

Center for Strategic & Regional Studies Kabul

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Preface

In this volume of weekly analysis you will read the details of; attack on the office of Charlie Hebdo Comic and Cartoon Magazine in France that caused international reaction, and trip of Pakistani Pashtun Politicians to Afghanistan, which is analysed by the analytical board of CSRS.

Since the inauguration of the new unity government in Afghanistan, the contact and interaction between Kabul and Islamabad increased. Accordingly Kabul-Islamabad wants to remove the historical weaknesses – Pashtun- by the mutual language of the two countries- Pashto.

The office of Charlie Hebdo Comic and Cartoon Magazine was attacked by three young men, last Wednesday, which caused killing of 12 people. It caused global reactions and it is extremely criticised. But the question rises, does the West, which call criticism to be more sacred than any sacred religion, count the insults of Charlie Hebdo as criticism or not? Are insulting religion and criticism similar? Why this civilized world is insulting one and a half billion of the residents of the world? Is insulting freedom of speech?! If insulting the divine religions, especially Islam, is insulted frequently under the name of freedom of speech, will it not increase fundamentalism? These are the topics that will be discussed in the details of this analysis:

Language Diplomacy: Kabul-Islamabad's attempt to improve relations!



For last six decades Kabul and Islamabad had conflict based on language and tribe. One of the most important issues of conflict between both the countries was language and tribe. In contrast to other world, mutual language and tribe became the reason of conflict between these two countries. Sometime Kabul would arise because of imprisonment of Pashtun political leaders, and sometimes because of unity of western Pakistan. And because of this Afghanistan would give place in its heart to Pakistani Pashtuns. But Pakistan would say that the mentioned activity of Afghanistan is its intervention in the internal affairs. As Afghanistan is the original place of Pashtuns, so Afghanistan felt responsibility for the rights of Pashtuns; on the other hand, Pakistan blamed Pashtun Nationalist Political Parties that why they had closed and warm relationship with their Pashtun brothers living in Kabul? Therefore, the mutual language and mutual tribe in both the countries was the cause of danger for Pashtuns living in both sides of the border.

Though there was close relationships between Afghan and Pakistani Pashtuns up to 1979, but the relationship of Kabul and Pashtun tribe was lost immediately with the Soviet Union invasion of Afghanistan, and instead of Kabul, the tribal areas built its relationship with Islamabad; because, after the withdraw of the Soviet Union forces from Afghanistan, Afghanistan moved to such a direction that even now it cannot think of anyone else except itself.

After the incident of 9/11 of 2001, Hamid Karzai became the leader of Afghanistan; he then followed the old politics of the country and consequently invited the Pashtun leaders to Kabul.

As earlier Pakistan was concerned about the mentioned policy of Kabul, finally General Musharraf ended that policy, and started Loya Jirgas – Big Councils- between Afghanistan and Pakistan. Though those councils did not play an important role in the construction of the relationships, but it created a formal plate form for Pashtuns living at both sides of the border.

Shared Language-Shared Nation: Mixture of Influential Diplomacy

In the world there are two types of diplomacies; first one is formal diplomacy among governments and their relations, and the second one, which is more influential, is relationship and interaction between nations and people.

As Pakistan got its independency, Afghanistan started its relationship with Pakistan. That time, the Afghan King Mohammad Zahir Shah sent his ambassador to the national father of Pakistan, Mohammad Ali Jinah, and he accepted the ambassador. But the relationships between the nation of both countries started from 1979, while more than five million Afghans migrated to Pakistan, and from that time up to date the nations of both the countries have strong relationships with each other.

Though during the Cold War both the countries faced many challenges because of the shared language and shared nation, as it is earlier mentioned, Kabul would rise its voice against Islamabad for the actions of Islamabad against Pashtuns and Pashtun leaders, and Islamabad was also concerned that why Kabul is concerned about the rights of Pakistani Pashtuns? And Pakistan would say that the mentioned policy of Kabul is intervention in the internal affairs of Pakistan. But currently both the countries find out that by using the same weakness, they have to rebuild relationship with each other, and trust each other.

Pakistani diplomats of the foreign ministry of Pakistan and other Pakistanis also believe that by using the shared language they cannot only remove misunderstanding between Afghanistan and Pakistan, but also can build relationships, they are hopeful for the attempts and they call it language diplomacy¹.

Pashtun Politicians' visit to Kabul:

Last week President Ashraf Ghani invited the leaders of Pakistani Pashtun nationalist, religious, and secular political parties to Kabul, as the result of which Mahmood Khan Achakzai, Afrasiab Khatak, and Aftab Sherpaw came to Kabul for a two-day trip, but Maulana Fazulrahman did not come. Those leaders met with President, CEO, ex-President, Chief of Peace High Council, National Security Advisory Chief, MPs, and some other politicians at Kabul.

¹InamullahKhattack, Pakistan launches Pashto Diplomacy to woo Kabul, The Nation, 11 Jan 2015, see it online: http://nation.com.pk/national/11-Jan-2015/pakistan-launches-pashto-diplomacy-to-woo-kabul

The mentioned Pashtun leaders spoke about the issues related to the eastern parts of Afghanistan, Khyber Pakhtonkhwa(KPK), Baluchistan, and other tribal Pashtuns; for example, improvement of security in both countries, "mutual struggle against terrorism", solving the issues of Afghan migrants in Pakistan, and so on.

The mentioned trip was an attempt to remove distrust between the two countries, especially between Afghanistan and Khyber Pashtonkhwa, nothing else. Because the mentioned Pakistani delegations is not able to impact even the state government of Khyber Pashtonkhwa, while the central Pakistani government is totally out of their control. It was important that the Afghan government should have invited at least the members of Pakistani Tahrik-e-Insaf from Peshawar, or the state ministers of Khyber Pashtonkhwa state government.

Approachable Relations:

With the inauguration of the new unity government, for the first time Pakistan felt that after the overthrow of the Taliban regime, it can build relationship with Afghanistan. Earlier the Pakistani diplomats and media would call President Karzai unpredictable; therefore Pakistani leaders have done trips to Kabul. Kabul also attempts to build its economic, transit, and business, and security relations with the Pakistani Government, especially Kabul wants Islamabad's cooperation in the peace process. The desire of both sides would be clarified with the examples of the trips done during the presidency of Ashraf Ghani:

- Trip of Pakistani President Mamnoon Hussain during the inauguration ceremony of President Ashraf Ghani to Kabul.
- A visit of Pakistani Prime minister Nawaz Sharif's foreign policy advisor Sartaj Aziz to Kabul.
- Trip of the General Chief of Pakistani Army Raheel Sharif to Kabul.
- The three trips of the ISI chief Rezwan Akhtar to Kabul (first trip was on his first day of duty, second one was with Raheel Sharif –which was because of the bloody attack of Peshawar on December 16th 2014-, and the third trip was on January 12th 2015).
- Trip of President Ashraf Ghani to Islamabad.
- Trip of General Chief of Afghan Army Sher Mohammad Karimi to Rawalpindi.
- Trip of Afghan MPs to Pakistan.
- Trip of the Afghan Acting Industry and Commerce Minister Muzammil Shinwarai to Pakistan.
- Trip of the political parties' delegation of Pakistan to Kabul.

There is the possibility of trips of the Chief of Afghan High Peace Council Salahuddin Rabbani and Afghan CEO Dr. Abdullah Abdullah.

After the inauguration of the new unity government in Afghanistan the trips between Afghanistan and Pakistan are more than ever, but still it is not clear either these trips and close relations will have positive results on the peace process or not? Kabul is interested in close relations with Pakistan, because Kabul believes that the key of peace is in Pakistan.

Is Freedom of Speech More Sacred than Religion?!



On January 3rd 2015 three young armed men attacked the office of Charlie Hebdo Satirical and Cartoons Magazine, in which twelve people were killed. Two of them were police and ten of them were the officials of the office. One of the killed one was the person that draw the cartoon of the Prophet Mohammad (PBUH). Hostage in a Jewish Supermarket also caused killings.

The incident caused extreme reactions around the globe that did not have any history in last forty years. The incident is also called to be similar to the incident of 9/11 of 2001 in the U.S. The slogan of "We are Charlie" was also a reminder of the slogan of George W. Bush that he declared after the incident of 9/11, which was "The one who is not with us, is against us".

From Inspiration to Stimulation:

A catastrophe happened in the West that caused huge emotional reactions with anger. The incident barely happened in a country that militarily intervene in other countries around the globe, from Asia to Africa, and claims that their country intervene in other countries for elimination of terrorism.

Most of the analyses published in western media regarding this issue are abstract views, and it refers to the fact that they should not speak about the impetus behind this terrorist attack. What is important is provoking scorn; the people who did not only killed people, but also attacked "the right of freedom of speech", which is higher than any other belief. Here the responses are discouraged, and they even should not speak of the act that evoked the reaction. It was said that this attack cannot be justified by any cause. The fundamental Muslims attacked the values of the Western World, and in any circumstances we cannot blame the operators of

Charlie Hebdo for the arousal of the emotions of Muslims. If there is any motive, it is in the religious context of Muslims, not in the actions of Charlie Hebdo operators, or even higher than that in the political world of the West against the Muslims.

Freedom of Speech is more Sacred than Religion!

The Western Style Freedom of Speech Supporters believes that no value, no religion, and no belief is as sacred to remain suspended from criticism and insult, and there is no place for question about it. But, can we really compare insult with criticism? Since many years the Western media is criticizing Islamic values and Muslims respond to those, but can we say the insults that are published in Charlie Hebdo are criticisms? Is insult a freedom of speech?

Ironically, some claimed that the Charlie Hebdo Magazine did not criticize Prophet Mohammad (PBUH), but they also have done offensive criticism on Jesus (PBUH) – the prophet of Christians-and Moses (PBUH) – the prophet of Jews. So why Muslims should be upset for insult of their prophet?! The ones who justify the offensive articles of Charlie Hebdo, is it true that they don't know the sacred position of Jesus and Moses (PBUT) in Islam? Don't they know that Muslims respect those prophets more than Christians and Jews, and according to Muslims, insulting those prophets is insulting Islam?

But, most importantly, when someone claims and says, "I believe that there is no religion, faith, and belief sacred and they are not prior to the freedom of speech". Doesn't it mean that the freedom of speech is sacred? While freedom of speech replaces religion, freedom of speech becomes faith and sacred, so the only thing that could not be criticized is freedom of speech. Based on this belief, this attack is criticized in an abstract and unilateral manner, without consideration of its relationship with hundreds of incidents happening in the modern world.

Islamic Fundamentalism and Violence:

The dominant power in the West gained the opportunity by using the environment caused by the attack of Charlie Hebdo to blame Islam and Islamic studies. But can we say that there is no relationship between the incident of January 7th 2015 of Paris and the killings of hundreds of thousands of people from Asia to Africa?

Isn't there any relationship between the January 7th incident of Paris and the killings of hundreds of thousands of Muslims in Iraq, Libya, Egypt, Afghanistan, Palestine, and Yemen?

Was not there the same Islam and Islamic texts in various centuries in the world? Did the Muslims learn these lessons freshly from Al Qaida, Taliban, and ISIS?!! Why such groups did not emerge among Muslims in the past?

Were these all Western youths did not come to Afghanistan during the Soviet Union invasion of Afghanistan, but today they go to Syria, Iraq, and Yemen to join Al Qaida and ISIL? Which one of the world domination emerged this desire among those youths?

Double Standards:

In this circumstances there is no aim of defending this terrorist attack, but in the West it is a desire when a non-Muslim perform violation, it is counted as a small incident and the followers of that religion are not blamed for it, but in the case of Muslims it is not so.

The actions of neo-Nazis and their followers in the West, who are racist, are not referred to Christians, though their sign is also Christian cross. Killings of non-defendant Palestinians by the occupier regime of Israel is not being related to all Jewish, but when a Muslim do a violation it is being related to all the Muslims, and in such condition the Westerners expect that not only the Muslim leaders in the West but also all the Muslim leaders around the globe should ask for apology. Why there should not be such things expected from non-Muslims?

There are approximately six million Muslims living in France, which most of them came from the old French colonies. Members of this religious minority are being insulted. For example, in France that says that freedom of speech is the rights of every one, but in the same country Muslim women are not allowed to use scarf for covering their hairs, because scarf, as a symbol of religion, is not counted as right of the people!!

The Consequences of Attack on Charlie Hebdo:

Since many years thousands of European Muslim youths go to Syria, Iraq, and Yemen for Jihad. So they concerned the Western countries if those youths return back to their countries they may cause insecurity to their countries. So, now it can cause more limitation over the Muslim minorities in the Western Countries, especially France. Even now this issue is being analyzed to limit the entry and exit of people to the Schengen countries.

If Islamic blasphemy in the West continues by the name of freedom of speech, it can only empower fundamentalism among Muslims, and will cause more violent reactions.

The End

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