

Despite enjoying immense economic, political and military support of global community, Afghan government did not invest or pay attention to Hazara inhabitant places and provinces after 2001. Almost all public protests and demonstrations of Hazaras during Hamid Karzai and now Mohammad Ashraf Ghani have been to asking Afghan government for ending systematic discrimination and overt negligence against Hazara people. Public services, national budget allocation, administrative reform (for better public service delivery), judicial and most importantly security services are those basic rights of every citizen which the Hazara people have been mostly deprived. Those non-negotiable topics are the demands which Hazaras have been always struggling to reach. In some recent studies, parts of the problem have been addressed.

“.. they [Hazaras] are therefore less likely than members of other ethnicities (Pashtuns in particular) to be in positions whereby they are able to positively discriminate in favour of other Hazaras. In particular, Hazaras tend to be under-represented in senior civil service positions.”⁹⁰

According to many sources, Hazaras are still treated as “second-class citizens”, being denied basic services and political rights for years⁹¹. Those who have field observation and close interaction with Afghan politics and society certainly approve such unpleasant reality in Afghanistan. Discrimination is deep-rooted and some high officials are deeply involved. A big discrimination related scandal which a high ranking staff from Afghan president office was involved in was disclosed by the Media. Despite its sensitivity and promise for just due process, the government disregarded it soon after that⁹².

Despite alerting security condition for Hazaras, while the Afghan government has not offered any functional policy yet. The recent report of amnesty international indicates that the Hazara and Shi'a continued to face harassment and increased attacks, mainly by armed insurgent groups⁹³. Out of the whole population, while the Taliban's orchestrated attacks are mostly focused on Hazara inhabitant areas, it had to provoke Afghan government to react in positive way. The below is one of such alert:

“The overwhelming majority of residents of Jaghori and Malestan are members of the Hazara ethnic group. Hazaras are predominantly Shiia and constitute a religious minority among the country's majority Sunni population. Historically, Hazaras were subjected to discrimination and exclusion by the country's Pashtun and Sunni governments.”⁹⁴

⁹⁰Hazaras in Afghanistan, DFAT thematic report (Sep, 2018), p9.

⁹¹<http://www.southasiaahudson.org/blog/2016/9/2/the-discrimination-and-violence-against-the-hazaras-in-afghanistan> (Retrieved on 20thDec, 2018)

⁹²<https://8am.af/x8am/1396/09/21/the-cavalry-the-secret-that-was-lost-and-forgotten/> (Retrieved on 20thDec, 2018)
<http://www.bbc.com/persian/afghanistan-41912098> (Retrieved on 20thDec, 2018)

⁹³The state of world's human rights (Amnesty International, report 2017/18), p66.

⁹⁴<https://www.lowyinstitute.org/the-interpreter/hazaras-not-safe> (Retrieved on 20thDec, 2018)

The Hazaras and Afghan central government have had almost always contentious chronicle since Afghanistan establishment in late 19th century as a recognized political entity. The ethno-centric and totalitarian approach which applied in a way to integrate a heterogenous ethnic, cultural and linguistic society are considered to be the main causes of deep-rooted ethnic contention in Afghanistan.

In spite of global community's presence and continuous support since 2001, the NUG and its predecessor went to the same path as it had been experienced and failed almost in entire of Afghanistan history. Being totally defenseless, Hazaras inevitably resorted to self-reliant capabilities such civil and peaceful demonstration and raising their voices through media. In comparisons to other ethnic groups, Hazaras have organized many protest during the last decade both in and outside of Afghanistan. As an example, only in one protest organized by Hazaras in Australian during Ashraf Ghani's visit, several thousands of people came together to protest against his discriminatory and negligent acts and deeds. the Guardian reported:

“He [Mohammad Ashraf Ghani] is especially unpopular within the Hazara community, which argues he has failed to protect it from attack from anti-Shia insurgent groups, and over the TUTAP power line, a major electricity line which was re-routed away from the Hazara-majority area of Afghanistan, and which would have brought electricity and industry to Hazara communities⁹⁵.”

Among many discriminatory acts during the NUG, re-routing electricity line, orchestrated target killings, various kidnappings and constant suicide attacks on Hazaras took huge attentions and entailed to protests and reactions of Hazaras in and outside Afghanistan.



Kabul University, Social science students (Hazaras' students) demonstration and food strike for the systematic discrimination against them in the University, 2013.

⁹⁵<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/apr/03/australian-hazaras-protest-visit-of-afghan-president-ashraf-ghani>(Retrieved on 20thDec, 2018)

9. EXISTING GAPS IN THE REPORTED ISSUE WITH THE CURRENT REALITIES ON THE GROUND

Pertaining to Afghanistan human rights violation, there is a big gap between the actual ground reality and media's reporting. As an instance, coverage of civilian casualties is normally aired as much earlier as possible. The real casualties are rarely updated thereafter by famous internal or international media only due to "news values". Those complicated suicide, orchestrated and massive attacks by the Taliban and IS-KP in Hazara targeted areas are mostly referred to only those conventional breaking news of country in conflict, not as an alerting case of massive human rights violation and humanitarian crisis. Discrimination, segregation and more ludicrous agendas for differentiating people by ethnic group or areas of residency are among those which partially publicized by media.

As instance, mandating a quota system for university entry exam by higher education ministry⁹⁶ of NUG provoked hot reaction of Hazara publics. In contrary, the chief aim and central agenda of such proposal have never been resonated in big and opinion making media in and outside Afghanistan. Rather, only some news agencies drew on amateurish and awkward justification of ministry's spokesperson⁹⁷. Some Hazara bloggers and civil society activists named it "terrible scheme" and recalled to decipher the hidden agenda of such suggestion. As instance, Nasim Fekrat indicated that:

"This is a dangerous scheme and can hurt Afghanistan badly. The hidden agenda is basically to limit the number of students from minority groups from higher education, especially the Hazara students who are in vulnerable position. They come from the poorest areas and they solely rely on public universities which offer free education and scant stipends. Quota is designed to tackle higher educational disparities, according to Afghan higher education officials. Pashtun areas, mostly southern Afghanistan, have not been safe and students have not been able to go to school or getting better education. On the other hand, students from minority groups in relatively secure areas have been on the rise. This obviously made the current Afghan administration worry about young Pashtuns who stay behind. Their concern is understandable, but quota system is not the answer."⁹⁸

Addressing the reporting gap of Afghanistan ground reality, some top military figures of US and NATO forces also touched upon it recently⁹⁹. Civilian casualty is a prime example which is partially reported¹⁰⁰. Although

⁹⁶<http://www.bbc.com/persian/afghanistan-46494832>(Retrieved on 20thDec, 2018)

⁹⁷<https://www.tolonews.com/afghanistan/ministry-defends-plan-university-seats>(Retrieved on 20thDec, 2018)

⁹⁸<http://www.afghanlord.org/> (Retrieved on 20thDec, 2018)

⁹⁹<https://www.npr.org/sections/thetwo-way/2018/01/30/581640748/watchdog-report-shows-gaps-in-information-about-afghanistan-war> (Retrieved on 20thDec, 2018)

¹⁰⁰<https://www.theguardian.com/news/datablog/2010/aug/10/afghanistan-civilian-casualties-statistics>(Retrieved on 20thDec, 2018)

some news agencies fascinated to report about the Hazaras in recent years¹⁰¹, still the case of reporting about the Hazaras in Afghanistan is not much interested for the majority inside media.



A Hazara district, where a house destroyed after the Taliban attack on November, 2018. Photo provided by Bahrami.

¹⁰¹<https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/2016/06/afghanistan-hazaras-160623093601127.html> (Retrieved on 20th Dec, 2018)

10. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATION

The Hazaras' Asiatic appearance, their cultural, linguistic and more importantly historical background distinguishes them from the rest of Afghan population. The majority of Hazara people who practice Shiite faith of Islam has been a surplus for further suppression, coercion and slaughtering over about the last one and half century. Hazaras have been encountered to various case of ethnic cleansing in their chronicle. The first massive ethnic cleansing occurred in dawn of 20th century when about 60% of the entire population - as one of the largest ethnic group in Afghanistan- were killed, sold into slavery, or forced into exile by and large¹⁰².

After the IS-PK emerging violence, the Taliban dramatic revert and blatant discrimination of Afghan government brought Hazaras' "survival" about to be as indispensable concern for almost all Hazaras in and out of Afghanistan. The survival question particularly raised Hazaras after they have been targeted by numerous suicide and orchestrated attacks by the Taliban, IS-KP and other active similar groups in Afghanistan in recent years. As interviewees repeatedly elucidated, now the chief question for Hazaras is not merely human rights violation, rather it is the Hazaras' survival.

RECOMMENDATION

1. The United Nations can intervene in a manner of deploying fact-finding group to investigate the recent target killing and orchestrated attacks on Hazaras in order to stop prevailing of "immunity culture", not merely for the Taliban and IS-KP, rather for those all who facilitate, support and operationalize target killing and suicide attacks against Afghan civilians.
2. Direct and result-based involvement of International Criminal Court (ICC) is urgently needed. By investigation of Afghanistan post-2001 systematic human rights violations including crimes against humanity, war crimes and feasible case of ethnic cleansing, ICC will play an effective role for solidifying positive peace for Afghanistan.
3. International affirmative action favoring Hazara asylum seekers and refugees and stopping their forced deportation in order to not get them double victimized by constant persecution, dissemination and well-founded fear of killing and beheading.

¹⁰² Hazaras in Afghanistan, DFAT thematic report (Sep, 2018), p4.

4. Putting Afghanistan once again on the priority list of international organization for refugees, particularly UNHCR by reviewing its recent security condition and humanitarian crisis steamed from horrific incidents of target killing and massive attacks.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I prepared this report without any financial help. All contributions to this report were voluntary based and without any payment. Hence, I sincerely appreciate many individuals for their contributions and voluntarily supports in various stages of this report. The primary draft of this report was accomplished by December 2018 while it reviewed once again by February 2019.

First of all, I thank Mrs. Simagol Ehsani, Mr. Hujjatullah Rafie, Mr. Eid Mohammad Poyesh, Mr. Khaliq Ebrahimi, and Jalil Rownaq for their generosity and voluntarily contribution which made me able to collect reliable data and information including from the battlefield. Likewise, I appreciate Mohammad Jan Taqi Bakhtyari for sharing his report as a reliable source which was in fact prepared for the Amnesty International. At the end, I am very grateful to Mrs. Atefa Changezi for her technical support and regular patience which I received during preparation of this report.

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February, 2019

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