# **Program for Culture & Conflict Studies** ccsinfo@nps.edu

**Province: Paktya** 

Governor: Juma Khan Hamdard

**Deputy Governor: Abdul Rahman Mangal** Provincial Police Chief Gen. Wardak



<b>Population Estimate:</b> 401,300	0 <sup>1</sup> Urban: 14,90	00		F	Rural: 386.4	
Area in Square Kilometers: 22,915						
Names of Districts:	Jaji, Lija Mangal, Dand Wa Patan, Ahmad Abad, Chamkani, Sayid Kara, Gardez, Jani Khel, Zormat, Zadran Shwak					
	Capital: Gar	dez City				
Composition of Population:	Ethnic Groups: 91 % Pashtun, 9% Tajik	Religiou Groups: majority Sunni Muslim some Sh	y , hia	Sulei Khos Zadr Utma	al Groups: Ahmadzai, imankhel, Muqbil, stwal, Jaji, Mangal, an, Kharoti, Andar, Tanai, anzai, Tajiks	
Occupation of Population	Major: Wood cutting, agriculture, remittances, animal husbandry, day labor			Minor: Smuggling		
Crops/Farming/Livestock:	Wheat, alfalfa, melons, almonds			Cows, goats, sheep, donkeys, etc.		
	Literacy Rate Total	: 10.2% <sup>2</sup>	<sup>2</sup> -16% <sup>3</sup>			
Number of Educational Institutions:	Schools: Primary: Secondary:	Col	<u>leges/U</u>	<u>Jnive</u>	ersities: 1	
Number of Security	January: 3	March:	2		May: 10	
Incidents, Jan-Jun 2007: <sup>4</sup> 21	February: 3	April: 0	)		June: 3	
Poppy (Opium) Cultivation: Nil	<u>2007:</u> 0 ha <u>2008</u> : 0 ha					
NGOs Active in Province:	UNAMA, Care, DACAAR, PIN, NSP, UNHCR, MRRD, IOM, UNOPS, NEEP, NEEPRAL					
Provincial Aid Projects: 5 Total Projects: 1155 Planned Cost: \$12,541,002.96 Total Spent: \$3,835,334.17	Total PRT Projects: 62 Planned Cost: \$4,104,580.35 Total Spent: \$850,578.35		]	Other Aid Projects: 1093 Planned Cost: \$8,436,422.61 Total Spent: \$2,984,755.82		
Transportation:	Primary Roads: NE-SW (Pakistani Border to Zormat), and N – S (Paktya/Logar Border through KG Pass to Khowst Border)					
Electricity:	Little access to electricity outside of Gardez City, most electricity private    Estimated Population   w/access: 33%					
Primary Sources of Drinking Water/Availability of Potable Water:	Karezes, shallow w		rs, spri	ngs	48.6%	
Rivers: Shamal. There are no l	arge rivers as such ii	n Paktya.				

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Afghan Information Management Services, 2003-2004 Population Statistics, available from <a href="http://www.aims.org.af/">http://www.aims.org.af/</a> (accessed September 17, 2007).

Afghan Information Management Services, Ghazni Districts, available from http://www.aims.org.af/ssroots.aspx?seckeyt=372 (accessed September 7, 2007).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Paktya Altai Public Opinion Info, Altai Consulting, 2007.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> BBC Monitoring. Limited to incidents reported in the press. Not inclusive of all incidents occurring, but provides an excellent cross-section of events.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> ISAF and CJTF 82, *Afghanistan Comprehensive Stability Project*, June 2007.

Significant Topographic Features	<ul> <li>Seta – Kandow (KG) Pass in Zadran Arc (Shwak, Gerda Serai, Wazi Zadran Districts) is the premier mountain range in Paktya and historical home to anti-government</li> </ul>
	elements and Haqqani Network.
	- Shah-i Kot Valley in Zormat District, a mountainous
	region historically used as a base for renegades.

#### **Political/Religious Landscape:**

Political/Religious Leaders:

#### Governor Juma Khan Hamdard



Born in 1954, Governor Hamdard is an ethnic Pashtun from Balkh province who is a member of the Wardak tribe from Mazar-i-Sharif. He fought against the Soviets under the leadership of Gulbuddin Hekmatyar and his Hezb-i-Islami faction throughout northern Afghanistan<sup>6</sup>. He fought alongside General Dostum's Uzbek forces against the Taliban in 1994 until he defected to the Taliban's side and helped their victory over Dostum's forces in 1997-98<sup>7</sup>. He resumed an uneasy alliance with Dostum's forces following the US-led Coalition's invasion of Afghanistan in 2001. He was later appointed the governor of Balkh and then governor of

Jowzjan province, an Uzbek stronghold and part of Dostum's fiefdom, which sparked a series of violent demonstrations between Dostum loyalists and Hamdard's security forces. He survived an assassination attempt following the bloody demonstration in May 2007<sup>8</sup>. Animosity towards Hamdard remained until he was removed and made governor of Paktya province.

# **Deputy Governor Abdul Rahman Mangal**

No Known Photo Son of Peshaki. Deputy Governor Mangal is a high-school graduate and a member of the Mangal tribe. He has worked in many governmental offices throughout his career to include as an employee in the Ministry of Commerce as well as a manager for the Chamber of Commerce. He has also been a Director of Tribal Affairs in Paktya. He is very pro-active and is a strong figure in the northeastern, Mangal-dominant, portion of Paktya province.

### Chief of Police Gen. Aziz Wardak

General Wardak is a member of the Wardak tribe from Wardak province. He has served in the military and ANP for 37 years, the last eight with the ANP. He completed Army War College in Kabul under the direction of Coalition Forces and was the former Chief of Police for Kandahar. He has studied abroad in Japan, Turkey, Russia, India and Pakistan and is the author of four books.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>M K Bhadrakumar, "Bad blood spreads to Afghanistan's north," Asia Times Online, May 30, 2007, at <a href="http://www.atimes.com/atimes/South\_Asia/IE30Df01.html">http://www.atimes.com/atimes/South\_Asia/IE30Df01.html</a> (accessed October 20, 2008).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> "Joma Khan Hamdard Had a Terror Action ," Junbesh website, available at <a href="http://www.junbesh.net/fahim.htm">http://www.junbesh.net/fahim.htm</a> (accessed October 20, 2008).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup>Arash Dabestan, "Fears over Afghan factional clash," BBC, May 31, 2007, available at <a href="http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/low/south\_asia/6708773.stm">http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/low/south\_asia/6708773.stm</a> (accessed October 20, 2008).

Provincial Reconstruction Team reporting, June 2009.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Provincial Reconstruction Team reporting, June 2009.

## National Directorate of Security (NDS) Chief Ali Ahmad Mubaraz

No Known **Photo** 

Son of Mohammad Jan. Mubaraz was born in Logar District (Muhammad Agha District) and still maintains a residence there. Mubaraz is Tajik and was trained by the Russians. Formerly associated with the Northern Alliance he has served as NDS Chief of Paktya since 2004. Prior to his current posting, he worked in Kabul and was previously the NDS Chief of Logar. He is very pro-CF and pro-GIRoA and has been extremely supportive of CF efforts in Paktya. 11

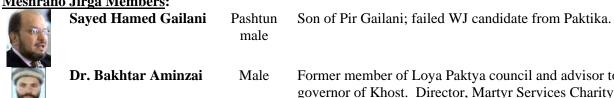
# Chief of Ulema Shura Maulawi Khaliqdad

Maulawi Khaliqdad is the senior religious leader in Paktya Province. It is rumored that Maulawi Khaliqdad was Minister of Finance for the Taliban during their reign. While he has given anti-CF speeches following airstrikes, he is assessed to be mainly pro-progress in Paktya and has stood staunchly by the side of Governor Hamdard during Governance Outreach (GO) Missions to multiple districts in Paktya. He speaks Arabic, Pashto and Dari. 12

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vv oiesi	лича	vieiii	ners:

	Mohammad Dawood ZAZAI	Pashtun Male	Former commander of Sayyaf's main military base. Prior travel to Japan.
9	Gul Padshah MAJIDI	Pashtun Male	Businessman. Royalist. 15 years of education.
6	Haji Padshah Khan ZADRAN	Pashtun Male	Former Jamiat Warlord. Participated in Bonn Process. Teamed with Jalaluddin Haqqani in Zadran Arc to defeat Soviets. Father was tribal leader. Attended military academy. Royalist.
	Fazlurrahman SAMKANAI	Pashtun Male	Tribal Elder. Worked for Pashtani Bank. Minor HIG Commander. LJ delegate. Former prov. Director of Tribes and Frontiers.
	Sharifa ZURMATI	Pashtun Female	TV anchor. Democratic activist.

# Meshrano Jirga Members: 14



Former member of Loya Paktya council and advisor to governor of Khost. Director, Martyr Services Charity (runs 2 hospitals in Paktya and Logar). Refugee in Pakistan 20 years. Speaks English. Wife's parents are USCs. MD -Afghan University of Peshawar (1997), Peshawar University - Language degree (1999).

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Provincial Reconstruction Team reporting, June 2009.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Provincial Reconstruction Team reporting. June 2009.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> US Embassy Kabul Afghanistan Election Observation Team and Joint Election Management Board, 2005.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> US Embassy Kabul Afghanistan Election Observation Team and Joint Election Management Board, 2005.

# Haji Moha

# Haji Mohammad Laiq Male

### Primary Political Parties:

### Hezb-e Islami Khalis (HiK):

Originally a mujahedin group which split with Hekmatyar's Hezb-e Islami under the leadership of Yunus Khalis. HiK was dominant in Nangarhar. Born in 1919 in the Khugiyani District of Nangarhar Province, Khalis reportedly died at the age of ~87 on July 19, 2006<sup>15</sup>, resulting in an internal power struggle for control of the party between Khalis' son Anwarul Haq Mujahid and Haji Din Mohammad. It appears that Mohammad was successful in consolidating his control over much of the party. Led by Haji Din Mohammad, current governor of Kabul.

# Hezb-e Islami Gulbuddin (HiG):

The party of former Mujahid and prime minister Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, HiG was famous for its shifting loyalties, and was the favorite party of Pakistan's ISI until the rise of the Taliban. Former members continue to wield considerable influence in the province, especially in the northeast.

## Ittihad-i-Islami (Sayyaf):

A fundamentalist organization, this party is under the guidance of Abdul Rasool Sayyaf, and has been since the anti-Soviet campaign. Despite ideological and cultural similarities with the Taliban, Sayyaf did not join them (for personal reasons) and went with the Northern Alliance. He follows strict Wahhabi interpretations of Islam, and is not known for tolerance. In the past this party has been known for its foreign supporters and followers; the former often Arab, the latter from places as diverse as the Southern Philippines, Chechnya, and Bosnia.

# Pir Ishaq Gailani (Mahaz-e Melli):

Primarily (but not exclusively) a Pashtun party, followers of the Sufi holy man Pir Ishaq Gailani have a reputation for moderate thought and the traditional mystical and introspective religious currents that characterize Sufism in that sect.

#### Hamnazar

One of the most important parties of the Meshrano Jirga, Hamnazar (Alliance), It mainly consists of pro-Karzai MPs, who are Western sympathizers. The group numbers some thirty parliamentarians and is led by Amin Zai. A doctor by profession, he is closely allied with Karzai who strongly supported him for this position. <sup>16</sup>

#### Public Attitudes toward Political/Religious Leaders:

• Most respected leaders in area: Malik 52%, Shura/Elders 29% & Mullah 1% according to Altai surveys.

# **Human Terrain:**

### Tajik:

Occupy same areas, generally, as the Ghilzai Pashtun. Tajiks are the second largest ethnic group in Afghanistan, after the Pashtuns and comprise between 25-30% of the population. The Tajiks in Afghanistan tend to live in settled

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> 'Leader of Afghan mujahideen dies.' BBC: July 24, 2006.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> "The New Parliament: an Afghan Way to Democracy," *CeMiSS Quarterly*, Centro Militare di Studi Strategici, April 2006, available from <a href="https://www.difesa.it/NR/rdonlyres/0FA44F42-56BC-4D58-9F93-46A7F42CC8DE/11177/quart\_spring\_06.pdf">www.difesa.it/NR/rdonlyres/0FA44F42-56BC-4D58-9F93-46A7F42CC8DE/11177/quart\_spring\_06.pdf</a> (accessed September 25, 2007).

communities as opposed to a nomadic lifestyle. They are of Iranian descent and primarily speak Dari. The majority of Tajiks are Sunni Muslims. Tajiks made up the majority of the Northern Alliance, both in terms of membership and leadership. Tribal ties have largely broken down among the Tajiks; therefore, social organization is defined primarily by geography. Despite their lack of cohesiveness the Tajiks are often brought together due to the perceived common threat posed by the Pashtuns.

# Ahmadzai (Suleman Khel):

Not to be confused with Waziri Ahmadzais, these Ahmadzai are Ghilzais, a subset of the massive Sulieman Khel. Traditionally they controlled the Altimur Pass leading into Zormat, and ranged from Logar to Jalalabad. <sup>17</sup> Traditionally a large portion of the tribe was Kuchi and nomadic. As such, they were often regarded as martial in nature. They are greatest in number in Paktya, Paktika, and Khost. <sup>18</sup>

## Suleimankhel (Sulimankhel):

These Ghilzai Pashtuns form the majority of the population in Zormat District, and a large percentage of Gardez. In times past, the Suleimankhel provided large numbers of recruits for the Taliban. As a result, the level of ACM activities remain high in areas dominated by Suleimankhel. The bias of some sub-tribes toward the Taliban in part may be explained by their proximity to the Pakistan border and the influx of insurgents and the radical politics. <sup>19</sup>

# Muqbil:

Cousins of the Zadrans and Mangals, they now reside in Sayid Karam District in Paktya and portions of Dand Wa Patan and across the border into Pakistan. They can be further divided into five clans: Musa Khel, Sultak, Ahmad Khel, Hasan Khel, and the Bobaki. Little else is known.<sup>20</sup>

## Khostwal:

Primarily found in Khost, the Khostwals occupy a small portion of the Jani Khel District along the Pakistani border. Known as fierce fighters, they had traditionally been at odds with the Waziri tribes to the south, except when they united to raid the Turi (traditionally Shi'ites) to the north. They have traditionally divided themselves into Tor Gundi and Spin Gundi factions.<sup>21</sup>

## Jaji:

Related to the Turis but Sunni in faith, the Jaji can be found primarily in Jaji District. They are a set of Khogyanis from the Karlanri supertribe of Pashtuns. They are divided into eight *wands*: Lehwani, Ada Khel, Petla (combined with the Allisemgeh), Husain Khel, Karaia Ahmad Khel, Ahmad Khel (combined with the Bayan Khel), Ali Khel, and the Jamu Khel. Hill men, they are famous for their dances and their war-cries. <sup>22</sup> In more recent times, they have supported the likes of Abdul Sayyaf. The director of the BBC Pashtu service is a Jaji.

# Mangal:

A Karlanri clan that can be further divided into Miran Khel, Khajuri, Gabar, Marghai, and Kamal Khel subdivisions. They are known for their independent nature and have a history of resisting British forces, central and provincial governments, Soviet forces, and Taliban forces. The latter has left them with a healthy memory of the Taliban and left a strong animosity between the two. They primarily reside in Lija Mangal, Chamkani, Dand Wa Patan and Jani Kheyl districts. In Chamkani in particular they have had significant conflict with the Taliban. Current Paktya Deputy Governor Abdal Rahma Mangal is a member of the tribe.

# Zadran (Jadran):

Pashtun tribe mainly residing in the "Zadran Arc" a 9-district area encompassing portions of the Paktya, Paktika and Khowst provinces. In Paktya, the tribe is focused in the Wazi Zadran, Shwak, and Gerda Serai districts of Paktya. Pacha Khan Zadran is a one of the most famous of the Zadran tribe, who controls the area near the Khost

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Adamec, Vol. 6, 20.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Olaf Caroe, *The Pathans*, London: Kegan Paul International, 2000, 123.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> US Department of State Gardez Provincial Reconstruction Team Political Officer Reporting, 2004.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Adamec, Vol. 6, 527.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Adamec, Vol. 6, 427.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Adamec, Vol. 6, 286.

road. He was appointed governor of Paktya in 2001, but never assumed the post after other tribes blocked his progress to Gardez. His son, Abdul Wali, is currently the Sub-Governor of the Wazi Zadran District. Jalaluddin Haqqani, the leader of the Haqqani Network (HQN), is another influential member of the Zadran tribe.

Of note is that Pacha Khan and Jalaluddin Haqqani were both friends and partners in fighting the Soviets. Pacha Khan and Haqqani apparently parted ways following a failed assassination attempt on Pacha Khan which killed one of his sons and was reported to have been orchestrated by the Inter Services Intelligence (ISI) Directorate of Pakistan with the help of Haqqani. Maulavi Abdul Kabir, the former Taliban-era governor of Nangarhar and current commander for their "eastern zone," is also an influential member of the Zadran tribe. The Zadran also live in Khost and Paktika provinces. 4



Haqqani (right) with his son Nasruddin

#### Kharoti:

The Kharoti clan are within the Tarun tribe of Ghilzai Pashtuns. Generally, they do not cooperate with Anti-Coalition Militia (ACM) or participate in their activities. Their political stance and support for the government is in part, at least, due to their rivalry with the Suleimankhel and the Waziris. Notable members of the Kharoti clan include Gulbuddin Hekmatyar and Harakat, both of Hezb-e Islami Gulbuddin (HIG). Overall, however, the Kharoti are not supportive of HIG. Former provincial governor of Paktika, Ghulab Mangal, considered the Kharoti among the most reliable of Ghilzai tribal groups. <sup>25</sup>

*Ghilzai:* The largest single tribe of the Pashtun ethnicity, the Ghilzai or Ghalji formed the backbone of the Taliban movement. Long resentful of the power the Duranni tribe (of which Karzai and Zahir Shah are members), the Ghilzai are fiercely independent and often view themselves, as the largest grouping of Pashtuns in the country, as the rightful leaders of Afghanistan.

# Chamkani:

The Chamkani tribe is a small group living in the Chamkani District in northern Paktya. They also belong to the Ghilzai supertribe, and are further divided into the Mada Khel, the Kamzai, the Babu Khel, the Darman Khel, the Sulaiman Khel (not to be confused with the Sulaiman Khel superclan) the Baghiar, and the Hisarak.

## Andar:

A Ghilzai sub-tribe, the Andar had been known for their skill and usage of large *karez*. More concentrated in Ghazni Province, they have also a significant presence in Zormat district. During the 19<sup>th</sup> century they joined in the Ghilzai revolt and many were summarily sent into internal exile. Somewhat inexplicably, they allied themselves for a time with the Harakat-i Islami, originally a Shi'ite faction, during the anti-Soviet campaign.<sup>26</sup>

*Utmanzai:* The Utmanzais represent the smaller, northern branch of the Waziri tribe, the larger faction being the Ahmadzai Waziris. Primarily located within the Pakistani Tribal Agency of North Waziristan across the Durand Line, the Utmanzai are known for their independent spirit, proficiency at smuggling, and the difficulty of their native terrain. Falling under the great Karlanri supertribe, they are hill people.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Provincial Reconstruction Team reporting, June 2009.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> US State Department Gardez Provincial Reconstruction Team Political Officer Reporting, 2004.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> US State Department Gardez Provincial Reconstruction Team Political Officer Reporting, 2004.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Gilles Dorronsoro, *Revolution Unending: Afghanistan, 1979 to the Present.* New York: Columbia University Press, 2005, 167.

*Kuchi:* The Kuchi are nomads who spend the winter months in the warmer areas of Khowst and Pakistan. They historically return to Paktya in April and depart in the November timeframe. Their main form of income appears to come from animal husbandry and herding of camels, goats and sheep amongst others. They normally live in large tents along river valleys and sometimes in the vicinity of Forward Operating Bases (FOBs) and Combat Outposts (COPs). There is reporting that some Kuchi are used by Pakistan to funnel weapons and equipment across the border for use by insurgents.

# **Security Landscape:**

General Level of Security: Paktya is a part of the historically volatile "P2K" (Paktya, Paktika, Khowst) region of Eastern Afghanistan which borders Pakistan. However, based on the strength of the Mangal tribe and it's use as a "waypoint" for insurgents going to Kabul, it does not experience attacks as much as Paktika and Khowst. During the winter months (Nov – Mar), few incidents are recorded but during the April to October timeframe attacks increase significantly as the weather warms and fighters return from Pakistan. Zormat and the districts of the Zadran Arc experience the bulk of attacks due to their disunity (Zormat) and strength of insurgent networks such as the Haqqani Network operating in their area (Zadran Arc).<sup>27</sup>

Moderate Risk: Lija Mangal, Ahmad Abad, Mirzaka, Sayid Karam, Gardez, and Wazi Zadran districts.

Significant Risk: Jaji, Chamkani, Dand Wa Patan, Ahmed Kheyl and Jani Kheyl districts.

High Risk: Zormat, Shwak and Gerda Serai districts.

# The districts of primary concern are: \*\*\*

**Zormat:** Contigous with Ghazni and Paktika provinces, Zormat is a large and often ungovernable area, witnessing more security incedents than any other district in the province. It is the largest and most populated district in Paktya and borders Logar, Paktika and Ghazni provinces. It contains the Shah-i-Kot Valley, a notorious insurgent base going back generations, the most recent example being as a stronghold during Operation Anaconda in 2002. Because of the fractious state of most of the tribes in Zormat, insurgents have been able to maintain a foothold in the area through attacks and intimidation. Civilian leaders and Afghan National Security Forces (ANSF) continue to be targeted in the district but an increased CF/ANSF presence in early 2009 has helped disperse some insurgent groups. <sup>28</sup>

*Gerda Serai:* Like Zormat, Gerda Serai ranks as a high risk district. A member of the "Zadran Arc" (Shwak, Gerda Serai, Wazi Zadran) in Paktya province, Gerda Serai is an unofficial district and reportedly home to a large pro-HQN population. Jalaluddin Haqqani is from Gerda Serai and several members of his extended family still reside there. The mountainous terrain of the Zadran Arc districts prevents access of ANSF to many villages as well as provides cover and ex-filtration routes to insurgents.<sup>29</sup>

*Shwak:* Lying just North of Gerda Serai, Shwak district is also very mountainous and appears to be used as the battlefield to attack CF/ANSF convoys before returning to Gerda Serai District to refit. There is a continuous animosity between the villages of Ibrahim Kheyl and Shabak Kheyl which lie across the KG Pass road project from one another. This tension appears to be driven by competition over resources, both natural and projects from the Provincial Reconstruction Team and other CF units.<sup>30</sup>

*Jani Kheyl:* This district lies in the lower Eastern portion of Paktya and borders Khowst Province. In the past it has been rarely visited by ANSF and CF due to it's remote location. Because of this lack of presence and it's bordering of the historically violent Sabari District in Khowst, it is believed to be a safehaven for INS in the area. In addition, tensions between the Bal Kheyl (Mangal) tribe in Jani Kheyl and the Zambar tribe in Sabari District

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Provincial Reconstruction Team reporting, June 2009.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Provincial Reconstruction Team reporting, June 2009.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Ibid.

have exasperated the problem. A failed 2005 UNAMA attempt to divide the land between the two tribes has continued to generate frustration. Recent efforts by the Paktya government, the PRT, Special Forces and TF Yukon have strived to both add ANSF to the area and mitigate tribal tensions.<sup>31</sup>

**Public attitudes toward security:** On average, 4% of the province reports never having seen the ANP, and 19% think that the ANA is poorly trained. Correspondingly, 4% of the province believes the security situation to be "bad."

**Public attitudes toward FF:** 48% of the province believes foreign forces do not help the people, and 28% believe them incompetent. 11% further believe that the foreign forces do not bring peace, especially in unsafe areas (twelve of the eighteen districts).

**Public attitudes toward Taliban:** 58% report having seen or heard of Taliban activity in their area (highest in Dand Wa Patan District at 80%), and 57% of the province has actually seen Taliban night letters (*Shabnamah*) (highest in Jaji and Chamkani districts at 80%). 14% of Paktya believes in the Taliban messages (highest in Jaji and Chamkani districts at 40%).

On the plus side, however, fear of the Taliban in Paktya is at 72%, and is the third most likely to blame the Taliban for the poor security situation (51%). Among districts that resisted the Taliban before, such as Lija Mangal, there exists the strong belief that is the tribe's responsibility to provide security. Interestingly, 93% of Paktya believes most Taliban comes from Pakistan.<sup>32</sup>

## **PAKTYA DISTRICTS**

The eleven official districts of Paktya Province are Jaji, Lija Mangal, Dand Wa Patan, Ahmad Abad, Sayid Karam, Chamkani, Jani Khel, Gardez, Zormat, Wazi Zadran, and Shwak. The three unofficial districts are Gerda Serai, Mirzaka and Ahmad Kheyl.

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<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Paktya Altai Public Opinion Info, Altai Consulting, 2007.