

Multi-ethnic countries: Problems and Solutions

Attitudes and Search for Coexistence

Reminder:

This article was delivered in a conference under the title of “ Why Hazaras, leaving their ancestors land, Afghanistan?” It was convened on Sunday 15. April 2001, in Melbourne, Australia.

Mr. Qayum Bashir made a detail report about. We can read in one part as, “ This gathering had been done by 'Association of Hazaras in Australia'. In it a groups of political- cultural experts, students and scholars, were participated.

“ Hajji Jawad Mohammadi, the president of this association, during warm welcoming of participants, put emphasize on a lot of current existing problems and challenges of Afghanistan. He during his speech asked from audiences to talk about specific needs and analyze them deeply for reaching to aims. At the end he participated in a session of questions and answers.

In the mentioned report, Bashir expressed his hope that such a conference would be convened more and more in Australia and world too.

He thanked Mr. S. R. Tarzi, for sending an article on these topic from Germany.

“Afghanistan, a big and beautiful treasure of ethnics”

Morgensterne, the famous linguist on Afghanistan.

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We and our Existence

This is the environment, and the surroundings in which we are living, puts profound effect on shaping of our body, color, and features of face, and even our nervous system. In the other words, we are product of geography situation and condition in which we live.

As it is bright and clear, intelligent and Wise Man or Homo Sapiens, from among the ranks of diverse living creatures through the long run evolution process, in the upper part of the Paleolithic, just three hundred thousand years ago in appeared in Africa. In this period he uttered the first words, made better work tools and buried their dead in the ground.

This amazing transformation can be called as a cultural change. Thus the behavior of modern human draw a clear separation line between itself and other mankind. This transformation Donald Johnson, Prof. of archeology described it as **Creative Explosion**. Thus on the species was bases of several facts as: Anatomy, linguistics, archeology and anthropology and genealogy, the cultural and mental transformations, shows that homo sapiens or wise man, elsewhere in the world replace the homicides.

Race, the Crises Creating Word

Wherever the human being raised in nature and existence, it adapted itself according that environment. This difference which emerged due to various conditions, slowly embodied in the word of race, and entered into human culture.

In this line, efforts were had been made to divide people based on appearance, physical differences or formals such as color, body, size of nose, hair types like dark or bright colors, smooth or curl, the color of eye, especially the variety of skin color. These outlooks created the big crises and the outcome was emerging of higher and lower races and casts. It paved the way for blazing of human burning stove for eliminating the **lower race**.

Then with widening of knowledge's circles slowly but regularly, this term of races lost its meaning and so. The outcome of scientist and scholars researches and finding brought this result that some features like: Color of skin, faces,etc. is the direct effects of evolutions and basic principle of the power of adaptation of living to their environments.

Thus its clear that special features of human and every living things faces and bodies are the outcome of adaptation to different surroundings. The with the passing of time and a lot of other factors, it would be embedded in envelope of gene. Then genes has the abilities to bear and transfer of these features.

The clear example is color of skin. The whiteness and darkness of color depends on how the specific people were under the radiation of sun. We can find the darkest skin color in tropical ares. Then if we go fare away from it, the color became brighter and brighter. In two poles there are the people with brightest of color. The bear who live in the Arctic area has white color and the one who live in tropical ares has the dark one. In this regard, compliance with various environmental samples from the sea to the highest mountain peaks, forests and burning deserts can be seen. Human in the line of adaptation are living from sub-Saharan Africa to snow covered Alaska. Thus a belief in racial differences, let the super races, belongs to the past. Globalization and the erosion of borders eradicate this idea slowly.

The struggle between people who believe to races division and persons who think that this idea from view point of science is baseless, continuing.

From Race to Ethnicity

Slowly, the ethnic divisions lost is ground and conception of ethnicity took its place.

For studying of the presence of different ethnics in Afghanistan, first of all it is necessary that we look on its geographical shape and the environment.

As we know, Afghanistan is situated at the heart Eurasia. Eurasia is a wide pasture land without the forest, and half desert. It links Asia and Europe. This area extended from the Mediterranean to China. The roads which connect East part of it to West and North to South, makes it as a crossroad. On these roads, only in historical periods- not we talking about prehistoric - Mongolians, Sakes, Greece, India, Persia, etc. have passed. As Sophia R. Bowlby the famous archaeologist says, " Now we can see theses different ethnics clearly here."

We can notice the close relationship between ethnic diversity and nature and environment of this place.

These diversity of environments and nature has put its mark on diversity of this land population.

From the view points of archeology we can trace the roots of this ethnicity. The archeology studies the ways of life of these people from primitive work tools to the developed technological one. What is important points in the science of archaeology is that is eradicate the myths and stories from the fact and draw a real picture of events.

We can tell simply that most part of human beings in this land for access to natural resources and sources for their life were depending to local sources an springs. For these causes, accesses to sources, origin and springs of nature had the determined role on his life and has shaped his style of life too. Another element that has played a role in shaping is the weather and climate.

It is very clear the scholars divided historical time in two parts: Pre-history and history. We call the pre-history to the time that human being with the help of reason which had developed through the complicated process of evolutions, were divided form hominids. He started to make work tools first of stone and later replaced it by metal. This process continuing yet too.

Prehistoric era has close link with the traditional history of the different people on the world and od us too.

Our Traditional History

As we knew our knowledge of this sector on our land are covered in aura of myths, stories and legends. It has the roots in the stories that came down from generation to generation orally. In the text of these stories we can find the mythical figures of Avestan and Veda. The new version is Khodai Namak, the mains source epical book of Shah Nama (King Book).

This traditional history or tradition stories talk about myths of Pishdadi, Kayani, Parthian and Sasanid. In our traditional history, instead of critical review, we face the combination of legends, myths, stories, imagination, opinion-oriented, moralization, the heroic deeds and loyalty, ambition, the victim, the aspirations, hopes etc. In these myths and stories, destiny of man is determined and human being is captured and imprisoned to specified fate.

This is very strange that our famous historians, without taking a critical view on then, entered these myths and stories in history. From Faiz Mohammad Kateb1912, to Ahmad Ali Kohzad,1944, Gholam Mohammad Ghobar,1967, Abdul Habibi, 1967, and Mohammad Seddiq Farhang,1992, followed the same path of ignorance.

Archaeology Talks

From this points there are different stone times as: Paleolithic which divided into Lower, Middle and Upper. **Lower paleolithic** continued more than 60,000 years. We had found some effects of this period in Ab e Estada (Lack) in Navor desert of Ghazni province. **Middl paleolithic** was continued from 50 t0 30,000 years. This period is marked by small and tiny instruments and presence of human as Neanderthal. The effect of it, are had been found in the Dara e Kur or valley of the blind, in Badakhshan. **Upper paleolithic**. It continued for twenty-five thousand years. This period is between hunting and fruit gathering. In Qara Kamar we did find a lot of this time effects. Archaeologists believe that the relationship and interaction between humans and wild goats and sheep has provided a way to tame them. This was the time that we still used the stone as pots. We had not made pottery, and ceramics from clay yet. The closer stone period was neo -paleolithic. It was six thousand years ago.

Its a fact that after the end of last glacier period, human being from depending on prepared natural foodstuff switched to taming animals and cultivating corns. Some call it

the revolution of neo – pleolithic. There are clear signs that the development of pre historic culture in Afghanistan have roots in inside of this land, not from moving of people from west. Its worth to mention that there are deep differences between the political geography and natural geography's conceptions. The first one confined in the now a day political borders (1880s), while the second one have a wider circle from Central Asia to Sind river and from Pamir mountains to Sistan.

From the collapse of Indus and Helmand, civilization at the end of the second millennium, BC, we are facing with a black hole of informations in this area. During this period, with the slow development within this community, mobility, the migration, the exchange of trade and wars, the different ethnic groups take shape and inhabiting this land.

Inscriptions, the Beginning of History

This a basic principle that for every country around the world, her history begins with the inscription. Prior to that time belongs to prehistory. Those who are seeking historical events in *Veda* and Avestan religious poems, try to victimize this clear line at baseless pride.

In the geographical area of Afghanistan – not our current political boundaries - the inscriptions of Darius (468-521 BC.) which had been inscribed in 516 BC are the oldest one yet. They were discovered and we have them. We can find in these inscriptions the name of the provinces which are in modern borders of Afghanistan. The province's name can be seen in three inscriptions of Bisotun and in his castle in Persepolis and Naqsh-e Rostam in which dated 516 BC. The names of provinces are:

- 1 – *Haraiva* / *Areia* (Herat),
- 2 - *Bacteria* / *Bactria* (Balkh),
- 3 - *Thatagush* / *Sattagydia* (Ghazni to the Indus Valley),
- 4 - *Arachosia* / *Harauvatish* (Farah, Helmand and Kandahar),
- 5 - *Zarangiana-Drangiana*. / *Zaranka* (Zaranj or Sistan),
- 6 - *Gandara* / *Gandhara*. (Kabul and Peshawar)

The Languages of these inscriptions are: ancient Persia, Akkadian (Babylonian language) and neo-Elamite or Elamite.

Within the present borders of modern Afghanistan, the first inscriptions in Aramaic language was discovered in Darunta bridge in 1932. This is one of Ashoka decrees in Prakrit language which belong to middle Indian language. It is also associated with Aramaic language too. It is worth to mention that Khroshtian letter. It has been taken form Aramaic letter and Brahmins made some changes to it.

Then we are witnessed the arrival of great Alexander (331 BC). During the encounter between his successors, Parthians and Bactrians proclaimed independence in third century BC. Later for a long time Greek - Bactrian monarchs ruled here. Yueh-chi in the year 160 BC from China borders, entered Central Asia and replaced Saks who long time ruled Pamir, Kashghar, Khotan and reached even to Herat and Sistan. The next tribes of Yueh-chi in 120-80 BC passed Amu River and settled in Bakhter. They replaced Greek-Bactrian rulers and captured their land in the north of Hindukosh.

India and the Parthians in the year 25 AD as a great power passed to south of Hindukosh mountains and reached to valley of Sind and Panjab. Kushan prince enters the scene in year 78. R.S. Davis writes in this case as, “Chinese Yearbooks are providing a detailed descriptions of how the king of Kushan attacks on An-hsi (Parthian or Hindu-

Parthian) attacks and capture Kao-fo (Kabul), Pu-ta and Chin-pin (Punjab and Kashmir) and destroyed them.”

After that we are witness of battles between Kushans and Sasanians in the third century.

Form one of Samudragupta (335-380) inscription in Allah Abad of India we knew that Kabul and Gandhara were built by Chi-to-lo family and one of Yueh-chi great prince had played a big role. He made Peshawar his capital. Then at the end of 4th century the different Hone tribes raided the Bakhter.

[Hephthalites](#), who belonged to Yueh-chi tribe in 484 were able to throe down Firuz Shah, Sasanid and made a great Empire from Central Asia to the Indus Valley. They also had a link with Kushanians too.

As we know, Arabs with Islam religion, defeated the Sasanid in 642. They after two hundred years of their campaign, with the help of the local people reached here. But, their political domination, did not survive more than a few days. Nurestan is a small example. They kept their beliefs and religion till 1886. People with the help of freedom love feelings raise in the local rules of of Taherian, Safwyan, Samanids, Ghaznians etc. They kept their culture, especially their language, with all the means of defenses and ended the domination Caliph of Baghdad.

During the same century in the East mountains of Afghanistan, powerful non-Islamic Turkic and Hindu Royal family ruled.

Thus we can see that in the process of above mentioned events, a beautiful rainbow of ethnic and languages mosaic have taken shape here.

It is very natural that Mr. Morgensterne, the famous ethnic and linguistic scholar call afghanistan as, “ A treasure of ethnics and languages.

Word of Ethnic

The term of ethnic apply to a group of people that their members have common cultural heritage which in its essence is language. It shows and denoting origin by birth or descent rather than by present nationality.

Its clear that ethnical varieties and multi ethical is a form of complicated society. We can find this form in all human societies.

The presence of different ethnic groups, are the outcome of migrations and mobility of human being. This was a form of living in the length of centuries, before human being settle down on a specific place. The next cause is the long wars between different ethnic groups. In the long run, some people gone under the rule of this or that rulers.

In this country, according to the latest survey which had been done by Encyclopedia of Languages under the editorship of Paul M. Lewit and was published in 2009, there are 49 different language. Among them there is on death language. Two languages had not been classified yet. This 49 languages are divided into six major groups. We classified them have ranked them according to time:

1 - **Brahui**: It links to the Dravidian languages. Our people, before Indo-European language speakers arriving here in this area, they were spoken in this language. A large part of them under pressure of these aggressors migrated to the south of India, however, a small group remained in Baluchistan and Afghanistan and even Iran.

2- **Indo-European or Indo-Hittians**: have speakers form East India to Ireland Persian, Pashto and languages other 36 languages in the country belonged to this category.

3- **Altai:** linguists believe, from a historical perspective people of Altai were spread across the plains or steppes of Central Asia. Their original location is in the Altai Mountain range. This word has driven from Mongolian word of Altan word which means gold. It can be called the Golden Mountain. These mountains connect Central Asia, Russia, Kazakhstan, Mongolia and China. In this section, three Turkish, Mongolian and Manchu Tungus are main branches. Eight other languages are affiliated to this group too.

4- **Arabic:** This belongs to Semitic languages which are closely linked to Hebrew or Jewish and neo-Aramaic. There are a small group of Arabs survivors who speak in Persian Arabized language. They are living in parts of Maimana, Aqcha and Balkh.

5- **Sign language or Afghan Sign Language:** They are living in some districts of Nengarhar, Kabul, Mazar, Herat and Kandahar. They belong to the deaf class too.

Unclassified languages:

A: **Warduji:** We can find people at the bank of Warduji river, in the East of Ishkashim who speak to this language.

B: **Malakhel:** in Lugar some people speak it.

The State and Status of Ethnicity: View Points

In Afghanistan, specially in villages, the ethnic and tribal groups have strong role that an individual. This primitive and little community although look simple and uncomplicated but they have such a strong power of assimilating that every newcomer people and culture are absorbing in them. Then they continued life. This is a long process which has a life of millenniums. The political institutions although have changed, but have deep roots in this cultural values and social structure. This is the open secret of foreigner's big mistake in their attitudes to this structure.

The social distinctive characteristics in Afghanistan are classified in local, tribal and ethnic terms. This ethnic unit is highly flexible and are combinations of tribe, clan, sub-clan etc. with a wider circle.

On the other hand, the clear ethnic boundaries in some cases are so confused and mixed together that its evaluation and analyzing are very difficult experience. In many cases, these borders are entering such inside one another that within them the marked lines are tangled. More the level of mixture of different ethnic groups are higher the separation of them are more difficult.

In some clear cases, we are seeing that an ethnic in one region has more closer relations with its neighbors who belong to other ethnic group, than to its ethnic group who are living in other part of country.

As we have seen in the period of neo-Paleolithic – 6 years ago – beside the people who were living here, a lot of other people from North and West entered there too. They brought with themselves new culture and new language too. These newcomers settled here. They were absorbed by the local culture and way of previous people life. We can see this phenomena in big and deep valleys where the mighty rivers were flowing.

On the other side, these deep and narrow valleys were a good refuge and haven place for keeping the old culture, behaviors and languages of previous people who were far away from big cities and rule of governors. Due to this fact that high peak mountains of North-East is a safe haven for living of different people and languages. I think that best example is Nurestan which its old name was Balurestan (Land of Crystal). The great Alexander with his great army could not conquer it and passed from her banks. Arabs who entered in 7th century to our land, could not change their old pagans who worshiped nature

and animals, to Islam. It was in 1886 that under the pressure of Amir Abdolrahman (r.1880-1900) that they were connected to center and became Moslem. A lot of them were escaped to Chiral of Pakistan and are keeping their old religious, culture and customs. The other area is Badakhshan where lot of Pamirian languages are spoken now.

The Measures for identify Ethnics

There are four indexes and measure for identifying ethnic groups:

The continuation of birth process, common cultural values, common behaviors and last but not least what they describe THEMSELVES and other recognize for these specific features. The fourth and the last one as OWN and OTHER make a clear border between ethnic groups.

Here the ethnic groups can be divided into two sections: *non-tribal and tribal*. Those who have shared and connected them to tribal ancestor, never mind, real or imaginary, myth or legend. The genealogy or family tree line, goes always through the father, or man. Afghans (Pashto speakers) can be fit to the framework of this line.

In the second part, where there is no a place for genealogy, they try to connect themselves to their birthplace or living place. Hazaras although have tribal structure, but outside of this small structure, relate themselves to the Mongols. Some people, are trying to name the Shiite, a sect of Islamic religion or Persian language as their symbols of identity.

Some Afghans (Pashtuns) trying to take the physical appearance as a symbol of identity. However, during the past centuries that banned marriage borders between ethnic groups had been broken, this concept has lost its meaning.

Coexistence of Different Ethnic Groups

As we have stated clearly, in this land as Afghanistan, a lot of different clans, tribes and ethnic groups on the line of finding ways of life and continuity of existence, lived together. However, it is clear that during the centuries and millenniums because of a lot of causes, they had passed a difficult time and had been in war and peace together.

Since the beginning of history, which starts form time of inscriptions, we have been witnesses of all sided of wars, aggressions and attacks from all parts. On the same time we see that the same people are made a lot of different creative works, cultural production and civilizations. This is a clear fact that during this processes, very colorful cultural diversity in all sectors of life, language, clothes, poems, songs, etc boosted and emerged. Due to this facts are that we have a of society like a beautiful portray of mosaic. Finding answers for the basic needs and adapting to different and difficult conditions paved the ground for unity of primitive human. They were the fundamental causes of shaping collective cooperation among them. The life was continuing in this framework. As we knew finding answers to these needs, have a lot of different ways. For getting and making better conditions, and meeting these needs, they shaped different social institutions as clans, tribes, sub-tribes and ethnic groups. We can see the highest form of these institutions is Nation. A nation for arranging and the management of social and political affairs, shaped state and then National State.

In our country its modern political framework was established in 1880s. Before we are witness that its ruling area some times had a wider circle and in the next time narrow one. In this time the basic thoughts for building a national state and ending the tribal and ethnic groups institutions, were formed. However, this process due to the political crisis after 1930s, fell apart. This issue occurred on a such time that the old wounds of social and political were on the line of cure and elimination. This bad fact driven the way of solving the ethnical issues in the dark shadow.

Ways of Solutions: Two Types of Attitudes

First dissolve and remove

Politicians and sociologists emphasize on the national consciousness, but, I believe that till the social relations remain and continue to exist in the form of pre-modern conditions as tribal clan and ethnic groups, the situations are deeply different. In this kind of structure a person or individual love his/her community over all other institutions. For him to his/her village, its surrounding, its region and its existence is his/her Watan (Hometown). For this reason, the perspective of an urban settlers is deeply and profoundly different with rural settlers. If we visit a village, we can see the different tribes, clans and ethnic groups there very clearly.

It is very clear that the original sin or basic problems of ethnic conflicts have a close relationship with the political ups and down. This is the state apparatus and administration which shows who is foe and who is friend. This is the political structure which encourages tolerance or use his military forces against this or that ethnic group and its culture. If we look to political and other events during the recent centuries, would find the depth of this principle.

It is known that human communities from its begging time, had passed from the line of applying forces and wars. We can see that they have passed through bloods, fires and irons on a lot of conflicts. Therefore, in the framework of existence and adaptation to geography condition a lot of clans, tribes, and ethnic groups found themselves inside a state. As it is clear, it was in the sixteenth century in Europe that embryonic form of national or modern state took shape. In this regard, the basic policy of central power was as: An specific ethnic group who due to different causes had got the political power, tried all of its power to bring all other ethnic groups under her rule completely. In this regards, we in length of human and ourselves history, are witness of difficult and full of conflicts periods. A look to archive and memory of history, we see the sever tragedy of force immigration of million people in 7th and 8th BC by the Assyrians. It has had been recorded the first ethnic cleansing and forced expel of ethnic groups, but it was not the last one. We can see a long chains of this kind of tragic events till now. Just half a century ago, the black smoke from the burned bodies of the crematorium ovens of Nazis, blinded a lot of people. We must not forget the tragic events of forced exile by Stalin in 1920s. These tragic events had put a deep wound in the soul of million people which their cure take time and human works.

The Second Attitude, a Democratic Way

Until the beginning of the twentieth century, the ethnic multiplicity did not create any problem for structures of empires. But, with the formation of building nation and then national states, with growing of national consciousness, the problems of different ethnic groups emerged.

The word of nation in the process of social and literary changes was used in multiple meanings and terms. The more ancient meaning was: religion, ritual, cult and sharia law. Then it was used as a religion followers too., and later even a creed.

Recently, with the blowing the wind of political changes in line of modernism which its essen is democracy, this word has been changed to people of a country or land. Today it has an important place in our political literature.

The political structure of this word can be called national government.

I believe that in simple language, nation is applied to a wide geographical framework – specific international recognized borders – in which people with different ethnic groups,

languages and culture structure live in the governmental institutions. This structure is the creature of a nation. This process can take shape when the above mentioned mini structure institutions in a long run social - political changes and in the framework the social contract be absorbed in a big institution of a nation.

The fundamental question is: How we can put an end point to ethnic enmity? What kind of methods and ways we can use for reducing the situation of hate of each other and open the doors for good behaviors and put an end to the atmosphere of war and enmity to peace and reconciliation and replace it with cooperation of different ethnic groups?

Before answering these questions, it is necessary to clear that clashes and conflicts about different ways of seeking profits among human-beings remains for ever and there is no points in the ending it completely. It is part and parcel of our social existence. The basic problem is how we can reduce these clashes?

It is clear that different ethnic groups can live in peace with limited framework. But we can not expect them to open their warm fold and embrace them. The most basic principle is that these ethnic groups who live beside each other, must honor the ways and methods of life and tolerate these differences. The best and optimal condition is that they in the time of crisis and catastrophes, help each other and cooperate fully.

The basic question and problem is for reducing or eliminating of ethnical conflicts and clashes, is it necessary that we put a look in history? It is a common belief that the a lot of today's facts and situation is the out come of past events. It is real that they are existing today, but the we must look in the roots to past and for bettering to future.

Relaxing and peace bringing experience after World War II, for finding the real facts are particular important. The end of fascism, put an end point to the oppression and persecution in this area which have diverse communities organize.

The central and essence of this change and transformation should change is the establishment of democratic political on the basic values of democracy. The very important experience show that in Europe, the apparat and ministration of STATE had played a big role for shaping the calm and peaceful living relations among different ethnic groups. Two very important attitudes are worth to mention here: 1 - The deeds and actions for better living and bringing calm environment. 2 – Pay deep attention for eliminating the causes of conflicts and clashes.

We and these ways

As we mentioned it, in our country live near 50 ethnic groups who – although have the common roots - talk in various languages. Since we have not till now a real and scientific censuses of our population, we can not say with detail about the number of ethnic groups very clearly.

I want to deal and shed a little bit light here with and on one flower of this beautiful garden, named Hazaras or better is to call them Mongolians. It should not be forgotten that the word Mughal is Arabized of Mongol word.

Hazaras (Mongols)

We can say(Actually assume) that Hazaras is the third largest ethnic group of Afghanistan, after Afghans (Pashtuns) and Tajik (Parsyban).

The word of Hazara which means *thousand* is a translation of Mongolian word of *Minggan* into Persian. This word used in military structure of Genghis Khan army which had a unit of thousand worriers.

It is worth to note that a group of warriors who are settled down in the time of Timur (9 April 1336 – 18 February 1405), historically known as Tamerlane (Timur the Lame) living in the north of Islamabad today. They called Hazaras too.

It is clear that the word Hazara which means a thousand years are used in Persian language simply. In Pahlavi language it was Hazarak. We can use it in Persian language such as the Millennium or thousand years of Abo Raihan Biruni the famous scholar of tenth century, etc.

I believe and as historical documents show, a lot of people who were talking this or that dialects of Altaic languages, passed the Oxus or Amo river before our time. A look on coming of Yueh -chi people (160 BC) in this land with different weaves bring us closer to their roots. So we can not say that they are the only survivor of Genghis Khan. I believe that the word millennium, after the onslaught of Genghis Khan, was entered in our literature by historians of that period.

These groups, along with different waves of imitations and aggressions in different kind, arrived in this country. They were later absorbed into the Persian language, but, in their Persian dialect which we call it Hazaragi there are a lot of Mongolian and Turkish words too. For this reason the Persian dialect or Hazaragi is not an independent language, but it is a dialect of Persian language.

In history book of Seraj Tawarikh which is a minute record work of Faiz Mohammad Kateb, he used many times the words of Mongolian and Hazara as equal. In this case he has more emphasis on the word of Mongol. In the first volume of this work in page (75) we see, “ ... Then Timur shah later left the battlefield and came back to Kandahar. He discovered there another plots too and killed them and Mongols who are famous as Hazaras are arranged in military unit of pages. They had been to such of people that got the confidence of king” He in this volume of his book, used the word of Mongols, more than five times.

This was Babur, (1483–1530), first Mogul emperor of India c. 1525–30; descendant of Tamerlane. He invaded India c. 1525 and conquered the territory that extended from the Oxus to Patna, who that for the first time spoke about Hazaras and their ties with their place as: Rostaq Hazaras of Badakhshan. Hazaras of Turkmen. However, he said that they are living in West of Kabul and speak Mongol language.

End of their Autonomous

This ethnic groups in all fifteen and sixteen centuries lived in an autonomous structure They did not obeyed the Safavid Empire, Uzbek and Indian Mughal.

But, from the middle of 18th century onwards, under the pressure of Afghans (Pashtuns) obliged to pay taxes at the time of Amir Dust Mohammed (December 23, 1793 – June 9, 1863) rule. It put an end to their autonomous position.

Bloody Wounds

However, it was Amir Abdul Rahman (r.1880-1901) who in the line of crating the central government brought them under his control. Many historians believe that Amir Abdur Rahman was the first ruler who divided the legitimizing of power from the tribal structure of Afghan (Pashtun). He for reducing the influence of tribal leaders and mullahs gave the political power a divine cover and told that king drive his authority from God. Thus he took the sword of power in his one hand and the Koran in the other. He draw the picture of his country which in result of civil wars and battles with Britain had reached to the brink of chaos and anarchism as, “ Every molla, cleric and leader of religion, tribal chief

and even leader of a village, think themselves as an independent king. In more than two hundred years, the strong and absolute power of mollahs and religion chiefs, had not broken by country's rulers. Mirs (Chiefs) from Torkestan, Hazaras and chief of Ghalzai tribes were stronger than kings and amirs." (Gregorian, p. 129)

He in the framework of creation of the Central Government, put down and crushed heavily any mutiny which took place from each side, including from Pashtuns too. He according to this line of politic, crushed down Pashtuns of Ghalzai, Shinwari and people of Balurestan or Kaferstan too.

Then it came the turn of the Hazaras. Some historian believe that the secret of his success can be seen as: The strong concentration of power to the hand of different Hazara tribes, the inner wars among them, struggles among different section for thrown, as Sardar Eshaq whom the Hazaras sheikh Ali joined him, the deep conflicts between Sunnis and Shiite Hazara, strong struggle among different suburbs of Hazaras.

Then he for crush their power, sent a large army to crush them. They beside occupying their land, looted and plundered their belongs too. They captured and imprisoned them. Among them the tribal leaders of Hazaras suffered most. Their pasture were confiscated and gave them to Pashtun nomads. Thus they suffered a big and great social tragedy catastrophes.

The First revolt and Rebellion

These events which had been done with heavy blows, terror and oppression, cause a sever and bloody reactions. The first rebellion began in 1892. The roots of cause was that a group of Amir solders which among them were a lot of Afghans (Pashtuns), one night rushed on the house of one of Hazara champion or hero. They beside looting of the house, in the presence and wide eyes of this hero raped on his wife collectively. This event led to the rebellion of he and his wife tribes. Thus a big fire of revolt was kindled and spread on all territory of Hazaras. Amir used all political and religious forces and to declare jihad against Shiite. He even considered them pagan or infidels for crushing them bloodily. He with the help of his large army raided. The outcome of this bloody war, thousands of men, women and children of Hazaras were captured as slave. They were sold as slaves to the markets of Kandahar and Kabul. He for bringing fear on hearts of people cut their heads and made minaret. (1893). A large group of Hazaras fled to Mashhad, and some even to Quetta.

This fact made a great enmity between Hazaras and Pashtuns on one side and Sunnis and Shiite on other side. From these bloody sores and wounds, coming down the blood and dirt of hate yet.

Dressings the Wounds

With the beginning of the twentieth century and the start of the of Amir Habibolla's reign, (1901), for the first time a decree of amnesty and pardon concerning this problem was issued. It was a act of dressings the previous wounds.

The coup of 1978, at the beginning tried to crush the resistance of Hazaras. But the presence of Soviet Union army brought a space for emerging and expressing the oppressed ideas of ethnicity among all ethnic groups, especially Hazaras. They made rebellion and once more got a kind of autonomous. The Soviet forces ignored this fact. But the basic and complicated problems were that then we see the inter tribal bloody wars among different Hazara tribes. This tragic event instead of channeling the forces for instruction, they were applied for destructions.

It is interesting that the first little group by the name of, "New Hazara – Mongol"

emerged. The the outlooks of different sects of religions widen the gulf of conflicts badly. Just after the withdrawal of Soviet Union army (1989) opened an area for the closing the ranks of different groups, after they had passed through the sea of blood and fire. We can see its crystallization in part of “Unity Party” which was formed under Iranian pressure.

After 1992 that Islamic groups had been brought to power, the fire of civil war destroyed the possibilities for bringing peace and reconstruction to war torn land. Its pity and alas that the gulf of differences widening badly now.

Current and Present Situation

Mr. Hamza Vaezi one of famous researcher, write as, “ For the first time in last 300 years, Hazaras as one of the main contenders, have entered the arena of political life.”

“Without a doubt I believe that to achieve this goal, the great pains and challenges are on the way. But, this is a golden opportunity to utilize it to solve the problem.” it is a famous saying, “ The opportunity knocks only once your door. If you do not open the other, you would not see it again.”

But there are big signs as high as Baba mountains, that in the period of last three decades on the line of struggle for finding identities, a lot of deep changes occurred in framework of our thinking on the relations among different ethnic groups, including Hazaras.

Meanwhile the Hazara community had got a high position from point of political and cultural influences. They knew how to find a place for themselves concerning the political power. We are witness that they put more efforts to learning science, modern values, spreading the economical foundation, instate of stocking military hardwares and recruiting military forces.

What we are witness, is that the closed and traditional community of Hazara was crack down and opened its door to open society. What make an important role for eliminating prejudice is the spreading of cities. This fact pave the way for growing the social thinking and prepare our mind for using all possibilities of educations, development of cultural capacities, business, and economic one. The real and vivid outcome of this processes is its influences on our political actions for using of all civil levers as: Demonstrations, strike and making associations, unions and poetical parties and civil societies. These are strong levers for making the bright future of people.

New Changes and Transformations

With the beginning of twenty-first century, it was more than a decade that Afghanistan from the perspective of the political structure, had a *failure state*. Americans in a conditioned response to her wounds which was the result of a terrorist attacks, decide to topple down Taleban regime. This act of response was strongly hasty and without any compressive plan. We can see the bad results of these swift acts later.

What in this process belonged to the people, for many political observers was very amazing. This expressing of surprise in not groundless. Although we had passed through blood and fire, war and destructions in the shapes of foreign and civil wars in last three decades, the social fabric of this multi ethnic land had not been torn.! We must seek and search the cause to the special characteristics of this land. In this regards the famous principle that main national government, in line with the ethnic groups are irreconcilable, not had any foothold. In this part of Central and South Asia, the kingdoms and empires, were going well with ethnic diversity within it parallel. In the course of historical events, itself had become a principle.

In this kind of conditions, our ethnic groups, in time of severe crisis they feel more the need of cooperation very quickly. They see this cooperation more secure. During the Soviet occupation, ethnic groups had found the opportunities to acquire knowledge and especially ethnic consciousness. After the 1978 coup the ethnic hierarchy which was the dominant country and in the top of its pyramid were Afghans (Pashtuns) was broken down.

Due to this fact in the Bonn Conference, which was the milestone of a new political structure in the country, we can see the presence of ethnic groups clearly.

On the same time these ethnic groups leaders who had roots in specific region and other parts of them lived over the borders, simply reach to this fact that if they divide their part on the line of disintegration, they will be swallowed quickly and have not any position there.

Barfield described it clearly as, “ Those who were sitting on the table of discussion for making the new government, knew very well that this is a prepared or imposed marriage than coming together by love and friendship.”

Then what was on the table for actions was reconstruction in all part of life, especially state to be changed on the line of making and building a national state.

To legitimize this structure, the new leaders and the international community called the National Congress. The members of this big gathering ratified the Bone decisions and legitimized them. This act paved the way for new constitution that major parts of its included the constitution of 1964, which was the starter of democracy in our land.

This fact made the foundations of a structure of democracy which in its essen is the separation of three branches: executive, legislative and judiciary.

The basic problem from the starting point was that the local structure which historically and traditionally was not under of center, and the aggression of Soviet army and civil war put a new forces for decentralization feelings, had not been considered really. They must pay attention to this fact that giving more power to different regions which is the basic tenets of democracy in a multi ethnic land is very very important. It is clear fact that the federal system, I believe, requires the very important preconditions which in its peak is self-awareness and cultural preparedness of people. This must be done through a social contact and there must be keep the balance between center and regions. This matter requires an extensive discussion. This is very important point that we must open the door of discussion and do not consider it as taboo.

Look ! What is important that we see and consider the contain not the form. Two of our close neighbors as India and Pakistan accepted the federal system. The former leaders, due to the line of their democratic thinking and within the framework of their ideas, shaped the country on democratic principles. Now India is the biggest democratic country. The pakistan leaders due to their line of thinking shaped the country on militarism and authoritarianism way of governing. Pakistan due to this political system faced sever crisis and gave in one part of her land. India a multi ethnic and religions due to her democratic system live peacefully and had been changed to a supper power in Asia. Our intellectuals and leaders We must pay attention to the political and social context and contain of a system not the form.

Looking to the Future

There is a proverb among our people as : Some time occurring an evil event, bring virtues to us.”

After the terroristic onslaught on USA made an opportunity that world community

pay attention to our country which had been forgotten and had left her in the grip of crisis.

They did it according to line of their benefits. But it provide us a golden opportunity to shape our bright future to our advantage.

We in the period after 1973 coup, had tested a lot of views, ideas and systems with deep bitter experiences. What for our future is very very important, especially on the line of coexistence of near the 50 ethnic groups who make a beautiful mosaic of different cultures, languages, customs, dressing etc is the shaping of such political system is that this diversity not only be preserved, but, to accomplish a new height. This kind of political system can be shaped in the framework of liberal democracy which some philosophy call it, "The end of history and human."

This structure is based on capitalism way of development – I believe that it high time to call a spade a spade. We must say farewell to conception which had been shaped under our mind despotism which linked to this kind of political system in the length of our history – which can dig ground for more closing of different cultures of of our ethnic groups. It provide strong levers for marching toward nation building too. According to this line of development, big and little cities emerging. We knew that cities based on financial economy and for giving more opportunities for individual, can reduce ethnic and regional prejudices. Thus more big city, less prejudices.

Liberal Democracy

This structure can be considered a form of democracy in which representatives of people by people are elected. This political structure had been formed in the long course of hot discussions and discourse which continued for centuries. In this system it is the elected representative of people who get power of taking decisions. They act in the framework of a constitution. The structure of these fundamental principles are:

Freedom of individual and the right of minorities such as Freedom of thoughts, of meetings, of worship of different religions and even their sects, right of property, equality of all for law, and above all is the rule of law for every one.

For implementing these principles, there must be build different investigating, controlling and defending institutions . The most important point is that these institutions must institutionalized to be guarded from onslaught of despotic minded people. In this system not only the right of majority can be saved, but the right of minorities are guarding too. It is worth to mention that at the beginning the conception of majority and minority, would be in the framework of ethnicity, but gradually ideas, thoughts and social and economic programs of parties will replace it.

One of the great achievements of this structural is the changing of individual position from being a subject to a citizen. The term of subject apply to person who follow his/her peer, while the term of citizen is used to an individual who have free will and have equal right to all citizen of a country. This is a big barrier on the way of changing to despotism rule. This structure is the best guarantee for giving answer to cultural and communal needs of an individual and especially of different ethnic groups.

In this structure there are a lot of different means for expressing the will of people. One example is referendum. Whenever there emerge a hot and full of conflict problem, people with free will decide that which way of solution is the best.

Last but not least, this structure have the best lever for preventing the society for sliding toward despotism. This lever is the presence of all sided freedom of thought in a lot of different forms.

As we seen, democracy is the only political structure that in is big fold all of our different ethnic groups, can find their places. It will make a big and beautiful mosaic in the frame work of a nation.

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