

**T.C.
ISTANBUL AYDIN UNIVERSITY
INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES**



**A REVIEW OF AFGHAN NATIONALISM
IN TWO CENTURIES (19th & 20th)**

THESIS

Ziaulhaq RASHİDİ

**Department of Political Sciences and International Relations
Political Sciences and International Relations Program**

Thesis Advisor: Assitant Prof. Dr. Gülay UĞUR GÖKSEL

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I hereby declare that all information in this thesis document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results, which are not original to this thesis.

Ziaulhaq RASHIDI

*To my parents for their endless love, care, support and motivations, without whom I
couldn't achieve successes in my life.*

FOREWORD

Reviewing Afghan Nationalism provided me a wonderful opportunity to learn more about the roots and antiquity of nationalism in general; rise of Afghan nationalism; the position of Afghan nationalism in 20th century and multilateral relations of Afghan nationalism in Afghanistan and Pashtun nationalism in Pakistan.

I have witnessed a number of countries faced huge cracks and divisions (both ethnical and geographical) with less than a decade war/instability but with regards to over four decades of wars and instabilities, the united and dividable Afghanistan motivated me to find out more about the national unity of Afghanistan, in particular the Afghan nationalism despite some minor problems and ethnic cracks existed.

Any research linked to Afghan nationalism requires great amount of efforts due to the limited available works from one hand and on the other, my goal is to concentrate on local (Afghan historians and social scientists) perspectives rather than relying just on the works of the international researchers. When it comes to local perspectives, it is hard to research thousands miles away from Afghanistan since very limited academic works and other sources in Afghani/Pashtu language is available online at this point in time, hence I had to travel to Kabul for searching required sources in bookstores and public libraries.

This research [Review of Afghan Nationalism in Two Centuries (19th and 20th)] is the outcome of outcome of noble gestures and sincere contributions of many individuals. Taking this opportunity, I would to thank my family more particularly my father for his endless love, support and being my main motivator; university professors and my friends who helped me directly or indirectly throughout this research.

Finally, I would like to express my deepest and sincere gratitude to my supervisor Pof. Dr. Gülay Uğur Göksel for her precious guidance, valuable advices and massive support during the course of this research work.

January,2019

Ziaulhaq RASHIDI

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ABBREVIATIONS

ANP	: Awami National Party (Pakistan)
BRICS	: Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa
EU	: Organization of Islamic Cooperation and European Union
FATA	: Federally Administered Tribal Areas
GoIRA	: Government of Islamic Republic of Afghanistan
IRA	: Islamic Republic of Afghanistan
KP	: Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (Pakistan)
MP	: Member of Parliament
NATO	: North Atlantic Treaty Organization
OIC	: Organization of Islamic Cooperation
PMAP	: Pashtunkhwa Milli Awami Party (Pakistan)
PTM	: Pashtun Tahafuz Movement (Pakistan)
UN	: United Nations
US	: United States of America
USSR	: Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WTO	: World Trade Organization
ARS	: Afghanistan Royal State

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A REVIEW OF AFGHAN NATIONALISM IN TWO CENTURIES (19th & 20th)

ABSTRACT

This thesis reviews the rise and growth of Afghan Nationalism in two centuries, the 19th century mainly the second half for the rise of Afghan nationalism and the 20th century for development of Afghan Nationalism. In this study, unlike the most of available works and researches, it has been tried to use reliable local narratives as source the most, in order to introduce Afghan nationalism from local (Afghan) perspective, rather than the international researchers' angle. Moreover, the balance of perspectives and resources has been considered in the narratives from the both (Afghan and Pakistan) sides of the Durand Line with regards to the Afghan nation, nationalism and the role of Durand Line.

This study has touched upon the cross-cutting points from the Afghan nationalism point of view in Afghanistan and Pashtun nationalism point of view in Pakistan. History texts, academic researches, studies and conferences reports in four languages, mainly Afghani/Pashto, Persian/Dari, English and rarely Urdu language used as sources to make sure the study reflects balanced multilateral standpoints.

While talking of Afghan nationalism, valid questions we may face, are: Firstly, what is the term Afghan and what is the history of Afghanistan? Secondly, when and how the Afghan Nationalism was established, which factors involved in its emergence and who were the key actors? Thirdly, why is the southern and eastern frontier with Pakistan named as the Durand Line and why the Afghan nationalists in Afghanistan and Pashtun nationalists in Pakistan concentrate on Durand Line as core? Before, these key questions are answered, we will try to look at the general overview of nationalism, the history of nationalism and its relation with globalization.

This thesis provides a brief introduction of the general overview of nationalism, the major types of nationalism and the importance of nationalism in globalized era; and talks about the history and antiquity of the term Afghan; With the history of over 1700 years, how the term (Afghan) adopted as the national identity of all the citizens in course of centuries more particularly the last two centuries both in local and international narratives. The study requires to put some lights on the historical background of Afghanistan from a region located in the neighborhood of Khorasan and Turkistan regions to a country and then to an empire (Afghanistan empire/ Durani empire).

Nation building efforts in Afghanistan and the construction of the foundation of Afghan nationalism as well as the rise of Afghan nationalism have been deliberated within second half of 19th century with more emphasis on the north-south resettlements programs along with major social and political reforms aimed modernization; the nationalistic struggles within secret groups hidden from the government eyes and then the new face of Afghan nationalism with full government support, role of media and modern educational institutions in early 20th century.

The 2640 km long southern and eastern frontier of Afghanistan with Pakistan has not been recognized by the Afghan governments throughout the contemporary history as international border despite regime changes occurred with major ideological crack and variances. From the day the (Durand Agreement) signed (12 November 1893) till now, this frontier is named as Durand Line and challenged by Afghan states by Afghans/Pashtuns on the both sides of the line.

We will look at the history of Pashtun nationalism and the effects of Durand Agreement (Durand Line) both on Afghan nationalism in Afghanistan and Pashtun nationalism in Pakistan in addition to the relations between these two nationalisms. Pashtun nationalism in Pakistan cannot be disconnected from Afghan nationalism, it can be defined vertically as subordination or at least horizontally side by side (Pashtun nationalism – Afghan nationalism) equally the two faces the same coin. Pashtun nationalists in Pakistan have been using Afghan identity the same as Pashtun one. I will try to keep the balance of Pashtun nationalists' viewpoints and Afghan nationalists' viewpoints for balanced multilateral arguments.

Keywords: *Afghan Nationalism, Nation Building Efforts, Durand Line, Pashtunistan, Great Afghanistan*

AFGAN MİLLİYETÇİLİĞİNE BİR BAKIŞ [19. VE 20. YÜZYIL]

ÖZET

Bu tez iki yüzyıllık- 19. Yüzyıl, esas olarak Afgan milliyetçiliğinin yükselişinin ikinci yarısı ve 20. Yüzyıl, Afgan milliyetçiliğinin gelişmesini- inceleyerek Afgan Milliyetçiliğinin yükselişi ve gelişmesini ele almaktadır. Bu çalışmada, mevcut olan çalışmalar ve araştırmalardan farklı olarak, uluslararası araştırmacılar açısından değil, yerel (Afgan) perspektiften Afgan milliyetçiliği tanıtmak için çoğunlukla yerel anlatıların güvenilir bir kaynak olarak kullanılmasına çalışılmıştır. Üstelik, Afgan milleti, milliyetçilik ve Durand Hattı'nın rolü ile ilgili perspektiflerin ve kaynakların dengesi hatın her iki tarafında (Afganistan ve Pakistan'da) yaşayanların anlatılarında dikkate alınmıştır. Bu çalışmada Afganistan'daki Afgan milliyetçiliği bakımından ve Pakistan'daki Peştun milliyetçiliği bakımından kesişen noktalara temas edilmiştir. Çalışmanın dengeli ve çok tarflı bakış açılarını yansıttığından emin olabilmek için dört dil, ağırlıklı olarak Afganca/Peştunca, Farsça/Darice, İngilizce ve nadiren Urduca'daki tarihi metinler, akademik araştırmalar, çalışmalar ve konferansların raporları kaynak olarak kullanılmıştır.

Afgan milliyetçiliğinden söz ederken karşılaştığımız sorular: İlk olarak, Afgan kelimesi ne anlama gelir ve Afganistan'ın tarihi nedir? İkinci olarak, Afgan milliyetçiliği ne zaman ve nasıl ortaya çıktı, ortaya çıkışındaki etkenler neydi ve kilit aktörleri kimlerdi? Üçünü olarak, neden Pakistan ile olan güney ve doğu sınırı Durand Hattı olarak bilinir ve neden Afgan milliyetçiler ve Pakistan'daki Peştun milliyetçiler Durand Hattı üzerine ana unsur olarak odaklanmaktadırlar? Bu kilit sorulara cevap vermeden önce biz milliyetçiliğinin genel bakışı, milliyetçiliğinin tarihi ve küreselleşme ile olan ilgisine bakmaya çalışacağız. Sosyal bilimciler ve milliyetçiler arasında milliyetçiliğinin kökleri ve eskiliği üzerine tartışmalar hala devam etmektedir. Anthony Smith ve milliyetçilik üzerinde önde gelen araştırmacılar çağdaş milliyetçiliği eski etnik kökenlerin gelişmiş ve modifiye olmuş şeklindeki devamı olarak çağdaş milliyetçiliği haklı çıkararak milliyetçiliğinin köklerini eski etnik kökenlerde aramaktadırlar, ancak geri kalanı bu düşünceye karşı çıkmakta ve milliyetçiliğinin endüstrileşme ve 18.yüzyılın sonlarında ve 19. yüzyılın başlarında modern devletlerin ortaya çıkışıyla ilişkili olduğunu savunmaktadırlar. Böylece bu açıdan bakıldığında milliyetçilik nispeten yeni bir olgu olup çağdaş-öncesi dönemlerle ilişkilendirilemez.

Sosyal bilimciler tarafından küreselleşmenin, milliyetçiliğinin önemimini azalttığını öngördüğüne-hatta küreselleşmiş dönemde milliyetçiliğinin hayatta kalmasının muhtemel olduğunu öne sürdüğüne- rağmen Soviet-sonrası cumhuriyetlerin ortaya çıkışıyla küreselleşmeye olan bu heves sarsılmıştır. Böylece, küreselleşmenin hızla ilerlemesine rağmen milliyetçiliğinin önemini görmezden gelmek zordur. Aynı zamanda etnik köken hala milliyetçilikte önem taşımakta, bu yüzden Pakistan milliyetçiliğinin ve Pakistan'daki Peştun etnik kökeninin marjinalleşmesinden bahseden Mandokhil(2015) ve Sırp milliyetçiliğinin kötü imajına işaret edecen Calhoun (2007) gibi politikacıların etnik köken odaklı tanımlarından dolayı bazen milliyetçilik olumsuz bir imajla karşımıza çıkmaktadır.

Orta Asya ile güney Asya arasında köprü olarak Asya'nın merkezinde yer alan Afganistan'ın stratejik konumu itibarıyla bölgenin politik ve stratejik manzarasında Afgan milliyetçiliği büyük önem taşımaktadır. Tarih açısından bakıldığında, Afganlar bölgenin yerli sakinleridir, ancak bu coğrafi bölge eski Ariana'dan tartışmalı Horasan'a ve daha sonra Afganistan'a kadar farklılık gösterebilmektedir. Tarihçiler Horasan'ın Afganistan'ın tarihi bir isim olduğunu reddetmekte ve şimdiki Afganistan ile İran arasındaki bir bölge olduğuna inanmaktadırlar. Horasan'ın şimdiki Afganistan coğrafyasını kapsayan bir krallık veya imparatorluk olduğunu kanıtlamak zordur. İran'da hala Afganistan'a komşulukta olan bir şehir Horasan diye adlandırılmaktadır.

19. yüzyılın ikinci yarısında, Amir Sher Ali Han'ın modernleşme ve dil reformu odaklı ulus oluşturma çabaları Afgan milliyetçiliğin temelini oluşturmuştur. 19. yüzyılın sonlarında, Emir Abdül Rahman Han'ın istikrar çabaları, sert işkenceler, idamlar ve sürgünler dahil olmak üzere daha çok istikrar odaklı bir yaklaşım idi- ki uzun sürede Afganistan'da birleşmiş ve güçlü bir ulus olmasıyla sonuçlanmış olup sosyal, güvenlik ve ekonomik başarılar elde ettiğinden dolayı milliyetçiler için önem taşımaktadır. Oysa ki, 1893'Te Hindistan ile güney ve doğu sınırlarını kurma niyetinde Durand Antlaşmasını imzalayarak milletin ve toprağının yarısını Britanya Hindistanı'na verdi ve Afgan milletini ikiye bölmüş oldu.

Emir'in mutlak istikrar için katı stratejisinin bir parçası olarak, 1880 ve 1890'lardaki sürgün ve zorunlu yeniden-yerleşim, ülkenin kuzey ve güneyindeki zayıflamış aşiret dinamikleri ve etnik dengeleriyle istikrar sağlamıştır. Bununla birlikte, yeniden-yerleşimin ilk aşaması, zorunlu olması itibarıyla ve yeniden-yerleştirme öncesi tesislerin olmadığından dolayı zor olsa da Afgan milletini daha güçlü kıldı ve aynı zamanda ekonomik ve sosyal sonuçlar elde etti. Bu nedenle, bu inisiyatif 20. yüzyılda Emir Amanullah Han'ın saltanatı döneminde milliyetçiler tarafından ikinci bir aşamada uygulandı.

20. yüzyılda Afgan milliyetçiliği şu şekilde yeni bir biçim aldı: 1) Bir taraftan genç Afgan milliyetçileri milliyetçi çabalar için Habibiya lisesini merkez olarak kullandılar; 2) hem medyanın hem de ülkenin sosyal ve siyasal coğrafyasında büyük etkileri olan milliyetçi düşünceleri için yazılı medyadan yararlanma fırsatını yakaladılar.

Güneyde Britanya Hindistanı'ndan çok sayıda saldırılar ve kuzeyde Rus Çar'larından gelen tehditler, buna ek olarak kraliyet aileleri arasındaki iç çekişmeler ve iç savaşlar Afgan hükümdarların geniş bölgelerden vazgeçip kaybedmelerine, hatta 19. yüzyılın sonlarındaki Durand Anlaşması'na varmalarına ve Afgan hükümdarı Emir Abdulrahman Khan'ın Afganistan topraklarının yarısını Britanya Hindistanı'na kaybetmesine sebep oldu. Günümüzde Pakistan ile güney ve doğu sınırı, Durand Hattı olarak bilinmekte, ama 1893'te imzalandığı tarihten itibaren hiçbir Afgan hükümeti tarafından tanınmamış ve milleti ikiye böldüğünden dolayı hatın her iki tarafında yaşayan ve aynı etnik köken, dil, din ve kültürü paylaşan Peştunlar tarafından sürekli olarak kınanmıştır. Bu durum, Durand Hattı'nın sadece Afganistan ve Pakistan'ın politik ve stratejik manzarasında çekirdek konu olarak değil, belki Afgan milliyetçiliğinin ve Afgan ulusuna ilişkin herhangi söylemin merkezinde yer almasının asıl sebebidir. Aynı zamanda, Durand Hattı Pakistan'daki Peştun mücadelelerine esastır. Bu bağlamda Durand Hattını bir sınır olarak reddetme mahiyetinde Pakistan'daki Peştun lideri ve milliyetçi Abdul Ghafar Khan/Bacha Khan 1988'de Afganistan'ın Jalal Abad şehrinde toprağa verilmiştir. Bacha Han'ın ölüm töreni için yıllık sınır ötesi etkinlik, Pashtun dayanışması ve Durand Hattı'nın hem Afganistan hem de Pakistan tarafında yaşayan Peştun halkı tarafından

reddedilmesinin açık beyanı için bir fırsattır. Bununla birlikte, Pakistan'daki bir kısım Peştunlar, Afganistan'a katılma ya da bağımsız Peştunistan'ı kurma niyetinde olmayabilir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *Afgan Milliyetçiliği, Uluş Oluşturma Çabaları, Durand Hattı, Büyük Afganistan, peştunistan*

1. INTRODUCTION

The debates among social scientists and nationalists still continue over the antiquity and roots of nationalism, Anthony Smith the leading researcher on nationalism sought the roots of nationalism in ancient ethnicities through justifying the modern nationalism as a continuity of ancient ethnicities in developed and modified forms however the rest opposes this idea and keep arguing that nationalism associated with industrialization and emergence of the modern states in late 18th and early 19th centuries, thus from this standpoint, nationalism is relatively a new phenomenon and cannot be linked with pre-modern intervals.

With regards to the understanding of the origin of nationalism, numerous theories are provided, mostly classified in three major theories as the 1) Political theory of nationalism: argues that nationalism is fundamentally political and connecting nationalism with rise of modern states; 2) Cultural theory: argues that nationalism is basically cultural and has roots in ancient eras with particular ethnolinguistic groups; and 3) Political and cultural theory: argues that nationalism is fundamentally cultural and political with regards to its antiquity and transformation from the ancient type of nationalism to the modern type by the impacts of the appearance of modern states.

Two main types are central to the discourse of nationalism in general. 1) The Ethnic Nationalism with common ethnicity inheritance and emotional attachments. In this type of nationalism, the nationhood is defined by blood (biological decent), language, culture and other ethnic categorization. In ethnic nationalism, the major ethnic group rules with founding myths, history and distinct culture and/or language(s). 2) Civic Nationalism is unlike the ethnic one, not ethnic categorization oriented nationalism but can only be defined with a common membership of a state or the citizenship of a particular sovereign and independent state containing all those who contributed to political doctrine irrespective of ethnical categorization such as color, language, culture, faith,

gender etc. Civic nationalists offer democratic theory, demand self-governing and argue that civic nationalism is essentially democratic since it delegates the sovereignty to all the citizens. This type of nationalism, emphasizes on the rule of democratic pluralism unlike ethnic one which emphasizes on the majority ethnic group.

The term Afghanistan clearly outlines the possession of Afghans/ the land of Afghans. Kakar (2011) argued that Afghans lived in this region for thousands years despite the exact geography may have changed from time to time per the life requirements in the course of centuries. Historians and nationalists both agree that the territory of ancient Afghanistan started from Sulaiman Mountains till the Abasin River in the neighborhood of Turkistan and Khorasan regions.

Mandokhil (2015) argued that, per the history texts, the term Afghan with the history of at least 1700 years, characterizes the national identity of the people of Afghanistan regardless of the ethnic race and language categorization. Per the article #5 of the Afghan constitution, the term Afghan is applied for every single citizen of Afghanistan. Notably, the first constitution of Afghanistan (Nizamnama Assasi) in 1923 defined the term Afghan in a broad-based implication as everyone who resides in Afghanistan from any ethnic or religious group, engaged in any type of work, production or service, are called Afghan. Per Ghubar 1967, till the 18th century, the term Afghan was used for Pashtons (the major ethnic group of Afghanistan) but this term (Afghan) was generalized and used for all the inhabitants of the country irrespective of the ethnical and religious classification later on. Ferrier 2002 argued that Pashtuns, always in the course of centuries used Pashton identity for themselves and it took pretty long time for Pashtons as the majority of Afghanistan to adopt the term Afghan as identity.

Afghanistan is a combined name of two terms (Afghan) and (Stan) meaning the land of Afghans. Kakar 2011 argued that the term Afghanistan used in (Tarikhnama Herat) repeatedly in 14th century by Saifi Heravi. Other texts from 16th century (Babur Nama) by Zahiruddin Mohammad the Moghul Emperor in India described the territory of Afghanistan starting from south of Kabul city to Peshawar, the capital of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan. In first half of the 18th century, Mirwise Khan Hotak gathered and organized Afghan khans and tribal

elders against Safavid Empire followed by a Loya Jirga, the traditional grand congregation of Afghan representatives in 1747, elected Ahmad Shah Abdali as the leader of movement for the independence of Afghanistan with the full support of Jirga, Ahmad Shah Abdali not only established a modern state of Afghanistan but widened the territory of Afghanistan to the west by capturing Khorasan and in the south by occupying Kashmir, Panjab and Dehli/ New Delhi, the current capital of India. Ahmad Shah Abdali also known as Ahmad Shah Baba ruled the Afghanistan Empire for many years.

In second half of the 19th century, multiple invasions and continuous threats from the British India side unified the people of Afghanistan at one hand and on the other, Amir Sher Ali Khan, constructed foundations for Afghan Nationalism through modernizing the state and applying a comprehensive martial, administrative and social reform program. As part of the reforms, Farsi/Persian language was replaced by Pashto/Afghani language and was announced the only official language of Afghanistan. Military and tax collection was part of the program while education was core to the reforms, thus, modern schools were established and Pashto language was mandatorily thought in those modern schools. The reformation program was clogged by Amir Abdul Rahman Khan and Persian/Dari language was replaced back as the official language of the royal court and state, yet, resumed the military reforms widely.

King Abdul Rahman Khan suppressed the rebellions mercilessly and centralized the government for first time. His exile, cruelty and executions policy aimed high level stability and maintaining power, directed particular targets almost in every ethnic group. Abdul Rahman Khan exiled thousands of families forcefully from west, south and center to northern areas following a number of insurgencies in the south by his own ethnicity (Pashtons) Kakar (2011). Amir Abdul Rahman Khan was the first king of Afghanistan who initiated and implemented the exile and reluctant resettlement program in Afghanistan. This way, he not only stabilized the south through reducing the role of Khans/ tribal elders but stabilized the north though balancing the ethnic groupings in the area. In addition, King Abdul Rahman Khan strengthened the northern borders in contradiction of Russian threats through his exile/resettlement programs, he mentioned his aim in his book (Taj Altawarikh) that he could not leave northern

borders in fragile condition following the Russia seized Panjdeh province of Afghanistan.

Although, Amir Abdul Rahman Khan's nation building efforts concluded a united and strong nation in Afghanistan, achieved social, security and economic goals through forceful resettlement program, yet, he gave up half of his nation and territory to British India by signing the Durand Agreement intended for setting southern and eastern frontiers with India in 1893.

In 20th century more particular in 1901 when Amir Habibullah Khan took the power, Afghan nationalism got into a new phase mainly with the key role of Afghan nationalist, Mahmud Tarzi with his return to Afghanistan from Istanbul after his family was exiled by Amir Abdul Rahman Khan. A modern collage (Habibya) was established where Turk, Indian and European teachers hired to teach modern sciences. This collage, in addition to a modern academic center in the capital Kabul, served as midpoint for nationalistic struggles for the entire country.

Mahmud Tarzi formed an organization, National Secret Group (Jamiate Serri Milli) composed of young well educated Afghan nationalists, members of royal court and family members of high level authorities, struggled for political and social reforms in addition to the full independence from British India since the King Habibullah Khan was bound to consult with India for international relations, yet, Amir was fully independent in local affairs. The group planned to replace Amir Habibullah Khan for not supporting and disapproving the most of nationalistic efforts nevertheless in 1909 the secret group was exposed and some members were jailed. Thus, Mahmud Tarzi created another nationalist organization, Jawanan-e-Afghan (The Afghan Youth) in Kabul. Prince Enayatullah Khan and Prince Amanullah Khan were member of the organization.

Unlike the reign of Amir Habibullah Khan when the nationalistic struggles were hidden from the government eyes in secret groups and organizations, now the nationalistic struggles are part of the government agenda. Administrative reforms and nation building struggles were in the top of the state agenda for modernization. Hence, the term Afghan was defined in the first constitution and applied for every single citizen of Afghanistan regardless of the ethnic and

religious classifications, National Identity Regulation (Nezam Nama-e Tazkira Nufus) was created and enforced as result of which the national identification cards were issued to every citizen of Afghanistan. Nevertheless, this time nationalists faced a new challenge despite the nationalistic notions spread around the country. This new challenge was to convince the tradition and conservative Islamic society of Afghanistan that Afghan nationalism is not contradicting the pan-Islamism. At the same time, pan-Islamism ideology shaded the nationalistic struggles led by Mahatma Gandhi, Jawahir Lal Nehru and others in southern neighbor (India) as well as the Pashtun nationalistic struggles led by Bacha Khan/Abdul Ghafar Khan against British rule in Indian sub-continent.

Durand Line, the 1640km long southern and eastern frontier with Pakistan is another but important dimension of the Afghan nationalism. It's named with a specific label as Durand Line rather than the border since Afghanistan has never recognized as international territorial boundary, thus, this line influenced the stability and inter-state relations between Afghanistan and Pakistan but has shaded politics within the region. It's named as Durand Line following a delegation led by British Col. Henry Mortimer Durand, the foreign secretary of India assigned by British Viceroy in India (Lord Lansdowne) to negotiate the frontier arrangements with Afghan king aimed to create a buffer zone with Afghanistan from one hand and use the Afghan territory as a buffer state between Russia and India. Per history texts, the agreement signed by both parties the Afghan Amir and Indian delegation in 1893 however, Kakar (2011) stated that he could not find the signature of Amir Abdul Rahman Khan in Durand Agreement despite searched both British and Indian museums.

Another Loya Jirga held in 1947 in Bannu, composed of Abdul Ghafar Khan, Abdul Samad Khan, Haji Mirza Ali Khan known as Fakir Ipi and others adopted a resolution called Bannu Resolution/ Pashtunistan Resolution stated that Pashtuns rejects to stay with India or join Pakistan but want their independent Pashtunistan. Fakir Ipi, the famous and powerful freedom fighter rejected the Durand Line and continued his armed rebellion against newly established Pakistan state for an independent Pashtunistan. Durand Line became ultimate issue for Pashtun nationalist groups in Pakistan led by Abdul Ghafar Khan/Bach

khan and Abdul Samad Khan and hot one for the Afghan nationalists in Afghanistan as well as the main agenda of the Afghan governments even with the regimes changed time to time. Pashtunistan was bearing point in regional politics within late 20th century but with the collapse USSR/Soviet Union in 90s and collapse of communist regime in Kabul, the Pashtunistan struggles lost major supporter, the Soviet Union.

2. NATIONALISM

Human beings are social creatures that not only prefer to live together in groups but cannot survive deprived of grouping as human societies. Such grouping varying in levels and sizes starting from family to village/town, district/provincial level and then to national and hopefully in global level as a human society.

In this thesis, I would like to deliberate such groupings in national level with regards to its position due to the increasing importance of nationalism despite the threats from globalization side and more particularly the Afghan nation remained united for centuries and survived during British Indian, Former Soviet Union USSR and US/NATO invasions.

The debates among social scientists and nationalists still continue, some are demanding to discover the roots of nationalism in ancient ethnicities through justifying the modern nationalism as a continuity of ancient ethnicities in developed and modified forms however the rest opposes this idea and keep arguing that nationalism is a new phenomenon and cannot be linked with pre-modern eras.

Some researchers believe that the term Nation has long antiquity, with roots in ancient Roman practices as the word nation was used for Barbarians and peoples not for political trends but mostly in the terms of decent and way of life, in other words, the term nation referred to descent groups with common language and culture. However, several political, social and cultural groups emerged following the dissolution of the Roman Empire in medieval ages within Europe.

While some would argue that nationalism is not an old term but rather it's a new term linked with industrialization that initiated in late eighteenth century or early nineteenth century. The industrial revolution in general, emerges of modern communication means in particular and the formation of modern states significantly required a shared identical framework at national level that leded

this collective identical framework requirement to national identity and nationalism.

Ignoring the nationalistic efforts in eastern Asian countries and middle east, Kedourie (1974) and some others including (Breuilly, Nationalism and the State) bring nationalism a characteristically modern discourse focusing on European backgrounds, more specifically the roots of nationalism which they believed has strong ties with British uprising against monarchy in seventeenth-century, the struggles of New World elites against Iberian colonialism in eighteenth-century, the French Revolution of 1789, and the German reaction to that revolution and to German disunity.

A Turk scholar, Professor Umut Ozkirimli argues that:

“It needs to be pointed out at the outset that the eighteenth century does not figure prominently in recent classifications of the theoretical debate on nationalism, and in a way this makes sense as the musings of Enlightenment thinkers and German Romantics can hardly be regarded as ‘theories’ of nations or nationalisms.” (Ozkirimli 2012, p: 9)

In this account, unlike a great number of scholars that started the overview of nationalism from 19th century including (Lawrence 2005), not aiming to look for the theories of nationalism but tracing the evolutions of the idea of nationalism, Umut Ozkirimli initiated the review of the works of Herder, Kant, Rousseau and Fichte.

This is a good reason to pay close attention to the arguments of him in any discourses to the roots and antiquity of nationalism. It's worth mentioning, in 1960s and 1970s, some scholars argued that nationalism is part of the process of modernization which started with the impacts of industrial revolution as a transition from traditional societies to a modern ones (Ozkirimli 2012, p: 9).

From Weber and Durkheim view point, nation building is a crucial part of constructing, developing and maintaining an effective modern society in order to maintain political stability followed by economic growth.

A contemporary example of the importance of nation in international political landscape today is in Eastern Europe in 90s when Slovenia and Croatia announced their independence from the former Yugoslavia, a number countries including United States, Germany and some European Powers instantaneously

recognized their independence as a sovereign state but in the meantime when Bosnia-Herzegovina did the same, most of those did not recognize – apparently they brought up a reason that obviously multi-ethnic and multi-religious and newly independent Bosnia-Herzegovina did not represent a “Real Nation,” despite a longer history of territorial integrity and civic life, including 500 years of peace.

2.1 What Is Nationalism?

2.1.1 General overview of nationalism

Nationalism in simple words is not just an intelligence of belonging for individuals and groups around the globe to a particular states but it talks about politics, a specific culture, language(s) and sometime particular race(s) and or ethnicity. Not only the historians wrote stories about particular nations they fitted to, in most cases and in addition, the social researchers likewise use nations as data sets for their researches that are mostly comparative ones. This way these scientists uses the nation as the bases for social researches and analyses.

Social scientist had long and long debates on antiquity and origins of nationalism that could not resulted a concrete output which would lead all the scholars to find out the exact roots and antiquity of nationalism. There are numerous theories that offer different set of understandings about the origins of nationalism. To classify, I would cover the leading theories in three major groups about the roots and the origin of nationalism:

- Political theory: Some scholars argue that nationalism is essentially political and linking it with the emergence of modern states. Elie Kedourie a leading scholar writes that:

“Nationalism is a doctrine invented in Europe at the beginning of the nineteenth century. It pretends to supply a criterion for the determination of the unit of population proper to enjoy a government exclusively its own, for the legitimate exercise of power in the state, and for the right organization of a society of states. Briefly, the doctrine holds that humanity is naturally divided into nations, that nations are known by certain characteristics which can be ascertained, and that the only legitimate type of government is national self-government” (Kedourie 1974, p: 1).

- Cultural theory: Nationalism is essentially cultural and erupted with its long history within particular ethnolinguistic groups.
- Political and cultural theory: The third group of these scholars came out with a compromising point for the above two theories about the antiquity and origins of nationalism. They believe that nationalism is transformed from the ancient type by the impact of the emergence of modern states.

The idealized nations in doctrine are sometime different than the actual nations that exists in different forms, (Calhoun 200, p: 28) States:

“There is nothing “natural” about the link between political community and cultural commonality and the development of nationalism or the nation-state, either as actual (in varying extent) or as idealized in doctrine. As a way of organizing political life and cultural or ethnic claims (themselves commonly political), nationalism grows neither in primordial mists nor in the abstract. It grows in relationship to other political, cultural, and ethnic projects”.

The term nationalism is widely used by politicians, some trade unions and overall by some Community Organized Groups in order to legitimize the ruling power or to justify the dominant role of particular ethnic group or used aiming the elimination of a particular minority. Such use of nationalism may be pretty differ from what the social scientists define it, in other words, the political form of nationalism is used by politicians to obtain and maintain the power.

2.1.2 Nationalism and globalization

Social scientist come with arguments that nationalism and globalization contradict each other, in this account it is necessary to touch upon globalization while talking about nationalism as a valid debate going on that globalization diminishes the importance of nationalism and even predicted by social scientists that nationalism cannot survive in globalized era.

Another would believe, nationalism has been paving the ways for globalization and bringing the simultaneous development of both nationalism and globalization in 1990s as a noticeable case to justify their argument. As result, in 90s in spite of the globalizations in the west and the emerging of central Asian republics created a new era of the importance of nationalism and the strengthened role of nations in world order.

It has been argued that the smooth and peaceful transition of post-soviet republics in Central Asian, Baltic and Eastern Europe such as 1. Armenia, 2. Azerbaijan, 3. Byelorussia, 4. Estonia, 5. Georgia, 6. Kazakhstan, 7. Kirghizia, 8. Latvia, 9. Lithuania, 10. Moldavia, 11. Russian SFSR, 12. Tajikistan, 13. Turkmenia, 14. Ukraine, and 15. Uzbekistan brought the enthusiasm to the globalization from one hand and on the other the civil wars and combats between some of these republics aiming their national interests fetched major shocks to the globalization.

These shocks were not only political and social but economic as well. For instance the enthusiasm for globalization was the global economic integration and the rapid development of Asian “tigers,” and a shock for the stated globalization was the 1997 currency crisis.

2.1.3 Major drivers of globalization

Among almost a dozen major drivers of globalization despite having cross-cutting relations to each other, we would briefly mention three major drivers as below:

Mostly the western scholars intensely arguing that capitalism has the dominant role in the globalization. There is no doubt that capitalism if not biggest, at least one of the big drivers of globalization as the result of worldwide trade liberalizations. The capitalist driver of globalization has included but not limited to trade liberalization but it talks about the social and cultural dynamics as well.

Among others, the information and communications technology had significant influences. ICT brought major enthusiasms to the globalization though smooth, easy and instant communications around the world despite its negative impacts such as pornography and spam, then the dot.com bust, then a range of new surveillance regimes. It seems that the focus of the globalization is The Information and Communications Technology ICT with concentration on the connections created by networks of social media. Internet is a useful tool around the planet ignoring distances that can be easily used by those who have access to it. Social media through networking and communication brought revolutionary impact and changes in the social life of billions around the globe.

Mass Media is another major driver of globalization, which shaded all the social, economic, political and strategic dimensions of nations. By providing a wide range of news and information around the globe and facilitating culture exchange, the print, online, video and audio media have its role in driving the world towards globalization.

2.1.4 Nationalism in globalized era

Recently the implications of nationalism and globalization are the subjects of increasing debates among scholars in the international relations and related International Non-governmental Institutions advocating the global welfare. Nationalism and globalization, the two terms that are mostly not addressed in the right way when comparing them and/or talking about the relations between them.

There is no doubt that both these implications (nationalism and globalization) have an important position in politics and international affairs, economy and trade, security and counter terrorism, international migration, global warming and others.

Despite some valid critiques on a theory that nationalism does not have over a couple centuries long history and in addition to that it had a great deal of difficulty surviving in this world on one hand , and some would argue that it has become less important. However, on the other, the nationalists more specifically the New Nationalists argue that nationalism has long history linking it with the ancient kingdoms and further argue that the heavy and fast flood of globalization cannot be a threat to national values. From their perspective, nationalism is benefiting from globalization in the terms of equality of nations and the equal utilization of planet resources.

The New Nationalism School is more flexible and offering constructive and cooperative theories of nationalism towards globalization. They seek to restate control over their own countries using international institutions such as the United Nations UN, Organization for Islamic Cooperation OIC, European Union, the World Trade Organization (WTO), NATO, BRICS and others in a manner not to challenge but to boost the control over national resources.

Some believe that first ever from the mid-1800s through 1914 the Great Britain presided over the first era of globalization by advocating free trade and the gold standard. That era gave way to an extreme era of nationalism, which produced World War II. But after World War II, “the logic of globalism shifted beyond trade to grand strategy.

By ceding modest amounts of sovereignty to international institutions, a country could make the world, and itself, far stronger by pursuing its own narrowly defined interests.” For these globalists, economic and geopolitical self-interest were inseparable. Hence, the 1957 Treaty of Rome led to the formation of the European Union of 28 nations. The assumption? Economic and political integration world make war unthinkable. For the next five decades, trade, industrialization and demographics produced a cycle of rising prosperity. By the 2000s, globalism appeared triumphant.

It worth mentioning that ethnicity and nationalism did not only mattered for post-soviet republics but to the Russia and over 35 million Russian lived out of Russian territory. But the discourse of globalization came into the discussion with the beginning of the twenty first century. In this discourse, the role one superpower in world order was significant as it announced that they will take necessary preemptive actions including invasions against those who are considered to be potential threat.

Calhoun (2007, p: 25), argued and presented good reasons to think we are not entering very abruptly into a post-national era:

These reasons go beyond mere temporary assertions of state power, especially in the “security” policies of the US and other wealthy countries. It is not at all clear, for example, that the European Union is a “post-national” project rather than a continuation of the same trend that produced national unification in France and Germany and subordinated Scottish, Irish, Welsh and indeed English identities in the British state. Nor is it clear that the projects of broadening and deepening national solidarities and trying to join them to popular states are without value for people in most of the world’s developing – or un-developing – countries.

Emphasizing the importance of nations, nationalists argued that most of globalization or cosmopolitan theories are individualistic in ways that obscure the basic importance of social relationships and culture.

2.2 Types of Nationalism

Ethnic Nationalism and Civic Nationalism

The two major types are central to the discourse of nationalism, The Ethnic Nationalism with common ethnicity (langue(s), culture and or biological decent; and Civic Nationalism with common membership of a state or the citizenship of a particular sovereign and independent state. These two major types are briefly discussed as below:

2.2.1 Civic nationalism

In Civic Nationalism, the nationhood is mainly defined by the common membership of individuals to a state (citizenship), this way in one hand a civic nation comprises all those who subscribe to its political creed, regardless of ethnical categorization such as color, race, ethnicity, religion, gender, language and on the others, a civic nation, the founding principle is equality in rights and responsibilities, united in patriotic attachment to a shared set of political practices and values. A good example in this case can be the (legitimacy of 1960s civil rights movement in USA).

Meanwhile, civic nationalists believe that civic nation is supposed to be “democratic” in the sense that it vests sovereignty in all member individuals /citizens and a civic nation-state claims self-governing rights and rights for its citizens.

The creation of British nation-state in the late 18th century out of the English, the Welsh, the Scots, and the Irish societies united by a civic rather than an ethnic definition of belonging and by attachment to civic political practices such as right to choose in free and fair elections, fundamental freedoms, rule of law and others and the civic establishments like legislative institutions. The American Revolution in 19th century and French revolution in 18 century can be the examples of civic nations that resulted the American and French republics.

2.2.2 Ethnic nationalism

In this type of nationalism, the nationhood is mainly defined by biological decent (blood), language/languages, religion/religions and culture/customs &

traditions. Ethnic nationalists believe that states do not create nations but indeed the nations create states. Common biological decent (blood), language/languages, religion/religions and culture/customs & traditions are served as glue that holds individuals with mentioned common points together and not necessarily share equal political rights rather than pre-existing ethnic characteristics.

For instance, the Germany's response to Napoleon's raid in 1806 and Germany's "Romantic" return to the French model of the nation-state are obvious patterns for ethnic nationalism within Europe. The German ideal of ethnic nationalism attracted to the societies of 19th century Europe who were under imperial domination including Polish and Baltic societies under the domination of Russian Empire; Serbs ruled by Turks/Ottoman Empire, Croats under the domination of Habsburgs /Austro-Hungarian Empire are good examples in this regard.

Major contrasts between Civic Nationalism and Ethnic Nationalism

Civic Nationalists Emphasize	Ethnic Nationalists Emphasize	Examples
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Law • Choice • Rational Attachment • Unity by consent • Democratic pluralism • Liberty • Individual creates nation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Common roots ("blood") • Inheritance • Emotional attachment • Unity by ascription • Ethnic majority rules • Fraternity • Nation creates individual 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Citizenship • Born into • Sumpreme court, flag • Twon hall, tribe • CA, Singapore • ALCU, Homeland • Founding mayths

Figure 2.1: Major Contrasts between Civil and Ethnic Nationalism

2.3 Nationalism And Ethnicity

Despite nationalism and ethnicities create foundations for categorical identities both from social and political perspectives which shape all individual and collective interactions in various stages and types, nationalism and ethnicities are argued having complicated relation to each other. In other words, nationalism cannot be totally dissociated from ethnicity vertically from one

hand but on the other, both nationalism and ethnicity cannot be effortlessly explained side by side horizontally concerning their complicated relationship with each other.

Successful nation building efforts conveyed a positive and beautiful image of nationalism that brought different ethnicities into a national framework intended formation of strong nations but in some parts off the world nationalism conveyed negative and ugly image by way of both official and unofficial ethnic discriminations and even ethnic cleansing are labeled nationalism.

In Pakistan where five major ethnicities (Panjabis, Pashtuns, Sindhi, Balochi and Muhajir) formed a new state by dividing Indian Sub-continent in 14 August 1947, Mandokhil (2015, p: 465) states that major ethnic group (Panjabis) took over on politics, economy and military of federal establishment gradually and marginalized the rest four ethnic groups (Pashtuns, Sindhi, Balochi and Muhajirs). Yet, Pashtuns, the second large ethnic group did not initiate armed engagements with federal establishment of Pakistan in armed struggles but politically struggling for end of discrimination or independence from Pakistan (Pashtunistan). Balochi the third large ethnic group is in stronger position in the terms of advocating for the rights of Balochs in Pakistan, they are in armed engagements with federal establishment of Pakistan since the creation in 1947 aiming Free Baluchistan. Muhajirs on the other side due to the marginalization of the group and systematic discrimination by the government and military, destabilized Karachi the biggest city with highest population and commercial and economical significance.

Both (Ozkirimli 2012, p: 54; Kedourie 1971, p: 245) agreed that this brief illustration supports the indication that instability of Pakistan is rooted in ethnic cracks driven by discriminations which is labeled the Pakistani Nationalism. A Pakistani nationalist Chaudhary Rahmat Ali the founder of Pakistan National Movement states:

“Pakistan is one of the most ancient and illustrious countries of the Orient. Not only that. It is the only country in the world which, in the antiquity of its legend and lore as in the character of its history and hopes, compares with Iraq and Egypt – the countries which are known as the cradle of the achievement of mankind.....Pakistan was the birth place of human culture and civilization.....”

A country which has just around 7 decades of history with social and ethnical instabilities cannot be a good example for the superiority theme of national culture despite what Chaudhry Rahmat Ali claims it.

Another cotemporary reason for the ugly and negative imagination of nationalism is the Ethnic Cleansing Program of Serbian leader Radovan Karadzic that steered Bosnia-Herzegovina into a civil war in 1990s. The Serbian Nationalism led the ethnic nationalism struggles into man made humanitarian disasters in which pro-Radovan Karadzic Serb nationalists committed international crimes including genocides as a mandate of ethnic cleansing.

Serfdom the Serbian nationalism emphasizes that Serb ethnicity is an ancient ethnic nation with its particular ethnical features, culture, langue and others Serfdom promotes the cultural unity of Serbs originally arising in the context of the general rise of nationalism in the Balkans under Ottoman rule, under the influence of Serbian linguist Vuk Stefanović Karadžić and Ilija Garašanin. Serb nationalists link Serfdom/ Serbian Nationalism to early 19th century associating it with the uprisings of Serbs 1804 during the Ottoman rule that ultimately occasioned the formation of an a Serbian state in third quarter of the stated century.

As stated above, nation has obvious ties with ethnicity; assumptions that nationalism is a modified form of the ancient ethnicities are supported by large number of social scientists in addition to the nationalists. Meaning that the ethnicities have gotten new shapes in the light of the emergence of modern states as nationalism, whereas those ethnicities in traditional shape and structure could not survive.

Bringing the example of civic and ethnic nationalism, the French nationalism founded by individuals either Provencal or Béarnaise and Protestant and Catholic got together and collectively decided on the idea of citizenship as nation building act of republic. In Germany the case of nationalism pretty much differs as the pre-existing German ethnicity was central to the discourse of nationalism and even some German nationalists including Herder and Fichte taking German ethnicity as a matter of priority while taking about the inclusion in the nation rather than the political and or civic criteria.

3. THE TERM AFGHAN AND AFGHANISTAN

Afghanistan the Afghan-land or land of Afghans defines the ownership of country (Afghanistan) to a particular nation (Afghan). For thousands years, Afghans lived in a the region which is now called Afghanistan despite the geography might have changed time to time from ancient to the medieval ages and to the present. The ancient texts indicate that Afghanistan was called to a particular area where mostly Afghans lived, if not all, the majority of historians at least believe the area from Sulaiman Mountains till Abasin River was the ancient Afghanistan.

Texts from centuries ago support the arguments that Afghanistan had neighborhood with Turkistan and Khorasan. The Afghanistan existed for over 700 years definitely not as extended as Ahmad Shah Abdali expanded it during his reign. We will examine the term Afghan with its history in brief and name of a nation within supreme legislative frameworks at least within a century in a distinct topic and then the name (Afghanistan) with its history in brief from Ariana to Afghanistan in another separate topic.

3.1 Afghan

With the history of over 1700 years, currently the term Afghan characterizes the national identity of every single citizen of Afghanistan regardless of the ethnic, race, language and other identical dimensions. Afghan is the national identity of the people of Afghanistan and the Afghan nation is comprised of Pashtuns the majority and other ethnic groups such as Tajiks, Uzbeks, Hazaras, Sadats, Balochs, Nooristanis, Pashayees...etc.

Some would argue that the Afghan terms is synonymous with the ethnonym "Pakhtun/Pashtun/ Pakhton/Pashtun" as stated in history texts as early as the 3rd century, the term Afghan referred to residents of around the Sulaiman

Mountains. In contemporary eras, the term Afghan is infrequently used as an ethnic term for the Pashtuns, but is rather used as the national demonym¹ for all citizens of Afghanistan from any ethnic group, Pashtuns, Tajiks, Hazaras, Uzbeks, Aimaqs, Turkmens, Balochs, Nuristanis, Pashayis, Pamiris, Arabs, and others. The word Afghan (afgān) in current political usage means any citizen of Afghanistan, regardless of their tribal or religious affiliation. As an adjective, the word Afghan also means "of or relating to Afghanistan or its people, language, or culture".

The constitution of the IRA, Islamic Republic of Afghanistan (current) defines the term Afghan as the name of nation and applies the word Afghan to every citizen of Afghanistan:

Article IV

[National sovereignty in Afghanistan shall belong to the nation, manifested directly and through its elected representatives.

- The nation of Afghanistan is composed of all individuals who possess the citizenship of Afghanistan;
 - The nation of Afghanistan shall be comprised of Pashtun, Tajik, Hazara, Uzbek, Turkman, Baluch, Pachaie, Nuristani, Aymaq, Arab, Qirghiz, Qizilbash, Gujur, Brahwui, and other tribes;
 - The word Afghan shall apply to every citizen of Afghanistan;
 - No individual of the nation of Afghanistan shall be deprived of citizenship;
 - The citizenship and asylum related matters shall be regulated by law.]²

The first ever constitution of Afghanistan (Nizamnama Asasi/Constitutional Law³) 1923 defined the term Afghan in a broad-based implication for all the inhabitants of Afghanistan:

Article VIII

¹ A proper noun used to denote the natives or inhabitants of a particular country, state, city, etc.

² Afghan constitution can be accessed at the official website of the Ministry of Justice /

<http://moj.gov.af/en/page/legal-frameworks/168329941684>

³ نظام نامه اساسی دولت علیه افغانستان.

[Everyone who resides in Afghanistan from any ethnic or religious group, engaged in any type of work, production or service, are called Afghan]

Ghubar (1976, p: 308-309) stated that Afghan become the foundation for the National Identity in Afghanistan enforced by constitution followed by almost all the constitutions, reflected the definition of Afghan with almost the same implication as the national identity for every single citizen of Afghanistan. In the 18th century, the term Afghan was used for the Pashtuns in the entire country and in the 19th century, the term Afghan was generalized and used for all the inhabitants of the country regardless of the ethnical and religious dimensions.

Pashtuns in the light of history called themselves Pashtuns and used the Pashtun identity in the course of centuries till the 18th. It took long time for them to adopt the term Afghan. Famous French traveler (Ferrier) argued that the main Pashtun tribes (Ghilzais) and (Abdalis) refused to be called Afghans (Ferrier 2013, p: 09). It was due to the lack of interest in the term Afghan as this term has been used for Pashtuns by non-Pashtuns from one hand and on the other, the Pashtuns prefer and feel more proud to be called Pashtun.

The adoption of the name Afghan occurred for Pashtuns, Tajiks, Uzbeks, Hazaras and other ethnic groups simultaneously with keeping the ethnic/ tribal identities. Unlike some invalid arguments that the term Afghan is synonym of Pashtun, since the term Afghan has been used for all ethnicities in Afghanistan for over two centuries at least from one side and on the other, Pashtuns still use the Pashtun identity as a major ethnic group of the country along with the Afghan national identity, this case is same with other ethnic groups; Tajiks still use the Tajik ethnical identity and Afghan as national; Uzbeks and Turkmen use its own ethnical identity (Uzbek & Turkmen) or sometime Turk as ethnical identity however keep Afghan as national one and same with Hazaras, Arabs, Nooristanis, Pashayees and others.

The term Afghan is ancient but not as ancient as the term Pashtun is. In ancient times, the Persians used the term (Abgan), the people of ancient India used the term (Asvaka) or (Asvaghana) for the Pashtuns. When Pashtuns settled in Behar region of India in 12th century, they were called (Patans/Pathans) which term was applied for the entire Pashtuns, inside or outside of India. The Pashtun settlers were not called on their own name (Pashtuns) rather they named them as

(Patan/ Pathan) and this seems to be common practice in other parts of the world to label new settlers with a particular title with regards to the nature, culture and attitude of those particular group/people. As an ancient example, the ancient Saka people (Sakas) were called (Askhkanians) by Persians but the Indians used to call them (Pahlavas).

Some would link the term Afghan with the establishing the modern state of Afghanistan by Ahmad Shah Abdali in 18th century, which later expanded to an empire called the Afghan Empire and Durrani Empire but Yoon (2018) rejects this argument due to the lack of awareness of the history of Afghanistan. Prof. Abdul Ahmad Jawed argued that the term Afghan was repeatedly used in the Arabic and Dari texts of 7th century. He further states, the word Afghan was used in the Indian text as early as in 6th century by famous Indian astrologer (Vārāhamihira) in his book (Brihat-Samhita) as (Avagana).

In 10th century, the term Afghan is used for the Pashtuns lived in a particular region of Afghanistan by a number of famous writers such as Abu Rayhan Al-biruni, Firdawsi, Bayhaqi, Minhajul Siraj and others. It has been agreed by almost all the historians that the term Afghan is linked with its ancient name the (Apakan), mentioned in ancient book the Rig Veda. (Yoon 2018, p:46).

Both Kakar (2011, p: 09) and Yoon (2018, p: 38) agrees that Afghans are the inhabitants of the region however the geography may differ from the Ariana to controversial Khorasan and then to Afghanistan however, the historians reject the name Khorasan to be the historic name of Afghanistan and believe that a region of current Afghanistan was named (Khorasan) and nothing or hard to prove that (Khorasan) had been a kingdom or an empire covering the current geography of Afghanistan which will be discussed in the following topic (Afghanistan) in around particulars

I am not going to deliberate the roots of Afghan name in ancient texts in details but worth to mention a couple of terms that are linked with the term Afghan by almost all the historians which give us clear justification for our argument that Afghans lived indigenously in this region for thousands years. Per Abu Rayhan Al-biruni's argument, the name Afghan is mentioned as (Asvaka) in (Mahabarata) however, Ahmad Ali Kohzad a famous Afghan historian sought

the roots of Afghan in ancient texts such as Sanskrit where (Awagana) or (Awwana) as well as the (Asva-ghana) (Bozort 1963, p: 113).

In 7th century, with the emergence of Islamic empire covering Afghanistan, the name (Awgan) gradually changed to Afghan due to the Arabic script constraints and Arabic literature. In this account, famous Afghan historian, Prof. Abdul Hai Habibi argued the (Awgan) term changed to Afghan at the same time when Islam entered to Afghanistan and this country became part of the Islamic empire.

Over half a century long Anglo-Afghan wars caused the term Afghan to be generalized in British literature and reputed worldwide. In this literature, the Afghan term did not represent just Pashtun in the English literature but all those who fought the British army in Kabul.

In the course of history, different ethnic groups in Afghanistan left the oppositions and cracks aside and got united against the foreign interventions which is the fundamental principle of a multi ethnic civic nation to defend their territory from any foreign aggression, the Anglo-Afghan II war represented the inhabitants of Afghanistan comprised of different ethnic groups with strong national sense not just as the people of a country (Afghanistan) but rather Afghans forming a strong and patriotic nation called Afghan.

Kakar (2011) argued, labeling Afghan in second Anglo-Afghan had more national and religious implications than ever which made to the Way-Sarai of India define Afghan as one nation united against British rule. He believed the nationalization and modernization of both government and society were more important for the future of the country however these two (nationalization and modernization) were accelerated by Amir Abdul Rahman Khan in his 21 years of reign though forming strong central government, rule of law, tough law enforcement measures and nation building efforts.

Amir Amanullah Khan, took the nationalization process into a new phase in 1923 when he gave equal rights to all citizens owning democratic rights though enforcing the first constitution of Afghanistan and this way the Afghan society was civilized as all the members of society from different ethnic groups were

counted equal to each other and by supreme law, the constitution (Nizamnama Asasi/Constitutional law).

This could be one of the main reasons behind undivided Afghanistan with one nation (Afghan) despite almost 4 decades of foreign invasions and civil wars in which the political parties and different political ideologies had key role in destabilization as well as the lack of strong central government during these decades since the main common points were one country (Afghanistan) and one nation the (Afghan) which have kept all the inhabitants of the country united for centuries deprived of any ethnic, linguistic, religious and social discriminations however some minor cracks and problems may not be ignored.

While national culture of Afghanistan can be defined rationally uniform culture as the various ethnic groups have no clear social and cultural boundaries between each other and there is much overlap despite the linguistic cracks cannot be ignored since they are not racially homogenous. Hospitality, respect for elders and women, bravery and defending the homeland together as a united and one nation against enemies plus various others are the values they share regardless of the majority-minority and quantitative and demographic features, overall, almost all ethnic groups in Afghanistan have socially and culturally allot in common. Some of these common cultures went for beyond one or two ethnic groups and upgraded to national values.

Certain traditions and celebrations had roots in antiquity of a certain ethnic group but has now been adopted as national value by all Afghan nationals. For instance, 1) the (Attan) the national dance of Afghanistan which has roots in Pashtun cultural antiquity and was the traditional dance performed by Pashtuns centuries ago after victories against enemies and other occasions they celebrated. 2) Bozkashi is a traditional sport in the north of Afghanistan precisely in Turkistan area been adopted as the national sport of Afghanistan and considered as a national value. Despite being of various ethnic groups, in a research poll by Asia Foundation which was conducted in 2009, 72% of the population labelled their identity as Afghan first, before ethnicity.

3.2 Historical Overview Of Afghanistan

3.2.1 Ariana

Afghanistan is a country where humans lived since ancient ages in had different civilizations and bright history. Per the ancient history researches, no doubt that the Arians lived in this region but the discourse hasn't ended among the researchers trying to find out: First, when these Arians came to this region? Second, and how settled? The existing optimism is to further analyze the archeological findings and to focus more on archeological efforts. Otherwise, there is less hope to find out answers for these two important questions (When and how) about the ancient Arians in Afghanistan. Kakar supports Kohzad (1963) argument that the (Vedic) tribes settled in both sides of Hindu Kush, called themselves (Aria) and (Arians). That is why the land in was named Ariana in the ancient ages (Kakar 2011, p: 140).

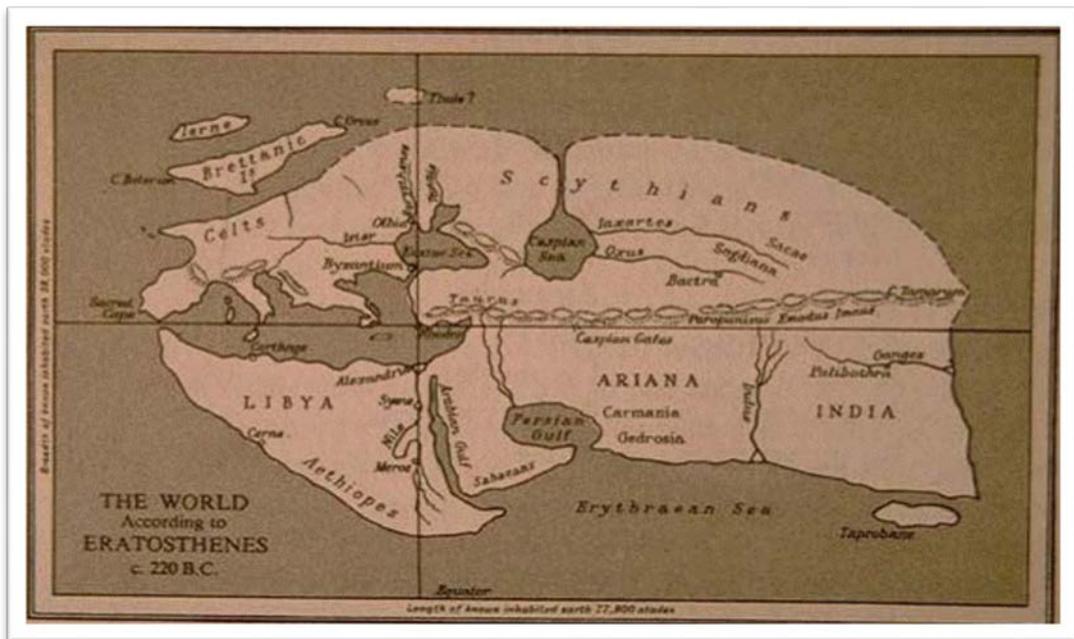


Figure 2.2: Eratosthenes Map of the World 280 B.C 1

Another argument, based on some available ancient narratives, the history of Afghanistan is links with Arians, whom lived in uncertain geography due to the livelihood requirements/lifestyle to move time to time from one area to another and or due to the tribal/dynasty conflicts. (Kakar 2011, p: 148) believed that Ariana was not geographical name but a name where the (Arians) lived time to

time. Touching upon the disagreements of historians over the geographical limits, Kakar doubts the exact geography of the Arians and brings a couple of opposite theories of historians whom did agree on the geographical limits of (Ariana) since Ghubar and Kohzad came with areas between Amo to Jaihon rivers while famous anthropologist, Gordon Childe arguing that Sistan was the (Ariana Vaego) as per the archeological findings in Helmand.

The below ancient map of the world indicates Ariana of the time in 280 B.C and the Ariana as part of the empire of Alexander the Great have different geographical limits as an instance of the disagreements of historians and researchers over the geographical limits of Ariana however these two maps justify the arguments of Kakar that Ariana was not geographical name rather than the land where Arians lived or traveled time to time. These two maps designates the mass travels of Arians in around 3 centuries from some areas to another.

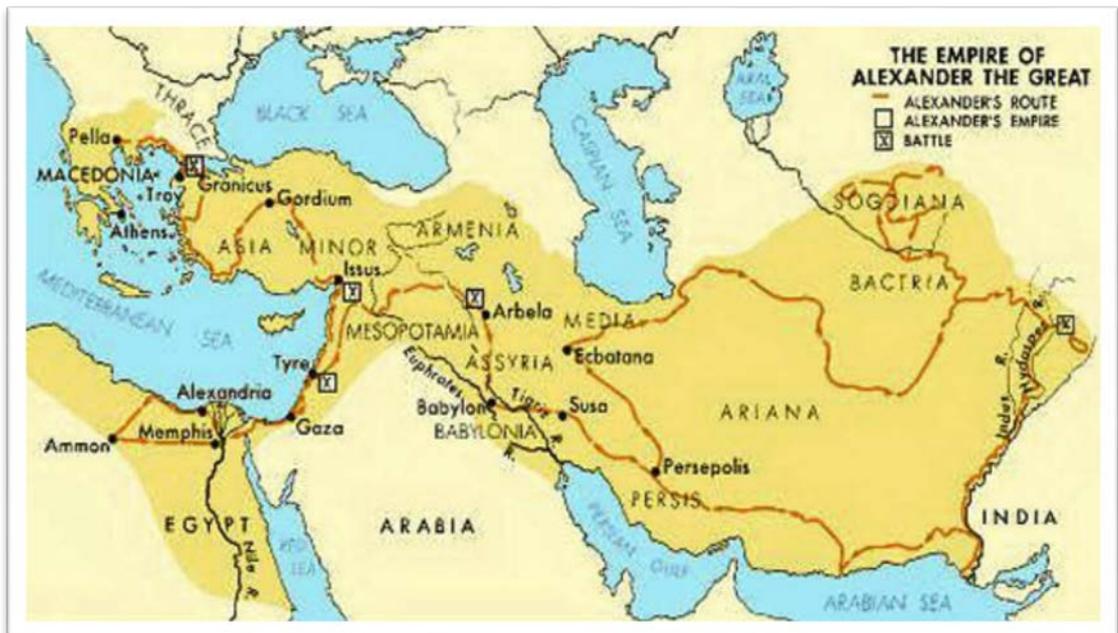


Figure 2.3: Empire of Alexander the Great

Regardless of the exact and accurate geographical limits of Ariana, particularly disagreements of researchers over the western geographical limits, the strong argument is that Arians settled in both sides of the Hindu Kush Mountains and these mountains located in the center of current Afghan territory, consequently,

any discourse over antiquity of Afghanistan without Ariana appears to be imperfect.

Ariana is an ancient civilization which a number of countries linking their history to, especially the ongoing dissertation of owning the ancient civilization of Ariana between Afghan and Iranian historians. This is a huge discussion and will not be chatted here.

3.2.2 Khorasan

The term (Khorasan) as a country, kingdom or empire is controversial among the historians and social science researchers to link it to the history of Afghanistan. It is argued that such linkage is derived from misassumptions and misunderstandings of historical facts however, it's undoubtable that Khorasan was the name of a particular area between current Afghanistan and current Iran and is still a name of a major state/province in western neighborhood of Afghanistan.

Kakar (2011, p: 149) argued that: Firstly, Khorasan means the country of (Sun-rize), since Khorasan was located in the east of Sasanians kingdom (Parsia), this way Sasanians used the term Khorasan for (Partia) with more ethnical implications than geographical one. Likewise, currently, the Europeans name Western Asia as Middle East and Eastern Asia as Far East. Thus, neither those names (Middle East and Far East) nor Khorasan can be acknowledged as country names; Secondly, Khorasan was not an independent country but was part of the Persian empire. Khorasan was the eastern regions of the Persian empire; Thirdly, the geography of Khorasan was not stable as it massly broadened in a time.

During the reign of Sasanians, the capital of Khorasan changed to Nishapur⁴ and during the invasion of Arabs, the main city of Khorasan changed to (Marwa) which become a major city for Arabs in the entire east.

The uncertainty and instability in geographical limits of Khorasan from one hand and on the other, having Khorasan with the major Nishapur city was part

⁴ Nishapur or Nishabur is a city in Razavi Khorasan Province, capital of the Nishapur County and former capital of Province Khorasan, in northeastern Iran, situated in a fertile plain at the foot of the Binalud Mountains.

of Persia and is denial of Persian Empire incase insisting on Khorasan as an independent country or separate civilization from Persia. In addition, there is nothing to clarify how the Ariana changed to Khorasan even the famous historians that links Khorasan with Afghan history are quite and speechless in this regard.

Khorasan as the historical name of Afghanistan is a divisive discourse that can direct the subject to prolong discussions and arguments of the historians and history researchers but precise area named Khorasan in the neighborhood of Afghanistan along with Turkistan can't be overlooked.

3.2.3 Afghanistan

Afghanistan is a combined name of two terms (Afghan) and (stan) meaning the land of Afghans and Afghans are all those live in this geography. As stated above, Pashtuns always called themselves Pashtun and (Pashtunkhwa) as thier home land and took pretty long time for Pashtun to adopt the name Afghan. Perhaps the same may be the case of other ethnic groups in Afghanistan to adopt a name which links them with a particular country and give them national dientity.

Kakar (2011, p: 155) talked about the uncertianity of naming Afghanistan for the first time but touched upon Saifi Heravi who brought up the term (Afghanistan) in his book, The History of Heart (Tarikhnama Herat) in early 14th century for 34 times. Saifi was assigned by Malik Ghiyasuddin the governor of Herat to rewrite the history of Herat after the Mongolian invasion, destriyed and burnd cities, academic centers includig huge libraries of Herat.

For instance, Saifi Heravi mentioned the term Afghanistan:

“From Khorasan, the mountian skirts of Turkistan and Sherbghan till Afghanistan, around 50,000 soldiers and riders came to Herat”
(Heravi 1943, p: 76)

” از حدود خراسان و نواحی جبال ترکستان و شبورغان تا افغانستان قرب پنجاه هزار مرد
“از پیاده و سوار بهرات آمدند

The stated citation and number of other historic texts shows that Afghanistan was a country ruled by locals, different and independent from Khorasan and Turkistan. Another citation from the same source in 14th century can further clarify the debate:

“There one thousand Afghan men are settled who are warfare, and since the time of Yazd Jard, have not obeyed any king, ruler or governor” (Heravi 1943 p: 224).

در آنجا هزار مرد افغان جلد مبارز متوطن است و از عهد یزد جرد تا امروز هیچ پادشاه
“و ملک و حاکم را گردن ننهاده اند“

This citation from the 14th century text (History of Heart) put more light on an area called Afghanistan where warfare Afghans lived and they were fully independent of any foreign rule during those ages. The Afghanistan which Saifi Heravi was talking about in 10th century were the ranges from Sulaiman Mountains including Kandahar, Kalat, Ghazni till Abasin River where mostly Pashtuns lived in.

The stated argument is supported by text from 16th century (The Babur Nama) written by Emperor Baber Shah (Zahiruddin Mohammad 23 February 1483 – 05 January 1531), the eventual founder and first Emperor of the Moghul dynasty in the Indian sub-continent. He defined the geography of Afghanistan in 16th century from the south of Kabul till Peshawar (Currently the main city of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, a state of Pakistan).

Notably, from 16th till the 18th century, the term Afghanistan hasn't been mentioned in the texts due to the colonization of the region by Moghul Empire however, historians believe this colonization was different with regards to some internal and exceptional privileges including a limited local freedom/independency due to the warfare nature of the Afghans and more particularly the freedom movement of Peer Roshan (Bayazid Ansari 15-25-1581) which made the emperor to adjust with Pashtuns and change the policies towards these people aimed stability and prevention of possible armed insurgencies against the empire while the western areas of Afghanistan were ruled by Safavid Empire.

Per Kakar, such situation lasted for over a century when Mirwais Hotak appeared, in early 18th century he circumspectly and intelligently gathered and organized the representatives and elders of Kandahar, Peshawar and Quetta against Safavid Empire. He led a resistance group of elders named Manji Jirga (Manji Resistance Council) composed of Saidal Khan, Babu Jan Babar, Bahader Khan Andar, Mullah Peer Mohammad Miajee, Aziz Khan Noorzai, Yosuf Khan Hotak, Ghul Khan Babar, Noor Khan Baris, Noor Khan Alakozai, Yahya Khan Hotak,

Haji Noor Mohammad Hotak and Mohammad Yonus Kakar. Consequently Kandahar, Pshoon, Quetta and surrounding areas were freed following 1709 war where a number of Safavid forces killed and civilian officials were forced to leave Kandahar (Kakar 2011, p: 147).

Hotak's led movement towards an independent Afghanistan was a bold step which not only freed considerable areas from Safavid rule but paved the way for the rest of Afghan territories to get full independence. Subsequently, another Jirga emerged in 1747 (The Kandahar Shir Surkh Jirga), this Jirga was composed of Haji Jamal Khan Barakzai, Mohabbat Khan Popalzai, Musa Khan Ishaqzai, Noor Mohammad Khan Alizai, Nasrullah Khan Noorzai and others elected Ahmad Khan Sadozai as the head/leader of Jirga (Council) (Kakar 2011, p: 149).

Ahmad Khan, later known as Ahmad Shah Abdali/ Ahmad Shah Baba, the leader of (Shir Surkh Jirga) took all decision of Jirga in action and freed the Pashtun populated areas from Kandahar till the Attock River from Moghul's rule. The freedom struggles of Peer Roshan, Emal Khan, Khushal Khatak and others made the ground ready and Afghan minds waiting for a change and thus Ahmad Khan easily with the help of those people, wiped out the Moghul's rule from Peshawar and surrounding areas till the Attock River, followed by capturing Farah and Herat in the west; Sheberghan, Balkh, Kunduz and Badakhshan areas in the north and Paktia region in southeast, consequently established a modern state of Afghanistan from Aamo River till Attock River in 1747 which was ruled from the capital (Kandahar).

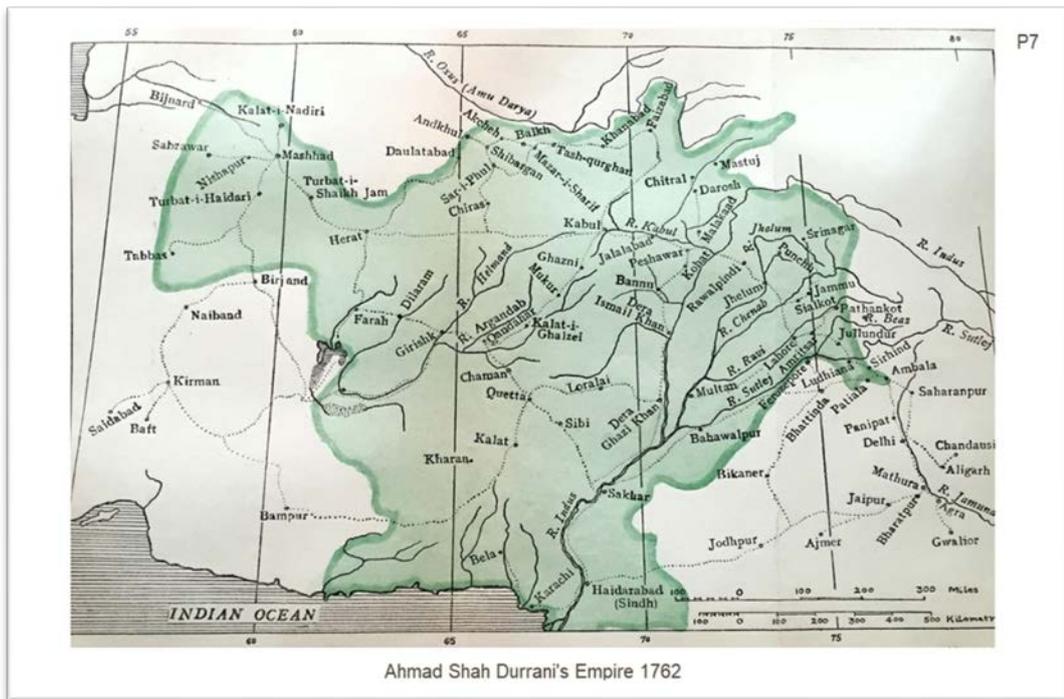


Figure 3.4: Afghanistan Empire, 18th Century

Ahmad Shah Abdali further expanded the skirts of his rule to the west by capturing Khorasan and in the south, by capturing Baluchistan, Punjab, Kashmir and Dehli (Current Delhi, the Capital of India). This way Ahmad Shah Baba established modern state of the time and expanded to an empire, the Afghan Empire also known as Durrani Empire, contained current Afghanistan, Pakistan, Kashmir, some areas of northern India and some areas of eastern Iran. Ahmad Shah Abdali ruled the Afghan Empire with 15 local governments and 9 states as following: Kandahar, Kabul, Nanagarhar, Mazari Sharif, Heart, Badakhshan, Khorasan, Panjab and Kashmir (Jabbar Khil 2016, p: 27-28).

By the death of Ahmad Shah Abdali in 1772, the Emir-ship was handed onto his son Timor Shah who kept the geographical legacy of the empire of his father and ruled without any major insurgent activity. Almost a century later, more precisely in 1878 the threats from Russian Tsar in the north and the presence of British India in the south as well as the oppositions in the royal family and civil wars destabilized the country that caused losing territories until 1880. Amir Abdul Rahman Khan who took-over Kabul in 1880 who managed to stabilize the country through centralizing the power but lost huge territory to British India through an agreement (Durand Line Agreement) in 1893 which still has its

impacts in general on Afghanistan and on social, economic and political lives of Afghans. Concerning the importance, we will examine the agreement in a separate chapter.

4. NATION BUILDING EFFORTS AND RISE OF AFGHAN NATIONALISM

There is not much to say about Afghan nationalism in first half of the 19th century due to the civil wars and tribal influence in different part of the country. But the second half witnessed evident achievements in nation building struggles in Afghanistan as a need of the state to minimize the distance of the people with government in order to defend the country from Russian threats in north and from the British invasions in south. Both the historians and nationalists do not disagree with the role of the second Anglo-Afghan war, in consideration with the nature and history of Afghans that got united any time against foreign invasions despite having a long history of civil wars and internal conflicts.

The civilian and military reforms by Amir Shir Ali Khan in second half of 19th century, recommended/proposed by Sayed Jamaluddin Afghan predominantly in his second round of kingdom (1868 – 1879) assembled the fundamentals for Afghan nationalism in 20th century. Should be noted that Amir Sher Ali Khan is known as the father of reform in Afghanistan.

As part of the reforms, within administrative modification agenda, Dari/Persian was replaced by Pashtu/Afghani language, Pashtu language was announced the only official language of Afghanistan. Modern schools were established mainly in Kabul city and Pashtu was mandatorily thought in those schools for the first time ever.

Shamsul Nahar, the first ever magazine published the military ranks lately translated into Pashtu language aimed public awareness. Moreover, number of guidelines for military and civilian affairs including, (Talimatnama Askari/the Military Guidelines) were translated into Pashtu and published in the stated megazine. Amir Sher Ali Khan believed that Pashtu is the language of Afghan nation and Persian/Farsi used officially belonged to western neighbor (Iran). Unlike previous kings of Afghanistan, Amir with his reforms of modernizing the state, gave a sense of true nation to Afghans with a distinct language, culture

and society, consequently, for the first time the government used the language of its nation Pashtu/Afghani officially (Kakar 1979, p: 09).

Unfortunately these reforms were stopped by Amir Abdul Rahman Khan⁵ (1880 – 1901). Persian was replaced as official language however, king's communication and official letters with eastern and southern leaders of Afghanistan was exchanged in Pashtu language. A specific office was created to manage the official communication of Amir Abdul Rahman Khan in Pashtu language. This office was managed by *Mullah Mohammad Khan Afghani Nawees*. Notably, reforms of Amir Sher Ali Khan in military aspects including the language reforms within military frameworks remained applicable (Ibid).

Abdul Rahman Khan, also known as the Iron Amir for his strong positions in government affairs and dictatorship, continued the military reforms of Amir Sher Ali Khan and his central government relied for the first time on a modern, equipped and well-disciplined military. (Chisholm 1911, p: 37-38) states that the Iron Amir's government was a military despotism resting upon a well-appointed army administered through officials absolutely subservient to an inflexible will and controlled by a widespread system of espionage.

"My spirit will remain in Afghanistan, even though my soul will go to Allah.

My last words to you, my son and successor, are: Never trust the Russians."

The first and most important advice that I can give to my successors and people to make Afghanistan into a great kingdom is to impress upon their minds the value of unity; unity, and unity alone, can make it into a great power."

Amir Abdul Rahman Khan, 1880-1901 (Abdul Rahman 1979).

With thanks to its powerful army, the Iron Amir took over all the regional governments and emerged a centralized modern state in Kabul. Amir Abdul Rahman Khan mentioned in his book (*Taj Altawarikh/The Crown of Histories*) repeatedly that he was the one who created centralized modern state in

⁵ Abdur Rahman Khan was Emir of Afghanistan from 1880 to 1901. He was the third son of Mohammad Afzal Khan, and grandson of Dost Mohammad Khan. According to Lord Curzon, who visited Abdur Rahman in Kabul and who later reproduced the fireman in a book of travel memoirs, the original document was huge—five feet by four and a half feet—and printed on canvas.

Afghanistan through shaping traditionally administered regional governments into a centralized powerful government in Kabul.

The Iron Amir successfully consolidated his kingship with stability in short term but in long, the Afghanistan as a modern state through absolute dictatorship with no compromise over the opposition, establishing effective reform mechanism and nation building efforts. In general, three main reasons behind his success are noticeable:

1) No political compromise with local leaders and zero tolerance towards any type of opposition was Amir Abdul Rahman Khan's strategy. He conquered a number of remarkable insurgences against him followed up his conquests with cruelly tortures, executions, collective exiles and even masccaras according to some historians.

Mandokhil (2015, p: 429) added that when Hazara ethnicity engaged with armed insurgency against Amir in late 1880s led by Sher Ali Khan, thousands were killed, sold in Kabul and Kandahar Markets as slaves and a huge number of Hazaras migrated to Baluchistan and other cross border areas under the control of British India. Hazara rebellion started at 1890 and ended on 1891. From 1881 – 1891 for a decade, Amir was engaged with rebellions motivated by British India by different groups and ethnicities including his relatives.

Meanwhile, when Amir's cousin and governor of Balkh Sardar Mohammad Ishaq Khan rebelled against him in the north, was cruelly defeated with harsh violence. Amir Abdul Rahman Khan was famous for constructing the towers from the beheaded human heads in the war followed by harsh tortures and executions. Amir in his book *Taj Altawarikh*, mentioned repeatedly to these towers aimed to give lesson to others not to commit such mistake and to know that the state is serious in bringing stability and rule of law in the country (Abdul Rahman 1979, p: 08).

Kakar (1979, p: 148) believed that Abdul Rahman Khan had tough nature himself, as he was involved in civil war in 1860s when he was probably nineteen followed by his exile from Afghanistan. Abdul Rahman Khan emerged as the most formidable opponent of his reigning uncle Amir Sher Ali Khan and

the one of the consequences of the civil war was the shaping of political personality of Abdul Rahman Khan.

Following a number of insurgencies in south particularly in Kandahar, Amir Abdul Rahman Khan felt continuous threats from his own ethnicity (Pashtun/Pashtun) towards his rule, thus, decided to break the stronghold of Pashtun tribes in south and east, forcibly moved and or exiled them to Turkistan, the north, where predominantly Turk descents (Uzbeks and Turkmen) lived in. This way Amir, weakened the rule of Pashtun leaders with non-Pashtun populations in north/Turkistan and minimized the chances of rebellions both in south and north.

Unlike a number of Iranian and some western historians claimed that the exile of Pashtuns from south to the north and northwest Afghanistan (Turkistan) is considered the Pashtunization of northern Afghanistan but there is no doubt that Amir's torture, executions and exile policy aimed stability a long with reducing the potential risks of rebellions.

There are still valid discussions by historians and nationalists that the signing of Durand Line Agreement with British India in 1893 was part of Amir Abdul Rahman policy to divide Pashtuns into two in order to weaken their role in possible insurgent movements by his own ethnicity (Pashtuns).

Kakar (1979, p: 08) disagreed with the term Pashtunization and stated that, Amir's actual policy toward the various ethnic groups that collectively made the Afghan nation varied considerably in accordance with circumstances. Until the late 80s, Amir's relation with Duranis (Amir's own branch of Pashtuns) were bad. Most of the important Durrani elders did not take part in his accession and refused to accept posts with his government or to enlist their men in the army

2) Crafting a new system of local governance by giving a new and modern shape to the traditional tribal administrations mostly with patrimonial type of military services and taxing. Local governors backstopped by strong military, were not fully independent in taking decision but powerful enough to apply the orders of Kabul, maintain stability, enforce laws and collect taxes.

Likewise, Gladstone (2001) stated that despite all the authority and support, Abdul Rahman, however, kept a close eye on these governors, however, by

creating an effective intelligence system. During his reign, tribal organization began to erode as provincial government officials allowed land to change hands outside the traditional clan and tribal limits.

3) Bringing dissimilar ethnic groups together in a national framework as nation through centralizing the state affairs, maintaining stability and enforcing the law equally in all part of his kingdom.

Some would question the acquiescence of a numerous ethnic groups to uphold Amir's case as he was a hard-hearted merciless ruler, and would bring the Amir's attitude towards Hazaras particularly. In this account, as stated above, firstly, Amir Abdul Rahman Khan was engaged in conquering rebellions for a decade the minimum by various including a remarkable one by his own ethnic group (Pashtuns) in south and one by a leader by his own clan (Sardar Mohammad Ishaq Khan) in northern Balkh province were suppressed harshly.

Secondly, per Kakar (1979, p: 10) argument, Tajik ethnic group from Kohistan were the first among all, indorsed and supported Amir Abdul Rahman Khan. The Amir was suspicious of Qizilbashes and the Hazaras for their pro-British attitude during the second Anglo-Afghan War, in spite of the fact that the Hazaras were a help to him in the occupation of Herat a major western city.

Amir Abdul Rahman Khan, regardless of the strategies he applied, successfully achieved his mandate of modernizing the Afghan state and centralizing the power. Pierre Centlivres⁶ and Micheline Centlivres-Demont⁷ 2012 believed that Amir's mandate was building nation in addition to modernizing the country, (Afghanistan, 1979 - 2009: In the Grip of Conflict, p: 37).

Unlike, Amir Sher Ali Khan who initiated reforms marking a developed state with national unity and social asset, Abdul Rahman Khan aimed to build up his power and maintain rule but his modernization of the state and centralization

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⁷ Pierre Cent livres, Professor Emeritus, is former Director of the Institut d'ethnologie, Université de Neuchâ-tel (Switzerland). He is an anthropologist with field experience in Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Europe. His research interests include questions of identity, ethnicity, refugees, Diasporas, and popular imagery in Islam.

policy achieved the unity of different Afghan ethnic groups and prevented the civil wars and ethnic conflicts at least for almost a century.

Even though the arguments that Iron Ami's nation building exertions resulted stronger nation, he divided his nation in two through 1839 agreement (Durand Line) with British Empire for setting eastern and southern territorial boundaries. The significances of the stated arrangement are still observable and has shaded not only the social life of Afghans but had shaped the inter-state relations between Afghanistan and Pakistan. The Durand Line and its impacts on Afghan nation will be discussed in a separate chapter.

4.1 Why Second Half of 19th Century?

There are at least two major reasons that the second half of 19th century cannot be ignored while talking about Afghan nationalism:

- A number researchers including (Gregorian 1967; Dupree 1964; Schinasi 1969 and Nawid 2009) link Afghan nationalism with reforms aimed modernization in Afghanistan. Nationalism and nationality is somehow considered as a compromising point between traditional and conservative societies and expected modern ones; and
- Role of the Second Anglo-Afghan war and unity of a most of ethnic groups that shape Afghan nation. All the historians agree with the point that traditionally all ethnic groups got united in a national defensive framework against foreign invasions despite keeping ethno-linguistic cracks in some cases.

In light of these arguments, it can be straightforwardly claimed that in late second half of the 19th century more particular from 1868 when Amir Sher Ali Khan took the power with considerable role of Sayed Jamaulddin Afghani in his proposed reforms and 1901 till the last day of Amir Abdul Rahman Khan's reign, nation building exertions amplified that fabricated the practicalities for the Afghan nation and unity of Afghans through reforms, modernizations, law enforcement and stability efforts.

4.2 The North-South Resettlements

Similar to the history of other nations, internal conflicts, instabilities and civil wars had a significant share in the history of Afghanistan rooted in the cracks in social structure of the country along with other key factors. In this chapter, we will examine north-south resettlements with the obvious role in the stabilization of the country and prevention of the possible armed insurgencies against the governments from one side and on the other, such resettlements played substantial role in nation building process which Prof. Kakar call it the nationalization process and other historians, the Afghanization process.

Amir Abdul Rahman Khan was the first king who initiated the resettlement programs aimed stable security by preventing civil wars and ethnic rebellions along with socio-economic developments. Amir well understood the social grouping of communally dissimilar ethnic groups in north, south, east and west of Afghanistan and how such social structure played key role in destabilizations and civil wars in the country. Remarkably, Amir himself profited the stated dissimilar ethnic structure in rebellions aimed getting power, so he well understood the level of vulnerability of such structure in possible destabilization, which can challenge this rule.

Over all, the resettlements took place in three phases, the first phase originated by Amir Abdul Rahman Khan in late 19th century; second phase implemented precisely in third decade of 20th century during the reign of Amir Amanullah Khan subsequently obtaining the Independence of Afghanistan which remained uncompleted due to the insurgency movements in 1928 followed by regime change and devastation of the entire state system for months and the third phase began during the reign of Ghazi Nader Khan though a well-organized program and comprehensive state support. This phase started in 4th decade of 20th century and continued for many years and did not change despite Ghazi Mohammad Nader Khan was assassinated during a ceremony in Kabul.

4.2.1 Initiation of resettlements (First Phase)

Security, stability and creation of strong central government was the first priority of Amir Abdul Rahman Khan. He could not continue with the fragile security since the two strong neighbors, Russia and British-India could anytime

use and support one ethnic group against other or the state to destabilize the country. The Amir thus, decided to change and improve the social structure to get rid of possible uprisings against the state and achieve cross-cutting goals by implementing the resettlement programs.

In late 19th century, for the first time, in 1882 Amir Abdul Rahman Khan started first ever major resettlement program and decided to settle nomads in Turkistan (northwestern Afghanistan) to improve the social life of nomads (Kochis) as they were suffering from the unstable life due to the summer and winter movements and were very vulnerable to the natural disasters from one and on the other, the nomads (Kochis) were engaged with local inhabitants in continued conflicts. In addition, Amir Abdul Rahman Khan decided to resettle the sedentary inhabitants from the solidly populated districts, in the depopulated northwestern areas as part of the social and economic reforms as well as stability initiatives.

Afghan historians believe that initiation of these resettlements were very tough in a sense that they were not volunteer rather forceful by Amir's order and in addition, this was the first experience and solid business of the state which faced the new immigrants with life threatening problems. Kakar (1979, p: 131) designated this resettlement program (the colonization of northwestern Afghanistan) and listed the purposes of colonization essentially defensive, but increase in government revenue, the prosperity of the land, the decrease of pressure among the inhabitants of the densely populated areas and finally the weakening of tribal power were also goals.

In the meantime, Jamshidi tribe (A small ethnic group) who helped Amir Abdul Rahman Khan in occupying Herat (western city) were re-settled in Badghis area in 1983 as reward to allocate farming lands for the tribe in exchange for their support. Following Russian occupation of Panjdeh province, Amir could not compromise the security of northern border and thus decided to widen the settlement program by a number of Nomads from Pushti-Rud and Obeh areas of Farah province were to settle in Bala Murghab district of Badghis to guard border with Russia. This resettlement of nomads/Kochies was initiated in 1886 that took years to prepare and launch the program from the first round. Amir's direct quote is a very clear justification for the purpose of resettlement program:

“Kafirs are coming and this country can get out of our hands⁸” verifying Amir Abdul Rahman Khan’s deep concerns over the defense of northern Afghanistan especially Turkistan region after Russians annexed Panjdeh province. The term Kafirs (infidels) he used for Russians and decided to invest in resettlement programs intensively as one of the state priorities with crosscutting goals. Turkistan region was less populated and required states attention to demographically improve and prepare for any external armed intervention. Consequently, an army of thousands of resettled young men was created in Turkistan not only aimed to stabilize the region but to depend frontiers from foreign threats (Kakar 1979, p: 132).

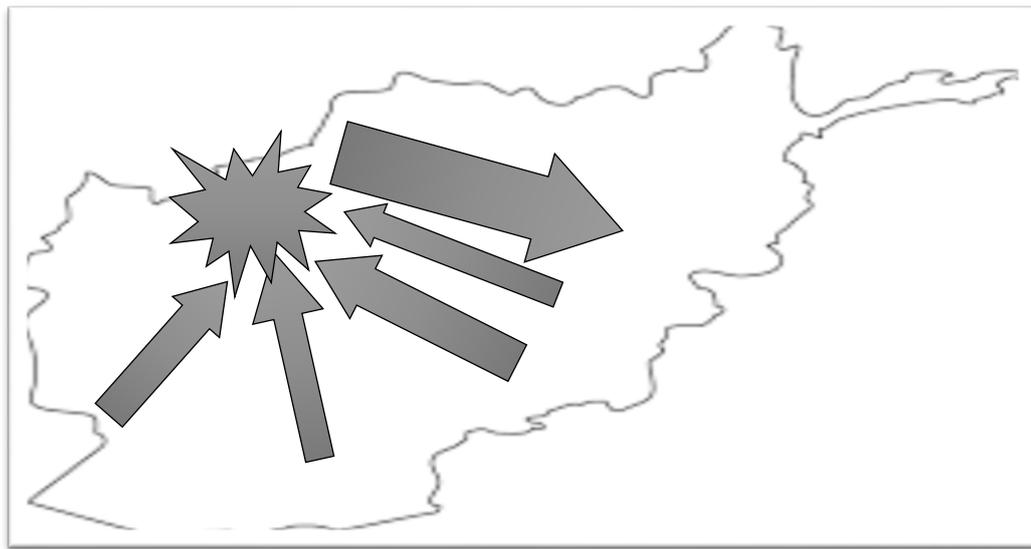


Figure 4.1: Resettlement Directions

In a third attempt in 1890, eight thousand 8,000 families from Kandahar and Zamindawar of Helmand settled voluntarily in Badghis province followed by a number of families from Logar, Salang and Shaikh Ali Hazara ethnic group and three thousand 3,000 families from, Kabul mostly settled in Maimana city on the state lands, currently the capital of Faryab Province who were supposed to keep one third of the agricultural products for them self and the rest (two-third) to the state. In reverse, thousands of Uzbeks (reportedly over twelve thousand 12,000) from Turkistan were resettled in Kabul and Jalalabad areas (Kakar 1979, p: 135).

⁸ The Afghani/Pashtu version of Amir’s quote (کافرن راځی او دا هیواد مو له لاسه وځی).

As mentioned above, a number of Iranian historians and some western historians considered the resettlements programs of Amir Abdul Rahman Khan the Pashtunization of northern Afghanistan but this is not a valid argument since:

A considerable number of Pashtuns (The major ethnic group) families in the south and west either fled the Amir's torture; executions aimed stability with reducing the risks of rebellions or have forcefully transported and settled in north with focus on southwest, the Turkistan.

Meanwhile, following a number of insurgencies in south particularly in Kandahar, Amir Abdul Rahman Khan felt continuous threats from his own ethnicity (Pashtun/Pashton) challenging his rule, thus, decided to break the stronghold of Pashtun tribes in south and east forcibly moved and or exiled them to Turkistan, the north, where predominantly Turk descents (Uzbeks and Turkmens) lived. Amir displaced Pashtuns and exiled from their homelands to an area where they were not even familiar with it geographically and culturally. This way he weakened the rule of Pashtun leaders back in original city and with non-Pashtun populations in north/Turkistan that consequently minimized the chances of rebellions in south and minimized the chances of possible uprisings in Turkistan through decreased role of indigenous leaders by restructuring the ethnic grouping.

The mandate of Amir Abdul Rahman Khan was absolute stability (security and political) so that nobody could possibly challenge his rule. Afghan nationalists as well as historians argue that the sign of Durand Agreement with British India in 1893 was part of his policy to divide Pashtuns into two parts between Afghanistan and Pakistan in order to weaken their role in possible insurgent movements by his own ethnicity (Pashtuns) as the major ethnic group and main actor in Afghan politics and stability. With regards to the importance of Durand Line Agreement, we will discuss it in a separate chapter with its impacts on Afghan nation and how this agreement shaded nationalistic efforts both in Afghanistan and Pakistan.

As mentioned the Kakar (1979, p: 132) argument, Amir's actual policy toward various ethnic groups that collectively made the Afghan nation varied considerably in accordance with circumstances. Until the late 80s, Amir's

relation with Durranis (Amir's own branch/tribe of Pashtun ethnic group) were bad. Most of the important Durrani elders did not take part in his accession and refused to accept posts with his government or to enlist their men in the army.

Resettlement program was not one way resettlement despite it did not cover just the Pashtuns but huge number of Shaikh Ali Hazaras and Tajik ethnic group from Salang and residents of Kabul and Logar were part of resettles in Turkistan. However, in reverse, per Kakar argument, thousands families of Uzbek ethnicity were resettled in Kabul the capital and Jalal Abad the eastern city (Kakar 1979, p: 134 – 135).

The resettlement program achieved crosscutting goals:

- Social, as mentioned above, through reducing the role of community/tribal elders in South by exiling a considerable number to Turkistan and balancing the role of key actors in possible instability by creating a multi-ethnic structure in the north;
- Security, with regards to the warfare nature of Pashtuns, through using the southern resettlers as guardians of the frontiers to secure borders from Russian invasions and integrating the newly resettled young men into the Afghan army. The fear was increased after Russia invaded Panjdeh province of Afghanistan. Worth mentioning that Russia did not invade and seize any land in the north after this resettlement;
- Economic, through increasing the level of agricultural production in the country by making the deserts, ready for agricultural cultivation and productions through irrigation systems as Amir was repeatedly telling the residents in Kabul that the current level of agricultural production is not enough for the population and they have to immigrate to the wider lands in the north. In addition, kakar (1979, p: 134) also talked about the increased government incomes through applying land taxes and agricultural production taxes. For instance, the agricultural tax for Maimana resettlers (mostly Qazalbash ethnic group) had to pay one-third 1/3 of the agricultural products to the state.

By accomplishing the resettlement program, Amir Abdul Rahman Khan constructed basics for first ever-stable security after almost one century civil

wars, centralized government and ensured rule of law by a strong central government where local governors were considered as representatives of Amir at local level and were strongly backstopped by equipped and well-disciplined regular army. This situation helped Amir to rule the country till his last day of life and left a stable Afghanistan as legacy to his son Amir Habibullah Khan to rule for decades without a fear of uprisings and to enjoy luxurious life together with family members.

4.2.2 The second phase of resettlements

Second phase of resettlement was titled as the organization of population in the official documents of Afghan state, started by Amir Amanullah Khan in 1920s. The re-settlement program was absolutely volunteer with somehow better arrangements with more facilities for resettlers. Some points that can differentiate the second resettlement with the first phase are as following:

- From geographical viewpoint first phase mainly concerted on north western part (Turkistan) however the second phase targeted mainly northern areas called (Qataghan);
- The first phase was mostly security and stability oriented forcible resettlements of the state to regroup the residents of the target area and balance the ethnical dynamics while the second phase mainly focused on economic objectives with a principle of voluntariness;
- Pre-resettlement arrangements in the first phase were either zero or very limited yet the second phase had allot to encourage resettlement volunteers;
- Post-resettlements measures were intense during the first phase where the resettlers were exempted of any taxes for 3 years, afterward they had to deliver two third of the agricultural production to the state for instance, the immigrants in Maimana of Faryab paid two third to the state however the second phase provided 6 years of tax exemption from one hand, on the other, the resettlers supported in the term providing agricultural requirements including seeds;
- There is nothing to show in history texts if any legal framework or a comprehensive regulatory mechanism existed for the first phase of resettlement which took place in late 19th century nevertheless a wide-ranging

regulation (Nizamnama Naqilen/ Regulation of Resettlements)⁹ developed in 1923 for second phase which clarified the rights and responsibilities of both the local governments and resettles.

4.2.3 Continuation of second phase

Resuming the second phase of resettlements took place along with a set of reforms aimed modernization, development and stability in the country as per the commitment of Ghazi Mohammad Nader Khan in his inaugural speech right after taking the power as well as the needs for reforms following over 8 months of anarchy and disorders in the country. In 1928 when Habibullah Kalakani (known as Bachi Saqaw) led an armed uprising against Amir Amanullah Khan for his modernization efforts. To avoid blood shading, King Amanullah Khan left Kabul for Kandahar and Bachi Saqaw procured the power in Kabul. He was defeated and killed after few months ruling by Mohammad Nader Khan, the Ex-Supreme Commander of Amanullah Khans' armed forces. Mohammad Nader Khan has been nicknamed Ghazi (Ghazi Mohammad Nader Khan) for defeating British forces in third Anglo-Afghan war.

King Ghazi Mohammad Nader Khan assigned Mohammad Hashim Khan the Prime Minister, Mohammad Gul Momand the Minister of Interior Affairs and Abdul Rahman Ludin the Kabul Mayor to work on comprehensive reform program for the entire country, which took 30 months and continued till 1932. This round of reforms is central to the discourse of nation building efforts in particular in 20th century (Jabarkhil 2014, p: 65).

Mohammad Gul Momand in the capacity of Minister of Interior Affairs put the Public Administration restructure in high priority within a comprehensive reform program, among the 1) Administrative Reforms; 2) Population reorganizations and resettlements; 3) Economic Improvements; and 4) Social and Cultural Reforms for modernizing the society.

Resettlement program was called the re-organization of the population in the legal and official documents as well as local history narratives, was a major

⁹ The official website of the Ministry of Justice of the GoIRA, <http://www.moj.gov.af/content/files/egov/Nizamnami%20Ha/NN-1302-07-04.pdf>

nation building effort with an obvious chapter in Afghan nationalism in 20th century. As previously mentioned, modernization of the Afghan army and related military institutions were restructured and modernized time to time in different ages and periods more particularly initiated during the reign of Amir Sher Ali Khan and Amir Abdul Rahman Khan, yet the civilian administrations were less touched since the establishment of modern Afghan state by Ahmad Shah Baba in 1747 remained less or more traditional and patrimonial type of civilian administrations. Historians believe that Ahmad Shah Baba was busy in expanding the skirts of his empire; he was engaged in colonizing the western regions of Afghanistan (currently the eastern regions of Iran), central Asian regions in the north and south Asian regions. Hence, gave priority to the military affairs and paid less attention to the civilian aspects of the government. During the rule of Ahmad Shah Baba, the Afghanistan Empire had 15 local governments and 9 states (Jabarkhil 2014, p: 134).

The differences between these states had in the terms of geography and demography but were divided without required ration and ruled with regards to the nature of the societies and politics of that time. In 1930 during the reign of Ghazi Mohammad Nader Khan the Interior Minister, Mohammad Gul Momand suggested a new administrative structure with new arrangements for Afghanistan, comprised of and categorized the provinces, local governments and administrative centers. Such as Kabul province, Kandahar province, Mazari Sharif province, Herat province, Qataghan province, Mashriqi province and Paktia province as well as the local government of Ghazni, the local government of Parwan, the local government of Maimana, the local government of Farah, the local government of Badakhshan, the local government of Sheberghan and the local government of Greshk in addition, the administrative center of Taloqan, the administrative center of Ghorat, the administrative center of Uruzgan and the administrative center of Bamiyan. This restructure was in place until 1964 when new the constitution suggested new administrative arrangements for Afghanistan (Jabarkhil 2014, p: 135).

The administrative reforms was not just intended to maintain stability and improve the delivery of government services in different stags under the strong central government but to overlay the way for resettlements and repopulation

program. In 30s , the government of Afghanistan initiated the third resettlement program aimed to organize the population in the country with intensive focus from the eastern soundly populous areas to the depopulated areas in north with main attention on the uncultivated and deserts of north and northeastern regions with regards to social, cultural, economic, commercial, security and political dimensions of resettlements.

Afghan nationalist General Mohammad Gull Khan Momand, the Minister of Interior of ARS - Afghanistan Royal State, initiated this program. Remarkably, Gen. Mohmmad Gul Khan Momand¹⁰ obtained higher education in Turkey as well as Mahmud Tarzi, another famous Afghan nationalist.

Kakar (1979, p: 135) believed, Momand being the governor of (Mashreqi) province during the reign of Amanullah Khan, observed that some eastern regions of Afghanistan are harshly populated where some northern region were depopulated and hit by poverty. Plenty of lands in the north of Hindu Kush famous mountains, more specifically in Qataghan province (Baghlan and Kunduz) were wild, unfertile and unplanted, Momand transported families in great number from Eastern Afghanistan (Nangarhar and Kunar provinces) and settled in Qataghan region. A proverb was famous (If you want to die, go to Kunduz/Qataghan) but this province was transformed from a deadly zone to agriculturally one of the most productive provinces of the country.

Resettlement was experienced in different part of the world, from Moscow and Petersburg to Siberia in Russia, from Bombay/ Mumbai to other parts of India and resettlements in Australia and Canada are good examples of resettlements that caused socio-economic developments in those countries. In addition to the

¹⁰ Mohammad Gul Khan Momand (Pashtu: محمد گل خان مومند) (born January 17, 1885 – died August 18, 1964), also spelled as Mohmand, was both a literary figure and a well-known politician in Afghanistan. He was also known as Wazir Mohammad Gul Khan Momand or Momand Baba. Mohammad Gul Khan was an Army Officer during Afghanistan's Independence war in 1919. He served numerous Government and Leadership positions including Home Minister of Afghanistan. Wazir Mohammad Gul Khan Momand was born in the Andrabayo Street of Kabul city. His father was Khurshid Khan, his grandfather is Momen Khan who served in Afghan Army during King Abdur Rahman Khan, and his great grandfather was Abdul Kareem served in the Afghan Army during the reign of King Dost Mohammad Khan. He belongs to Mohmand Pashtun tribes and traces his ancestry to Nangarhar Province. Mohammad Gul Khan attended Habibia High School, and later went on to Turkey for higher education. After completing his primary and secondary studies, Mohammad Gul Khan entered the military school in 1909. Apart from Pashtu and Dari, Mohammad Gul Khan spoke the Turkish and Russian languages.

repopulation and economic objectives, this resettlement aimed to strengthen the national unity of Afghanistan through ethnic fabrication, and resettling Pashtuns in the north to guard the borders due to the below reasons:

- As per Kakar (1979, p: 134) argument, Amir Abdul Rahman Khan resettled Jamshidis, Aimaq and Hazara ethnicities in North West, but were unable to fight Ali Khanov forces and left the Afghan border battalion alone without supporting them and escaped. Thus, Soviet forces occupied Panjdeh province; and
- Per Jabarkhil (2014 p: 135) argument, king (Ghazi Nader Khan) was sure after he fought the British Indian forces in three Anglo-Afghan wars that his resettlement program is the right strategy for maintaining the stability and guarding the borders.

5. AFGHAN NATIONALISM

Ahmad Shah Durrani /Ahmad Shah Baba ¹¹ founded a relatively modern state in 1747 concerning structure, administrative divisions and geography, while naming his state the Afghanistan, the roots of Afghan nationalism is sought by nationalists in those struggles through which a multi-ethnic country is named as the land of Afghans (Afghanistan). Yet, some historians including Gregorian (1969, p: 45) argue that decades ago the roots of Afghan nationalism laid in early 18th century in the patriotic struggles of Mirwais Khan Hotaki/ Mirwais Nika ¹² who made the first determination to form a self-determining Afghan state in 1707 by uniting existing Afghan ethnicities and tribes against Persians and finally succeeded to defeat Gorgeen's Persian Empire and as result, the Afghan state was emerged in Kandahar by 1709 and new Afghan state forces composed of Afghan tribes even conquered Isfahan the capital of Persian Empire in 1722.

Despite most of the nationalists believe that the emerge of nationalism is linked with the emerge of modern states, some historians and nationalists offers cultural theory to Afghan nationalism, go further deep and seek the roots of Afghan nationalism in 500 years back in the rule of an Afghan Emperor¹³. They

¹¹ Baba means Grandfather in Dari language and widely used in Pashto language as well. This title has been given to Ahmad Shah Durrani the Afghan emperor as Baba/ the grandfather of Afghans as the first founder of modern great Afghanistan.

¹² Nika means grandfather in Pashtu/Afghani language. Baba and Nika terms are synonyms....

¹³ Shēr Shāh Sūrī (1486–22 May 1545), born Farīd Khān, was the founder of the Suri Empire in the northern part of the Indian subcontinent, with its capital at Delhi. An ethnic Pashtun, Sher Shah took control of the Mughal Empire in 1538. After his accidental death in 1545, his son Islam Shah became his successor. He first served as a private before rising to become a commander in the Mughal army under Babur and then the governor of Bihar. In 1537, when Babur's son Humayun was elsewhere on an expedition, Sher Shah overran the state of Bengal and established the Suri dynasty. A brilliant strategist, Sher Shah proved himself as a gifted administrator as well as a capable general. His reorganization of the empire laid the foundations for the later Mughal emperors, notably Akbar, son of Humayun. During his seven-year rule from 1538 to 1545, he set up a new civic and military administration, issued the first Rupiya from "Taka" and re-organised the postal system of India. He further developed Humayun's Dina-panah city and named it Shergarh and revived the historical city of Pataliputra, which had been in decline since the 7th century CE, as Patna. He extended the Grand Trunk Road from Chittagong in the frontiers of the province of Bengal in northeast India to Kabul in Afghanistan in the far northwest of the country.

argue that Afghan nationalists are inspired by the beliefs and thinking's of the Afghan Emperor Sher Shah Suri, around 500 years back in his capital of Empire the Delhi. Suri's famous quote "forget tribalism and create nationality" to the community elders came from Kandahar to Delhi seems to be the founding theory of Afghan nationalism. Shersha Suri believed a united Afghan nation could be stronger than the existing tribal structure ruling the sub-continent.

In 19th century, despite the internal conflicts, civil wars shaded over the nation building struggles but the foreign invasions by British-India affected the formation of Afghan nation the other way. Sayed Jamaluddin Afghani (1838 – 1897) a well know Afghan scholar of the 19th century believed to be pioneer scholar understanding the role of nationalist movements in addition to the religious dynamics in fighting for the liberty against aggression particularly the British occupation. He did not see nationalism contradicting Pan-Islamism despite being different when Pan-Islamism was the distinctive and only ideology standing towards the colonialism.

Sayed Jamaluddin Afghani assumed that nationalism and religion are key motivators that could fight the colonial regimes in Islamic world. Afghani is famous for theorizing pan-Islamism, moreover he developed a theme of political implications as sort of combined constituents (the religion and nationalism). In his book the (The Continuation of Statement in Afghan History) he described the roots of Afghans, the term Afghan, uniting dissimilar ethnics by Mirwise Khan Hotaki against Persian Empire and the formation of modern Afghan state (The Afghanistan).

In 1885, he succeeded to create Pan-Islamism aimed to unify Muslims to A) resist western imperialistic occupation of Muslim lands; B) to create caliphate¹⁴ one single state for Muslim Umma. Some Afghan nationalists including (Yoon 2018) do not look the nationalism to be contradicting Pan-Islamism in a sense

¹⁴ A caliphate (Arabic: خلافة khilāfah) is a state under the leadership of an Islamic steward with the title of caliph, a person considered a religious successor to the Islamic prophet Muhammad and a leader of the entire Muslim community. Historically, the caliphates were polities based in Islam which developed into multi-ethnic trans-national empires. During the medieval period, three major caliphates succeeded each other: the Rashidun Caliphate (632–661), the Umayyad Caliphate (661–750) and the Abbasid Caliphate (750–1258). In the fourth major caliphate, the Ottoman Caliphate, the rulers of the Ottoman Empire claimed caliphal authority from 1517. During the history of Islam, a few other Muslim states, almost all hereditary monarchies, have claimed to be caliphates.

that nationalism will provide background and essential constructions for international Islamism regardless of the name either Pan-Islamism, Chilaphat movement, Islamic Amarat ets, thus, defines that Umma as the international level of nationalism. This way, Muslim Umma is composed of all Muslim nations around the globe.

Massond (2000 p: 74) agrees that Sayed Jamaluddin Afghani, one of the theorists and founders of Pan –Islamism approved nationalism in principle to be used as tool to organize non-Muslims (Hindu’s, Sikhs and Christians) of India against British rule in a platform. In long-term, however, feared that nationalism would divide the Muslim world and believed that Muslim unity was more important than ethnic identity.

5.1 Afghan Nationalism in 20th Century (A new face)

Although, nation building attempts initiated simultaneously with the reforms aimed modernization during the reign of Amir Sher Ali Khan, exact two decades later, a well-educated Afghan man from an exiled family, Mahmud Tarzi brought a message from Damascus, Othman Empire to new Afghan king (Amir Habibullah Khan) appointed in high ranking position after the king was impressed with his knowledge and talent.

In early 20th century, with the handover of power to Amir Habibullah Khan, the nature of nationalism acquires alteration due to the role of Mahmud Tarzi. Despite eastern and western nationalists did not agree with each other but as a valid argument, unlike Europe where the implications of modern states developed and then spread to the rest of the world, preferably in Asia (more preferably Middle East, East Asia and South Asia) the nations went from nationalist movements against western occupier towards the states where nationalism had its obvious role in emergence of modern states.

Mahmud Tarzi was born in 1865 in Ghazni province, the southeast of Kabul. In 1882 his family was part of a large number of politicians and tribal elders exiled to India by Amir Abdul Rahman Khan as part of his strategy for absolute monarchy. Tarzi’s family then traveled to Istanbul where he met Sultan Abdul Hamid in 1886 and returned back to Istanbul from Damascus following the

death of Ghulam Mohammad his father in 1900. Tarzi was invited by Amir Habibullah Khan to Kabul in 1902 and appointed as Chief of Bureau of Translation for Royal Court (dar-ut-tarjama). Mahmud Tarzi served as Minister of Foreign Affairs from 1919 to 1922, being the minister of FA, he played significant role in Aug. 19, Declaration of Afghanistan Independency in foreign affairs, yet, Afghanistan was independent in internal affairs but the ARS/ Afghan Royal State was bound to consult with India in foreign affairs.

Tarzi from one hand titled as the father of Afghan journalism and intellectuality in Afghanistan and on the other, per (Nawid 2009, p: 16), he was the one who took the Afghan nationalism into a new stage with applying the Turkish model of nationalism in Afghanistan as he was greatly impressed by the Turkish nationalism rather the German one which served as the center of nationalism globally.

In addition, Mahmud Tarzi was the first who defined the term nation (predominantly the Afghan nation) as a major constituent of the state. In general Tarzi focused on media and education as major reforms undertaken by state, successfully mainstreamed nationalism into the new modern education system aimed producing state elites, and mainstreamed Afghan nationalism in media aimed public awareness regarding the Afghan nationalism.

In 1904, Amir Habibullah Khan established first ever-modern college (Habibya) in capital Kabul that served not just as an academic center but as a nationalist establishment intended production of state-elites. State supported the collage in all means and addition to the textbooks; teachers were hired from India, Turkey and Europe. The graduates of Habibya Collage played remarkable role in bureaucratic services of the Afghanistan Royal State. In less than one generation from 1904 -1919, Habibya College turned into a state-elite forum where the state's reforms were not only discussed and taught, but also a new Afghan elite class was produced by the Habibya collage (Nawid 2009, p: 12).

Few years later Tarzi was able to gather and organize elites in a group and created (Jamiate Serri Milli)¹⁵ the National Secret Group, which was, comprised young well-educated nationalists, struggled for social and political reforms as

¹⁵ جمعیت سری ملی / in local language

well as immediate full-pledged independence from British Empire. At this time, despite the king was independent in internal affairs but in terms of international policy, the Amir was bound to consult with British India per the agreements signed by ARS and British India. This consultation was remarked as a shame by the group and set an objective that that a thorough independence shall give the opportunity for the king not to consult British India for the inter-state relation. Should be noted that the stated group was also known as the constitutionalists. Per number local historical information, in 1909 (Jamiate Serri Milli)¹⁶ National Secret Group was exposed as they planned to replace Amir Habibullah Khan with a constitutional regime within a political reform plan. Consequently, a number of group members jailed.

Following the incident, a new group of nationalists emerged as (Jawanan-e-Afghan)¹⁷ Afghan Youth composed of intellectuals, educated youth and member of court including royal family members (Prince Enayatullah Khan and Prince Amanullah Khan) whom both were son in-laws of Mahmud Tarzi.



Figure 5.1: LOGO Siraj al-Akhbar Afghania

On 8 October 1911, Siraj al-Akhbar Afghania (the torch of Afghan News) the Afghanistan' first modern newspaper of Afghanistan published and this paper created magnificent opportunity for Habibya College students to share their viewpoints with public and functioned as forum for the elites to discuss national

¹⁶ جمعیت سری ملی / in local language

¹⁷ جوانان افغان / in local language

identity and modernization. Mahmud Tarzi served as Editor in Chief of the stated newspaper (Siraj al-Akhbar Afghania)- (Gregorian 1967, p: 44-45).



Figure 5.2: Scan Copy of a Paragraph - Ethics

In an issue of Siraj al-Akhbar Afghania (1916 - the fifth publication year), second page under the (Ethics - اخلاقیات) column in first paragraph of an article about the language and its importance, Mahmud Tarzi mentions Afghani as the national language of Afghanistan, the Persian, however, is the official language of the state which is a legacy of the pre-independence Iranian regimes, he said.

Conventionally, Persian/Dari was the official language of Darbars (Royal courts). Over a century ago, during the reign of Amir Habibullah Khan, Afghan nation is marked with particular culture and language. According to Anderson (2006, p: 44), print-capitalism as a mass-commodity has the potential to layout the foundations for national consciousness in four ways: First, by creating unified fields of communication. Second, it presents 'fixity to language'. Third, it renders an ability to transform images of antiquity, centralized into the essence of the nation, and finally, it creates 'languages-of-power'.

As part of the nation building efforts, the Afghan state was advised by Mahmud Tarzi intended to:

- Keep the culture and language of the Afghan nation safe from foreign influence; and
- To take necessary measures for the restructuring and upgrading of the Afghani language¹⁸. Consequently, Afghani national language was integrated into education curriculum.

Tarzi argued “These studies ought to be accompanied by a concerted effort to raise the status of Pashtu, which he and his associates regarded as the Afghan language, in contrast, Persian, the official language. Pashtu or Afghani was the manifestation of the national genius and the ancestor of all languages, a true national language. As such, it must be studied and taught to all the ethnic groups in Afghanistan” (Gregorian 1969 p: 175-176) and (Nawid 2009, p: 12) argue that this was the main driver of the Afghan nationalism.

Mahmud Tarzi sought a solution for building a united and strong nation in Afghanistan to have one single national language and maintaining national cultural values. Tarzi’s approach towards nation building was clearly not ethnic oriented, rather national in a country where ethnic diversity is a reality. Talking about Afghans, Afghan nation and Afghan national language, his explanation of the term (Afghan) wasn’t reflecting the Pashtun (The largest ethnic group of Afghanistan/majority) as Gregorian believe, the term “Afghan” was defined “on a geographic and religious, rather than merely ethnic, basis,” is made obvious in the first volume of *Seraj al-Akhbar* where he writes:

“In this century [20th], news functions as a language for nations and its inhabitants.”

While the second paragraph of the stated volume, (Gregorian 1969, p: 176) states:

“At this time, in this century, other than the savage, primitive states and tribes, where there is any existing nation under state governance; there will be strong evidence for national knowledge of writing and reading.”¹⁹

¹⁸ Afghani language = Pashtu language

¹⁹ For details please see Mahmud Tarzi website @ <http://www.mahmudtarzi.com/>;

For sure, Tarzi's approach towards nation building was not ethnic oriented approach in a country where ethnic diversity is a reality however; simple majority existed if not absolute majority from the ethnicity point of view. His approach was mainly value oriented attitude and he concerning the importance of language in nation building efforts in principle.

There is not much to challenge stated argument of Gregorian regarding the geographical and religious roots of the term (Afghan) definition during the reign of Amir Habibullah Khan but this case is getting different shape with Amir Amanullah Khan taking over with a large set of social, political, administrative/bureaucratic and cultural reforms in addition to the freedom of religion. Per the definition of Afghan in first ever constitution of Afghanistan, the term Afghan is applied for all those with Afghania citizenship.

It's obvious that Tarzi was not the only nationalistic figure in Afghanistan in the first two decades of 20th century but his active role in grouping the intellectuals, motivating and leading them towards desired objectives was significantly obvious. He successfully managed to work with two monarchs (Amir Habibullah Khan 1901-1919 and Amir Amanullah Khan 1919 – 1928) for around 3 decades struggled for elevation of foundations of Afghan nationalism with first decade and spreading the nationalistic opinions within Afghan youths and producing a good number young Afghan nationalists in second decade of 20th century.

Mahmud Tarzi's role further and further upgraded when Amir Habibullah Khan was assassinated in Laghman the eastern province and his son in-law Amir Amanullah Khan took over the power and the Afghan nationalism acquired into another stage. In this stage, the nationalistic struggles are not limited within a small number in secret groups²⁰ hidden from the state eyes or a minor part of government strategy but the nationalism finds its place in main agenda of the state along with complete independence and comprehensive development reforms.

In general, the public cannot distinct the boundaries of nationalism and patriotism and is sometime used as synonyms to each other by politicians but

²⁰ (Jamiate Serri Milli) National Secret Group

Afghan nationalists take patriotism without nationalism and nationalism short of patriotism as incomplete. I am not going in details to inspect the variances between the nationalism and patriotism as this is a long discussion but can be argued that nationalism and patriotism have crosscutting relations to each other and these two terms can have different definition in different parts of the world. As far as the reign of Amir Amanullah Khan is concerned, not only nationalism but the patriotism emerged as part of the nationalism.

Per Nawid (2009, p.12), Tarzi touching upon the Afghanistan's aggressive confrontation against British Empire during 1st Anglo-Afghan war (1839 to 1842) and 2nd Anglo-Afghan war (1878 to 1880) as examples of natural nationalistic character of Afghans which can justify that patriotism was inherent in the character of Afghans.

Nationalism was spreading the country while pan-Islamism ideology occupied the region and Afghanistan was pretty much affected. It was not just the Othman Empire, advocating for pan-Islamism but it was a hot topic among the leaders and Ulama/Islamic scholars in South Asia. It was not easy job to convince hardline Islamic scholars and tribal elders as traditional key actors in taking important decisions and making policies across the country to approve nationalism. Afghan nationalists were smart enough analyzed the situation and found out the solution so they won over the elders that nationalism is a sort of national responsibility as they have defended their country in Anglo-Afghan wars and they have to get united to keep on their values. Since the nationalism was offered composed with modernization as set offered to the people, it made the mission more challenging and more complicated with affections to the conservative culture and nature of people.

Yet, Afghan nationalists had to justify that Afghan nationalism is not contradicting pan-Islamism. (Gregorian 1969 p: 174) arguing that Mahmud Tarzi touched upon this issue in Seraj Al Akbar many times, "To support his contention that the very concept of an Afghan ethos and fatherland emanated

from Islam, he quoted a Hadith/saying of the Prophet Muhammad: *Hob ul watan min al iman*²¹ (patriotism derives from faith)”.

Yet in heavy contrary sentimentalities between Pan-Islamism and Pan-Arabism, Mahmood Tarzi shifted his focus on reducing the British Indian influence over Afghan state towards a full independence. Despite Seraj Al Akhbar was halted in 1918 by an order of Amir Habibullah Khan, Tarzi, however, had achieved his goals by advocating and getting social support for independence, constructing the foundations for comprehensive reforms including Afghan nationalism and modernization of state.

Meanwhile, the southern neighbor of Afghanistan (British India) was engaged with Indian Nationalism led by Mahatma Gandhi (Gandhiji), Jawahir Lal Nihru and others while Pan-Islamism movement aimed for caliphate not only constructed foundation for a number Islamic political ideologies including but not limited to The Muslim Brotherhood in South Asia and other parts of world. The idea of Pan-Islamism widely supported by the Muslims of South Asia in particular the Muslims of Indian sub-continent used against British rule and this is the reason that some historians argue that the Caliphate Movement was in one side with Indian nationalism at least struggling together side by side for one common objective to end the British aggression. In 1920, the Caliphate Movement of India hold a conference in Delhi in which the Muslims of entire sub-continent took part.

Masood (2000, p: 64) argued that one of the outcomes of the conference was the migration/hijra towards Peshawar and Afghanistan and Caliphate Movement leaders asked Afghan King (Ghazi Amanullah Khan) to support the migration of Indian Muslims to Afghanistan. The king was keen on providing any support to the freedom movements and thus welcomed the migrant.

Notably, per Masood (2000, p: 65) Abdul Ghafar Khan known as Fakhri Afghan and Bacha Khan, the leading resistant leader was part of a small caravan towards Afghanistan despite he did not agree with the migration decision in principle too but agreed to avoid possible cracks in the movement (Bacha Khan 1983) – (Khan 1983). Further attempts will not be made to discuss the Caliphate

²¹ حب الوطن من الايمان / Arabic text

Movement of Indian sub-continent and the outcomes of the conference in details. We touched upon an activity of the conference to justify such movements from one hand rooted with Pan-Islamism and on other the travels of Sayed Jamaluddin Afghani to India had significant role in empowering the resistance of Indians not just the Muslims but Hindus, Sikhs and Christians too.

In this account, as part of the administrative reforms and nation building struggles, national identity paper/card was issued during the reign of Amir Amanullah Khan. National Identity Regulation (Nezam Nama-e tazkira-e nofus²²) was one of major reforms that not only collected, organized and sorted out the population data but provided national identity to inhabitants of the Afghan territory. Every individual was bound to register and obtain Tazkira²³/national identity card. A sole number was assigned to every citizen as national number and a number of social status was supposed to be registered in. Tazkir was not only a proof of national identity but it was the most required document in courts and public service offices of the state. The first ever constitution of Afghanistan (Nizam Nama Asasi/ Constitutional Law²⁴) in 1922 as part of the nationalistic struggles all the inhabitants of Afghanistan were subjected to Afghania citizenship.

²² نظام نامه تذکره نفوس

²³ Even now, the Afghan national ID card is called Tazkira both in official and unofficial communications in Afghanistan.

²⁴ نظام نامه اساسی

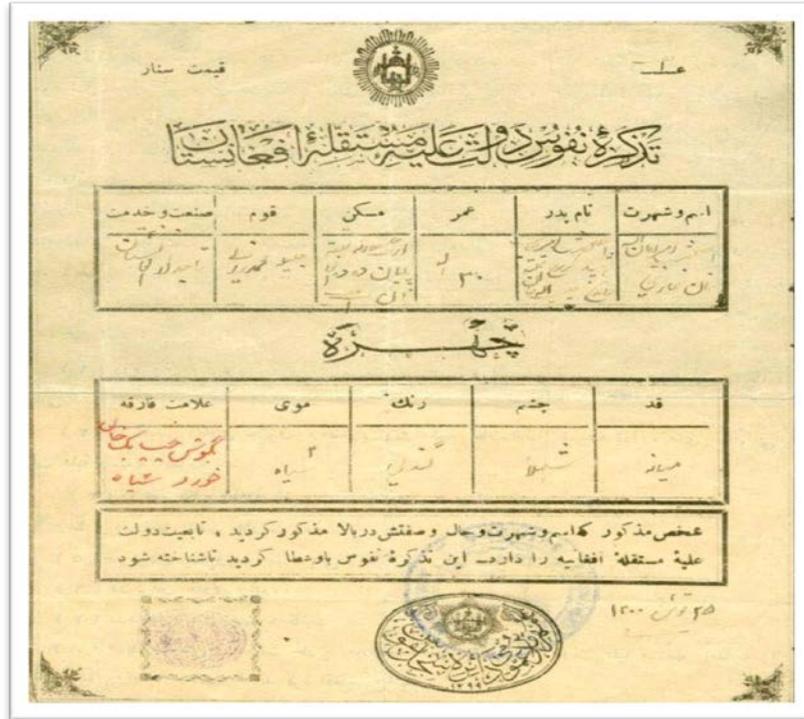


Figure 5.3: Copy of Afghan National ID in 1922

6. DURAND AGREEMENT AND AFGHAN NATION

Durand Line is principal in discourse over Afghan nation or Afghan nationalism not just from the nationalistic perspective but as an official stand of the Afghan government too. This chapter will briefly examine the Durand Line about its role both in the rise of Pashtun nationalism in Pakistan and in how it has been shading Afghan nationalism in addition to the stability and political landscape within these two countries and between them. The referendum of 1947 by British India, Mirza Ali Khan's (Fakir Ipi) armed rebellion against British troops and then against Pakistan after the partition, Pashtunistan resolution and the struggles of cross border Pashtuns for autonomy of Pashtuns (independent Pashtunistan) or the unity with Afghanistan (Great Afghanistan) all have roots in Durand Line in one way or the other.

Durand Line was slammed in the origin by cross border Afghans, more particularly the Pashtuns and later, the line issue emerged as hot topic in political landscape which shaded inter-state relations (between Afghanistan and Pakistan) along with the emergence of Afghan nationalism in Afghanistan, the Khudai Khedmatgar (Servants of God) movement against British India in pre-partition to Pashtun nationalism in post-partition of the Indian sub-continent (1947) in Pakistan. The nationalistic narratives (Both the Afghan and Pashtun) outline Pashtun nationalism in Pakistan links or subordinates the Afghan nationalism or the second side of the same coin since both, the Pashtuns and Afghans reject Durand Line as principle, maintain same ethnicity, language, culture and social life.

6.1 Durand Agreement

Durand Line is the name of 2,640-kilometer (1,640-mile) territorial frontier line located in east and south of Afghanistan with Pakistan, which has not been recognized by Afghanistan since ever the Pakistan established in 1947. In its place, Afghanistan has territorial claims on areas stretching from the Durand

Line to the Attock area of Indus River justifying the line is dividing Afghans into two, more particularly the line separates Pashtuns the major ethnic group in Afghanistan and, the second large ethnic group in Pakistan since the Durand Line runs through Pashtun territory. Pashtuns both in Afghanistan and in Pakistan are maintaining same language, culture, ethnicity etc.

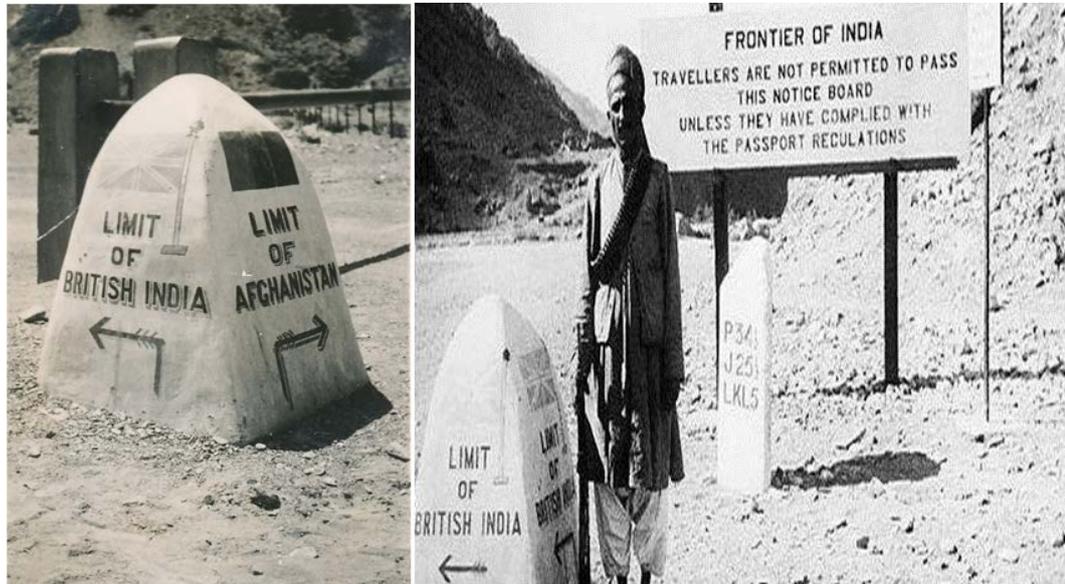


Figure 6.1: Afghan - Indian Frontier

This frontier is named later on (Durand Line) after British Col. Henry Mortimer Durand negotiated frontier arrangements with a team from Afghanistan that concluded an agreement signed by Amir Abdul Rahman Khan, the King of Afghanistan and Col. Mortimer Durand representing British India in 12 November 1893 in Kabul, Afghanistan.

Lord Lansdowne (1888 – 1894) the British Viceroy in India, searching for a frontier, appointed initially Lord Roberts to negotiate but Amir Abdul Rahman Khan did not agree with General Roberts for being British Commander in 1878-1880 during the second Anglo-Afghan war and expressed concerns over smooth negotiation of Afghans. Thus, Col. Henry Mortimer Durand the Foreign Secretary of British India, was assigned and led a mission to define the frontier line between British India and Afghanistan. Durand mission started travel on 19 September from Peshawar city, arrived in Kabul on 2nd October 1893, and continued negotiation on demarcating the southern and eastern territories of Afghanistan for over a month.

Kakar (2007) argues that the Durand Agreement, however, did not define the (frontier) line as international border between Afghanistan and British India and this agreement was more defining a buffer zone to prevent the influence of Afghanistan over the area and perhaps the Afghanistan over all as a buffer state to prevent the advance of Russia.

Muhammed Afzal Khan also known as Afzal Khan Lala (1926 – 1 November 2015) a Pashtun nationalist, Pakistani Member of Parliament and cabinet member (minister of Northern areas and Kashmir) of Pakistan government argues that Durand Line served as sign of the collapse of Afghan nation in late 19th century. Per Kakar et al. (2007), in order to find out why such thing happened to Afghans, we better look at Anglo – Afghan war in 1841 when 13,734 British soldiers, British Indian ambassador to Kabul and the puppet king (Shah Shoja)²⁵ killed in uprising under the command of Ghazi Mohammad Akbar Khan. Mohammad Afzal Khan further states that British India found out that Pashtuns played significant role in the war against British Indian presence in Kabul, thus decided to break the power Pashtuns through division and finally the Durand Agreement took place.

British India, having north-west frontier defined with Afghanistan from one hand, and providing Amir Abdul Rahman Khan with guns and ammunitions as well as the financial support, encouraged him to strengthen the northern border of Afghanistan with Russia on the other was the India's strategic goal to prevent the Russia's advance in the area and to assure Amir Abdul Rahman Khan that British India is honest in friendship with him.

The Afghan history texts list number of reasons, explanations and even justifications for Amir Abdul Rahman Khan's approval of the agreement, some including Kakar (2007, p: 128) justify it as a huge misunderstanding between him and the Afghan delegation over the prepared copy and the one which was given to Amir as he did not understand the English text in the agreement while

²⁵ Shah Shuja was the son of Timur Shah, and in 1803 captured Kabul, imprisoned his rival, and proclaimed himself King. His rule lasted only until 1810, he then fled Kabul and eventually headed for India, and lived in exile for about 30 years. However, in 1839, in alliance with the British, invaded Afghanistan (first Anglo-Afghan war). The British placed him on the throne, but he was soon assassinated. (Source: online)

others argue that Amir deliberately signed and agreed with all the provisions of agreement and further referencing his (Amir's) close relation with Britain.

Some sources even talked of a ceremony being held in Kabul right one day after (13 Nov 1893) the agreement signed, revealed Amir's satisfaction at the agreement however, Kakar (2007, p: 128) has argued that he could not find the signature of Afghan Amir in the document despite searched both Indian and British archives. In addition, Amir Abdul Rahman Khan either felt direct threats from Russian Czar following invasion of Panjdeh province of Afghanistan or might have comprehended that Afghanistan cannot fight with two major powers (Russia in north and Britain in south) in one time, thus wanted to get rid of threats from the British Indian side, get access to the sea ports and concentrate on securing northern borders with Czar's Russia.



Figure 6.2: Afghan King between Two Empires

Whatever the case is, either Abdul Rahman Khan wanted or not, the Pashtuns of those areas (southern side of Durand Line till Abasin River) challenged the agreement and stormed the insurgent movements against British forces after they got informed about the Durand Agreement, some were suppressed while others particularly the rebellion of Pashtun tribes (Masoods, Afridies and Momands) continued till British forces left India. Therefore, it can be easily

argued that regardless of the Amir's signature, Durand Agreement was not acceptable for the Afghans in both sides of the line.

The agreement, however, was renegotiated following the controversy by Amir Habibullah Khan (son of Amir Abdul Rahman Khan) in 1905 with Indian government, Amir Amanullah Khan taking power in 1919 with announcing the individuality of Afghanistan in defining foreign policy as well as the 3rd Anglo-Afghan war made British India to renegotiate the agreement for the second time with Afghan government, concluded Rawalpindi Peace Treaty on 08 August 1919. Madokhil (2015, p: 428) further states that, the cross-border aggression of Afghan forces and occupation of some areas by Ghazi Mohammad Nader Khan the commander of Afghan forces in south-eastern battle filed questioned the validity of the Durand Agreement in practice. The third renegotiation over Indo-Afghan frontier concluded Kabul Treaty in 22 November 1921.

Controversy over the Indo-Afghan frontier remained core issue which shaded relations between the Afghan and British Indian governments until 1947 when the Indian sub-continent splited in two and Pakistan established, Afghanistan rejected the line as the international boundary and consequently, controversy got into a new phase. In this account, Afghan side justified the rejection, not being bound to recognize the line as border due to the lack of any agreement with Pakistan from one hand and on other, the Durand Line Agreement lost its implication after the 1947 incidents, the establishment of Pakistan in 14th August and independence of India right one day after in 15 August 1947.

Madokhil (2015, p: 428)) has talked about the famous freedom fighter, Haji Mirza Ali Khan known as Fakir Ipi, who led a powerful independence armed movement against British forces in Waziristan (FATA area between Afghanistan and British India, currently an agency of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa of Pakistan) comprised of Pashtun freedom fighters both from Waziristan and the Afghan side of the Durand Line. Mirza Ali Khan kept close relation with Afghan government and per local history narratives, received financial and military support from Afghanistan Royal State. He raided and carried guerrilla attacks over British troops for hundreds times, within the course of 1940, Mirza Ali Khan's fighters attacked 119 time the British troops and continued his armed insurgency till the last day of British military presence in the area.

In the meantime, another movement established in 1929 by Bacha Khan/Abdul Ghafar Khan focused on non-violent struggles against British rule. This movement was called the Khudai Khedmatgar (servants of God). Members of the movements were mainly Pashtuns from NWFP (North-West Frontier Province) of India. In first year the leader (Bacha Khan) was exiled from the province and a number of members were jailed by British Indian government. Establishment of the movement served as base or as a pilot phase of Pashtun nationalistic struggles in British India and then Pakistan. Khan Abdul Ghafar Khan was named by Khudai Khedmatgars and Pashtun nationalists as (Fakhri Afghan) and is still a common title for Bacha Khan. The below two thoughts of Bacha Khan can briefly lights the non-violent ideology of Khudai Khedmatgars (servants of God) movement:

“The Holy Prophet Mohammed came into this world and taught us ‘That man is a Muslim who never hurts anyone by word or deed, but who works for the benefit and happiness of God's creatures.’ Belief in God is to love one's fellow men.” – Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan/ Bacha Khan (Khan 1983)

“There is nothing surprising in a Muslim or a Pathan like me subscribing to the creed of nonviolence. It is not a new creed. It was followed fourteen hundred years ago by the Prophet all the time he was in Mecca.” – Fakhri Afghan/ Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan (Khan 1983)

Kurtz (2009, P: 03) believes, the movement achieved many of its nationalistic (Pashtun nationalism) goals enclosing increased Pashtun autonomy and concessions to Pashtun identity such as teaching Pashtu in the schools, although it fell short of the complete independence (until 1947) it sought and the electoral victory channeled much of the movement's energies into a limited power-sharing arrangement with the British. Ghaffar Khan, banned from the province at the time of the election did not wish to campaign because he was concerned about the potential moral effect of political office on the movement. Major reforms at that time included the release of political prisoners, land reform, and the use of Pashtu as a language of instruction in the schools. In 1947, a plebiscite resulted in the Frontier Province becoming part of the newly independent Pakistan.

6.2 Independent Pashtunistan

In 1930s and 1940s, within Indian sub-continent, the nationalistic mood of Pashtuns reached a level that they felt not being an ethnicity of India rather a separate nation or integral part of another nation (Afghan nation). Such feelings continued after the partition when Pashtuns did not stop struggling for the autonomy of Pashtuns (Pashtunistan).

In June 1947, a referendum held but British Raj which did not reflect the main demand of the people of NWFP (North West Frontier Province). The electorates were given two options either stay in India or Join Pakistan. Pashtuns were looking mainly for third option, the independent Pashtunistan or perhaps the fourth joining Afghanistan, therefore, less people got interest to take part in such a referendum where they could not find their option, as result, low turnout was reported due to the boycott of Khudai Khedmatgars (servants of God) and a couple of other nationalistic groups including the armed freedom movement. Meanwhile, the referendum held in particular areas and was not as general as it should had been. The result of referendum which was in the favor of Pakistan was rejected by Pashtun leader the Bacha Khan/Abdul Ghafar Khan, Mirza Ali Khan/ Fakir Ipi the leader of armed freedom movement (Mujahideen) and Afghan government.

Loya Jirga (traditional grand assembly) composed of Bacha Khan/Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai, the Khudai Khidmatgars, Mirzali Khan (Faqir of Ipi), members of the Provincial Assembly and other tribal chiefs held at Bannu - NWFP, under the presidency of Khan Amir Mohammad Khan. Jirga adopted a formal political statement titled Pashtunistan Resolution/Bannu Resolution on 21st June 1947 declared that Pashtuns reject to be ruled by others, demanded that the Pashtuns be given a choice to have an independent state of Pashtunistan, composing all Pashtun territories of British India, instead of being made to join Pakistan and appealed the Pashtuns to get together in one center for collective efforts towards obtaining the state goal (independent Pashtunistan). However (Shah 1993, p: 256) argued that, the British Indian government refused to comply with the demand of this resolution. After the partition, the Khudai Khidmatgaran faced backlashes from the new Pakistani

Pashtunistan from the east and south of Durand Line till Abasin River. Moreover, the Jirga voted for unilateral cancelation of all previous treaties with British India including the Durand Agreement.



Figure 6.4: Pashtunistan Map

Afghan regimes, however, changed time to time from the rule of King Mohammad Zahir till the coup d'état of Sardar Mohammad Daud the first President of Afghanistan and the founder of Afghan republic in 1978, then the communist regimes up until 1992 despite the ideological differences and oppositions, maintained support of Pashtunistan as the choice of Pashtuns and did not recognize the Durand Line as international territorial boundary. The Soviet Union used the Pashtunistan issue as influential tool and strategy for advance within Pakistan towards south Asia.

Following the collapse of USSR, Pashtunistan is not that hot topic in the political landscape of both Afghanistan and Pakistan but Pashtun nationalist groups and nationalist political parties in Pakistan, the ANP and PMAP concentrated on Pashtunkhwa/Pakhtunkhwa instead and struggles for more

autonomy of Pashtuns and succeeded constitutional amendments for changing the NWFP (North West Frontier Province) name to Pashtunkhwa after over a century. Meanwhile. These nationalists maintain close relation with Afghan government, rejects Durand Line as international boundary and promotes (laraw-bar yaw Afghan) cross border Pashtuns as one Afghan²⁶.

ANP, Awami National Party is leftist nationalist political party of Pashtuns in Pakistan founded by Abdul Wali Khan, son of Bacha Khan in 1986 with main focus on in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan. PMAP, Pashtunkhwa Milli Awami Party is Pashtun nationalist party, founded by Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai and mainly active in Baluchistan province of Pakistan.

6.3 Great Afghanistan

As mentioned above, with the collapse of Soviet Union, Pashtunistan lost its major supporter; hence, Pashtun nationalists had to modify the strategy from Pashtunistan to joining Afghanistan.

Mandokhil (2015, p: 259) states, the great Afghanistan, however, some historians named the Afghan empire in late 18th and early 19th century as Great Afghanistan but from the Afghan nationalist perspective, great Afghanistan is starting in north from Amo River (border with central Asian republics) to Abasin River in the south, an ongoing theme among the Afghan nationalists inside Afghanistan and Pashtun nationalists in Pakistan as the second variant to Pashtunistan.

Furthermore, the same geographical definition for great Afghanistan has been provided by Pashtun nationalists in Pakistan including, Mahmood Khan Achakzai, the leader of PMAP, Mandokhil, Latif Khan Afridi, from ANP and others. These nationalists use another term in Pashtu language (Loy Kor) means great home for great Afghanistan.

²⁶ لړ او بر يو افغان

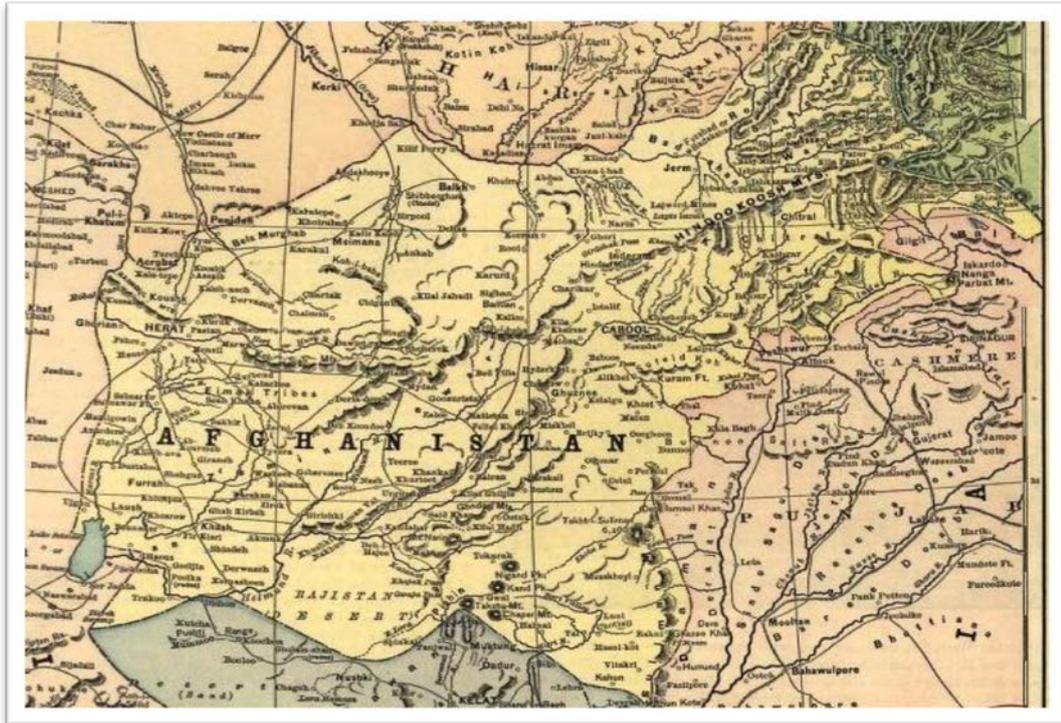


Figure 6.5: Great Afghanistan Map

Abdul Rahim Mandokhil, Member of Senate (upper legislative chamber) of Pakistan and a Pashtun nationalist [Mandokhil (2015, p: 605-608)] believed that Afghan nation ruled in a broad territory (Great Afghanistan) as he defines territorial boundaries, from Amu River (Current Afghan border with central Asian countries) to Seflat and from Kashmir to Sindh (Great Afghanistan) in early 19th century with Kabul the summer capital and Peshawar the winter capital of Afghanistan. It took almost one century for British Empire struggled to occupy the land of Afghans.

Senator Mandokhil repeatedly call the Pashtuns inside Pakistan are Afghans and further state that Pashtun territories to this side (Pakistani side) of Durand Line is the territory of Afghanistan that been freed from British Indian Raj but Pakistani establishment kept these territories occupied. The realities of last three decades clarify that Pakistan/ the Islamabad Government, keeps putting pressure on to make Afghanistan recognize the line as border. Moreover, Mandokhil (2015), repeatedly calls these Pashtun territories, the occupied Afghanistan.

Cross border, one Afghan: Afzal Khan Lala, the former Member of Parliament and cabinet member argued, British India concentrated on Pashtuns in

Afghanistan and through a number of treaties tried to divide Pashtuns as the major part of Afghan nation. The Durand Line separates one nation (Afghan) not acceptable to the Afghans in both side of Durand Line. As per Kakar et al. (2007), Mohammad Afzal Khan, the famous Pashtun nationalist in Pakistan further states, Durand Line can only be recognized as international boundary when two parties agree. The second party (Afghan governments) never recognized and even the Taliban government that was directly supported by Pakistani establishment, did not recognize Durand Line as border despite the Pakistan government attempted to convince the supreme leader of Taliban (Mulla Mohammad Omer Mujahid) to recognize the line but didn't work.

Pashtun nationalists in Pakistan rarely or do not accept the Pakistani identity at all. They maintain ties with Afghan governments in the capacity of an Afghan traveling to Kabul without Afghan visa and even the ordinary tribal men travel to the Afghan side of the line just with a special protocol arranged by MOBTA, Ministry of Borders and Tribal Affairs of the GoIRA not as Pakistani citizens but as Afghans. However, the ordinary Pakistanis are bound to have valid visa while entering Afghanistan territory. Mainly the members of two political parties such as ANP (Awami National Party) members, PMAP (Pashtunkhwa Milli Awami Party), the PTM (Pashtun Tahafuz Movement) the recent but most powerful and famous civil society organizations in Pakistan and Pashtun nationalists in general keep using the moto (laraw-bar yaw Afghan) cross border, one Afghan in almost all political, social or cultural events, gatherings and publications.

Latif Afridi, former MP (Member of Pakistani Parliament) and a Pashtun nationalist calls the Durand Line as the Oppression Line imposed by British Empire which divided the Great Afghanistan in two parts and still separates one nation (Cross border, Pashtuns/Afghans) and one great family. Over a century passed but has not been accepted by cross border Afghans and will not be accepted by Afghans in the both side of Durand Line. Afridi further states, within 20th century Yemen, Vietnam and Germany were re-united after division and recently the north and South Korea are getting closer to the reunite but unfortunately one nation the (laraw-bar Afghans) cross border Afghans has not been reunified yet.

7. CONCLUSION

It is hard to ignore the importance of nationalism despite the world is going rapidly towards globalization even though it has been predicted by social scientists that globalization reduces the significance of nationalism and go even further by arguing that nationalism is doubtful to survive in globalized period but the enthusiasm to the globalization is shocked when post-soviet republics emerged. In the meantime, ethnicity still matters in nationalism that is why nationalism comes with negative images sometimes because of the ethnicity oriented nationalism defined by politicians as Calhoun (2007) brings the negative image of Serbian nationalism and Mandokhil (2015) talks about negative image of Pakistani nationalism and marginalization of Pashtun ethnicity in Pakistan.

Afghan nationalism is core in the political and strategic landscape of the region due to the strategic location of Afghanistan in the center of Asia as bridge between central and southern Asia. From the history viewpoint, Afghans are the indigenous inhabitants of the region however the geographical territory may differ from the ancient Ariana to controversial Khorasan and then to Afghanistan, the historians reject the name Khorasan to be the historic name of Afghanistan and believe that a region between current Afghanistan and Iran named (Khorasan) and nothing or hard to prove that (Khorasan) had been a kingdom or an empire covering the current geography of Afghanistan. A state in Iran is still named Khorasan situated in neighborhood of Afghanistan.

In second half of 19th century, Amir Sher Ali Khan's nation building efforts focused on modernization along with language reform, assembled foundations for Afghan nationalism. In late 19th century, Amir Abdul Rahman Khan's stability efforts were more stability oriented approach enclosed harsh tortures, executions and exile are still significant for nationalists since, in long-term, concluded a united and strong nation in Afghanistan, achieved social, security and economic goals through forceful resettlement program, although, he gave

up half of his nation and territory to British India by signing the Durand Agreement intended for setting southern and eastern frontiers with India in 1893 which splited the Afghan nation in two.

As part of Amir's tough strategy for absolute stability, in 1880s and 1890s the exile and forceful resettlement resulted stability through weakened tribal dynamics and ethnic balance both in north and south of the country. The first phase of resettlement, however, was tough in a sense being forceful with no pre-resettlement facilities fabricated Afghan nation stronger and attained economic and social outcomes too. Therefore, the initiative was implemented in a second phase by nationalists during the reign of Amir Amanullah Khan in 20th century.

In 20th century the Afghan nationalism got a new face as: 1) the young Afghan nationalists from one hand used Habibya collage as center for nationalistic efforts; 2) they have gotten the opportunity to take advantage of the print media for their nationalist thoughts which had major impacts both on the social and political landscape of the country. The issuance of (Siraj Al-Akhbar Afghania/the torch of Afghan News) in 1911, further strengthened the ongoing nationalistic activities in Kabul. In an issue of newspaper in 1916, Ethics column, Mahmud Tarzi indicated that every nation should keep, reform and develop its language, Persian (currently Dari language) is the official language of royal court but the Afghani/Pashto language is the national language of Afghanistan. As result, he struggled to keep the Afghan culture away from the external effects and improve Afghani/Pashto language as one of the essential national values. As result, the Afghani/Pashto was incorporated in the education system as the national language of Afghanistan. Mahmud Tarzi was not the only nationalistic figure but his role was significant in leading the nationalist movements and grouping the young Afghan nationalists but his role further upgraded when Amir Habibullah Khan murdered in Laghman province located in east and prince Amanullah khan took the power in 1901.

Multiple invasions by British Indian in the south and threats from Russian Tsar in the north in addition to the internal conflicts within royal families and civil wars caused Afghan rulers to give up and lose vast areas and even concluded to the Durand Agreement in late 19th century which made the Afghan ruler Abdul Rahman Khan to lose half of ancient territory of Afghanistan to the British

India. The south and eastern frontier with Pakistan is titled Durand Line, since ever signed in 1893, has not been recognized by Afghan government but slammed by the Pashtuns in both side of the line since it divided one nation, more particularly the Pashtons with same ethnicity, culture and languages. This is the main reason that Durand Line is not only a core issue in political and strategic landscapes of Afghanistan and Pakistan but central to Afghan nationalism and any discourse related to Afghan nation. In the meantime, Durand Line is principle to Pashtun nationalistic struggles in Pakistan, to reject Durand Line as border, Abdul Ghafar Khan/Bacha Khan, the Pashtun leader and Pashtun nationalist in Pakistan was buried in Jalal Abad, the eastern city of Afghanistan in 1988. The annual cross-border event for death ceremony of Bacha Khan is an opportunity for Pashtun solidarity and rejection of Durand Line in both (Afghan and Pakistan) sides of the line. However, a number of Pashtuns in Pakistan may not be willing to join Afghanistan or fond of independent Pashtunistan.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: The Durand Line Agreement

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THE DURAND LINE AGREEMENT (Text)

Agreement between His Highness Amir Abdur Rahman Khan, G.C.S.I, Amir of Afghanistan and its Dependencies, on the one part, and Sir Henry Mortimer Durand, K.C.I.E, C.S.I, Foreign Secretary to the Government of India, on the other part.

Whereas certain questions have arisen regarding the frontier of Afghanistan on the side of India, and whereas both His Highness the Amir and the Government of India are desirous of settling these questions by friendly understanding, and of fixing the limit of their respective spheres of influence, so that for the future there may be no difference of opinion on the subject between the allied Governments, it is hereby agreed as follows:

(1) The eastern and southern frontier of his Highness's dominions, from Wakhan to the Persian border, shall follow the line shown in the map attached to this agreement.

(2) The Government of India will at no time exercise interference in the territories lying beyond this line on the side of Afghanistan, and His Highness the Amir will at no time exercise interference in the territories lying beyond this line on the side of India.

(3) The British Government thus agrees to His Highness the Amir retaining Asmar and the valley above it, as far as Chanak. His Highness agrees, on the other hand, that he will at no time exercise interference in Swat, Bajaur, or Chitral, including the Arnawai or Bashgal valley. The British Government also agrees to leave to His Highness the Birmal tract as shown in the detailed map already given to his Highness, who relinquishes his claim to the rest of the Waziri country and Dawar. His Highness also relinquishes his claim to Chageh.

(4) The frontier line will hereafter be laid down in detail and demarcated, wherever this may be practicable and desirable, by joint British and Afghan commissioners, whose object will be to arrive by mutual understanding at a boundary which shall adhere with the greatest possible exactness to the line shown in the map attached to this agreement, having due regard to the existing local rights of villages adjoining the frontier.

(5) With reference to the question of Chaman, the Amir withdraws his objection to the new British cantonment and concedes to the British Government the rights purchased by him in the Sirkai Tilerai water. At this part of the frontier the line will be drawn as follows:

From the crest of the Khwaja Amran range near the Peha Kotal, which remains in British territory, the line will run in such a direction as to leave Murgha Chaman and the Sharobo spring to Afghanistan, and to pass half-way between the New Chaman Fort and the Afghan outpost known locally as Lashkar Dand. The line will then pass half-way between the railway station and the hill known as the Mian Baldak, and, turning south-wards, will rejoin the Khwaja Amran range, leaving the Gwasha Post in British territory, and the road to Shorawak to the west and south of Gwasha in Afghanistan. The British Government will not exercise any interference within half a mile of the road.

(6) The above articles of agreement are regarded by the Government of India and His Highness the Amir of Afghanistan as a full and satisfactory settlement of all the principal differences of opinion which have arisen between them in regard to the frontier, and both the Government of India and His Highness the Amir undertake that any differences of detail, such as those which will have to be considered hereafter by the officers appointed to demarcate the boundary line, shall be settled in a friendly spirit, so as to remove for the future as far as possible all causes of doubt and misunderstanding between the two Governments.

(7) Being fully satisfied of His Highness's good-will to the British Government, and wishing to see Afghanistan independent and strong, the Government of India will raise no objection to the purchase and import by His Highness of munitions of war, and they will themselves grant him some help in this respect. Further, in order to mark their sense of the friendly spirit in which His Highness the Amir has entered into these negotiations, the Government of India undertake to increase by the sum of six lakhs of rupees a year the subsidy of twelve lakhs now granted to His Highness.

(Sd.) Abdur Rahman Khan

(Sd.) H. M. Durand

Kabul; The 12th November 1893

Source: A History of Afghanistan Volume II, by Percy Sykes, Appendix C, published in 1940.

RESUME

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1998-2002 Kabul University- Faculty of Political Science and International Relations- Administration and Diplomacy Department
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Work Experience:

2003-2005 International Rescue Committee (IRC) Administration Officer -
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2008-2011 LGCD/United States Agency for International Development- Deputy Program Manager
2012-2013 RM AsiaAfghanistan LTD -Operations Manager
2016-2016 Independent Election Commission of Afghansitan – Senior Advisor for Intenational Relations

Languages:

- Pashtu/Afghani: Native Lanauge
- Persian: Advanced
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Skills:

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