



KHOST LOCAL INFLUENCERS (FROM 2009 TO 2012)

by: Audrey Roberts

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TRIBAL ANALYSIS CENTER

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About Tribal Analysis Center

District	Reported Elder/ Influencer	Area	Village	Tribe	Sub-tribe	Clan	Notes
Gurbuz	Rahim Shah, elder		Musa Khan	Gorbuzi	Ezhdinwar		
Gurbuz	Rasul Mahman, elder		Musa Khan	Gorbuzi	Ezhdinwar		Also mentioned in Maidani
Gurbuz	Shermet, elder		Maidani	Gorbuzi	Ezhdinwar		
Gurbuz	Hakim, elder		Maidani	Gorbuzi	Ezhdinwar		
Gurbuz	Azrat Khan, malavi		Maidani	Gorbuzi	Ezhdinwar		
Gurbuz	Mirzat Khan, malavi		Maidani	Gorbuzi	Ezhdinwar		
Gurbuz	Sayed Ali Khan, malavi		Maidani	Gorbuzi	Ezhdinwar		
Gurbuz	Karim, malavi		Maidani	Gorbuzi	Ezhdinwar		
Jaji Maidan	Lal Badsha, elder			Jaji	Zani Khel		
Jaji Maidan	Janam, bazaar elder		Jaji Bazaar	Jaji			
Jaji Maidan	Edmar Jan, bazaar elder		Jaji Bazaar	Jaji			
Jaji Maidan	Hanunji, bazaar elder		Jaji Bazaar	Jaji			
Matun	Abdul Mohammed, village elder		Kagiree Kalay	Matun			Abuting SAL
Matun	Aziz Rahman, village elder		Kagiree Kalay	Matun			Abuting SAL; retired NDS COL
Matun	Rahim Shah, village elder		Kagiree Kalay	Matun			Abuting SAL; Law Faculty at Khost University
Matun	Dr. Sadiq Ali, village elder		Kagiree Kalay	Matun			Abuting SAL
Matun	Mir Wali, village elder		Kagiree Kalay	Matun			Abuting SAL; girls school teacher

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Matun	Hekmatullah, tal- lah leader		Kagiree Kalay	Matun			Abuting SAL
Matun	Sayed Moham- med, spingari		Kagiree Kalay	Matun			Abuting SAL
Matun	Pateh Khan, spin- gari		Kagiree Kalay	Matun			Abuting SAL
Matun	Haji Faizullah, vil- lage elder		Ghra Warda Khel Kalay (aka Nawai Kalay)	Mangal			Abuting SAL
Matun	Haroon, village elder		Ghra Warda Khel Kalay (aka Nawai Kalay)	Matun			Abuting SAL; retired NDS
Matun	Sharif, village elder		Ghra Warda Khel Kalay (aka Nawai Kalay)	Matun			
Matun	Gul Shah Khan, vil- lage elder		Ghra Warda Khel Kalay (aka Nawai Kalay)	Matun			Abuting SAL
Matun	Haji Aziz Moham- med, village elder		Sahrah Kalay	Matun			Abuting SAL
Matun	Noor Wali, village elder		Sahrah Kalay	Matun			Abuting SAL
Matun	Mir Abad Sha, vil- lage elder		Sahrah Kalay	Matun			Abuting SAL
Matun	Abdullah, village elder		Sahrah Kalay	Matun			Abuting SAL

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Matun	Khan Akbar, village elder		Sahrah Kalay	Matun			Abuting SAL
Matun	Mangal, village elder		Sahrah Kalay	Matun			Abuting SAL
Matun	Gul Baz Khan, village elder		Sahrah Kalay	Matun			Abuting SAL
Matun	Sahib Shah, village elder		Sahrah Kalay	Matun			Abuting SAL
Matun	Haji Muhammed Azim Jan, village elder and War Puri Matun tallah elder		Warda Khel	Matun			Abuting SAL; former attorney
Matun	Namatallah Jan, village elder		Toriyan Kalay	Matun			Abuting SAL; NDS officer
Matun	Sayed Rahman, village elder		Toriyan Kalay	Matun			Abuting SAL
Matun	Haji Qasim, village elder		Toriyan Kalay	Matun			Abuting SAL;
Matun	Gul Rahman, village elder		Toriyan Kalay	Matun			Abuting SAL; girls school teacher
NSK	Haji Lal Khan, elder		Wum Kalay	Muqbel			
NSK	Babrak, elder		Wum Kalay	Muqbel			
NSK	Makham, elder		Wum Kalay	Muqbel			
NSK	Haji Nawab Khan, elder		Shembowat	Zadran	Zeni Khel	Bakhiki Khel	
NSK	Haji Nazim, elder			Zadran	Zeni Khel		
NSK	Fasul Rahim, Zadran Tribal Council Chairman						

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NSK	Haji Wali Akbar Zadran, elder			Zadran	Kholay		
NSK	Mohammed Ayoub, elder			Zadran	Zeni Khel		
NSK	Mullah Abdul Ra- sheed, elder			Zadran	Zeni Khel	Bakhiki Khel	
NSK	Sakhi Muhammad Khan, Muqbel tribal elder						POC for 2009 Resolution Let- ter bw Muqbel and Mangal
NSK	Alif Noor, former arbakai command- er			Zadran	Zeni Khel	Bola Khel	
NSK	Haji Haidar Gul Mangal, Mangal tribal elder						POC for 2009 Resolution Let- ter bw Muqbel and Mangal; NDS Chief of NSK and US Rule of Law Officer noted to have original documents with 12 - 19 signatures of elders
NSK	Haji Satar, elder			Zadran	Zeni Khel	Manda Khel	Reportedly most influential elder of the Mandal
NSK	Haji Mir Zadin, elder			Zadran	Zeni Khel	Manda Khel	
NSK	Mohammed Shah, elder			Zadran	Zeni Khel	Manda Khel	
NSK	Haji Zira Gul, elder			Zadran	Zeni Khel	Anik Khel	
NSK	Haji Yoor Dood, elder			Zadran	Zeni Khel	Anik Khel	
NSK	Azim Gul, elder			Zadran	Zeni Khel	Anik Khel	

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NSK	Haji Qasim Gul, elder			Zadran	Zeni Khel	Anik Khel	
NSK	Juma Noor, elder			Zadran	Kholay	Anik Khel	
NSK	Sayedagai, elder			Zadran	Zeni Khel	Manda Khel	
NSK	Mohammed Khan, elder			Zadran	Zeni Khel	Koodar Khel	
NSK	Haji Satar Gul, elder			Zadran	Zeni Khel	Khranzi Khel	
NSK	Mullah Karim, elder			Zadran	Zeni Khel	Khranzi Khel	
NSK	Komandan Bakhmal			Zadran	Zeni Khel	Bakhiki Khel	
NSK	Haji Rahmat Khan			Zadran	Zeni Khel	Bakhiki Khel	
NSK	Mullah Abdul Rashid			Zadran	Zeni Khel	Bakhiki Khel	
NSK	Haji Mohammed Halim, elder			Zadran	Zeni Khel	Soway/ Shamshi	
NSK	Haji Shah Minee, elder			Zadran	Zeni Khel	Soway/ Shamshi	
NSK	Haji Alif Khan, elder			Moqbil			
NSK	Haji Mir Salaam, elder			Moqbil			
NSK	Omar Gul, elder			Moqbil			
Tani	Sardar Spowan, elder	Nareza		Tani	Aruzai	Janga Khel	

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Tani	Lal Nasir Khan, malavi	Nareza		Tani	Aruzai		
Tani	Pacha Din, malavi	Nareza		Tani	Aruzai		
Tani	Haji Sayed Shah, elder	Dragi		Tani	Drunami		
Tani	Mamoor, elder	Dragi		Tani	Khabi Khel		
Tani	Malavi Mira Lam, malavi	Ter Khel		Tani			
Tani	Rasool Muham- mad, Khost Head of a political party			Tani			Khost Head of the political party - Desolar Gulzang, or the Afghanistan Peace Move- ment,
Tani	Muhammed Ha- waz, Khost Head of a political party			Tani			Khost Head of the political party - Hezb-I Muttalaw-e Milli or National Unity Party.
Tani	Noor Wali Khan (aka Zar Pir), elder			Piran-Lahoori			
Tani	Haji Adam Saz, ar- bakai leader, elder			Tani	Senakai		
Tani	Haji Rahman, elder			Tani	Senakai		
Tani	Khona Mider, elder			Tani	Senakai		
Tani	Spin Sahib, elder			Tani	Senakai		
Tani	Khanif Shah, elder			Piran-Lahoori			
Tani	Din Hassan, elder		Orjalay	Tani	Drunami	Orjalay	
Tani	Wali Mad Khan, elder		Orjalay	Tani	Drunami	Orjalay	
Tani	Salieem Khan, elder		Orjalay	Tani	Drunami	Orjalay	
Tani	Tab, elder		Orjalay	Tani	Drunami	Orjalay	

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Tani	Akim Khan, elder		Heserak	Tani	Drunami	Heserak	
Tani	Gaffur Jan, elder		Heserak	Tani	Drunami	Heserak	
Tani	Janit Gul Madoor		Heserak	Tani	Drunami	Heserak	
Tani	Delawar Shah		Heserak	Tani	Drunami	Heserak	Hesarak elder and representative in the Khost Mujahideen Shura; described as the one person from Hesarak that could represent the people from the area in Khost and Kabul
Tani	Gulam Ag, elder		Orjalay	Tani	Drunami	Orjalay	
Tani	Wali Sardar, elder		Orjalay	Tani	Drunami	Orjalay	
Tani	Min Gul, elder		Orjalay	Tani	Drunami	Orjalay	
Tani	Ghaffaur, KPF commander, Rasool Mohammed's son		Orjalay	Tani	Drunami	Orjalay	
Tani	Eshmatullah, NSP village representative		Banda Khel	Tani	Khabi Khel	Banda Khel	
Tani	Mir Boot, elder		Banda Khel	Tani	Khabi Khel	Banda Khel	Banda Khel elder living in Khost City; reported to have left during Taliban government because of predatory behavior during civil war
Tani	Haji Rasool Pad Shah, elder		Banda Khel	Tani	Khabi Khel	Banda Khel	Banda Khel elder living in Khost City; reported to have left during Taliban government because of predatory behavior during civil war

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Tani	Janin, elder		Banda Khel	Tani	Khabi Khel	Banda Khel	Very respected figure in Banda Khel; principal/head master of the school
Tani	Haji Ali Jan, elder		Banda Khel	Tani	Khabi Khel	Banda Khel	Banda Khel elder living in Khost City; reported to have left during Taliban government because of predatory behavior during civil war
Sabari	Hajji Gulam Khan, elder		Chinah	Niazi Kuchi			
Sabari	Mirajgai, elder		Chinah	Niazi Kuchi			
Sabari	Nadir Khan, elder		Chinah	Niazi Kuchi			
Sabari	Gulab Zal, elder		Chinah	Niazi Kuchi			
Sabari	Hajji Niaz Muhammad, elder		Chinah	Niazi Kuchi			
Sabari	Mir Zaman Khan, elder		Chinah	Niazi Kuchi			
Sabari	Al Mar Jan, elder		Chinah	Niazi Kuchi			
Sabari	Hajji Argul, elder		Chinah	Niazi Kuchi			
Sabari	Paraz, elder		Chinah	Niazi Kuchi			

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Sabari	Mamoor Ali Jan, late elder	Zambar		Sabari	Zambar		Described as the pre-eminent elder by his tribesmen, not only among the Zambar but among the larger Sabari tribe as well. During the Soviet invasion, it was Mamoor Ali Jan who decided the tribe would go into exile in the Kurram Agency in Pakistan. It has been reported that the vast majority of Sabari went with him.
Sabari	Hajji Garib Gwal	Rugha	Noori Kalay	Sabari	Zambar		Elder duties selected on a rotating basis based on required conditions
Sabari	Hajji Nur Mahmud	Rugha	Noori Kalay	Sabari	Zambar		Elder duties selected on a rotating basis based on required conditions
Sabari	Hajji Hakim Jan	Rugha	Noori Kalay	Sabari	Zambar		Elder duties selected on a rotating basis based on required conditions
Sabari	Hajji Hanna	Rugha	Noori Kalay	Sabari	Zambar		Elder duties selected on a rotating basis based on required conditions
Sabari	Haji Baran, elder	Zambar	(Upper) Noori Kalay	Sabari	Zambar		
Sabari	Sadam, former arbakai commander	Zambar	(Upper) Noori Kalay	Sabari	Zambar		Haji Baran's son

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Sabari	Haji Mudir, elder of the lower part of the village (Zardar Kalay)	Suraipon	Zardar (aka Mejelis)	Sabari	Zardar		Brother of the late Badi Zaman and son of the famous late Sabari mashar Mamoor Ali Jan. A common refrain is that the people of Sabari don't believe in him anymore
Sabari	Tahir Khan, elder			Sabari			Acting Governor 2009, Deputy Governor 2008-2009. A common refrain is that no one believes in Tahir Khan
Sabari	Sgt. Zabat, elder	Suraipon	Zardar (aka Mejelis)	Sabari	Zardar		Former ANA
Sabari	Karim Khan, elder	Suraipon	Zardar (aka Mejelis)	Sabari	Zardar		A local teacher
Sabari	Mezarak, elder	Mulli		Sabari	Mulli		A common narrative among the Mulli is that they separated from the Sabari
Sabari	Haji Sher Zad, elder	Mulli	Mut Khel Kalay	Sabari	Mulli		A common narrative among the Mulli is that they separated from the Sabari
Sabari	Nasir Gul, elder	Mulli	Mut Khel Kalay	Sabari	Mulli		
Sabari	Haji Sayed Rahman, elder	Mulli	Mut Khel Kalay	Sabari	Mulli		
Sabari	Haji Sayed Rahman, elder		Subzah Kalay	Sabari			
Sabari	Haji Sher Wali, elder		Subzah Kalay	Sabari			

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Sabari	Mullah Shah Mut- mad, elder		Khurey Kalay	Sabari			
Sabari	Haji Mah Khan, elder		Tuti Khel Kalay	Sabari			
Sabari	Haji Garib Gul, elder	Yaqubi	Ster Kalaly	Sabari	Yaqubi		
Sabari	Haji Kada, elder	Yaqubi	Delwazi Kalay	Sabari	Yaqubi		
Sabari	Haji Gulab Gul, elder	Yaqubi	Nergosh Kalay	Sabari	Yaqubi		
Sabari	Haji Laiwani, elder	Yaqubi		Sabari	Yaqubi		
Sabari	Mullah Ali Jan, elder	Yaqubi		Sabari	Yaqubi		
Sabari	Haji Lal Wazir, elder/malik	Yaqubi	Laiwan Khel	Sabari	Laiwan Khel		
Sabari	Muhammed Hus- sein, elder	Rugha	Bodkhana	Sabari	Bodkhana		
Sabari	Nic Moda Khan, elder	Rugha	Bodkhana	Sabari	Bodkhana		
Sabari	Ulam Karim, ulema in the Provincial Council			Sabari			
Sabari	Haji Eid Khan, elder			Sabari			

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Terezai	Raifullah, former ASG cmdr		Ghondai Kalay	Terezai			The commander of the Af-ghan Security Guards (ASG) operating out of Terezai DC is Raifullah.
	<p>He is from the Terezai tribe and Ghondai Kalay in the Terezai area in Khost Province. Raifullah's father was a General and Division Commander – Muhammed Nawab Khan. He has seven brothers and four sisters. When the mujahideen took power in Afghanistan, he was attending military school. He dropped out of school and became a shopkeeper in Terezai Bazaar until the Americans ousted the Taliban Government. He first worked with OGA, then ODA and, for the previous seven months, with the ASG. With OGA, he was working under Commander Sardar in a unit called Solasathzwakona. This might have been an AMF unit. He listed the commanders that he worked under during the time he has worked with the Americans – Commanders Jan Baz, Habib Noor, Afzil, Ghaffar Khan (current KPF commander), Wahab Khan, and Khal Baz. He has worked in Khost for the duration of his time working with Americans. Originally, he began working with the Americans because, he reported, everyone loved Karzai at first and he was angry that the Taliban persecuted his father because he was an Army officer. The Taliban government reportedly made many attempts to assassinate his father. At the beginning of Karzai's government, he moved his family to Khost City due to intimidation and assassination attempts against his family members.</p>						
Terezai	Khawon, kuchi elder	Chergota					
Terezai	Shabarat, kuchi elder	Chergota					
Terezai	Haji Ziarat, kuchi elder	Chergota					
Terezai	Haji Dawlat Jan, kuchi elder	Chergota					
Terezai	Muhammed Hus- sein, kuchi elder	Chergota					

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Terezai	De Wali Haji (aka De Wali aka Haji De Wali)	Terezai	Kabal Kalay	Terezai			Among the Terezai, a common sentiment was that the generally the only elders the people listen to are their fathers, uncles, grandfathers, those that are related to them. This indicates disunity and lack of solidarity.
Terezai	Haji Alim Jan (aka Malik Alim Jan aka Haji Sahib Sakhi).	Harun Khel	Hajiyan Village (aka Haji Gulam Hussein Village)	Harun Khel			Haji Gulam Hussein was the name of the biggest Harun Khel elder in the past.
	When he was alive, the village was called Haji Gulam Hussein Village. When he passed away, people started referring to the village as Hajiyan Village, but the village is still famous for its historic name. The village is known as Hajiyan Village because nearly every male over thirty has been conducted Hajj. Despite their mixed origins, the people of the Harun Khel tribe were described as united. Each village has their own elders and shura, but there is also a Harun Khel tribal shura that meets regularly. The tribal shura was said to have more power and influence over the area than the district Shura. Another indicator of their unity, the Harun Khel has a qawm-e taroon (tribal treaty).						
Terezai	Dawa Khan, elder	Landar		Landar			
Terezai	Kadar, elder	Landar		Landar			
Terezai	Noor Alam Khan	Landar		Landar			His brother is Gul Baram Khan.
Terezai	Kashmir, edler	Landar		Landar			
Terezai	Mujahid Khan , lesser elders	Landar		Landar			
Terezai	Asan Khel, lesser elders	Landar		Landar			

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Terezai	Noor Alam Khan, former lead elder for Landar	Landar		Landar			Up until a few years ago, there was only one Landar elder: Noor Alam Khan. Noor Alam Khan is still influential, but is no longer the biggest elder for Landar because he is rarely in the area. He started a fuel distribution and transportation business, and works primarily in Kandahar and Kabul.
Terezai	Mirwal Khostwa, KPF cdr	Bati Tana		Khostwal			Interviewees said that the people of Landar have a good relationship with this CDR because they have so many people working as campaign with him. They are scared to use Babrak Tana and Dob Gai Tana due to AAF presence near the border-crossings.
Terezai	Mullah Khan, elder	Kadam		Kadam			
Terezai	Muhammed Rahman (aka Rahman Khan), elder	Kadam	Meleh Kalay	Kadam			
Terezai	Haji Faiz Muhammed, elder	Kadam	Jareh Kalay	Kadam			

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Terezai	Zahir, elder	Kadam		Kadam			There was another “strong” elder – Malik Nati Khan – from the Kadam area that was reportedly killed in the summer of 2008 for being pro-GIRoA. Nati Khan’s son was also kidnapped for ransom in 2008. One of his sons – Zahir – is a village elder, but is not considered as influential as his father.
Terezai	Zahir Shah, religious scholar	Kadam		Kadam			
Terezai	Malawi Abdul Bahki, religious scholar	Kadam		Kadam			
Terezai	Gul Amin, elder	Sadaq		Sadaq			Sadaq was described as having four elders, with two supporting GIRoA, and two supporting the AAF.
Terezai	Mullah Saidullah, elder	Sadaq		Sadaq			Sadaq was described as having four elders, with two supporting GIRoA, and two supporting the AAF.
Terezai	Shamed, elder	Sadaq		Sadaq			Sadaq was described as having four elders, with two supporting GIRoA, and two supporting the AAF.

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Terezai	Lewani Kashmir, elder	Sadaq		Sadaq			Sadaq was described as having four elders, with two supporting GIRoA, and two supporting the AAF.
Khost Province	Muhammad Ayub Hashime, Head of Provincial Ulema Shura	Provincial					
Khost Province	Mawlaui Sardar Zadran, Head of Provincial Mujahideen Shura	Provincial					
Khost Province	Ghaffar Khan, KPF cdr	Provincial					

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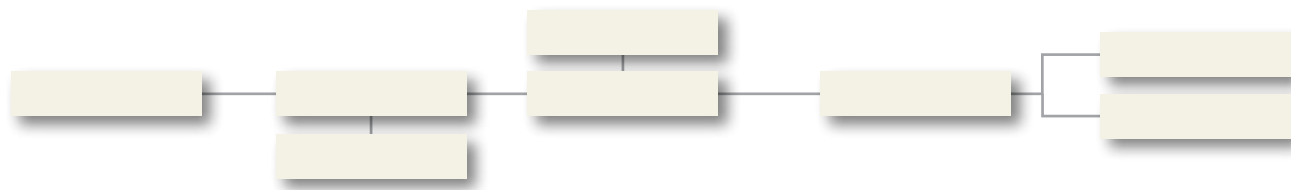
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TRIBAL ANALYSIS CENTER

Traditional anthropological research conducted among tribes inhabiting remote areas where insurgents and criminals operate has become increasingly difficult to implement. Studies carried out among people living in small-scale societies now are nearly impossible due to the physical dangers associated with the civil and religious unrest found in those areas. Swat, for example, has become so dangerous that Frederick Barth's studies only could be repeated at the risk of the investigator's life. Similar research is not feasible among Burma's Rohingya tribes located on both sides of the border with Bangladesh, as well as with the Pashtuns in Afghanistan's interior and within Pakistan's Federally Administered Tribal Areas, where even Pakistan's army enters with reluctance.

Given the difficulties of conducting direct fieldwork in conflictive areas, the Tribal Analysis Center utilizes an indirect approach. Using multidisciplinary research, we seek to collect and analyze data obtained from a wide variety of sources, both current and historical. In the absence of new ethnographic fieldwork to update our base of knowledge, the Tribal Analysis Center compiles and summarizes existing research and documents on tribal societies, combining this material with contemporary press reports and articles. We assume that much can be gleaned from well-informed observers who are not anthropologists, ranging from journalists and travelers to government officials.



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