T.C.

ISTANBUL AYDIN UNIVERSITY

INSTITUTE OF GRADUATE STUDIES

THE PROCESS OF NATION BUILDING IN AFGHANISTAN IN LAST THREE DECADES

MASTER THESIS

Farid Ahmad SEDDIQI

Department of Political Science and International Relations

Political Science and International Relations Program

March, 2020

T.C.

ISTANBUL AYDIN UNIVERSITY

INSTITUTE OF GRADUATE STUDIES

THE PROCESS OF NATION BUILDING IN AFGHANISTAN IN LAST THREE DECADES

MASTER THESIS

Farid Ahmad seddiqi

(Y1712110009)

Department of Political Science and International Relations

Political Science and International Relations Program

Thesis Advisor: Prof. Dr. Ragip Kutay KARACA

March, 2020

ONAY FORMU

DECLARATION

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 materials and results, which are not original to this thesis.

Farid Ahmad SEDDIQI

FOREWORD

First and foremost, I am very grateful to Allah (SWT) that gave me the strength and ability to finish my thesis project. Besides that, I would like to thank each and every member of my family for their countless love, support, motivation and encouragement throughout my life. I also thank them for giving me the strength and inspiration to reach my dreams. Especially my dear father that he always encouraging me in the way of achieving knowledge. And With my regards and appreciate, truthful thanks to Prof. Dr. Ragip Kutay Karaca, my Thesis advisor, for his remarkable and proficient guidance, full of suitable suggestion, profoundly assistance and encouragement during my research dissertation phase.

March 2020   **Farid Ahmad SEDDIQI**

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLE

LIST OF FIGURE

THE PROCESS OF NATION BUILDING IN AFGHANISTAN IN LAST THREE DECADES

ABSTRACT

Nation building is a historical, psychological and sociological process, through which, ethnic, tribal, racial, gender, linguistic differences will diminished. Groups of people in a given land achieve a common historical identity and regard the preservation of that nation's values as the fundamental duties of their national government. This enables the creation of a framework of limitations and opportunities that countries and governments must adapt it. Sadly, the process of nation building in Afghanistan, for many reasons it has consistently failed. The planning and founding of democratic civil institutions, modern national government and the sharing of identities and values has always been incomplete. A nation emerges when the sub-values and sub-identities unite for the benefit of the nation that from combining of it the phenomenon of national identity emerge with the cultural properties of all ethnicities, preservation of shared history, shared victories, shared sorrows, and shared failures. Considering the need for Afghan citizens to move towards nationalization. In this thesis, while finding the roots of the weakness of national solidarity among the people of Afghanistan, I propose solutions to rescue them from ethnic, religious, linguistic, and sectarian prejudices. I will try to find ways to achieve national convergence, while explaining the causes of the national integration gap among Afghans.

Keywords: *Afghanistan, Nation building, ethnicities, tribe, Pashtuns, Tajiks, Uzbeks, Hzaras.*

SON OTUZ YILDA AFGANISTAN 'DA ULUS İNŞASI SÜRECİ

ÖZET

Ulus inşası etnik, aşiret, ırksal, cinsiyet, dilsel farklılıkların azalacağı tarihsel, psikolojik ve sosyolojik bir süreçtir. Belirli bir ülkedeki insan grupları ortak bir tarihsel hüviyet kazanır ve bu ülkenin değerlerinin korunmasını kendi ulusal hükümetlerinin temel görevleri olarak görür. Bu, ülkelerin ve hükümetlerin bunu uyarlaması gereken bir sınırlamalar ve fırsatlar çerçevesi oluşturulmasını sağlar. Ne yazık ki, Afganistan'da ulus oluşturma süreci, birçok nedenlerden dolayı sürekli olarak başarısız oldu. Demokratik sivil kurumların, modern ulusal hükümetin planlanması ve kurulması ile hüviyet ve değerlerin paylaşımı her zaman eksik olmuştur. Bir ulus, alt değerler ve alt hüviyetler ulusun yararı için birleştiğinde ortaya çıkar, onun ulusal hüviyet olgusu, bütün etnik kökenlerin kültürel özellikleri, ortak tarihin korunması, paylaşılan zaferler, paylaşılan üzüntüler ve paylaşılan hatalardır. Afgan vatandaşlarının millileştirme yolunda ilerlemesinin gerekliliği göz önüne alınmıştır. Bu tezde, Afganistan halkı arasındaki ulusal dayanışmanın zayıflığının kökenini bulurken, onları etnik, dini, dilsel ve mezhepsel önyargılardan kurtarmak için çözümler öneriyorum. Afganlar arasındaki ulusal entegrasyon boşluğunun nedenlerini açıklarken, ulusal yakınsama elde etmenin yollarını bulmaya çalışılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Afganistan, Ulus inşası, etnikler, kabile, Peştunlar, Tacikler, Özbekler, Hazaralar.

1. INTRODUCTION

Nation building is a process that people base on different history, religion, culture, language, come together with a boundary of sovereign state and unified constitution. Three type of people will be together in nation building plan. First, the people who are regional professionals and know the roots of conflict in the society, these professionals thinks it may difficult to think about fundamental change. Second group are professional nation builder this group of people may understand less about the society but they know the ways of variation. Third, individuals in this group have an opinion that change is possible and reaching simply (Dobbins et al, 2007, pp. 1).

Nation building aiming to unite people within the state, which it caused to stay politically lasting and fixed in the long term. Nation building is often difficult especially in the country like Afghanistan with deep ethnic, religion, and political division. The nation building and formation of the national government is one of the most important issues in Afghanistan's political and social life.

If that nation is a political thought rather than ethnic, religion, and racial, the constituent elements of a nation cannot defined. The homogeneity of the national identity of a country facilitates the formation of a nation. However, in the process of nation building, the feeling and belonging to different cultural and social identities that actually reflect the heterogeneity gives way to a shared national sense and identity within a given geographical unit. Among the constituent components of nation, language, ethnicity, and then religious identity are the most influential factors. Language has a significant role in the formation of a nation and the success of the nation-building process, but the common language, while facilitating the nation-building process, does not always lead to the creation of a single nation. The language of The United States of America, England, Australia, and Canada is English, but they are not a single nation. Even in some countries, they have established a minority language as the national language for the nation building and nation-state formation. Pakistan is an example of a country where Urdu is the only mother tongue of eight percent of the population, but is the official and national

language of the country. The nation-building process must completed by the modern nation-state. There is no natural evolutionary law to complete this process. The success of governments in nation building, in addition to its democratic nature as a modern nation-state, depends on the different economic, social and even international capacities of the country. Economic resources, material wealth, and a better geographical location provide easy grounds for nation building for the state (Andishmand. 2014).

With the ethnicity of politics in Afghanistan and the dependence of political personalities on different ethnic groups, such tensions can easily create social divisions and affect the social cohesion of citizens. In these circumstances, the necessity of nation building becomes more and more obvious. Nationalization is the process of building a national identity using the power of government. The structure of Afghan society is a tribal and ethnic structure, and tribal and ethnic identities prevail over national identity. Moreover, the basis for achieving power and governance in Afghanistan has always been the reliance on ethnic policies. In order for the nation building process to proceed well and successfully in a society, people must transcend traditional ethnic, racial and religious identities and achieve a sense of community.

Afghanistan is passing a long way since appearing of struggle until 2001. The significant point that setting with the Bonn pact was the presidential election, constitution and Loya Jirga. The economic growth will, three million displaced afghan come back to the country, schools established for about four million boys and girls. Attempting for increasing national key programs like education, health, public work plan (Mamdouh, 2011).

Afghanistan in the past known as the center of civilization, knowledge, and culture in the central Asia. And the biggest scientist like Mawlana Jalaluddin Mohammad Balkhi, Ibn-e-Sina, Aburaihan Albironi and others are trained and lived in it. The response to the question what caused the country to be backward has attracted every patriots to think of it. Unfortunately, the religious, ethnic and tribal, linguistic, and regional discriminations have provided a big distance between the Afghan citizens that the word nation is maintained as a dream. There is no doubt that several factors has affected in creating and increasing all these discriminations. The Afghanistan eastern neighbor, Pakistan thinks that the existence of an effective and powerful

government in Afghanistan will be harmful for them. For this reason, it promoting the discord and rule among the Afghan nation. The western neighbor, Iran, is also worried about the progress of cultivation in the southwestern part of Afghanistan due to water shortages in its eastern regions. In addition, the longstanding religious rivalry between the Islamic Republic of Iran and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. It has transformed Afghanistan into a proxy battleground of these two regional powers, the result of this bitter truth that has deepened religious divisions, especially in the last eighteen years. It is not right to put all the responsibility of not having a single nation in Afghanistan to external factors. The governing in Afghanistan had base on the tribal from the beginning of the state until to the rise of the Democratic People's Party to power. The Kushans once were the rulers and the Taherians once. Sometimes the Sadduzai and sometimes the Muhammadzai were the rulers. Undoubtedly, the division of society into the ruling clan and the condemned mass will bring irreparable blows to the body of national unity. After the collapse of Muhammadzai's clan rule on July 7, 1977, ethnic rights changed the situation that led to collapse of the ruling party's unity.

When the weakness of national solidarity is became more obvious that jihadist arrangements formed based on ethnic and religious segregation. When the Red Army was withdrawn from Afghanistan, some strategies put in place to preserve the achievements of the April coup. With the spread of ethnic militias, there were widespread ethnic divisions in Afghanistan. Then, with the victory of the jihadists and the conquest of Kabul by the hostile jihadist currents, a bloody sea flowed in Kabul. Undoubtedly, the years of 1992 and 1996 were a time of increasing ethnic and religious divisions. In the Bonn conference, the foundation of modern Afghanistan tilted. The division of power between ethnic leaders not only ensured social justice but also provided the basis for the ethnic identity to be more bolded than national identity. In the last three decades, sustained wars and violence, in addition to material devastation, have caused irreparable damage to national integration in Afghanistan. The gape in Afghan national convergence became more apparent when Taliban rule replaced to the tribal democracy. In the 2004 and 2009 presidential elections, the ethnic lineup was so obvious that it even overshadowed political tendencies. The Democratic Party of People of Afghanistan seemed that its

common believes are formed on the Marxism Ideology, but its tribal and linguistics borders cannot waiver.

The existence of the Jihadist parties based in Pakistan and Iran is the declarer of religious and tribal ideology based in the country. Even during the existence of Soviet Union and the ruling of the Democratic Party of the People of Afghanistan, there were still some conflicts among the Jihad's parties. By the establishment of the Islamic government of Mujahedeen in 1992, the tribal discriminations and violence have reached to its climax. Thousands of innocent people were kill. Moreover, the distrust occurred between the different tribes of Afghanistan that it would be irreparable during short period. The Taliban were also a tribal phenomenon and they supported from the benefits of a specific tribal group.

The goals of the research are as follow, the main goal is recognizing the reasons of the lack of establishing a united nation in Afghanistan, and providing suitable solutions for ending the tribal problems. This research also have some Sub-Goals as following. Probing, the factors of People's Democratic Party's division in the two parts of Khalq (people) and Parcham (flag). Discussing the role of foreign countries interference in spreading the tribal and religious discrimination. The investigation of the reasons of the violent conflicts between the Jihadists parties, evaluating weak and strong points of Bonn Conference, pointing out suitable solution for ending religious clashes, and estimation of strategies that are suitable for establishing social and economic justice in Afghanistan.

The main question is, How to establish a national convergence in Afghanistan, which results in rebuilding a united nation?

Sub questions: What is the concept of nation? What are the reasons behind Afghanistan not having a unitary nation? What were the reasons behind the division of the democratic people's party?

This research being investigate by these hypotheses, in here, the purpose of hypothesis is the response to the mentioned individual questions.

1. Nation is the conclusion of citizens who usually live in a specific geographical unit and, under the specific sovereignty. In addition, the common national interests among them, created a specific national identity. 2. Being tribal the structure of the dominant power in Afghanistan, hindered of providing national solidarity among the

Afghan nation. 3. The linguistic, tribal and regional discrimination had significant affection over the analysis of the People's Democratic Party. 4. The statesmen with having unite national thoughts and believes, will cause to settle the social justice.

The method of the research will based on the primary and secondary literatures, and resources of both Western, non-western and Afghan scholars, such as books, journals, government documents, articles and reports. The estimated time for the completion of this research is five months.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Theory and Concepts

In this chapter, discussion will be on some of the basic concepts related to nation building. In addition, the nation building term will explaining from a viewpoint of liberal theory. Nation building is a process that has been going on for hundreds of years. Countries that lack a united nation have many constraints on development and are more vulnerable to internal and external problems. Therefore, nation building is a process which seen as crucial need for Afghan nation. In the process of nation building, the goal is to prioritize national identity over ethnic and religious identities. In the following sections, in addition of theory the concepts of nation, ethnicity, religion and identity will examine.

2.2 Historical Background

Afghanistan is owner of an ancient history that in different time it was under the penetration of Indian, Greek, Mongol and Persian. Ahmad Khan Abdali (Durani) claimed his throne in 1747 and the government of Afghanistan established which has known as the first government. The afghan society consist from different ethnic groups that some of these ethnic groups are large and some of them are small. Pashtuns, Tajiks, Uzbeks, Hazaras, Aimaqs etc. are living in Afghanistan. The government of Afghanistan was establish by the Pashtuns in the 1747. The Durani empire first attempt to form a single political center for the purpose of bringing all the Pashtuns under the umbrella of that political center. The Pashtuns taxes at that time was supply the expenses of the empire military forces, because of that; the government had a good relation with the Pashtuns. Most of the state lands were in the monopoly of the Pashtuns especially the Durani Pashtuns. However, the Pashtuns had the formalized political, military and economic power in their hand in the period of Durani Empire. The Pashtuns governed the country also after the collapse of the Durani Empire, but because of the war in the some area of the country, the government lost their sovereignty over some region. Therefore, during the Durani

Empire the Durani Pashtuns had dominance over the political, military and relation among the ethnic groups (Ahady, 1995, pp. 621-634).

The result of riot in 1707, which was the collapse of Persian governance by Mirwase Hotak who, occupied Kandahar and declare himself as king. Declining of the Persian Empire pave the way for foundation of Afghan government. For the reason of Luck of any historical background for formation Afghan government in 1707 and 1747, they use the Pashtun common tool (Loya Jirga) to establish legal government. The Loya Jirga formed the country, where the Pashtun tribal leaders were came together and the word Afghan stayed for this tribal group (Pashtuns). This government created based on tribal loyalties. In 1747, Ahmad Shah Durrani who establish Afghanistan allied the Pashtun tribal (Mamdouh, 2011, pp. 3-8).

The not acceptable result in the kingship of Abdul Rahman Khan (1880-1901) and appear of modern government in Afghanistan, was in 1893 the Durand pact among the Afghanistan and British caused the reducing number of Pashtuns in Afghanistan and the government lost its control over large number of Pashtuns. However, the government toke a policy to relocate the Pashtuns to the north and the clearing of Hazarajat pave the way for the dominance of the Pashtuns over the country. The power of the Pashtuns weaken by Habibullah kalkoni who was from Tajik tribe in 1929, but it did not last long. The Pashtuns dominance reinforced again by the Nader Khan who defeated Habibullah kakoni with the support of a Pashtuns tribe. After that in the 1946 prime minster Mohamed Daud was effort for lasting equality between the Afghan citizens. New policies taken for development of equality among Afghan nation the 1946 constitution was not recognized any concession for any specific ethnic groups. This equalization pave the way for the promotion of ethnic equality among the Afghans and causing the eradication of prejudice versus the Shiite Muslims (Ahady, 1995, pp. 621-634).

This country passing a long way playing mediator role between Tow Empire the British and Russian up to 1919 that it could gain its independence from British. In the 1973 coup and 1978 communist coup, a short experience in democracy ended. The entrance of Soviet Union in Afghanistan for purpose of reinforcement of people's Democratic Party took place in 1979. The intervention of Soviet Union in Afghanistan changed the situation and the country, become a battlefield between the soviet and the mujahidin groups (Mamdouh, 2011, pp. 3-8).

When the communists take the power in 1978 the interethnic relations was more consider. Therefore, alongside the Pashtu and Dari language they recognized the other minorities' language as official language, in the period of Khalq faction of people's Democratic Party. In the 1980, there were the possibility of abusing the ethnic struggle in the benefits of new regime to become stabilize by the Parcham faction of people's Democratic Party. In addition some big number of ethnic minorities hired by the parchem faction in the governmental organization and army. The government wanted to reinforcement the relation with the minorities and it recognized the Pashtuns as main force (Ahady, 1995, pp. 621-634).

The government of the People's Democratic Party, formed by a military coup in the 1978 and it was a modern ideological state and a totalitarian and repressive totalitarian state. In the People's Democratic Party administration, the ethnic structure of power transformed. The rule of the Muhammadzai tribe collapsed and ethnic monopoly rule was broken. However, The People's Democratic Party in the seat of power, despite the change in power relations, failed to complete the nation-building process and succeeded in forming a modern national state.

1989, soviet leave Afghanistan and civil wars become more intense by mujahidin for the purpose of eliminating Najibullahs government finally in 1992 Najibullahs government collapsed by Mujahidin (BBC News). The continuation of war, debility and rivalry for power that existed between mujahidin groups pave the way for the Taliban to occupy some provinces and finally they entered Kabul in 1996.

The Taliban government has collapse after 11 September attacks; also, the result of 11 September in Afghanistan was possibility for peace building and stability. The USA forces helped different political groups who fight against Taliban especially Northern Alliance who seized some parts of Afghanistan from Taliban in 2002 and represent the Tajik and Uzbek people in Afghanistan. In 2001for discussing about the future of the country in Bonn Germany different political parties leaders under the supervision of UN come together (Katzman and Thomas, 2017, pp. 5-7).

In Afghanistan, more than 53 different ethnical groups are live. Races and ethnicities in this country speak different languages. Ethnic and linguistic diversity in Afghanistan is one of the cultural and social assets of this land, and according to the Afghan constitution "any discrimination and privilege between Afghan nationals is prohibited; Afghan nationals have equal rights and duties under the law. Four of

these ethnic groups are more famous and almost they shape the history of the country, the Afghans (Pashtuns), Tajiks, Hazara, and Uzbeks.

Pashtuns live mainly in the east and south and in the north and west of the country. Afghans known as the biggest ethnic group in Afghanistan about 38% of population, also they known in Afghanistan as Pathans. The language of this ethnic group is Pashtun from the Hindu language branches of Europe. The overwhelming majority of these people follow the Hanafi religion of the Sunni religion. Afghans separated in tow sub tribe also these tow sub tribe known as major tribe in Afghanistan Durrani's and Ghilzais. Durrani's are the biggest and significant between the Afghan tribe, this tribe (Durrani) have formed form some sub tribe, Achakzi, Noorzai, Popalzai etc. Ghilzais stand at the second biggest category it has also formed from some sub tribe, Taraki, Tokhi, Hotaki etc. The overwhelming majority of these people follow the Hanafi religion of the Sunni religion (Ahady, 1995, pp. 621-634).

After Pashtuns, the largest ethnic group in Afghanistan are Tajiks, the largest Dari or Persian-speaking group in the country. Tajiks of Dari (Farsi) Language are the closest ethnic group to Persian speakers in Iran. With most Tajiks living in northeastern and western Afghanistan. Which shape about 25% of population. These people are scattered in the northeast, west and southeast and in the cities of Badakhshan, Kabul, Herat, Ghazni, Ghor and other areas. The majority of Tajiks are Sunni, and the Shiite religion has many followers, most of whom live in Herat and in the northern areas. The Uzbeks formed about 6% of population. After Pashtuns and Tajiks, the Uzbeks are the largest ethnic group in Afghanistan, speaking both Uzbek and Dari, The Uzbek language, the first language of this ethnic group, is a combination of Turkish and the Uzbeks are the largest ethnic Turk in Afghanistan. Uzbeks are ethnic Turks who live in the north of Afghanistan and mainly reside in the cities of Mazar-e-Sharif, Sheberghan, Maymana, Kunduz, Takhar, Baghlan, Samangan, Sar-e Pol, Badakhshan, and Herat. About 19% of population in Afghanistan formed by Hazara people. Hazaras are one of the large tribes in Afghanistan who speak Dari but speak the millennial dialect; the Hazara population is about to be seven million. Most of Hazaras were lived at the central parts of Afghanistan, the Bamyan, Daikundi, Ghazni, Wardak Maidan, Ghor-, Kabul, Herat, Balkh, Parwan, Uruzgan, Sarpol, Baghlan, and Samangan, provinces. The Hazaras

are mixed Turks and Mongols who are predominantly Shiite, Sunni, and Ismaili sect of religion (Badakhshani, 2013, pp. 9-11).

The challenges of ethnic issues at the regional level and its reflection in Afghanistan have added to the maze of dimensions of the Afghan civil war. Defending of Pakistanis from Pashtuns, Iranians from Tajiks and Hazara, Uzbekistan from Afghan Uzbeks has made the country's ethnic and religious cargoes the driving force behind various rival strategies and interests of neighboring rival countries within Afghanistan. This has caused considerable damage to national unity.

2.3 From Classical Debates to New Approaches of Liberalism

The formation of the liberalism goes back to the age of enlightenment when the modern states started to develop. In the course of 17 century and 18 century due to conflict in opposition to the aristocratic government and church, which resulted to the formation of Liberalism theory more than before. Liberal government emphasizing and considering the concepts such as liberty, human right, rights of individual, democracy, supporting citizen's right in contrast to the state, and rule of law. Liberals trust on abnormality of state but they believe that state stay as long as it can supply the situation of life style or different ways of life. Liberals believe that Individuals are free in a liberal political community; and there is no room dedicated for human being or method of life to govern others by natural or supernatural right. Therefore the liberal theory emphasized on the idea of states role in order to maintain the equality and freedom of citizens. For the legitimacy of political society, liberals believe on justification of society for people. Liberal egalitarianism demanding for moral equality in the society and liberals asking from government for equal behavior with all citizens. When a theory help for organizing equality between individual it must determine the level of equality. For the equality of citizen, different liberal egalitarians have various answer, like pave the way for reaching comfort, revenue, pay attention for the profit, which lead a better life. Liberal ideology is for all human beings, it is a reality particularly not only for west but it has universal value. Most of the countries accept the principle of liberal capitalism with the collapse of Soviet Union in 1991, and some liberals has reach to this result that liberal and its value is important tool for development of human beings. After finishing civil conflict in

England, some theories appeared that finally lead into liberalism (Harrison and Boyd, 2018, pp. 3-6).

Liberalism means libertarianism and refers to the broad array of ideas and theories of government that regard personal freedom as the most important political goal. Modern liberalism is rooted in the Enlightenment. In general, liberalism emphasizes human rights and equality of opportunity. Different branches of liberalism may propose different policies, but they are all generally united on a number of principles, including the expansion of freedom of thought and expression, restricting the power of governments, the role of law, the free exchange of ideas, market economy and a transparent government system.

The classical liberalism was develop more in the nineteenth century, and it can consider the more formation of liberalism in the British society, that USA did it at the twentieth. A serious challenge occur on classical liberalism at the nineteenth century. Negative liberty supported by the classical liberalism, which put external limit on liberty like law. New liberalism appeared to support positive liberty of the working class individuals, increasing the level of gaining rights of property and health, and demanding to organize a society with freedom and fortune. 20th century was the decade that liberalism had hardly influence on the most of political parties in Britain especially on liberal party. Some element are useful for organizing a liberal society such as morality, mutual respect and help. The liberal idea based on justice and equality for all of individuals. They believe that individuals are unique. Every person has valuable intrinsic facts. Every person is able to understand the best for him or her (Harrison and Boyd, 2018, pp. 3-8).

2.4 Theoretical Reflections on the Connection of Nation Building to the Liberal Theory

Nation building define as one of the important element of liberal democratic government. In the late years, various philosophies criticized the impartiality of liberal government about the fairness in process of nation building. The protection of majority ethnic group come under the umbrella of liberal government, within nation-building process, this idea stated by some multiculturalism. The liberals are not against some social element such as morality, life style, and cultural, this was another argument about the liberals that mentioned by the multiculturalism. In the benefit of

majority ethnic group government, increase a particular life style, tradition and history in a process of nation building, in this way the tradition of different sub tribal group were forget in the society. From the prospective of multiculturalism ethnical groups having the priority of selecting the national badge, the vocation, and military. When a government become moderated, that it can reaches to its peak by implementing suitable and acceptable solution which to be accept by all spectrum of society, like promote and protect the public culture, history and national language. Via nation building, process the essence of the government such as history, performance, and law understands by the citizens of the country. Government will establish institution for the purpose of educates its population, the history of the country, a formal language, governmental bodies' etc. Establishment of a united system for education is important for the process of the nation building, a system that it can carry the similarities and values for the other generation of citizenry. The process knowing under the name of nation building that aiming to unite all of the population of a country which they seen as a single nation. Therefore, the government have to adopt a single language that spoken by all over of the nation and just the government single vacations are allowing in all over the country. Rules, nationalization, protection of press, nationality, national education, and formal language these all founding and being united under the umbrella of nation building strategy (Daskalovski, 2005, pp. 27-66).

Among all types of nationalism, liberal nationalism has been the oldest form of nationalism dating back to the French Revolution. Liberal nationalism emerged in the French Revolution in defense of "sovereignty of the nation", and especially in the concept of "public will", and emphasized the democratic rights of citizens to realize national sovereignty. After that, the idea of liberal nationalism spread to other parts of Europe. The founders of liberalism have always emphasized self-defense and the protection of individual rights and freedoms. Liberal nationalists also believe that the nation is a worthy entity of freedom (Eliasi, 2012).

The democracy process will develop more than before with the nation building process through the spread of public culture and language. The citizens are wishes to participate in the democratization process of the government without considering their religion, ethnicity, genus, or so on. Consequently, different strata of the society has to contribute to the democratization process like, investors, farmers, spirituals.

Some detail may supply from the democratic government of liberal about the working of its democratic organization and it is promote the country's democratic vision, via nation building process. An formal language must adopt, because in the political discussion in order to knowing each other and the individual that are takes part at the discussion is necessary to learn that formal language through this the citizens also have the chance to engage in the government organization. Encouraging of the general national language by the government pave the way for allowing democracy more strongly than before. In this respect for knowing and involvement at the governmental organization, a formal language is need as a vital implement. The efficiency of formal language is that it can cause to connect different ethnic and cultural category. There is no any doubt that this condition is not in contrast to the liberal theory (Daskalovski, 2005, pp. 27-66).

The promotion of democracy to liberalism in certain cases is the result of the philosophical and value foundations of a democracy that is highly compatible with the principles of liberalism. Democracy is the basis for determining the values of liberalism. In addition, its implementation in a society promotes liberalism. However, democracy as a method is a rational principle for the more efficient of governments and there is no confusion with liberalism (Porseman, 2012).

Likewise, with the establishment of formal language the rivalry among the citizen become increase due to the labor market. Through nation building process, peoples can achieve great level of negotiation, education, and ability to read and write that are crucial for employment in the modern day economy. The equality will establish in the society when the social democrats support the education system that based on the nationalization. A nationalizing educational system by systemizing the official education in the public language can easily pave the way for other parts of the society especially for who that stayed luck of education, the lower class of the society, and working class to participate in the national community and get skills that are crucial in today's economy. So the entering of the individuals into the state institution and having equal chance for accession to the education and economy are obtain by the nation building. Thus, it can be say the various ethnical and cultural, classes become united and confidence will diffuse among them under the nation building process in a country. If a country wishing to have long life and remain as political organization in a long term its need to increase the perception of the society

13

between different ethnic and cultural classes. One of the pillars for the existence of a society is reliance, and the mutual understanding between members of a society in a government based on the reliance as well. Therefore originating a common understanding between members of a nation, demands some sort of shear communication, which is precisely what, the nation building tries to achieve through the policy of outreaching a formal language among all citizens (Daskalovski, 2005, pp. 27-66).

2.5 The Liberal Nation Building and Arguments

In a liberal government the process for nation building might face to some difficulties, also some multiculturalist did not have optimistic view on this process. Multiculturalist rejects the liberal impartiality due to the considering of some common values like history, culture and language of one Individuals category over another. A separation might take place among the cultural and nation building when the nation building seeking to protect an especial individual classification. It is out of question and hard to suppose that the culture of nation ignore by government. A superior mechanism is taken by entire liberal governments for the purpose of supporting valuable culture system. The division among government and culture can prevent. When the culture that they have cannot prevent them from entering to the political arena and people who establishing the government system and legitimizing laws take the original political authority. The government may remain impartial due to religion issues and at the nature of it; government is not able to select a language therefore it pave the way for formation of culture (Daskalovski, 2005, pp. 27-66).

The problem of the epistemic approximation of nationalism and liberalism in the West was resolved by defining the nation in the context of a universal worldview. In fact, nationalism and liberalism are not only two concepts close together, but both are also scalable concepts, meaning they can be expressed in varying degrees. In the eighteenth century, Jeremy Bentham became one of the main representatives for the National Liberalism movement in England, aiming to limit the extent of government influence and authority over the lives of citizens. For Bentham, nationality was the basis of government and sovereignty. Proponents of liberal nationalism, despite all the differences, insisted that each nation should form its own political unit based on law and order that would end the tyranny, aristocracy, and influence of the Church,

and that all citizens should enjoy the widest possible range of personal freedom (blogfa.com, 2019).

History, culture and language are include in a process of nation building because without any doubt every political system have its own cultural context. According to these allegations, some other reasons stated instead of nation building by multiculturalist. Thus, this necessity felt for every government to adopt formal language for all not just because of the purpose of communication but to deal with the individual who are in the governmental position therefor by the formation of government policies they can take part in the political culture. Of course, the political society have the authority to adopt more than one language as formal language. Linguistic minorities, which exists in wide numbers, may have also have the possibility that their language become has the formal spoken language of the whole country are at least the places that these linguistic minorities live in huge numbers. Nation building also stands on principle of impartiality. Therefore given the opportunity for all citizens to participate in the political sphere based on an equal manner. Which can also serve as a utility to specify the contrasts in the national labor market and help to foster trust between different portions of ethno cultural classification. However the fact that the process of nation building usually seen as a scheme of ruling ethnic class, the rationale behind this scheme is individualistic of any mean of good life that citizens hold. In addition, nation building might actually favor cultural aspect based on the concept of good life of members in the majority class of the nation among the particular country but the rationale behind handling the nation building process by the government actually differs from any means of good life's concept. Hence, the process of nation building that relies on the language of majority cannot be contrary to the theory of liberal. As a result, specific language will spread among the citizens of a country. When more than one ethnic classes live in the all soil of a country there will be condition that require more than one formal language, the adoption of these languages are logical by the country. Various requirement must adopt for accepting a language as a formal language and a language that is formal and spoken by a specific area. The essential element here, which is not against the principle of freedom or unfair, is that the government is autonomous and have right to select a language for its citizens and this right known as a legitimate right of government (Daskalovski, 2005, pp. 27-66).

The ideology of liberalism, since the beginning of its emergence, was in struggle against authoritarian power. Therefore, liberalism first rose up against the autocracy of the Church in the West and then against the autocracy of the kings. Therefore, Legislation, separation of powers, human rights, citizenship, civil and political rights, and rule-based representation are the principles of liberalism and the freedom of citizens in democratic political systems. A transitional society such as Afghanistan, a political system, a constitution, an electoral system, civil and political organizations, political parties and groups, election contests are all indications of an understanding of the ruling political system that can achieve at least partial citizen demands. Considering the components of liberalism, which is one of the foundations of democracy; citizens have a fundamental role in their political rationality, political participation in elections, institutionalizing the culture of democracy in society, and in establishing a democratic political system.

The liberals' claims to diffuse and support a formal language that is comprehensive and acceptable by all category of population in all parts of the country, anyway this diffusion pave the way for everyone wish to absorb the national language, and this does not mean that all education system must base on this principle. When claiming for having an equal behave and respect with all citizens, then the cultural beliefs of minorities should consider also. The minorities are in an unjust situation versus the majorities and it is the government task to protect the minorities. The Cultural and language becomes visible at the public sphere when the people of majority class want it, and the individual of the minorities cannot do the same. If at the same time booth the majority and minority culture wishes to teach their language through the educational system, the government should propose instructions, which can maintain the equality between different culture groups. If there is a possibility that the liberal government remain out of this subject, then the government must include the public education into his policies, except religion. The government stay impartial due to the religion matter of the both majority and minority group, this subject conceded to the will of the citizens, and the government cannot be impartial to the public education and other element of nation building, a formal language must be selecting by the government that is native for one part of citizenry. The government must help the minority who want to educate in their native language as the majority group. If the situation was reverse then the members of the majority group must establish the

16

schools on their native language based on their personal invest this is causes an unequal condition whereas the members of majority group are helping by the government. The liberal theory is against of these unfair and unequal behaviors with the individuals, because these unjust treatments are violating the fundamental principles of liberal theory (equality and freedom). If one culture come under the support and perpetuation of liberal government so the liberal, government is fair enough to consider and support the others cultural as well (Daskalovski, 2005, pp. 27-66).

2.6 What Kinds of Rights Can Be Achieve with a Liberal Nation Building

The discussion subject related to rights of equal behavior with the people of minority cultural. Already emphasize that necessity of national identity must consider form the government for the all of population and view it as a crucial factor for people. So its task of government to keep safe this important element of its population and recognize it as the citizen right. At the same time, the liberal government is in search of a method that it can maintain it is cultural to the minority ethnic class members who desire to do; this become possible while the unjust situation is visible among the minority ethnic class members. Equality and liberty recognized as the fundamental principles of liberal theory for every individual of a specific government, and based on this, the liberal nation building is forming that it will be for the benefit of every persons of the state and the people of minority cultural class. The citizens' liberty must consider and become respect under a liberal nation building regulation, however if it has belonged to the plural institution cannot be legal. In return, to the people right the right that recognized as a group right. The differentiation among the people and group is belonging to the subject not object. When can speak regarding to the rights of plural institution, while the right is maintain by one group instead on a common group (Daskalovski, 2005, pp. 27-66).

Liberalism generally recognized as a school for the defense of individual rights. The unit of analysis in liberalism is the individual. In addition to individual rights, liberalism also encompasses collective rights, and there is a considerable diversity of views in the liberal tradition, most of which are shaped by political necessity and historical events. In addition to general citizenship rights, which include all citizenship regardless of ethnic or cultural background, group rights should also be

consider for members of ethnic and minority groups. Liberals can and should extend the wide scope of these rights to national and ethnic minorities without sacrificing their commitment to liberalism, the commitment to individual liberty and social equality. In liberalism, the right to choose different options and different lifestyles is very valuable to the individual and one must be free to choose their own life plans. The principle is that it is the culture that gives these choices to people and makes them meaningful, so that vulnerable cultures must be protect in order to defend one's rights (Tavassoli and Salehzadeh, 2015, pp. 6-7).

If trying to recognizing the every individual right as an equal right in the country, then right for selecting the subject of cultural and nation building must respected without considering right to the group of people as cooperate entity. Thus this kind of right being in contrast with the selection of people and can cause deprivation of their equal circumstances. If agree on such rights as plural rights, then the individuals do not enforce these plural rights, but there is a bigger unit like collective group for addressing this issue. This condition is cause that the rights of people become relinquish by the bigger groups. The enlargement of identity and cultural of people of minority group by the government regulation, Depending to the people of minority group if they are asking for having the right like this. On this subject, the debate is continuing for the talking about the group rights, which contain in the domain of liberal theory. The contribution of joint interest by some amount of analogous people is therefore that the people of these classes can benefit from these. Hence, the discussion subject is collective right, which based on the collective interest. After all, the interest of class cannot have superiority on the interest of an individual in the class and its cant abrogated. Therefore, the group right can exist only because of people's interest. The nation building and cultural right pave the way for everyone to selecting their life style and it has respect to all human being. Equal life for all individual is guarantee from the liberal theories. Therefore, the liberal theory claiming to suppling and raising the standard of life style and it ensures and fosters global needs for larger communal group (Daskalovski, 2005, pp. 27-66).

In kymlicka prospective, the differentiation among the, national minority and immigrants is significant here. As kymlick argue the minorities in contrast to the immigrants who they had selected their homeland combined a big political unit, as they become part of it. He points to national minorities in this regard that they had

independent cultural which they formed a large government (Kymlicka, 1997, pp. 6). For kymlick multicultural communities' base on the self-determination, that minority of the nation focus on the specific sub region (Kymlicka, 1995, pp. 27). In a federal system where many ethnic classes will shaping apart federal system, as it observed in some western multicultural countries, this kind of right can perform well in such a federal structure as kymlick argue (Kymlicka, 1998b).

In the continuing kymlick mentions the multiethnic right like monetary aid, legitimate preservation and the protection of government from some actions that correlated to the certain religious and ethnic classes must use to the immigrants societies, and usually it can be apply to the eastern Europe. The accession of ethnic classes to bigger state governmental organization may ensure by the representation right. Kymlick give ground for collection representation right, and support the representative that formed from the people of ethnic and racial minority and see it as necessary element. In fact, the people of minority class wishes to maintain the feature of their cultural, which deeply impressed by the majority nation building, also the position liberal government that claim for the equality among people have to determine the right to nation building for these people. So why do some people depended to a specific nation have to behave differently from the government towards others? Why should some have the right to self-determination while others should only have the basic rights? For these two phase stated by kymlick, firstly these basic rights or multiethnic rights awarded for the groups that regionally dispersed (immigrants). Secondly, that most of immigrations has economic reasons and it is important. The liberal equality is in the benefit of cultural right that is suitable for all of populations and cover the population of minority who demanded for the protection of their cultural (Daskalovski, 2005, pp. 27-66).

In general, the liberal ideology, in the sense of the freedom of the citizen in the shadow of a state limited to the law, and it is the foundation of democracy, is the primary aim of the liberal ideology from the beginning of its emergence, the fight against absolute power and self-control. The idea of liberalism has called for equal rights for all citizens regardless of religion, ethnicity, race, class, gender, etc.; all of citizens are equal in the law.

All of the population of the state must respect by the independent selecting of nation building and maintaining of single cultural without considering their dependency to

the single national, religion and language. In a liberal point of view, every person or parts of minority culture is independent due to selecting of its way of life about the cultural and this must be supported, the size and how he or she become the part of this minority classes in not important. The rejection of these people's application would be end in the favor of majority cultural, which is against the equality concept of liberal theory. A liberal government, which built on the ideology of equality, should prepare some policy for providing equal chance in the nation building in the demand of minority population. The strategy of liberal nation building has been protecting by various minority. The requirement of minorities is containing these items, the education system in cultural and language of them, as well as learn the prevailing history and language, reinforcement of radio and TV programs protection of cultural organizations like, recognizing various traditional of minorities by law, government protection in relation with uneducated individuals of minority class and so on. In a liberal point of view, several of these requests are not valid (Daskalovski, 2005, pp. 27-66).

Three types of ideology in Afghanistan have been tested, and none has yielded a positive answer. These three ideologies are liberalism, communism, and Islamism. There is no hope and rationality in communism and Islamism right now, but in liberalism, one can still look with a more optimistic outlook. Liberalism in Afghanistan faced many challenges and was not fully realize. But perhaps the last major ideology is liberalism, which is viable in Afghanistan in keeping with its tradition and culture. Liberal democracy is not a very good system, but until now, human beings in the public sphere and in the political experience may not have discovered better than liberalism. Until the discovery of a political system more favorable than liberal democracy, must recognize it as the best political system. Liberalism in Afghanistan is a reaction to the failure of the religious discourse that has emerged in the face of Talibanism. The unavailability of Islamist discourse in Afghanistan provided the basis for the discourse of liberalism. Today, liberalism seen in the face of the international community in Afghanistan and Talibanism in the face of the Mullah and fundamentalists who are fighting in the name of the Taliban.

2.7 The Concept of Nation

The concept of nation and nationalism are dependent to each other. That is to say, it cannot define in simple reason. There is ethnic nationalism and civic nationalism. That the Germans enlarged the Ethnic nationalism, which they believe the formation of government by one group. In contrast, the civic nationalism believe that the nation must consist from those that they are free from racism, religion, language, ethnicity, gender and so on. Political science scholars in the 19th century have tried very hard to come up with a comprehensive definition of the concept of nation. These definitions relied on structures of the nation that play a unifying role. The most important of them were, Language, culture, history and occasionally a single race. However, the reality is that these structures the single language, history, and race - have less to do with historical reality, especially in countries with a history of domination and dictatorship. Nations are human assemblies living in a given geographical area under the formal command or rule of a state. In such an approach to the concept of nation, the state is, regarded as the sovereign power deriving from the will of the nation. In addition, land or country can used interchangeably in the sense of country, nation and state (Badakhshani, 2013, pp. 19-20).

Like the country of Afghanistan, the nation of Afghanistan and the government of Afghanistan. However, in empires, authoritarian governments and forceful governments, this is never possible. However, the legal-political meaning of the nation is a human group whose members feel interconnected by material and spiritual factors. Thus, those human beings who identify themselves as belonging to a whole or to a distinct political society and who see their destiny as interconnected with that of other members of that society may be the cause of the formation of a nation. The discussion of the "united nation" and the process of "nation-building" is a modern one that has emerged in modern times, not an eternal and historical phenomenon. In fact, this phenomenon emerged from the industrial revolution and formed under the pressure of modern governments. Therefore, nations in the modern sense of the word are a mix of ethnicities, not a particular ethnicity. That is to say, in the world, except for some very small countries, there does not seem to be a nation that formed from single ethnic group. Because numerous and complex factors are involved in shaping the concept of nation. Different opinions have been raised in this

regard, especially in the nineteenth century, the most prominent being the German and the French (Andishmand, 2014).

2.8 The Concept of Folk

Ethnicity is form of a common ethnic, linguistic, and even religious identity in one country, while the nation is a reflection of the diversity and plurality of ethnic, linguistic, and religious identities. Ethnic identity is natural and innate, with many beliefs and commonalities. Linguistic, racial, religious, and cultural homogeneity is an important part of these commonalities. These homologies give each ethnic group the motivation and power of solidarity and organization within society and in the country to move toward what they recognize as their own interests. Among all the points that make up the common identity of the ethnic group, language plays a very important role. Ethnicity studied in the development of the nation building process with two perspectives of challenge and opportunity. While ethnic homogeneity in a country considered an excellent opportunity, ethnic heterogeneity in the path of nation building is challenging. On the basis of dividing society into different ethnic groups, there are two different approaches. Some scholars have defined ethnicity as a collection of people of the same race, and others have identified cultural sharing as the basis for the creation of ethnic solidarity among human beings (Andishmand, 2014).

2.8.1 The Concept of Tribe

Indeed, tribalism is not attributed to every single ethnic category in Afghanistan; yet tribalism is considered a variable concept among tribally formed ethnicities, which paves the way for rise and fall of kinships groups. Recognition of the tribes is centered on ethnicity dimension, which is based on federated pedigrees compromised of descendants of one male forefather, the group names are often picked up following the extraction of one of these forefathers. Subcategories among tribes exists which is consist of pedigrees of intermediate pedigrees of tribe founder. Therefore, a whole tribe may be descendants of 10 generations in the past. Smaller portions of direct heredity, which comprised of great-grandson and grandsons, which construct "units of residence" and those with enduring level of self-allegiance. It is true that "father's brothers' daughters" are the preferred lineage for males to marry;

pedigrees are the mirroring of economic, social and political kinship regardless of strict lineage lines. Usually it's male portion of the ascendant groups, who are likely to marry with females of other groups, outside their own ethnic group (Blood, 2001, pp. 45-46).

Tribe is a subset of ethnicities that takes root in a single ethnicity. A set of tribes in a country that share the same language and race, and even religion, form an ethnic group. A tribe made up of families that related by blood and kinship, and live by common norms and traditions that are highly emotional. Blood and kinship are considered important in preserving tribal identity and traditions, and patriarchy is one of the most common and continuous traditions in tribal life. The tribe is more restricted and coherent than the ethnicities that share common and similar traditions and customs and act in harmony with shared interests. However, some scholars have described the tribe not as a pre-state organization, but as the basis of the government, which first formed by the tribe (Andishmand, 2014).

There is no clear and comprehensive statistics on the number and population of the Afghan tribe. Some have counted these tribes up to 50, but the constitution recognizes 14 tribes. Pashtun, Tajik, Hazara, Uzbek, Turkmen, Baloch, Pashaei, Norestani, Emaq, Arab, Qarqez, Qazelbash, Gojar, and Brahavi. Among them, the first four ethnic groups are the most populous in the country and play a major role in the field of political power. Pashtuns have maintained their tribal structure. The Abadali (Durani) tribes, the Ghilzai tribes and the Kerlani tribes are the great tribal systems of this people. In the tribal structure of Pashtun Khan or Malik, it occupies a high position and presides over the tribal elders. However, there is no definite leadership among Tajiks, Hazaras and Uzbeks because of their tribal structures being broken. This has led to a lack of social leadership, concentration and stability among these ethnic groups. In Afghanistan, tribes have entered ethnic conflict over land, water and pasture at the local level and access to resources of national political and financial power in the national level. Because of that, some of Amir Abdul Rahman's wars and ethnic displacements in the north during his successors interpret this theory. Deprivation "On the political status of the Tajik, Hazara and Uzbek tribes can also be considered in competition for resources. Those who argue this point say that the long isolation of non-Pashtun tribal peoples from the political scene motivated them to resolving their historical deprivation in the sixties and seventies decades. Elite

competition on Afghanistan's experience of ethnic conflict is complementary the theory of resource competition. Moreover, the ethnic elites who used ethnic differences to mobilize ethnic resources and to access government resources and positions. The beginning of the influence of the international system on tribalism in Afghanistan has to trace back to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries since the Russian and British rivalry. Many find the role of Britain more effective. Pakistan's independence (1947) was a change in the region that drew the attention of many Pashtun elites to the Durand borderline, which separated the Pashtun tribes into two countries. This led to the issue of Pashtunistan and the unity of the Pashtun people. These issues in general have had an impact on the strengthening of the sense of Pashtun ethnicity. International developments in the last two decades have been effective for politicization of Tajik, Hazara, and Uzbek ethnic communities. In particular, the independence of Tajikistan, Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan has affected the sense of ethnicity in northern Afghanistan. Ethnicity is a new phenomenon that led to the rise of ethnic nationalism with the collapse of the former Soviet Union. In Afghanistan, tribalism was replace by ethnicity. Before that, the tribes competed for power, and now, ethnic groups planned to participate in the political structure of power (Arvin, 2013).

Ethnicity and tribe have been the basis and support of political power. Afghan rulers have based their tribal traditions on the legitimacy of the government or at least their major decisions. Therefore, the significance of the tribal elders Jirga is undeniable in this respect. At present, the mention of tribal names in the constitution and national anthem, the existence of a ministry for tribal affairs, indicates their key role in the official policy of the country.

Scholars have examined the relationship of ethnicity and tribe to political power in contemporary Afghan history, largely from the era of Ahmad Shah Durrani. They consider his monarchy as a "confederation" of tribes. Because his reign was ruled by Pashtun tribal chiefs. The conception of tribes and government in the structure of power in the Durrani kingdom was "center-around"; the tribes in the center and the government around. This relationship was reverse by Amir Abdul Rahman. After seventeen deadly civil wars and with the formation of a central government, the emir moved the tribes from the center to the periphery. The Amir has created enmity among the tribes so that the people will never be united against the government.

Abdul Rahman Khan replaces tribes to ethnicity after numerous wars, completing the process of mono-ethnic of political power by breaking the autonomy of non-tribal peoples. This situation continued until three decades ago, except during the nine-month reign of Habibollah Kolkani. The political participation of tribes expanded further. In the 1980, An Hzara could reach the prime minister and vice president. In the ethnic composition of the ruling People's Democratic Party, the Tajiks had the largest share and the Uzbeks gained undeniable political and military power. At the beginning of the 1991the whole structure of political power changed and the Tajiks ascended to the top of the power pyramid. This evolution was the result of changes in the ethnic composition of the People's Democratic Party and the ethnic formation of jihadist groups on the eve of the collapse of the Najibullahs government. In 1979 the ethnic composition of the People's Democratic Party, the Pashtuns 58 percent the Tajiks 35, and the other ethnicities were 9%. But in the 1987 the Tajiks 47%, the Pashtuns 37%, the Uzbeks 8%, and the Hazaras 4%. On the other hand, the formation of political-military groups among non-Pashtun tribes during the war with the former Soviet army and the Kabul government was the prelude to changing political power outside the framework of the central government. As such, change on both the government and jihadist sides provided the basis for the overall change of power structure in Kabul. The Islamic Party, as the largest Pashtun political-military group, could not resist against this change, and as a result, power was transferred to the non-Pashtun tribes, especially the Tajiks. With the emergence of the Taliban, as a largely Pashtun group, it maintained a mono-ethnic power structure for five years. After the collapse of Taliban, The Bonn Summit made the participation of all ethnic groups in power leverage, Pashtuns at the top, Tajiks, Hazara and Uzbeks in the second, third and fourth ranks and others at the base (Arvin, 2013).

Ethnic heterogeneity and unequal distribution of power between ethnic groups are the main factors behind the ethnic divide. Challenging the nation building process, the national identity crisis, and the slowdown in development and modernization are other consequences of this conflict that has contributed to the escalation of instability and political crisis. In traditional societies, individuals of a tribe or group come together based on their grandee cognition and personal relationships and define a collective identity for themselves, because they all belong to one ethnic or tribe. In such a situation, the role of tribe leader is as politician is outstanding. The

domination of such tradition in the society, spreading distrust, weakening public institutions and, diminishing public interest. This situation in Afghanistan has challenged the institutionalization of public structures, the process of nation building, and the reality of the concept of nation.

2.8.2 Race-Based Theory about the Origins of Ethnicity

Ethnicity is a set of human beings whose roots are in the same individual. Of course, this theory holds true in the real world as well.

For example, the bini-israil folk consist of those whose roots traced back to Prophet Ya'qub (as). According to this definition, the only factor that can contribute to the decline or increase of ethnic groups is birth. This theory challenged in extreme cases, because Members of some ethnic groups do not share common ancestry. On the other hand, example, the people of Ghezelbash consist of different tribes of Turkish descent and Kurdish. This theory is not capable of explaining the ethnic status of the two sexes. Because such people are racially mixed, they need to use in matters of culture, language, and traditions to determine their ethnicity (Wahizy, 2002, pp. 44-51).

Culture-based theory defines the ethnicity of individuals based on cultural characteristics (language, customs, and beliefs). This theory is also true in the real world. There are cases in Afghanistan to support this theory. Historians, for example, believe that. Ghilzais Pashtuns are the remnants of the Turks Ghilzais, who have been identified with the Pashtunwali principles and the Pashtun language. Whenever considering culture-based theory as a theory explaining the emergence of ethnicity, it will find that births are not only the cause of change in the number of ethnic groups but also factors such as geography, cultural interaction and migration can also be factors in changing ethnic geographies. For example, the emergence of Muslim Arabs in the first centuries of Islam, the spread of Arab culture and the consequent increase the number of Arab tribe. The migration of a number of Greeks to Afghanistan lead to emergence of Nuristani tribe, and the cultural interaction of Arabs and non-Arabs have led to the emergence of Sadat folk (Wahizy, 2002, pp. 39-44).

2.9 The Concept of Religion

Religion is a term that today refers to various inter-religious categories. Muslims divided into sectarian religions for their view of the succession of the Prophet. In the following different types of these religions examined.

Afghanistan is a country with 99 percent of its population Muslim, but religiously divided into two Sunni and Shia branches, the majority of Afghans are Sunni. Alongside the Muslims in Afghanistan Hindus and Sikhs, and a small minority of Armenian Christians and Jews in the major cities are living. Moreover, the majority of Afghan Muslims are Hanafis, although there are no official statistics, but most researchers have reported Hanafis between 65 and 70 percent of the total Afghan population. That It is composed of Pashtun, Tajik, Turkmen, Arab, Baluch, Imag, Kyrgyz, Kazakh, Nuristani, Hazara, etc. The Hanafi religion has always been the only official religion in Afghanistan, comprising various ethnicities living in Afghanistan. Shiites in Afghanistan are the second most populous religion in Afghanistan. Shiites are made up of different ethnic groups such as Hazara, Ghezelbash, Sadat, Baluchi, Tajiks, etc., which mainly comprise the Shiite population of Afghanistan (Hazara and Sadat). Of course, there are no accurate statistics on the number of followers of this religion. Ismaili is one of the most important Shiites who have the highest number of Shiites in the world. In Afghanistan, the number of Ismaili follower are small and they mostly live in Badakhshan, Bamyan and Parwan provinces (Borchgrevink, 2007, pp. 21-35).

In Afghanistan, the religious discrepancy is widely high that even the Islam as prefect religion that was unitary against the foreign aggressors, cannot united the different ethnic groups in Afghanistan. In the Afghanistan the political Islam being influence by Sufism and the dominance of saints in the society with the concept of Jihad.

The place of religion supported by Islam in the history of the Afghanistan and accompanied with the concept of Jihad against the aggressors. For example, in the 1830 against the Britain and in the 1970 against the people's democratic government, the insurgency against the Soviet Union had religious aspect, and the civil war between various Jihadist parties that pave the way for emerging of Taliban as religious group. The relation between the politics and religion was change due to

appearance of jamaat e Islami in Pakistan and Muslim brotherhood in Egypt. After the soviet invasion the religious leaders starting Jihad against them. In addition, this caused for the establishment of various religious party. After the leaving of Soviet Union and collapse of people's democratic government the power fall down to the hand of local commanders. and the ongoing war that exists between Jihadist parties for taking and ruling Kabul forced people to escape and leave their homes, finally these clashes pave the way for emerging of Taliban as religious group (Borchgrevink, 2007, pp. 21-35).

2.9.1 Sectarian (political) Religion

The Islamic community maintained its unity during founding period by Prophet Mohammad. After that there were some disagreements among the Prophet's companions, the scope of these differences was not sufficient to jeopardize the integrity of the Islamic community. Nevertheless, sadly during the last years of the Usman ibn Afan, rule, a group of Muslims revolted against him and martyred him. This disagreement over the prioritization of goals led to war. Then after some discords, the Shia and Sunni sects of Islam emerged. Sadly, over the centuries, the division of Islamic society into Shiite Muslims, and Sunni Muslims has caused many innocent bloods to flow (Haneef, pp. 1-10).

Afghanistan in recent years, due to the Saudi Arabia and Iran rivalry the mistrust between Shiites and Sunnis increased.

2.9.2 Jurisprudence Religion

The Islamic Law course divided into four periods. The life of the Prophet (PBUH), the life of the Companions of the Holy Quran, the period of compilation and ijtihad, and the period of imitation and solidification of the expansion of Islamic territory, the diversification of the jurists' perceptions of Islamic jurisprudence sources led to the creation of numerous Islamic jurisprudential religions. The following four jurisprudential religions were the cause of these divisions between the Sunnis and the community. Suni sect includes Hanafi, Shafi'i, Maliki and Hanbal. And Within the framework of the Shiite sect, Ja'far and Zaidi jurisprudence formed. The main cause of the division of Shiite sect into Ja'fari, Ismaili, and Zaidi was the differences in the leadership. There have been bloody clashes between religious followers in the

relatively distant past, but today the violence is, minimized. In addition, it has given way to sectarian wars (Haneef, pp. 1-10).

2.10 The Concept of Identity

Identity taken from the West, which also translated into homogeneity, and similarity. Identity refers to the set of features of most legacies that cause solidarity with a number of human beings and alienation with another. Every human being has a different identity in terms of being human. Religion, nationality and ethnicity are each the basis of some kind of identity (Wahizy, 2002, pp. 15-21).

2.10.1 Religious Identity

The Islam's sectarian divisions that include Shiites, Sunnis, and Khawarij have no rational basis. Because they are based on historical differences. The division of Muslims into Shiites and Sunnis is not an exact category. Because in both groups there were fundamentalists, reformers, rationalists and, conservatives and revolutionaries. In other words, there is no exact border between Shiite and Sunni values (Badakhshani, 2013, pp. 11).

However, in the case of jurisprudential religions, none of the leaders of the jurisprudential religions was in the idea of identity making, but each of them declared their own understanding of the sources of Islamic law as religion. Therefore, the specificity of religion is to render the religious rulings, not to divide the Muslims into foreign groups. Unfortunately, religious identity has led to the bloodshed of thousands of innocent people throughout history. Today, religious identity has become a part of the hereditary characteristic of individuals, and even those who are less adherent to religious doctrines also biased in dealing with followers of other religions (Wahizy, 2002, pp. 71-105).

The followers of every prophet are called ummth. Adherence to religion is one of the factors in creating solidarity between human beings. Muslims also considered members of a religious community for following Prophet Muhammad. In fact, Religion has come to bind human beings together, take the gaps, and Convert me to us. The contentious conception of religion draw an iron wall between human beings and divides the world into good Muslim and bad Muslim. Misinterpretation of Islam is in most cases due to the misuse of Muslims. The frightening function of some

religious groups, under the name of Islam. Caused the Deprivation of the world, from the peace-loving figure Islam.

2.10.2 National Identity

A nation defined as the sum of citizens who have a particular political, legal, and spiritual relationship with a particular state that called citizenship. In Europe, after the 1648 Congress of Westphalia and the collapse of multinational empires, national governments came into being. National identity must viewed in a comprehensive way. On the one hand, this identity marginalizes the formal identities by creating solidarity among the citizens of one country, but on the other hand, its extreme aspect creates a false wall between nations and fosters war between national governments. Moderate nationalism may be a negative response to ethnics, but internationalism is an idea that will lead to goodness for all human being in the world (Wahizy, 2002, pp. 15-22).

Sadly, in Afghanistan, people have less accepted national identity as the main characteristic of their identity, and have confined themselves more to the folk and tribal frames.

One of the issues that adds to the complexity of the development of the nation in Afghanistan is the definition and recognition of national identity and agreement on this definition. This problem is rooted in various internal and even external factors. One of these factors is the lack of uniformity of all the common components of national identity. From common ethnicity to unified language and religion. In the meantime, the common language is more effective in the development and strengthening of national identity. However, the multiplicity of languages in Afghanistan and the inaccurate politics of the Afghan rulers have added to the difficulty of the role of language in shaping national identity. Governments in Afghanistan, especially in the recent century, have attempted to resolve the problem of language in the development of national identity and nation building by recognizing both Farsi (Dari) and Pashto. Nevertheless, the heterogeneity of these languages' capacities and abilities, coupled with the discriminatory policies of the rulers, has prevented the proper role of both Pashto and Dari (Dari) in the development of national identity. Common symbols in the formation of national identity and nation building are another requirement of this process. Shaping national

identity through the identification and agreement of common symbols is one of the tasks of modern national governments. However, Afghan governments and governors failed to create common symbols across Afghanistan's diverse community in terms of ethnic and linguistic identities. The government's inability to shape a common national identity in Afghanistan has kept different ethnic groups in line with ethnic identities (Andeshmand, 2014).

2.10.3 Ethnic Identity

Ethnic identity has created many catastrophes among Afghan nation. People of common customs, language, and culture, and usually of the same ethnic origin, fall into one ethnic group. Each ethnic group in turn subdivided into smaller tribal groups. Ethnic identity is the most constant type of identity. Because it is completely inherited. Every individuals can change their national identity by considering the laws of nationality. It is not impossible to change religion. However, ethnic identity remains with human until death. In Afghanistan, people continue to define themselves in terms of ethnicity and in the absence of common national interests and a sense of solidarity, speaking of a single nation would be futile. Ethnic identities were one of the factors driving the division of the People's Democratic Party into branches of the people and flag. Ethnocentrism created a scandal for the victorious Mujahedeen and turned Afghanistan into a ruin (Wahizy, 2002, pp.15-22).

3. NATIONAL DIVERGENCE INDICATORS IN AFGHANISTAN

Various factors such as ethnicity, religion, language and position have created deep social divisions among Afghan nation. Based on other types of identities, there have many bloody and devastating wars that pose serious challenges to achieving a unified national identity. Therefore, in order to resolve disputes, it is indispensable to take steps to undermine divisive identities. This chapter will analyze the social gaps caused by these factors.

3.1 Ethnic Rupture

In terms of ethnic composition, Afghanistan is comprised of numerous ethnic groups. Article 4 of the new Afghan constitution lists the fourteen tribes explicitly and other tribes mentioned implicitly.

The largest ethnic groups in Afghanistan are Pashtun, Tajik and Hazara. It should not forgotten, however, that Afghanistan is not the only country of ethnic diversity; most countries in the world have multiple tribal houses, and one should never assume that national unity is possible only through ethnic unity. Some of the most important countries in the world that have a strong national identity and strong national stability and integration have a large ethnic population (Barfield, 2011, pp. 54-65).

Table 3.1: Ethnic Population

Ethnic Groups	Percentage
Pashtuns	40%
Tajiks	25.3%
Hzara	18%
Uzbek	6.3%

Source: Blood, 2001, pp. 38-40

For example, in Switzerland, England, India and the United States, there are numerous ethnic groups. America known as a country of immigrants, meaning it does not have a single ethnic identity. They also have a strong national unity. Ethnic

diversity can enrich communities a lot. Ethnic and cultural plurality can also play an effective, not destructive, role in establishing a democratic system.

However, why has Afghanistan fail to digest its cultural and linguistic diversity and trapped in the national divide rather than strengthened by its ethnicity? As noted, national unity created by finding a unified national identity based on a shared political destiny, a common territory and a shared history. The different ethnic of Afghanistan do not have a unified national identity and do not have national unity, it is clear that they will not feel interdependent. Separate ethnical identities have caused Afghanistan to become apart by deep ethnic divisions. The sense of ethnic dependency in Afghanistan is so strong that it has also led to ethnic fanaticism. Ethnic prejudice has severely distanced the Afghan community and prevented any common fate and feeling between them, even forcing them to confront each other. When power competition in an ethnic community increased and supported by ethnic identity, people's struggle can also lead to ethnic conflict. Because individuals are not as citizens of one country and members of a single nation, but members of different ethnic groups clash with each other, and their strife will soon spread across ethnic groups. Thus, the relations of society become very fragile and the possibility of conflict and war between them is greatly increased (Wahizi, 2002, pp.15-22).

3.1.1 Tribal and Ethnical Rifts

The Afghan community, which divided by tribal peoples, also divided into smaller tribal groups within their own tribes, that these groups also sometimes have hostile relations among each other. Afghan society divided into sub-identities tribal. The tribe as a separate identity first separates the Afghan community into smaller tribes and, on the other hand, enhances the capacity for violence and hostility among them (Riphenburg, 2005, pp. 31-51).

In principle, the relation of tribal societies based on the assumption of separation and separatism, because each tribe defines itself with a separate tribal identity, and these tribal identities separate them. Tribes also, fostered the possibility of tribal strife and hostility within individuals, because people share their tribal identities in their relationships with each other. When these relations change its place to dispute, the tribal identities of both side actually enter into conflict, and as a result, the tribal groups themselves engage in the struggle. Tribal man is a captive of nature, a captive

of society, social traditions, superstitious religion, ignorance, violence, a captive of the closed world and closed beliefs. This incompatibility clearly seen in all tribal societies. Afghan society, after being broken down into different ethnic groups, also breaks down into smaller tribes within the tribes. Tribal tendencies amongst some tribes of Afghanistan, especially in the rural areas, are so high that they even restricted the establishment of kinship within the tribe and family. That is, each person can only marry and establish kinship with their tribal family members and dependents (Blood, 2001, pp. 45-47).

Individual differences among the different tribes also simply lead to mass strife between these tribes. Afghanistan's history is full of such hostility and rivalry. The Ghilzais and the Abdalians, who had the first ruling dynasties in the country, were the most famous rival tribes among the Pashtuns. After that, these differences persisted and the dominant trend in Afghan politics was tribal and ethnic. Most of the wars of the 1980s and 1990s in Afghanistan were confined within tribal categories; for example, the civil wars among the various Pashtun tribes were mostly tribal wars. As well as among the Hazaras and Uzbeks, Tajiks and other ethnicities (Farhang, 2011, pp. 22-40).

The following are indicators to prove the existence of ethnic disruption in Afghanistan. First Tribal Disputes in Kandahar. Kandahar is an important province in southern Afghanistan, with Pashtun, Ghezelbash, Baluch, Tajik and Hazara ethnicities. For the past one and a half centuries, the political and economic power of Kandahar has been in the hands of the Barakzai tribe, and the other tribal groups were in periphery of power. When Hamid Karzai from poplzai tribe come to power and become the president of Afghanistan, the poplzai's tribe has monopolized the power. The people of Kandahar suffer from tribal discrimination. Second, Alienation between the Hanafi, Ismaili and Ja'fari Tajiks. Today all Farsi speakers and Hanafi religion, including a number of aimaqs called Tajiks. Persian speakers, including Shiites, Sunnis and Ismailis, called Tajiks. On this basis, the Sadat, Bayats, Ghezelbash, Qatghan people and Afshars also considered Tajiks. Tajiks divided into three religious groups: the Hanafi's, the Jafri's, and the Ismaili's. Sadly, religion has also created a rift among Tajiks. Shiite and Sunni wars in the winter of 2005 in Herat province and the Ismaili Tajiks' defamation is one reason for this. As noted above, the role of the Al-Saud religious regime and the Iranian regime in increasing

religious fanaticism is undeniable. Third, Tribe dispute among Hzaras. The Hazara people, who follow the Ja'far, Ismaili, and Hanafi religions, mostly live in central areas such as Bamyan, Daikundi, Jaghouri, and are mostly Shiite. There are many dispute between these tribes, these sub-ethnic divisions among Hazara people have declined and become less pronounced in recent years. But in the past the a lot of dispute existed among Hazara people like other tribal groups.

3.1.2 Ethnic Violence Conflicts

In some cases, the deepening of ethnic divisions is at the expense of the shedding of human blood and the loss of their property. Given the strong ethnic sensitivity among Afghan nation, hostility between two non-ethnic individuals may lead to bloody clashes between their relatives. For example, The Shiite-Sunni conflict in Herat. We will see these conflicts until the roots of the ethnic hostilities in the country disappear. Here are some examples of these bloody encounters.

3.1.3 The Civil Wars of 1992-1995 in Kabul

The conquest of Kabul by the jihadists put an end to the fourteen years of Afghan Marxist rule. The jihadists deprived the citizens of Kabul from their comfort. Due to conflict for reaching governmental positions. In late 1991, Ahmad Shah Masood was able to catch the north side of Afghanistan by attracting the National Movement forces led by Abdul Rashid Dostum and the Islamic Unity Party of Afghanistan led by Abdul Ali Mazari from Dr. Najibullah's government. The entry of the aforementioned coalition forces into the city of Kabul took place as early as May 1992. Moreover, from the beginning of the disaster, civil war broke out between jihadist regimes and Gulbuddin Hekmatyar the leader of Islamic party. Masood and Hekmatyar's competition was for power. After that, the religious wars between the National Unity Party and the Islamic Union Party led by Abdul Rasul Sayyaf with the incitement of Saudi and Iran is raise. The important achievement of these wars was massacre of innocent people; it caused serious damage to the government coalition. The peacekeeping forces of the Islamic population, led by Masood, did not maintain their neutrality in the war, but with the help of the forces of Sayyaf, they hurt their ally (the Unity Party). Therefore, the Islamic Unity Party of Mazar-e abandoned the coalition with the Islamic Peoples Party, and it come together with the Islamic National Movement, Gulbuddin Hekmatyar's Islamic Party and the National

Salvation Front, led by the first head of the Mujahidin government (Sabghatullah Majdadi). In addition, it created a Coordination Council against the Mujahedeen government of the Islamic Peoples Party led by Burhan Uddin Rabbani, the Islamic Union led by Sayyaf, the Islamic Movement led by Sheikh Asif Mohseni and the Islamic Unity Party of Akbar Branch (Khalilzad, 1995, pp. 147-152).

Hekmatyar and Dostum's coalition within the Coordination Council's framework was unbelievable. During the jihad, Hekmatyar always condemned Zahir Shah supporters, including Majdadi and Gilani, denying the contribution of rescue arrangements in the jihad of the Afghan people, but the common enemy of today had made yesterday's enemies today's friends. Official reports indicate more than sixty-five thousand civilians were killed in the four years of civil war between 92 and 96. This war, which largely motivated by ethnic and religious prejudices, had a devastating effect on the decline of national unity. Battles between Hekmatyar Islamic Party and Masood's Nazar Council causing pessimism between the Pashtun and Tajik nationals. The wars between the Islamic Unity Party of Mazari branch, the Islamic Movement Party and the Islamic Unity Party of Akbari branch in the Shiite community of Afghanistan created a divide between the Shia Hazaras on the one hand and the qazilbashs and Sadat's Shia on the other. The Islamic Peoples Party and Islamic Unity Party disagreements ended friendly relations between Tajiks and Hazaras, and the brotherhood of Tajiks and Uzbeks vanished after the battles of Massoud and Dostum. During these four years, many crimes were committed. Eventually, the Taliban managed to end the conflict by using the conflict of jihadist arrangements and people's tiredness of the war over the rule of the jihadists in Kabul, and by opening this black page, they would open another dark page in the history of Afghanistan (Tanin, 2004, pp. 400-412).

3.1.4 Killing of many northern people by Taliban

In Afghanistan, the north refers to the three provinces of Parwan, Kapisa and Panjshir, located north of Kabul. As the Taliban took control of Kabul, the Islamic people's party, Islamic unity party and the Islamic National Movement saw their position at risk, and because of maintaining their situation and regain Kabul they become united and organize the northern alliance. Thus a united organization of resistance against the Taliban formed. Resistance forces launched deadly blows on the Taliban in these regions. That is why the Taliban committed major crimes by

killing large numbers of people of these regions. Especially a large number of Hazaras and Shiites and Sunni Tajiks also suppressed because they spoke Persian. In 1998 when Mzaar-e-Sharif sized by Taliban, and this forces harassed the people of Mzaar-e-Sharif and deprived many of them of the sweet taste of life. After that, the Taliban forces starting attacks on the city of Bamyan and finally they took the city, which was under the control of the Islamic Unity Party. With the Occupy of this area by Taliban, Afghanistan's great cultural-historical heritage destroyed by Taliban, which was the Buddha's statues (Folady. 2003, p51).

3.1.5 Islamic National Movement's hostile clash with Pashtuns in Northern provinces

Unfortunately, politics in Afghanistan has been overshadow by ethnicity. During the Taliban era, the Pashtun speakers of the northern province of Afghanistan dominated other local residents by using the presence of their relatives in the area. Moreover, this is lead to After Taliban's defeat, and the return of sovereignty in the north to General Dostum, the Islamic National Movement seeks to take revenge on the Pashtun-speaking who claim to have Partnership with the Taliban. Because of that, many people killed and many have been force to flee the region without the slightest link to the Taliban.

3.1.6 The Ethnic Structure of most Political Parties

In the new political parties' law, the minimum number of founding members of the party must be 10,000, and these 10,000 belong to 34 different provinces of Afghanistan (Regulation on the Establishment and Registration of Political Parties).

In the current situation, there are over one hundred and ten political parties operating under the previous law. A number of these parties are remnants of former jihadist arrangements. Such as the Islamic people's party, the Islamic Unity Party, Peoples Islamic Unity Party, the National Unity Party, and so on. Of course, it should not forgotten that politics in Afghanistan has been overshadow by ethnicity. Political parties are no exception to this bitter truth. For example, the Afghan National Party, the Islamic Party and the National Conservative Party are among the Pashtuns, the Islamic Peoples Party and the New Afghanistan among Tajiks and Aimaqs, and the Islamic Unity Party of Afghanistan among the Hazaras and the Islamic National Movement is among Turks (Larson and Tora, 2011, pp. 6-44).

Most political parties in the country emphasize ethnic identity to the people of Afghanistan, preventing people from moving toward the nation. Such parties, which see themselves flourishing in the presence of ethnic and religious divisions, will not spare any effort to undermine national unity. According to the Afghan constitution, the formation of a political party based on ethnicity, language, and religion not permitted. Sadly, the activity of some parties based on ethnic, linguistic, and religious prejudices. In Afghanistan, parties usually created for personalities, whereas in advanced countries, parties usually centered on a single plan and thought, and then the elections of the president and the board held democratically. Existing parties have been working hard to make themselves extra-ethnic, but this has not been possible. Is not and will not be possible. Because these parties were form based on ethnicity and after the foundation of ethnicity, it would not be possible to be extra-ethnic. A transnational party is possible when it is constituted on a transnational basis and free of ethnic tendencies (Ahmadi and Esmailzadeh, 2014, pp. 12-24).

Democracy in practice means the political participation and competition of a number of groups and interests organized to seize political power and govern the country according to the policies and positions of each of those groups, in which case political parties and elections are the core of democratic life. Although parties are the most important organization in democracies, in Afghanistan the parties do not have such an organization that can play an important and prominent role in Afghanistan's political structure. The existing political parties in Afghanistan did not meet the requirements set forth in the party law.

In fact, the foundation of the ethnic parties laid out during the struggle against the Communist regime. The jihad of the people against the aggression of the Red Army, their struggle against the communist regime and the formation of Jihadi parties also tied to the ethnic element. What the actually saw, especially on the eve of the fall of the communist government, from mujahidin was ethnicity. This jihadist and Islamist movement, which could have been very effective in transcending tribal ethnicity and rationality, soon became a tribal and ethnic group within the Afghan tribal community. There was no transnational unit leadership, and there was less Islamist movement in the Islamic world, like the jihadist movement of the Afghan people with mixed ethnic and tribal elements. At the very beginning of the movement, the

power of the tribe and ethnicity, and its dominance over the element of belief, can clearly see. However, The Mujahidin and their Islamic government have further institutionalized tribal and ethnic rationality in Afghanistan, and they converted tribalism from the unconscious center of the Afghan people to the conscious. If the Mujahidin did not move based on ethnic and tribal rationality and believe in Islamic brotherhood, the day after their victory, today we would have made great strides and the elections and democracy in Afghanistan might have become less ethnic. However, the mujahidin were not only come out of tribal and ethnic rationality, rather, they gave it a greater depth that the effects and consequences of which have so far extended to Afghan nation. Since democracy is ethnical in Afghanistan, its function and the will of the people manifested through elections are also ethnic. Some currents have been create with the claim of national unity and ethnic unity and use national suffixes and words such as unity, union etc. National Unity Front, National Unity Council, Afghan Ethnic Union, etc. While members of these currents all depend on one ethnic group and up to two ethnic groups or no serious participation of all ethnic groups in the process. For example, the United National Front is composed of Tajik leaders with only a small number of second-party Pashtuns, and Shiite Sadat has joined the group (Ahmadi and Esmailzadeh, 2014, pp. 12-24).

3.1.7 Ethnic Approach of people in Elections

Afghan citizens see the election as a field to consolidate their ethnicity. From this point of view, voting for others considered as betrayal for the folk. The wars of the last three decades have eroded the trust between different nations. Unfortunately, the structure of many jihadist parties was based on ethnic affiliations. The Taliban, too, with their single-ethnic structure, took great strides to build a wall of mistrust among the Afghan people. One of the factors influencing the factions was the ethnic split in the People's Democratic Party. Following the Bonn Conference, government posts were quota based on tribal identities. Every Afghan citizen sought to secure their rights in the form of ethnic solidarity and ignored national solidarity. In such circumstances, each ethnic group, based on their population, has a national participation quota and because it is not possible to determine the exact number of members of a particular ethnic group in the present circumstances.

3.1.8 Presidential Election

Elections, parties, and democracy in Afghanistan are overwhelmingly driven by ethnic aspirations and influences from tribal political logic, and what refer to as democracy and elections as one of its objective symbols is, in fact, "formal democracy" and it is full of tribal values and tribal approaches to the phenomenon. The ethnic nature of the election has been describe through the examination of several elections in recent years. Elections are, in fact, the manifestation of the will of the people, a way to determine the fate of members of a political community; it is a tool for the containment of power, and ultimately a tangible symbol of democracy. Therefore, the existential philosophy of the election assumes that. First, People are owners and can choose. Second, People have the right to determine their own destiny. Third, the government and the governing body must obtain their legitimacy through public acceptance or public consent. Fourth, there is no other way to discover the satisfaction of the people, the recognition of the acceptance of the state apparatus and the performance of the people in public, except for free elections, and no other solutions have been discovered so far. In the meantime, the parties played an intermediary role in the process of governing the people over the people and mediating the collective will of the people to govern the community the phenomenon of elections, with its difficulties, weaknesses and deficiencies, and mainly with the reign of Mohammad Zahir Shah, known as the Decade of Democracy, experienced in Afghanistan. This trend continued in the era of Communist rule until the victory of the Mujahidin and the fall of the Communist regime in the country. What is important is to provide solutions for crossing and emancipation form ethnicity and ethnic parties and democracy. Afghan people have experienced free and fair elections since the fall of the Taliban regime and have vote in the presidential, parliamentary and provincial elections. However, the elections in Afghanistan have been heavily influence by ethnic trends. Ethnic political consciousness has had the greatest impact on directing people's vote for a particular candidate (Ahmadi and Esmailzadeh, 2014, pp. 12-31).

In 2004, the Afghan people went to the polls for the first time to elect the first elected president. In this election, Hamid Karzai is the head of the Transitional Government, Muhammad Younis Qanoni, leader of the New Afghan Party and former Minister of Education, Mohammad Mohaqiq, leader of the Islamic Unity Party of Afghanistan,

General Abdul Rashid Dostum, leader of the National Movement Party, and etc…
They competed for the presidency. It must acknowledged that in this election, people
have taken an ethnic approach. The majority of Tajik voters voted for Mohammad
Younis Qanoni, who was among the Tajiks. Muhammad Mohaqeq was the preferred
candidate for most of the Hazara people. The Turks in Afghanistan also supported
Abdul Rashid Dostum in the elections and the majority Pashtuns was vote for Hamid
Karzai. In the first presidential election, eighteen candidates ran for the presidency.
In this election, Hamid Karzai won 55 .4 percent of the vote. Mohammad Yoinuis
Qanoni 16.3 per cent, Mohammad Mohaqeq 11.7 per cent, and Abdul Rashid
Dostum 10 per cent (Ra'ees, 2005, pp. 1-17).

The two presidential elections of 2004 and 2009, presidential candidates have placed
the issue of ethnicity at the forefront of their planning and actions in the field of
electoral competition. The election of vice presidents from two different ethnicities
with their own ethnicity as a presidential candidate is one example of the candidates'
attention to the issue of ethnicity. A candidate from one ethnic group is trying to
attract the votes of other ethnicities through the influence of his / her deputy who
belongs to other ethnicities and thus increase his / her victory coefficient. It should be
emphasis that it is impossible to have a completely negative and pessimistic
judgment on this common practice. Certainly, part of the factors that have made
presidential candidates to elect their deputies from other ethnicities have been the
political participation of all ethnic groups. However, this is a case in point, and on
the other hand, it is about raising the chances of winning more votes among the
different ethnic groups. In stable democracies, the role of parties' electoral programs
is often much more prominent in campaigns than factors such as these. Candidate
personality characteristics such as age, gender, religion, and ethnicity play a role in
voter selection. However, it cannot become truth in a country such as Afghanistan,
where democracy is still very young, because democracy deepen social divisions
such as ethnicity and pave the way for giving legitimacy of widening social divisions
through a democratic system (Ahmadi and Esmailzadeh, 2014, pp. 15).

To illustrate the role of ethnicity and ethnic affiliation in the second round of
presidential elections, only three candidates have selected from three ethnicities.
Hamid Karzai, Abdullah Abdullah and Ramazan Bashardost. According to the
results of the vote, this trio ranked first to third respectively. Pashtun areas have

voted more for Hamid Karzai, Tajik areas for Abdullah Abdullah and Hazara for Ramazan bashardost. Abdullah Abdullah competed with the support of the National Front. The decision of the National Front to bring Abdullah in the field also derives from ethnic rationality, and the origin of that decision is the same element of ethnicity   (Ahmadi and Esmailzadeh, 2014, pp. 20-24).

The second presidential election that held on 2009 the result are as follow. Hamid Karzai 55%, Abdullah Abdullah 28%, and Ramazan Bashardost 9% (The New York Times, 2019).

If one compares the role of ethnicity in the first and second rounds of the presidential election, it can be said that the role of ethnicity in the second presidential election is undoubtedly somewhat diminished than in the first presidential election. Candidates and their pro-political elites have tried to highlight ethnic issues. Each of the candidates was keen to present himself as a national figure. In the atmosphere of competition and propaganda for the third round of presidential elections, the decisive role of the element of tribal ethnicity and rationality is still obvious. The role of the political and intellectual elite and the science community in correcting political culture and electoral competition is crucial. The intellectual elite Rather than influencing political actors and helping them become democratic; they have themselves become captives of ethnic and tribal approaches to political actors, and they have theorized political actions based on tribal logic and ethnic rationality. This illustrates the political thought of the elite in the field of national politics and shows that if there is a will to cross ethnicity among Afghan political elites and the right measures are taken to exit the cage of ethnicity, liberation from this trap is possible (Ahmadi and Esmailzadeh, 2014, pp. 20-24).

The top leadership of the Afghan National Unity Government, formed after the disastrous election of year 2014, consists of seven different nationalities, the President and his two deputies, the Chief Executive and his two deputies, and the President's Special Representative for Reform and Governance. Arrange a proper representation of the ethnic composition of Afghanistan in the political structure. Mohammad Ashraf ghani is Pashtun. His first deputy is Uzbeks General Abdul Rashid Dostum and his second deputy is Hazara, sarvar Danesh. In the executive branch, Mr. Abdullah represents the Tajik people. Muhammad Khan, his first deputy, is Pashtun and Muhammad Mohaqiq, his second deputy is Hazara. Ahmad Zia

Masoud, the presidential representative for reform and governance, is also Tajik. Power in the lower ranks of the cabinet, provinces, and embassies has been divide among them by American mediatory to reflect the ethnic realities of the country. But just two years have passed form the Afghan government the tense began to divisions among leaders over the division of powers, recruitment of individuals and how the country is run; and as at least three government leaders have long been absent from important decision-making meetings such as the Cabinet, the National Security Council and the High Economic Council. Disagreements have gradually led Abdullah Abdullah, General Abdul Rashid Dostum, and Ahmadzia Massoud to more openly criticize Ashraf Ghani and accuse him of monopoly power and ethnocentrism in unified literature (BBC New, 2019).

3.1.9 Parliamentary Elections and provincial Councils

Afghanistan, after the 1969 parliamentary elections, for the first time on September 18, 2005, held its first legislative elections. Approximately 4.6 million people went to the polls to elect their MPs and provincial councils. The National Assembly of Afghanistan consists of two parts, one is the Wolesi Jirga (the House of Representatives), which has 249 members elected directly by the people, and the other is the Meshrano Jirga (senate) which has 352 members, in which the President's appointed representatives and the elected representatives of the provincial councils. The election that led to the formation of the National Assembly of Afghanistan is actually the end of the political process outlined in the Bonn Agreement for Afghanistan in Bonn, Germany. The agreement, signed by major Afghan political groups in December 2001 following the collapse of the Taliban led by coalition forces and under the leadership of the United States, was design to have an interim political regime for four years. Most of the rural areas said to have used ethnic issues during the campaign, which also related to the level of literacy of the people. However, this is different from the well-educated and urbanized people, who are more likely to be educated candidates with professional experience: Ethnicity and religion are very important at district level. Each party's seats shown in the table (Wilder, 2005, pp. 2-8).

Table 3.2: Each Party's Seats

Parties	Seats
Islamic party	12
Islamic peoples party	22
New Afghan party	25
National rescue front of Afghanistan	4
National Islamic front party	10
National solidarity movement party	3
Unity party	18
Shia parties	12
National solidarity party	2
Youth solidarity party of Afghanistan	1
Afghan national party	7
National Islamic movement of Afghanistan	20
National democratic front	7
Left parties	6
Islamic invitation party	7

According to constitution of Afghanistan, the members of the parlimant, provincial council and district councils, elected by people's vote. As mentioned, there is ethnic diversity in most provinces of Afghanistan. Therefore, there is fierce competition for the provincial council and parlimant seats. Ghazni, for example, is home to numerous ethnic groups such as Pashtun, Hazara, Tajik, Sadat, Bayat, and others. In the recent elections due to the insecurity of Pashtun districts, there were no elections in these areas. Some non-Pashtun candidates went to the House of Representatives, raising the sensitivity of Pashtun speakers in Afghanistan. In the parliamentary elections, we saw ethnicity overshadow the idea. This means that in many provinces, people with Marxist backgrounds were able to obtain the votes of their jihadist compatriots. As delegates enter parliament based on their ethnic identity, their ethnocentric function will be obvious.

3.2 Religious Rupture

There are different religion in Afghanistan as well. The two major Shiite 10 – 19% and Sunni 80 – 89 % groups in Afghanistan. In addition, Ismaili Shiite and Hindu also live in the country. Religious disagreements have also provided a favorable basis for wars and conflicts. Religious affiliation has been a very dangerous justification

for ethnic and group wars. Some of the most terrifying wars in the country have taken place with religious backing. In principle, it has long been attempt to draw religious legitimacy for wars (Borchgrevink, 2007, pp. 21-35).

Since the fall of King Mahmoud's first term as a result of a religious fatwa to kill the Shiite Qazil bashs Under the king's support in 1803. The condemnation of Sardar Mohammad Ayoub Khan as a rebel due to the fatwa of clerics favoring Amir Abdul Rahman. the Sunni Religious Feeling Against the Shia Hazaras by Amir Abdul Rahman in 1893 - 1891 and Conquest of Nuristan with the Slogan of Spreading Islam in 1895. Religious revolts, ordered by religious clerics against King Amanullah that led to the overthrow of the Shah, were all due to religious affiliation and the use of the religious element in favor of politics. Religious conflicts have always existed since then, and religion has been abuse by power-seekers as the most powerful tool.

The political parties and military groups created after the coup of April 7, 1977 and especially after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, all came in religiously supported, with the majority being Islamic. These groups used religious justifications in the wars they fought against each other, sometimes proclaiming jihad against each other and killing dozens with this justification, causing much destruction. The Taliban came to the field with the claim of imposing Islamic Sharia and the creation of Islamic Emirates and recorded some of the most horrific wars in their own name (Borchgrevink, 2007, pp. 21-35).

As religion justified ethnic and tribal traditions, other fragile tribal relations, with the backing of sacred and absolute religious orders, turned to violence and hostility. For this reason, religious warfare has been the most dangerous war in human history, and the greatest number of human wars have occurred with this backing. Religion, in the vast majority of these wars, have been abuse as a tool of power and politics, and their pacifist and reformist nature has been less use.

As result, the religion conflict in Herat city in winter of 2005 is remarkable here. In winter 2005, two governments claiming to be the leader of the Islamic world were trying to turbulence the ancient Herat space. The religious approach of the Iranian government, which is accompanied by the issuance of some divisive books, caused the reaction of Saudi Wahhabis and this rivalry creates sedition and convulsion among the Afghan nation. The conflict had serious consequences. Herat, once known

as the city of Islam, became the largest center of Shia and Sunni divisions. Moreover, Mistrust between Shiites and Sunnis intensified.

Another remarkable factor in here is being religious of some private schools and universities. Subject to Article 44 of the Constitution, citizens of Afghanistan with the permission of the Government can establish institutions of higher education, general education, special education and literacy learning.

Establishing private schools and universities will be beneficial if the gap in religious schools is not widened to the other education institutions or schools. In addition, the task of education is not to become a tool for trade and money saving. The Afghan government is one of the poorest in the world and cannot provide education quality to all citizens. Thus, if private educational and training centers are in the benefit of government, because the government will be able to increase the quality of its educational services by reducing the number of people benefiting from government education and training. Nevertheless, most private schools and some universities based on religious apartheid. While studying in a shared environment can create many acquaintances and friendships and be useful in reducing distance between citizens of different religions.

In continue, the Reduce of sectarian marriages also considerable. The wars of the last three decades, immigration to neighboring countries, and the increasing role of the Saudis and Iran in the religious life of Afghan nations have set high gap among the followers of different religions. There is a great friendship between the Shiites and the Sunnis. However, unfortunately these friendships in the time-lapse change to animosity, and the term insider and outsider used to describe the religion of those around. Under such circumstances, fewer families will be willing to entrust their child's fate to the enemy religious group.

3.2.1 Expanding the Activity of Religious Fanatics

Unfortunately, unlike the explicit text of Article 35 of the Afghan Constitution, there are numerous parties in Afghanistan based on jurisprudential religion, and this is not surprising in the face of religious distrust amongst followers of different religions. In addition to political parties, a number of associations and councils are working to increase religious fanaticism and find their own costs and expenses from outside sources divisive.

3.3 Linguistic Rupture

There is also a multiplicity of languages, which is a natural phenomenon in human beings and that exists in different countries, In Afghanistan, unfortunately, another factor has been the escalation of the conflict. Language is a teachable phenomenon, not an integral part of human nature. However, when language becomes the identity of a society, it becomes an agent of confrontation and hostility. The dominant approach in Afghanistan to the issue of language has been identity. Therefore, Linguistic pluralism has added to the escalation of the conflict. One of the important factors is linguistic multiplicity in Afghanistan, which mixed with ethnicity, racial, religious, sectarian, and clan identity. In addition, the role of governments in the crisis of linguistic pluralism has been negative and destructive. Dari and Pashto have been at the heart of language conflicts and wars (Rahmany, 2018, pp. 5).

Although Persian was the official language of regional governments in ancient times, it was the language of correspondence even after the formation of the Afghan government in Kandahar and then its transfer to Kabul, and some kings, including Timur Shah Durrani, wrote the poem in this language.

 Nevertheless, after the ethnic and tribal divisions erupted, the ethnic rulers of Afghanistan faced a linguistic problem, and in some cases contributed to the conflict and grouping of hostile groups. According to research, there are nearly forty languages and dialects in Afghanistan. Apart from the Dari and Pashto languages, there are Uzbek, Turkmen, Baluchi, Arabic, Nuristani, etc. in Afghanistan, and they correspond exactly to the ethnic rifts of the communities. These languages, as much as Dari and Pashto, have failed to play an important role in the linguistic disputes and conflicts in Afghanistan. However, among them, linguistic prejudice cannot completely denied (Wahizy, 2002, pp. 35).

During an evaluation in the 2014, the population of Afghanistan is about 31 million; Afghan people speak different language that the official languages are Dari and Pashto.

Table 3.3: Major Language of Afghanistan and Their Speakers

Pashto	13,000,000
Dari	9,000,000
Uzbek	2,800,000
Hazaragi	2,500,000
Turkmen	1,550,000
Aymaq	960,000
Pashayi	434,000
Balochi	400,000
Brahui	100,000

Source: Gutman and Avanzati, 2014

3.3.1 Disagreement over National and Administrative Terms

According to the final clause of Article 16 of the Constitution of Afghanistan "National and administrative terms preserved in the country" is one of the controversial issues of the present constitution and is not considered by many members of the Loya Jirga constitution in the context of the Loya Jirga. Rather, it has been add by the government to the approved text of the Loya Jirga. In recent years, the issue of national and administrative terms has been a controversial issue in the country. A number of Farsi speakers have expressed their opposition to the imposition of Pashtun language on all Afghans, believing that the choice of national and administrative terms was based on linguistic discrimination. This group believes that non-discrimination of linguistic is a factor in reducing social divisions and moving towards becoming a nation. It is in such a situation that the feeling of national oppression will not emerge and national unity will not be the victim of linguistic differences. According to other compatriots, national idioms do not only belong to the Pashto language, and in addition to the Pashtun idioms, Persian, Turkish and English terms are also included in the national idioms (Wahizy, 2002, pp. 33-39).

3.3.2 Attempts to monopolize the Pashto language in the Loya Jirga constitution

The Afghan nation speak a variety of languages such as Farsi, Pashto, Baluchi, Uzbek, Turkmen, and Nuristani. Ignorance of any of these languages can create a sense of oppression among its speakers. However, in the debate over the constitution, a number of Pashtun MPs demanded the removal of Farsi Dari from the list of national languages. The group argued that the existence of two national languages

contradicts the principle of national unity. Regardless of the fact that this claim is not substantiated, it should be argued that the preference of the Pashto language over the Persian language is not reasonable. Because it is the mother tongue of many of Afghan's, Tajik, Hazara, Sadat, Ghezelbash, Imaq and ... they speak Dari and this language is understandable to the overwhelming majority of Afghans. Undoubtedly, this view, even if it is not approved, has done a damaging blow to Afghan national unity body. In addition, shows a sense of superiority among some of Afghan nation (Wahizy, 2002, pp. 33-39).

3.4 Regional Rupture

The lack of a single nation in Afghanistan has led Afghans to disbelieve in Afghanistan as their single homeland. In other words, every Afghan citizens knows only a part of Afghanistan as their homeland. The same bitter truth has, at some historical juncture; create the danger of a country being disintegrate.

The sad truth is that people in Afghan society consider the residents of other parts of Afghanistan as an alien. The main residents of one province considered foreigner to another and marriages between residents of different provinces are rare. When Afghan citizens do not link with their hometowns and are unaware of the social and cultural status of other areas of their country, it will obviously feel alienated from other areas. Thus, increasing interactions between people in different parts of the country can destroy the walls that have been erected between the different parts of the country, and in other words can eradicate regional fanaticism.
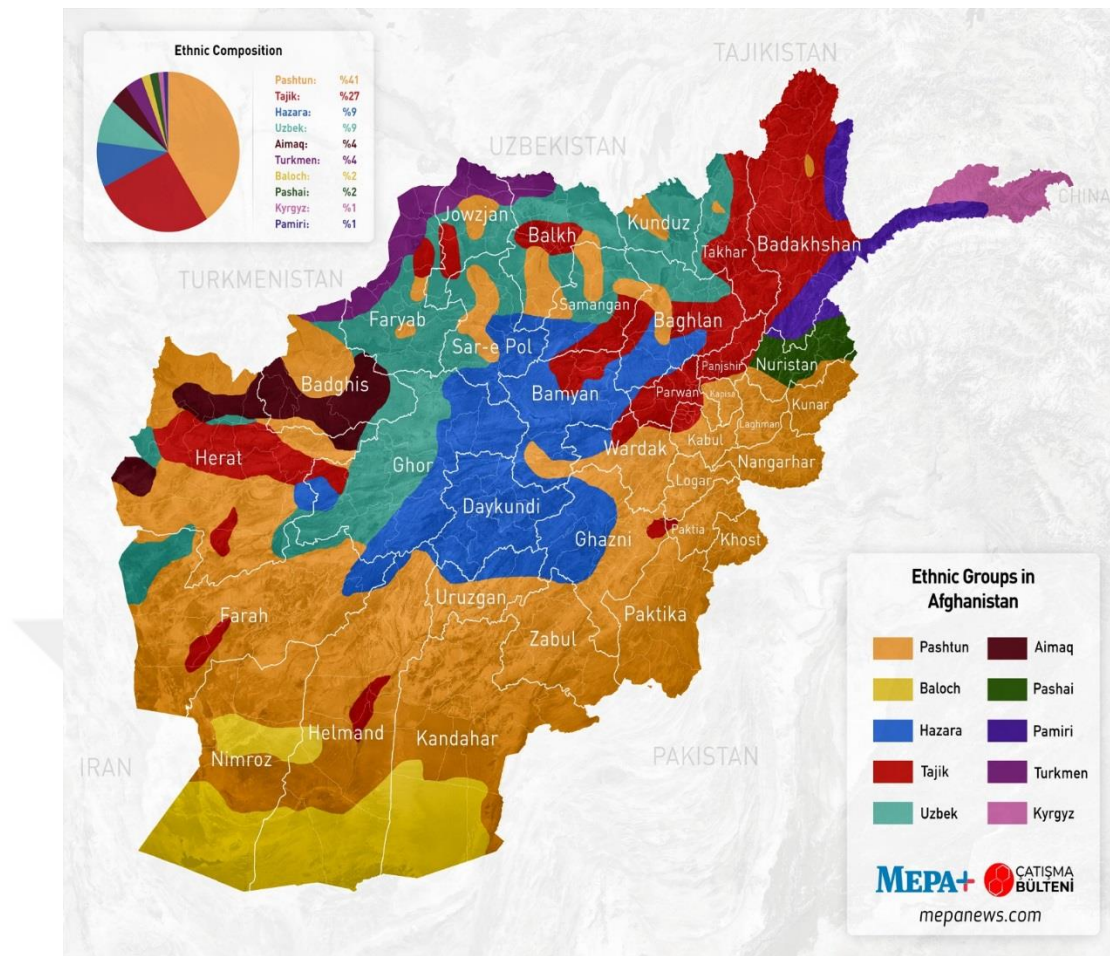
Figure 3.1: Map Shows the Ethnic Composition of Afghanistan

Source: .mepanews(2020)

3.4.1 The likelihood of Afghanistan Breaking Up into the North and South

After the overthrow of the jihadist government by Taliban, Burhan Uddin Rabbani moved his government center to Mzaar-e-Sharif, northern Afghanistan. At the time, control of the northern areas was under the control of General Dostum's Islamic Movement Central highlands in the occupation of the Islamic Unity Party. Led by Abdul Karim Khalili, and the northeastern areas of Afghanistan, including the Panjshir Valley, under the control of the Armed Forces of the Nizar Council led by Ahmad Shah Masood. The Taliban's Islamic Emirate occupied the eastern, southern and southwestern regions of Afghanistan, including Kabul. This situation continued until 1998 when Mzaar-e-Sharif was conquer by the Taliban. The mono-ethnicity of the Taliban movement reinforced speculation that it might lead to the formation of an independent government in northern Afghanistan, with the united front (northern coalition), most of which were Tajiks, Hazaras, Uzbeks and Turkmen (Tannin, 2004, pp. 400-412).

This was accept by the 16 governments involved in Afghanistan. Of course, some countries, such as Turkmenistan and Pakistan, have suffered from the breakup of Afghanistan. Turkmenistan, for economic growth, is ineligible to sell oil to the Indian subcontinent, and it is clear that crossing one country's energy pipeline is more cost-effective than crossing two separate countries. Pakistan also fears that, with the separation between northern and southern Afghanistan, its territorial integrity will be further question. The overwhelming majority of southern Afghans are Pashtuns. It is obvious that with the formation of Pashtunstan in southern Afghanistan, the Pakistani Pashtuns' desire to unite with their ancestors will increase. Unsurprisingly, scenarios that was unacceptable for the future of Afghanistan are being draft at past and sadly in the present time. A number of foreign politicians believe that the solution to the regional crisis is to encompass northeastern Tajiks areas to Tajikistan, western Tajik and central Shiite areas to Iran, Afghan Turkmen to Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan, and to join Pashtun areas in Pakistan. Of course, this scenario seems unlikely. Because the religious discrimination imposed by the religious government of Iran prevents the western regions of Afghanistan from joining Iran. The possibility of Pakistan's Pashtuns being separate from the country is greater than that the joining southern and eastern parts of Afghanistan to Pakistan. However, the multi-ethnicity of most areas of Afghanistan is an obstacle to implementing this sinister plan (Razaq, 2011).

3.5 Factors Influencing National Divergence in Afghanistan and Nation Building Failure in Afghanistan

When looking at the factors that hinder the nation-building process in Afghanistan, the internal and external factors must not forgot. In other words, national divergence is the result of the tribal governments', illiteracy and the tribal leader's interest. However, the devastating role of Pakistan, Saudi Arabia and Iran should not deny in this area.

3.5.1 Political Factor

In the era of the formation of modern national governments and the development of nation-state in some countries, especially in the twentieth century, the Afghan political system in the direction of the centralization of ethnic and tribal family

power and then it became the left and right ideological unstable states of the tribal. Gaining political power not through the choice of the people, but through the struggle for power and through external support to varying degrees (Rahmany, 2018, pp. 3).

Political factors in various dimensions as a challenge impeded the formation of modern and national governments in the last two centuries. Gaining political power not through people's choice but through the struggle for power is a negative factor in nation building and state building and the formation of a modern national state. The weakness or lack of legitimacy of governments and governors makes them incapable of forming a civilized national state. The tyranny of the rulers in the contemporary history of Afghanistan always and continuously closed the way for the formation of modern and national governments. While political participation and pluralism are considered to be the requirements of a modern and national state, Political tyranny and monopoly on the basis of ethnic, tribal, linguistic, and religious discrimination destroy this partnership (Arianfar, 2016, pp. 545-546).

3.5.2 The Inner Conflict of Power

One of the factors that has consistently prevented the formation of modern and national governments in contemporary Afghanistan is the internal power struggle. The conflict of power until the twentieth century was a tribal dispute and a family dispute between the king and the tribal princes. Then, at the end of the twentieth century, it gave way to mass and ethnic conflicts. The consequence of the power struggle in various forms has made ethnic, linguistic, political and social inequalities more complex and, at the same time, made the formation of a modern national state, out of reach (Andishmand, 2014).

One of the factors that has consistently prevented the formation of modern, national governments in Afghanistan is the internal power struggle. The power struggle, while conflicting with the idea of nation building and nation-state formation, it took every opportunity in this field, both in theory and in practice, from governments and statesmen. The dependence of Afghan governments and governors on foreign support, both in terms of gaining political power and in the pursuit of authority, to varying degrees in the last two centuries, forms another part of the challenge to the nation-building process. The important point in the tribal power struggle was to

struggle in one ethnic group, the Pashtun people, and the two distinct tribes of Sadduzai and Muhammadzai, and then the internal power struggle between the leaders of Mohammedzai. Although the Pashtun Galzai tribes, which sometimes appeared in power struggles, did not pursue the power struggle seriously in the conquest of power from the other two tribes. Other non-Pashtun tribes did not attempt to gain political power until the late twentieth century, but did not develop the idea of access to political power. King Zahir's kingdom collapsed following clashes with his cousin Mohammed Dawood's coup and Tribe power struggles gave way to group and ethnic power struggles. During the years of the ruling People's Democratic Party, the power struggle with this approach intensified and deepened. In the years following the collapse of people's Democratic Party rule, the intensity of ethnic power struggles increased further during the Mujahedeen and Taliban rule. The consequence of the power struggle in various forms has made ethnic and linguistic heterogeneity more complex and, at the same time, made the formation of a modern national state out of reach (Arianfar, 2016, pp. 552-553).

3.5.3 Inappropriate perceptions of Shared National Values and Interests

One of the values that plays an important role in nation building and the formation of a modern national government is a shared national identity. But, national identity is defined by different ethnic groups based on their own interests. For example, Anwar-ul-Haq Ahadi, leader of the Afghan Social Democratic Party or the Afghan Nation, identifies the Afghan government as a Pashtun identity, which he believes other ethnic minorities are required to accept. No ethnic minority has seriously questioned Iranian Persian identity, Turkish Turk identity or Tajik Tajiks identity, or Uzbek Uzbeks identity. Pashtuns argue that this rule should apply to Afghanistan as well. Pashtuns believe that they have used patience in their dealings with more ethnic minorities than other countries in the region whose governments have given their language by force to others. "Although some Pashtuns believe that the Pashtun language should have a similar position in Afghanistan, many Pashtuns are willing to accept Dari as an official language provided but a preference should be given to the Pashto language (Andishmand, 2014).

National values are universal or collective values that bring together the common needs of the inhabitants of a country to promote a common life. Shared national values are, above all, values of ethnic, tribal, linguistic, religious, political, and social

identities. But the shared national values and interests in Afghanistan, remain undefined and disagreed. The multiplicity of ethnic and linguistic groups, their distinct and heterogeneous lives, and staying in the confinement of tribal and ethnic traditions, impede the introduction and consolidation of shared national values and interests. Different ethnic groups based on their interests define national identity and national values.

3.5.4 Social Structure

The diverse structure of Afghan society ethnically, linguistically and even religiously, in terms of cultural and social backwardness, it has led to a greater division of society. The tribal traditions and cultures of the nations are in conflict with each other and impede the development of the national culture and civil society that is necessary for the formation of the nation. Another dilemma of the social structure in the path of nation building is the slow evolution of changes in the ideas and insights of society. The majority of people still pursue their ethnic and tribal clans in their political and social decisions and activities (Andishmand, 2014).

The Afghan society is made up of different tribes with different languages and even multiple religions. Tribes in this country have different traditions and traditions. Although some writers and analysts recognize the Pashtun ethnic group in Afghanistan as a tribal community, but many other ethnic groups in the country also have different tribal structures and have their own traditions. This structure in the Intellectual retardation condition and low level of literacy, it has led to the division of society between political and intellectual society. The tribal traditions and cultures of the tribes are in conflict, preventing the development of national culture. Another dilemma of Afghanistan's social structure in the path of nation building is the slow pace of change in society's thinking and vision. In Afghanistan, in spite of thirty years of war and emigration of millions of people, individuality did not develop. Society remains a mass society. Most people are still pursuing their ethnic and tribal clans, though inappropriate and even illiterate, in their political and social decisions and activities (Arianfar, 2016, pp. 556-558).

The structure of the political system that governs Afghanistan throughout the period of the formation of modern and national governments in other countries is one of the most unfavorable and inadequate structures for the formation of modern national

governments. From the reign of Amir Abdul Rahman Khan to the present day in the second decade of the 21st century, the structure of the political system was not in line with the formation of a modern national state. In all these years, the tribal system has been ruling and the kings have belonged to a particular tribe, but in the last four decades, the monarchy has been replaced by a republican system. The republican systems were, in fact, royal republics and totalitarian ideological systems that did not got legitimacy from the people but by force, and by military coups or armed rebellion and war. The structure of the royal and republican systems in Afghanistan was such that the ground for the formation of modern, national governments was rugged. In the royal regimes, not only was there no plan for the development and consolidation of civilized society, but society remained subjugated and unequal as a function of its rulers (Arianfar, 2016, pp. 547).

The ethnic and tribal foundations of power in Afghanistan led to the complete concentration and monopoly of power and prevented the sharing of power and participation of the people in political authority. This monopoly and concentration of power blocked any way to form a modern, national government that was possible with the participation of power. Ethnic monopoly and tribal power frustrated national confidence and led to the spread of corrupt management.

3.5.5 Geographical Factor

The physical and geographical structure of Afghanistan is another factor in the weakness and failure of the development of modern national governments and the formation of a nation-state in Afghanistan. The challenges of Afghanistan's geographical structure in nation building come back to several points. From external point Afghanistan, as a country between the two Russian tsarist colonial powers and then Bolshevik Russia and British colonialism and then the United States of America, was constantly on the playing field and competing. The regional allies' involvement with international rival powers in the game and competition over Afghanistan added to the complexity of these games. The negative effects of this game can be study in political instability, while political stability is one of the key elements of nation building. The geographical structure of Afghanistan from an internal perspective it is also challenging for nation building. The mountainous situation and the scattered population of the country among the valleys and the rural

and isolated life make the phenomenon of nation building in Afghanistan more and more inaccessible (Rahmany, 2018, pp. 319-324).

3.5.6 Internal Factors

Only the outsiders should not blame for all the trouble. Because tribal governments, illiteracy, and pro-interest leaders have played a role in increasing ethnic divisions in Afghanistan. In the first discourse the role of governments in increasing ethnic divisions and in the second discourse, the effect of illiteracy on national divergence and in the third discourse the effect of ethnic leaders on national divergence examined.

3.5.7 The Role of Governments in Increasing Ethnic Rifts

Sadly, that the rulers of this land have always been monopolized by tribes and totalitarian clans. One time, the Kushans and the Yaftelian and the selukian have ruled over this land, and at other times the Taherians, the Safaris, the Ghaznavids, the Seljuks and the Ghorians (Farhang, 2011, pp. 4-21).

Amir Abdul Rahman, who ruled Afghanistan from 1880 to 1901 and dubbed "the Iron Man" by his scholars, was the founder of a centralized government, and in fact, the existing state of Afghanistan. Because at the time of his reign or emirate, until present-day Afghanistan was form as a state, its borders were established and consolidated, and the centralized rule was establish by force and violence of the emir. The government in Afghanistan before the reign of Amir Abdul Rahman was actually a confederation of tribes formed by the unification of various Pashtun tribes and even tribes of other ethnicities (Keane, 2016, pp. 28-34).

The central government, or the king of the country, had actually given power to the tribal chiefs and the tribal leaders' relationship with the sultan based on parallel authority. Amir Abdul Rahman disrupted this power structure and waged seventeen bloody wars to break the authority of tribal leaders. Although it suppressed the Shia Hazaras more than any other tribe, it also violently suppressed the rebellion of some other tribal leaders, including Pashtuns. Amir Abdul Rahman Khan actually ended the decentralized tribal government and replaced it with a centralized tribal government. Abdul Rahman Khan, tried to maintain the power to his tribal. His oppression not only made life difficult for the Turks of the North, the Hazaras of

Uruzgan, the Persian speakers of Herat and Badghis, and the Tajiks and Sunni Hazaras of Panjshir. Rather, the Pashtun tribes of Ghilzai, Ali Khel, Taraki and Kakar also did not enjoy a peaceful and free life. The bitterest aspect of Abdul Rahman Khan's work was his divisive policy in the army. Abdul Rahman Khan's son and successor Amir Habibullah took steps to create a pseudo-modern government. He created very few modern institutions in the fields of education, economics and law formulation. He founded the Habibiyya School, and the journal Siraj al-Akhbar was form under the leadership of Mahmoud Tarzi, a journal that became the center of enlightenment and the constitutional movement. Mahmoud Tarzi was one of the commanders of Muhammadzai exiled by Amir Abdul Rahman. He studied in the Ottoman Empire and met with many Arab and Turkish scholars, thinkers, and politicians. However, despite its important and influential role on the shah's policies as the theorist of the modern national state, he could not even in theoretical terms, outline the roadmap for the formation of a nation-state (Badakhshani, 2013, pp. 8-26).

Amir Amanullah Khan first gained political independence of Afghanistan after a brief military confrontation and acceptance of all of his father and grandfather's treaties with the British Indian government, including the Durand Treaty. It adopted and ratified a constitution called the Statute, according to which the absolutist monarchy replaced the constitutional monarchy. The semi-free press was form. The law of slavery was abolish. The privilege of relatives of the Mohammedzai tribe established by Amir Abdul Rahman Khan in 1896 was abolish. One of the main reasons for his failure was that he did not have a clear understanding of the theory of the formation of a nation. He had not yet considered civil nationalism in his thoughts and policies towards the nation-state, and in this vision and policy; he was influence by Mahmoud Tarzi's reductionist theories of civil nationalism to ethnic nationalism. When King Amanullah coming to power, many efforts made towards nation building. The new king with the emphasizing on the rule of law said no, to the national oppression of his great-grandfather. This wise policy of the young king led him to support him at the end of his reign, with a large number of other tribe. However, the open-minded King did not want his compatriots' blood to fall because of reaching him again to the throne. (Shahrani, 2011, pp. 661-675).

The sinister and colonial coalition led to the removal of King Amanullah from the monarchy and the arrival of Habibullah Kalkani to the Emirate. This 9-month period, known as the Saqqawi period, was a turning point in the widening of ethnic and linguistic gaps in Afghanistan. Mohammad Nader, relying on southern tribal forces, Dominating Kabul, and hanged Habibullah Galakani. Nader Khan's work has stimulate ethnic, linguistic and regional divisions in Afghanistan. To the extent that many intellectuals nowadays, the companions of Habibullah Galakani, defend him in response to Mohammad Nader's ethnocentric approach. With the alienation of Habibullah Kolkani by Mohammad Nader has wounded their ethnic and linguistic sentiments. In a letter to tribal elders, Mohammad Nader complained about the domination of a person who was not a true Afghan (Pashtun) in line with the throne of Kabul. Moreover, on the day after his reign, he adopted a discriminatory ethnic and religious policy and finally a student by the name of Abdul Kaliq from Hazara tribe murdered him (Blood, 2001, pp. 18-19).

In the half-century of the reign of the family of Mohammad Nader Shah, efforts to form a modern, national government and nation building have been largely incomplete and unsuccessful. While the conditions of this period were more conducive to the formation of the government and nation building than all other periods. Afghanistan's security, political stability and geostrategic position were favorable for various world powers and positive developments in education, and social context. After Mohammad Nader, his son Mohammed Zahir began his 40-year reign. The first 13 years of his reign coincided with the chancellorship of Muhammad Hashem Khan. Hashim Khan, in following of a policy of ethnic and linguistic superiority, did whatever King Amanullah had to do. With the end of his mission, his brother Shah Mahmoud Khan came to power. In the conditions created after World War II, he was call the father of democracy. His chancellorship lasted for seven years, and in 1953, he left his post to Davood Khan. There are different opinions about Davood Khan. Some scholars have identified him, as nationalist and a number of other are ethnocentric (Keane, 2016, pp. 28-34).

During his chancellorship, he grounded allegations about his belief in Pashtunism by making territorial claims about Pashtunkhua and Baluchistan. After the constitutional system came into force, and by the constitution of 1964, for the first time a person outside the royal family (Dr. Mohammad Youssef) came to power as prime minster,

and this choice was in line with the tribal policies of previous years. The decade of democracy continued with the chancellorship of Mohammad Hashim Mivandwal, Noor Ahmad Etemadi and Dr. Abdul Zahir, and Musa Shafiq, the last chancellor of this period, fired by the coup of Muhammad Daoud Khan on April 26, 1972. In the aftermath of Muhammad Daud's chancellorship, the last ten years of the reign of Mohammed Zahir Shah (1973-1963) were one of the most important years in the formation of the nation-state and the modern nation-state. The most important steps in this regard were the drafting of the new constitution (October 1964), the formation of an elected parliament, the development of civil society, the formation of freedom of expression and the appointment of chancellors of other tribes and ethnic groups. The most important new development in the political arena was the transfer of executive power or government from the monopoly of the royal family of Mohammad Nader Shah and the tribe of Muhammadzai to figures belonging to other tribes and ethnic groups. Positive developments in social relations and structures, though very slow and intangible, have continued slowly to provide a platform for nation building. The social mixing of ethnic groups in cities, especially in the capital, which extended to the level of kinship, especially between Pashtun and Tajik ethnic groups furthered the grounds for national unity and the formation of a modern civil nation and state. However, the values and foundations of state and nation building in the last decade of Mohammed Zahir's reign, which began with hope, have not completed. The coup in 1973 put an end to these values, and Afghanistan entered a new era of political instability. The failure of the natural state-nation process during this period was rooted in various internal and external factors. In addition to the external origins of Cold War rivalry, the chronic Durand conflict, and the internal power struggle between Muhammad Nadir Shah's families, Muhammad Zahir Shah's weaknesses in Afghanistan's democratic transition to the modern national government played a major role in the failure of this process. The Shah's biggest mistake was, to not pass the law of political parties, and fail to establish legal ground for the parties to have access to political power. This mistake led the political parties to covert activities and reinforced the temptation of a military coup among them (Tanin, 2004, pp. 98-109).

After that the republic proclaimed by the Daoud Khan and the first Afghan republic government established. During the Republican era, Daud Khan banned the use of

ethnic surnames and refused to prescribe a specific religion for the presidency in drafting a constitution. Thus, it is possible to say that Mohammad Daud Khan renounced ethnic supremacy and leaned toward nationalism. This fact became more apparent when he was ready to settle border disputes with Pakistan (Blood, 2001, pp. 26-27).

With the victory of military coup of 22 April 1978 for the first time in history, clan rule replaced party rule. Sadly, the leadership of the revolution fell to those who were not far from the disease of fanaticism. One of the criteria for dividing the People's Democratic Party into two branches of the flag (parcham) and the people (Khalq) was ethnic affiliation. Of course, these classifications were not general. Because many Pashtuns were, flag (Parcham) and many non-Pashtun were people (Khalq). Tareki and Amin openly pursued a policy of ethnic superiority. As long as Hafizullah Amin Khaleghi was willing to form a coalition to consolidate his power with Gulbuddin Hekmatyar who was a dissident (brotherhood). However, the widespread presence of the Soviet Socialist Army after 1979 prevented him from implementing this sinister plan. Since then, the ethnic and religious arrangements formed form Pakistan and Iran. Within the rule of the People's Democratic Party, ethnocentrism was also, intentionally or unintentionally, promoted. The tribes were renamed Nationalities and a Ministry was established under the name Ministry of National Affairs. Alongside the national army, tribal militias were form. Militias had a devastating effect on relations between the tribes. For example, when General Dostum's Turkish militias were send to suppress the Mujahideen in Paktia, the war became ethnic and even the Pashtun members of the Democratic People's Party accuse the militias for killing of Pashtuns. Ultimately, the Dr. Najibullah's regime was end by these militias. Najibullah sent his comrades to the north to undermine General Dostum Turk and general momen who was Tajik, and with the rise of national mistrust in the north, a second began to overthrow Dr. Najibullah's regime (Tanin, 2004, pp. 262-289).

General Dostum of Turkish descent allied with Ahmad Shah Massoud Tajik and Shiite Abdul Ali Mazari, and the Jabal al-Saraj Treaty ended the Marxist rule in Kabul. Gulbuddin Hekmatyar accused Ahmad Shah Massoud, who served as defense minister during the reign of Sabghatullah Mojadidi and the government of Burhan Uddin Rabbani, for monopolizing power. In addition, a lot of innocent blood shed

because of their dispute, which was widely regarded as a Pashtun-Tajik war. The war between the Islamic State consist of, the Islamic people's party led by Burhan Uddin Rabbani, the Islamic Movement led by Sheikh Asef Mohseni, the Islamic Union of Abdul Rasul Sayyaf and the Islamic Unity Party of Sheikh Mohammed Akbari. And the Islamist Party of Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, the National Salvation Front of Sabghatullah Mojadidi, the Islamic Unity Party of Abdul Ali Mazari, and the Islamic National Movement led by Abdul Rashid Dostum, had turn Kabul into a ruin. The alliance between the Tajiks, Hazaras and Uzbeks was disintegrate, and Dostum and Mazarie wants to join with Gulbuddin Hekmatyar by claiming that Masood violated the Jebel al-Saraj pact. The wars of 1996 undoubtedly stigmatized the performance of jihadist regimes, and it is unlikely that in the near future, mistrust will erode over the tribal population in Afghanistan. Eventually, the mujahideen's unanimity led to eradicate their power (Khalilzad, 1995, pp. 147-152).

The Taliban, who had entered the Afghan war scene with the financial backing of Saudi Arabia, planning and organization of Pakistan and gained popular support by shouting for peace, expanded their area of control by using conflict among the Jihadists at that time, Ahmad Shah Massoud was backing the Taliban for crushing Gulbuddin Hekmatyar's barricades. Moreover, Abdul Ali Mazarie reluctant to work with Taliban to crack down on Massoud's rule (Tanin, 2004, pp. 400-412).

The Islamic Emirate of the Taliban was like the jihadist adjustments in the ethnic rift. Sadly, the function of the Islamic Party and the Taliban attributed to the Pashtun compatriots, the function of the Islamic Unity Party Abdul Ali Mazari to the Hazara and Shiite compatriots, the function of the Islamic population to Tajiks and Persians, and the function of the Islamic National Movement to Turks. Thus, having a single nation in Afghanistan was like an unattainable dream (Barfield, 2011, pp. 1-13).

The last attempt to shape the modern national government is the post-Taliban government at the beginning of the 21st century, formed by USA military and its western allies attack and economic aid of USA military. Characteristics of this phase were the acceptance of Afghanistan's ethnic and religious diversity and the formation of a participatory state of identity that laid the foundation for a political system different from the previous political systems. Was this the right foundation for nation building? The answer is that the plural ethnic state created the leverage structure of power from the ethnic point of view, which did not lead to the development of a

modern national state and the process of nation building. This government Instead of forming a civil society and politicizing power, it took the path of nationalizing politics and strengthening the ethnic community. Ethnic participation in power has been leverage (Andishmand, 2014).

9 /11, despite its bitter affliction for human society, tastes the sweet taste of liberation from the black Taliban reaction to Afghans. Sadly, the foundations of the new government were tilt and social justice was call the division of power based on the participation of tribal representatives. The passage of time has shown that the division of power between ethnic tribes has not achieved justice. Unfortunately, tribal ministers of different ethnicities have prevented all ethnic groups from enjoying the same public service. So All high-level executive positions should entrusted to nationalists, free from prejudice, so that all citizens of the country can enjoy all government services equally.

In addition, after the Bonn Conference, the Afghan government based on quota shape by the arrangements that did everything to eradicate national trust among Afghans. Nation building is certainly impossible with these arrangements. The Afghan government could have paved the way for nation building by prosecuting war criminals and rejecting them. However, justice was sacrifice for an unjust peace; Unaware that peace is impossible without justice.

3.5.8 The Role of Ethnic Leaders on National Divergence

Afghanistan is a multi-ethnic society. In such a society, citizens are mistrustful of their compatriots and consider continuing to protect their interests depends on ethnic solidarity. Ethnic leaders have many ways to continue their politics for their companions. By participation to the elections, they are organizing people's votes along ethnic lines so that they can use this pass to gain the privilege from political leaders and the international community. Ethnic leaders in Afghanistan establish political parties as cover for their ethnic activity (Barfield, 2011, pp. 54-65).

However, according to the current Afghan constitution, the establishment of parties based on their ethnicity, position and religious jurisprudence not permitted.

The point is that ethnic leaders are not honest and supportive of the interests of their fellow citizens. The lives of ethnic leaders' shows that the luxurious lives of these tribal elders are in no way compatible with the economic poverty of the poor Afghan

masses. Since ethnic leaders do not value the move towards becoming a nation in their own interests, the best way to isolate them is to give all citizens equal rights, regardless of their ethnic, religious, linguistic or ethnic identity. Under such circumstances, the citizens will not have to participate in tribal groups to gain their rights and will pave the way for national leaders to emerge.

some leaders of ethnic groups like, Ismail Khan Leader of Tajiks ethnic group in the southwest zone of Afghanistan especially in Herat province, Haji Qader Pashtun in the Jalalabad province. Burhan Uddin Rabbani leader of Islamic people's party also Tajik, general Abdul Rashid Dostom leader of National Islamic movement party, from Uzbek ethnic group, Ali Mazari was leader of unity party from Hazara ethnic group (Khalilzad, 1995, pp. 3).

3.6 External Factors

Countries in the region, such as Pakistan, Iran and Saudi Arabia, looking for the national solidarity among Afghans as detriment for their interest. For this reason, they have worked to increase ethnic, linguistic, regional and religious prejudices. Three external factors have had devastating effects on the nation-building process.

3.6.1 The Durand Conflict

While the existence of identity in a country require a defined and consolidated boundary to form national and state-nation identities within those same boundaries, the Durand conflict undermines the identity of Afghanistan as a country without a geographically consolidated territory and a defined border. The policy of the governments and governors of Afghanistan in this conflict based on ethnicity. While creating common national interests in a country ethnically and linguistically is part of the requirements for nation building (Andishmand, 2014).

The most influential factor in the foreign policy of governments and governors of Afghanistan for the formation of a modern national government and a nation-building process is the Durand Conflict. Durand's territorial and border disputes with Pakistan rough the ground for the formation of a modern and national government. The Durand Agreement named from British Foreign Minister Sir Henry Martyr Durand, that in 1893, as head of the British Government of India, he signed this agreement with Amir Abdul Rahman on the delimitation of eastern and southern

borders of Afghanistan. The emperors then ratified the agreement after Amir Abdul Rahman, including Habibullah in 1905, Amanullah in 1919, 1923, Nader Shah and in 1933, Zahir Shah until 1949. But after the independence of the Subcontinent and the formation of Pakistan, discontent arose among the ruling elite, and the Afghan parliament mentioned the treaty and other earlier treaties, Between the British and Afghan governments become annulment after the bombing of Paktia province in 1949 by Pakistan. Since then, the governors of Afghanistan with inconsistent and opaque policies, The Durand Treaty was change into an unresolved conflict between the two countries that continues to this day (Arianfar, 2016, pp. 548-549).

The policy of the governments and governors of Afghanistan over this conflict was based on ethnicity, while creating a common national interest in a heterogeneous country, ethnically and linguistically, it is part of the requirements for nation and state formation. However, Afghan rulers regarded Durand as unacceptable border that divide the Pashtuns in two country, which did not reflect the ethnic interests of the other tribes.

In the non-Pashtun political and intellectual community, the continuation of the Durand Conflict with an approach to Ethnicity seen as a means of undermining their political and social standing as citizens of the country. But tribal supporters and supporters of the claim inside and outside the Afghan government considered such an assessment and concern as national treason. It was then, that the issue of Durand became a dangerous challenge, that, it damage the development of the nation and state formation in Afghanistan. The Durand Conflict undermined Afghanistan's identity as a state without a geopolitically stabilized territory, whereas the identity of a state requires defined international boundaries to form national and nation-state identities within those boundaries (Arianfar, 2016, pp. 548-549).

3.6.2 The Cold War and Colonial Rivalries

In its contemporary history, Afghanistan has been regard as an area of competition in the colonial games of the expansionist powers, especially the Russians, the British and then the Americans. Cold War races transformed Afghanistan into a hot battlefield in the 1980s with the onslaught of the Soviet Red Army. The persistence of the war and the instability of the era that continues until today have further dispersed Afghanistan. Ethnic and linguistic divisions' widened, foreign interference

increased, and Afghanistan became a battleground for neighboring countries and territories after the Soviet collapse (Rahmany, 2018, pp. 4).

After the collapse of the Russian Tsarist government in 1917, when the Russian Bolshevik Party led by Lenin created the Soviet Socialist government, this also game continued. At the end of World War II, on the one hand, the United States replaced Britain with the Great Game, and competition intensified in the form of the Cold War between the two socialist and capitalist camps. Cold War competitions transformed Afghanistan into a hot battlefield in the 1980s. The war, which lasted for one and half decade, and the persistent instability of that era continues, has further divided Afghanistan. The ethnic and linguistic divide widened. Foreign interference in this distinction increased. The expansion of the powers of the actor and the competition between them and the inaccurate and failed policies of the governments and the governors of Afghanistan in taking advantage of these competitions, Sacrificed Afghanistan at various stages. The consequences of this sacrifice have seriously damaged the formation of a modern national government, and the nation-building process has failed. During the Cold War, especially after the collapse of the Soviet Union, Afghanistan became a battleground for regional countries. Competition and Hostility between India and Pakistan, Competition and Hostility between Shiite Iran and Sunni Saudi Arabia, Competition, especially in the last three decades, between the Sunni Arab states of the Persian Gulf and the Shiite government of Iran, in the field of Afghanistan intensity and increased. These games have brought the nation-building crisis in Afghanistan into a new phase of complexity (Arianfar, 2016, pp. 549-550).

3.6.3 External Function in Ethnic Dissent

Foreign powers, from world powers to neighbors, have consistently played a negative role in spreading ethnic, linguistic and religious heterogeneity in Afghanistan. The British played a very negative role in the division and weakening of Afghanistan after entering the Indian subcontinent. Not only this divide based on ethnicity, but also it was continually intensify between the kings and the princes of the two tribes of Sadduzai and Muhammadzai, and within each of the leaders claiming the power of both tribes. Then the soviet government have played its role for increasing the ethnic gap between Afghans. Like the colonial powers, Iran and

Pakistan also fostered ethnic and religious segregation in Afghanistan (Andishmand, 2014).

Britain, though, had made Afghanistan as a buffer country to prevent Russian influence from the Tsar and then the Soviet Union into the Indian subcontinent, but in line with its colonial goals, it sought greater dominance in sensitive areas such as Kandahar, Kabul, Quetta, and Peshawar, leading from Afghanistan to India. To this end, the United Kingdom has made extensive efforts to bring those in power in Kabul to be pro-British. This has led to political divisions and conflicts in Afghanistan, ultimately leading to social divergence and the lack of formation of single nation in Afghanistan. The British first attempted to undermine the power of the Shah Zaman, which sought to infiltrate India. Then they used from Saduzai tribe in the power struggle. In 1839, with the Shah Shaja, they signed the Tripartite Treaty of Lahore and helped him with their military forces to seize the throne. Although after the death of the Shah Shaja they leave Afghanistan but in the first war in 1842, they supported Dost Mohammad Khan's. Another example of British dissent in the battle between Abdul Rahman and Ayoub Khan the British backing Abdul Rahman and Ayub Khan was defeated. When Nader Khan and his brothers returned from France, who fought against Habibullah Kolkani, they also cooperate with Nader Khan. Tsarist Russia and then the Bolshevik or Soviet government also played an ethnic game in Afghanistan. The Soviet government, which backed the pro-Moscow People's Democratic Party, has been separately focusing on the two peoples (Khalq) and the flag (Percham) since the formation of the party. These two factions were mostly known for their ethnic identity and affiliation. Iran, Pakistan, and Saudi Arabia, as well as colonial regional powers, have fostered ethnic and religious segregation in Afghanistan (Arianfar, 2016, pp. 550-551).

3.6.4 Pakistan's Role in Increasing Ethnic Prejudice

Pakistan is a sinister legacy of the presence of British colonists in the Indian subcontinent. By undermining religious prejudice, they undermined subcontinent integrity. The federal government's failure to grant equal political rights to the Pashtuns and Baluchs of Pakistan. Moreover, it has provided the ground for their appeal to the Kabul rulers, and the Afghan rulers' positive response interpreted as an ethnic movement. By the time the press war between the Afghan and Pakistani press had peaked, Pakistani radios were introduce Daud Khan as a tribal person, thereby

adding to the ethnic cleavage of Afghan society. Undoubtedly, the formation of jihadist arrangements in Peshawar was not free of Pakistani intervention. Pakistan fears a strong national government in Afghanistan. Because such a government may make territorial claims to Pakistan's The Pashtunkhua and Balochistan, states. That is why Nawaz Sharif, the disintegration of the Afghan army and the Benazir Bhutto, considered destroying the value of the Afghan currency as their great achievement (Farhang, 2011, pp. 460-465).

The day after Mujahedeen's victory, Pakistan became one of the country to stimulate the regulatory wars. Gulbuddin Hekmatyar sent many rockets to Kabul to conquer it, thereby continuing a war whose most devastating effect was destroying the Afghan national unity. When Pakistan turned away from the Islamic Party, then with the help of Britain and Saudi Arabia, it launched the Taliban, and this terrorist group inflicted fatal blows on the national unity. Pakistan also did not give up its support for the Taliban after the fall of the Islamic Emirates and raised the issue of negotiating with the Taliban by insecure southern and eastern parts of the country. Obviously, the plan is unpleasant for the resistance arrangement, and the Taliban's inclusion in the power structure, as a Pashtun representative of the country, is an insult to Pashtun compatriots and a factor in increasing ethnic divisions. Just as Pakistan's policies in the 1970s pushed Afghanistan to the brink of disintegration, today, because of the insecurity of the South, the plan for disintegration of the country is analyzing on the table of some foreign institutions. In this regard, former Pakistani President Pervez Musharraf has repeatedly claimed that the motivation of Taliban was for violating the Pashtuns' rights, thus trying to portray the Taliban as a defender of the Pashtun people (Ahady, 1994, pp. 80-93).

One of the main tasks of the national government in Afghanistan is to make a fundamental shift in foreign policy thinking and strategy. In particular, the Afghan National Unity Government is committed to rethinking its relationship with Pakistan as the largest and most influential country in Afghanistan. Without revising foreign policy and solving difficult and complex problems with Pakistan, the problem of nation building in Afghanistan cannot be resolved. Disagreement over the Durand border, which is in fact a territorial claim on Pakistan, not only exposes Afghanistan to Pakistan's ongoing interference, and it questioned mentally, the identity of the country that set the boundary is one of its characteristic.

According to some observers, certain circles in Pakistan have recently been trying to make the United States Convince that the country has lost the war in Afghanistan. USA policies have continued to fail in Central Asia. The Russians have returned to Central Asia and are consolidating their positions in Afghanistan. The United States cannot go against the Russian strategy by relying on the current Afghan government and the methods it has adopted. These circles also point to the fact that Iran is rapidly advancing and becoming stronger with each passing day. Its influence is increasing day by day in Afghanistan. In order to prevent this loss, the circles believe, the United States must immediately halt the war against the Taliban and engage in negotiations with them. In addition, it removed most of the anti-Pakistan technocratic, and westernize elements from the government and replaced them with part of the Taliban under the name of the moderate Taliban, as well as some supporters of the Islamic Party and other Mujahedeen Pashtun parties. In addition, some parts of the Sunni fanatical Mujahedeen in the north have been re-entrenched in the state structure, thus establishing the Wahhabism and Brotherhood of a Sunni fanatical government in Afghanistan with the help of the Arab Gulf states against the Iranian Shiite government. To besiege Iran's eastern borders, pose a serious threat and thwart its plans for Afghanistan (Arianfar, 2016, pp. 299-301).

If the USA agrees to this plan, democracy will be shattered in the country, and all the gains that have made in the area of democratic freedoms, including freedom of expression, and so on, in the past years will destroy. The program will once again engage the country in endless bloody wars. This will prompt Iran and Russia to work with greater force to prevent a radical Pakistani and Arab extremist government coming to Afghanistan. This will severely disrupt the security of the north, west and central areas of the country and will lead to a total war in the country. Ultimately, it can be foreseen that Afghanistan will be divided into northern and southern parts for an indefinite period of time, in the south by Taliban and hardline Pashtun parties and in the north by a coalition of Tajiks, Hazara Shiite parties, And the Uzbeks national movement.

3.6.5 The Role of the Islamic Republic of Iran in Increasing Prejudice

The wide cultural, historical, and religious commonality between the nations of Afghanistan, Iran and Tajikistan is an obvious fact. Today's boundaries between these lands are not very old. Famous people such as Ibn Sina Balkhi, Abouriihan

Beyruni, Nasser Khosro, Ghobadiani, Zakaria Razi, Molana Jalal Uddin Balkh, Omar Khayyam, AbulFazl Beihaghi who came up in his time with philosophy, sociology, astrology, literature, mysticism, they have arisen from this common civilization. With the formation of Safavi rule in Iran, a deep religious divide was created between the eastern and western ancient Aryans. The Safavi dynasty made religion a means of gaining power and, by pretext, eliminated many of their religious opponents. The monarchy of the Safavid religion enjoyed the economic and political backing of the British. After the end of the Safavis, the Afghans ruled Iran, and then zandiyan, Afsharis and Qajars ruled Iran. In 1925, Reza Shah Pahlavi relied on the Iranian throne and thus ended the rule of the tribes in Iran. Following the Arab-Israeli war of 1973 and Western oil sanctions by Saudi Arabia, oil prices rise sharply, and Iran took major steps to increase the well-being of its citizens. Iran was rapidly moving toward industrialization, and the working class was spreading and there was some activity by the socialist currents such as the mass Party and the Fadaiyan Khalq Organization to overthrow the monarchy. In 1976, following the publication of an insulting article at Khomeini's address, religious movements revived, and Khomeini was able to use the power of the mass Party to loosen the foundations of the imperial regime. The February 22/1978 was the end of the monarchy in Iran. After imposing the jurisprudential principle on the constitution, Khomeini and his aides took longer steps to monopolize power and removed parties such as the mass party, the mujahidin khalq, the Freedom Movement, and the Muslim People's Republic from the political scene (Ghobar, 1990 pp.287-292).

At the same time, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan had begun, and the flood of immigrants to Iran had begun. The presence of Afghan immigrants in the territory of this religious state added to the religious divide between the Afghan nations. The Shiites upon hearing the words of the Iranian mullah were impressed, and the Sunnis because insult from those fanatical mullahs took spite. The result was that with the return of the refugees to Herat, the city of Islam became the largest center of religious hostility in Afghanistan (Milani, 2006, pp. 235-256).

Extra-religious marriages declined, and mosques and temples became centers of religious fanaticism. In the winter of 2005, Ashura ceremonies led to clashes between Shiites and Sunnis.

With the onset of jihad, the support of Iran's religious government covered many of the jihadi arrangements. In the 22 years of jihad, civil wars and resistance have remained few who have not experienced Iranian support. The Iranian rulers sometimes supported Gulbuddin Haktar by highlighting the common enemy of the West, sometimes relying on cultural affiliations, the Islamic people party of Burhan Uddin Rabbani and sometimes emphasizing the religious element, the Shiite jihadi arrangements. Such as the Nasr Organization (Abdul Ali Mazari), the Islamic Movement (Sheikh Asef Mohseni), the Jihad Guards (Sheikh Mohammed Akbari) and Hezbollah (Ahady, 1994, pp. 80-93).

Occasionally, the Taliban received material and spiritual assistance to prove hostility to the West. Therefore, the rulers of Iran in the last three decades are consider the main warfare in Afghanistan. With the establishment of religious rule in Iran, Saudi Arabia gained a special place in the region and spent its dollars to compete with the Iranians. With the intensification of religious rivalry between Iran and Saudi Arabia, Afghanistan, like Iraq, Lebanon, and Pakistan, became a proxy battleground for al-Saud and the velayat-e faghih.

3.6.6 Saudi Arabia's role in Increasing Religious Fanaticism

The start of the devastating role of Saudi Arabia in Afghanistan goes back to the second half of the 1970s. The Saudis at that time worked hand in hand with the governments of Iran, Egypt and Pakistan to pledge substantial economic aid to move Daoud Khan out of the Soviet Union and link the West Bloc. These provocations created a major crisis in Afghanistan and the Soviet Union that resulted in the death of Mohammed Daud and the victory of the 27 April military coup. Sadly, the leadership of the uprising fell to those who defamed the Afghan intellectuals by their biased work. The hasty revolutionary reform of the People's Democratic Party led to the discontent of the people. By joining these people in the jihadist regimes, these people prepared for overthrowing the foundations of Communist rule. Moreover, Countries such as Pakistan, Saudi Arabia and Iran have tried to exploit the pure feelings of the Afghan people to achieve their illegitimate goals. The kingdom of Saudi Arabia launched an undeclared competition with the Islamic world after the victory of the Islamic Revolution in Iran. Saudi Arabia like, its religious rival the Islamic Republic of Iran, uses religion as a means to achieve political goals (Ahady, 1994, pp. 80-93).

Many schools in Pakistan's border regions are Wahhabi propaganda sites. The Wahhabi "Islamic Unity" organization of Abdul Rasul Sayyaf provided much help. A large number of the Hanafi who living in Kunar, Nuristan and Bakhshan, converted to Wahhabism. The Saudi-led arrangements took an inappropriate treatment of Shiite and Sufis, because the Wahhabis were suspicious for being Muslim of Sufis and Shiites. With the outbreak of civil war in Kabul, Saudi Arabia was one of the main supporter of the "Islamic unity" of Abdul Rasul Sayyaf (Ahady, 1994, pp. 80-93).

Saudi Arabia, together with Pakistan and Britain, supported the Taliban. Saudi Arabia recognized Burhanuddin Rabbani as having a common interest with Iran because of its Persian language and did not consider it a reliable source, and on the other hand, the authority of Abdul Rabbi Sayyaf was inadequate. Saudi Arabia by using its rich economy, pave the way for Taliban and supported them (Tanin, 2004, pp. 411).

The Taliban saw Saudi Arabia as a model for themselves. Reasons for Saudi support from the Taliban. - The Taliban's violent approach to the Shiites. 2- Taliban alienation from Persian culture and language. 3- Securing the strategic friend of Saudi Arabia in the region, Pakistan. The Taliban now enjoy the backing of Saudi Arabia's rich and use the proceeds of Saudi oil sales to shed the blood of oppressed Afghan people (Mardse, 2001, pp. 20-23).

Saudi Arabia has played a significant role in the event in Afghanistan from establishment of religious school (madresa) until financial help for Taliban. The financial aid gave to the Taliban by the jamiat al ulama al islami party in Pakistan that this party was under the finicial support of Saudi Arabia. Saudi Arabia was the one of three country that recognized the government of Taliban and stablished diplomatic relation. After the 9/11, attack the governments of Saudi and the UAE made decision for ending the diplomatic relation with the Taliban. Taliban was deeply influenced by the Saudi Arabia and Saudi support them in various ways (Mardse, 2001, pp. 28).

If looking at the function of the Saudis in the reconstruction of Afghanistan, a few cases of Saudi activity in the field of reconstruction, and most of these small activities were aim at building propaganda bases and Wahhabism.

3.6.7 The Role of Soviet Union in Increasing the Ethnic and Regional Prejudices

The war among of the Soviet Union and Afghan democratic government against mujahidin who knows their self as soldier of god and the communistic value was in contrast to their believes began in the late 1979 and this bloody war continued until 1989. The March of 1979 was a serious reduction took place to fight against mujahidin, and in that time a rebellion took place against the existence regime in the province of Herat and nearly 5000 people killed. After that, the president of Afghanistan democratic government Noor Mohamed Taraki asked for help from Soviet Union. 1979, was only the first time that Soviet Union misuse the ethnic factor, this subject is goes back to the 1940 when the Soviet Turkmen, Tajiks and Uzbeks come into Afghanistan and stablished relationship with their compatriots and ethnic relatives, because of spying and to perform the goals of the Soviet Union, finally this was a failed plan. (Zhou, 2012, pp. 2-11).

The decision for invade Afghanistan made by the Soviet Union in the 1979. This was not, for spreading the communism or economic reason, but to control the situation and form a stable government. The leader of the soviet union consider that if they not intervening the Afghanistan the country might join with the united states and of course the presence of the USA in the Afghanistan at that time became risky for the soviet union. The leadership in Afghanistan change by the soviet army and after that, they went to other province of Afghanistan for stabilizing security. The goal of the intervention of Soviet Union was not military at all. They understand that the economic support of afghan government might change the situation and help for legitimizing the government. Therefore, a group of advisors of the Soviet Union started effort to improve the agricultural, government organization, and cohesion of party's relation with the people. After that, a big group of advisor and educator came to Afghanistan to run the cultural, social and economic programs in the country. The soviet leaders understand that at first its need to run the project of nation building and for that they needed to help and improve the people's democratic parties that it spread among the population in all over of the country and the people help for the legitimization of the party (Liakhovsky, 2000, pp. 4-17).

After the victory of the 7 April military uprising, the ground was set for the Red Army to be present in Afghanistan. Soviet forces to provide security and eradicate insurgency, they organized the militias. These militias, grouped by race and

ethnicity, were dispatch to fight with insurgents in various parts of the country. That the bitter fact was increasing the ethnic divisions in Afghanistan. For example, when Jawzjani militias led by Abdul Rashid Dostum were send to Paktia province to suppress the insurgency, a large number of Pashtuns, whether of the Khaliq, or perchami, or of the jihadis, shout objection and were oppose with the killing of Pashtuns by the Uzbeks. At the time of the Soviet military presence in Afghanistan, institutions such as the Ministry of Nationalities were established and various tribal Jirgaes were established which played a major role in disrupting tribal-ethnic identities. Of course, perhaps some of these institutions were mean to help oppressed people; but the bitter truth is that the editing of these Jirga has been a separation between the tribes of Afghanistan. The violent and sometimes criminal behavior of the Soviet Red Army led to a tendency for people to join the jihadi adjustment that based on ethnic, religious and sectarian prejudices. The Soviet Union was certainly afraid of confronting the united and powerful opposition. To this end, the Soviet Union wanted to make a difference in the jihadist classes and by fomenting different prejudices wanted to engaging its opponents in ongoing wars. This policy succeeded in part, because in the same years that the Red Army was in the country, and inter-regional wars broke out between the mujahidin and a large number of jihadi commanders joined the government of the time to prepare for the defeat of their rival commanders and thus received financial and military facilities (Tanin, 2004, pp. 294-305).

The Russians first set up a pro-government in Kabul in order to prevent Islamic fundamentalism in Central Asia, which was set up by Wahhabi Arab oil dollars. Unless they find such a government unable to prevent the advance of the fundamentalists organized with the help of Western-Arab intelligence agencies in Pakistan's tribal border, they themselves invaded and occupied Afghanistan. The biggest reason for the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan was the backing of the Central Asian countries against the infiltration of the radical Islam that supported by the USA (Arianfar, 2016, pp. 106-107).

At that time, Afghanistan was heavily dependent on Soviet economic and military aid. On the other hand, the Mujahidin forces, supported by Islamic countries, the West, and especially the United States, were becoming more powerful every day. Even USA officials were confident that the Mujahidin would overthrow the

Najibullah regime at the earliest opportunity after Soviet troops left Afghanistan. Changes in leadership of the former Soviet Communist Party, due to the prolonged war in Afghanistan and the enormous economic cost and irreparable social consequences of this war, the Soviet leaders wanted to leave Afghanistan. The Soviet war in Afghanistan lasted for ten years, and the Red Army left Afghanistan in the 1989, but left many wounds and physical and psychological wounds on both the Afghan body and the spirit of the Russian military. The Soviets failed to extinguish the popular uprising in Afghanistan with heavy equipment and a strong army; eventually they had to withdraw their troops from Afghanistan. Moreover, they give up the government and the people's Democratic Party.

3.7 Weaknesses and Mistakes in Nation Building and Nation-State Formation

One of the major and deliberate mistakes made by Hamid Karzai as head of the post-Taliban government in the path of nation-building and the creation of a modern state was the failure to strengthen political parties. Karzai did the same thing during this period that Mohammed Zahir Shah had done forty decades earlier by refusing to approve the law of political parties. Zahir Shah's mistake, in fact, made the activities of political parties unofficial and illegal, and led them to think of a military coup to gain political power. Karzai's mistake also missed the opportunity to strengthen civil society and strengthen the nation building process, and politics remained on the path of ethnicity. In 2004, Karzai established an electoral law based on a majority system or a single, non-transferable voting system, and then the voting system was approve by both houses of parliament. In this electoral system were not give any role for the political parties, while parliamentary elections are the only field of competition for political parties in the field of political struggle. Strengthening political parties is one of the requirements of political development and the growth of democracy, and transforms society from tribal and ethnic towards a civil society (Andishmand, 2014).

3.7.1 Weaknesses of nation building in the Bonn Agreement

In Bonn, Germany, some form of consensus democracy formed the basis of the post-Taliban government. In this agreement, the government's plan based on ethnicity to ensure balanced ethnic participation in political power and social justice. However, this policy has led to greater sacrifice of justice and increased ethnic cleavage. The

first signs of sacrifice for justice and disrespect for the electorate came out of the House of Bonn and out of agreement over the creation of the interim administration. Before appointing the head of the interim administration in the negotiations and the Bonn Agreement, in a selection of senior negotiating members, Hamid Karzai won the votes and, Karzai was appointed interim chairman (Andishmand, 2014).

The Bonn Agreement, based on the essential role of ethnicity in politics and political authority, was, from the beginning, a challenging diversion on the path of nation building. Subsequent assertions made in the constitution and other laws against ethnicity and the use of ethnicity in Afghan politics contradicted what was done in Bonn. What happened in the post-Bonn state and state administration all based on ethnic vision. The distribution of posts and government officials from vice presidents to cabinet ministers, and heads of government departments, and even members of parliament all came down to ethnic criteria. Even the intellectual and technocratic figures of Afghanistan who returned from Western universities and countries to play a role in government, instead of competence, they spoke of ethnic minorities and the share of ethnic groups in government organs and ministries and switched to ethnic nationalism instead of national nationalism. Government policy was introduce and promoted as a policy of national unity, with the ethnic composition of the government and the observance of a percentage of ethnic groups in various departments, especially in the military and security sectors. In the structure of the Afghan military and security forces, (army and police) ethnic composition was note with a certain percentage. In the official policy of the government and the Ministry of Defense, the percentage of ethnic minority participation in the military was as follows: Pashtun 44%, Tajik 28%, Uzbek 11% and Hazara 11%. Another shortcoming in nation building after the Bonn Agreement was the inefficient bureaucracy with weak and corrupt administration. Extensive and pervasive corruption in all economic and political spheres of government has seriously damaged the formation and consolidation of a healthy, accountable, and servant state, while purity and accountability are part of the requirements of the nation-building process (Riphenburg, 2005, pp. 39-45).

3.7.2 Foreigners' Mistakes

Foreigners, especially the United States, which was the main driver of post-Taliban political developments, made many mistakes in helping to form a nation-state. The

Americans and their European allies, especially the British, who played a key role in shaping the post-Taliban government. From the very beginning in Bonn Germany, they put Afghanistan's policy on the path of Ethnocentrism policy. The policy of decentralization in the post-Taliban political system that the Americans and their Western allies considered, and even the Afghan constitution was draft in this context, was another part of the mistakes Americans made (Andishmand, 2014).

4. SOLUTIONS

In this chapter, I will offer suggestions on establishing national convergence and ending ethnic, religious and linguistic prejudice. In the first topic political solutions, in the second issue legal solutions, in the third issue religious solutions, in the fourth issue cultural solutions and in the last economic ones will be discuss.

4.1 Political Solutions

The sovereignty over the land of a state is at the disposal of governmental institutions. Sadly, past governments have been less concerned with nation building and have prevented the formation of a correlated nation by dividing people. The new Afghan government must strive to increase solidarity among citizens in various ways, thereby minimizing social conflict. The Suggested solutions will be present. At the first part, the development of national identity based on national thinking and national politics, in the second part creation of a national government and in the third part, the solution of frontier problems with neighbors will discussed.

4.1.1 The Development of National Identity based on National Thinking and National Politics

Shaping National Identity is the first element of government as national thought and policy towards nation building. The new post-Taliban constitution in Article 4 defines national identity as "Afghan". Some non-Pashtun intellectuals and political circles in Afghanistan consider Afghans equivalent and synonymous with Pashtuns. This is consistent with past realities that even in official government documents and education curricula, until the early reign of Mohammed Zahir Shah, Afghan and Pashto used as synonymous terms in both linguistic and ethnic terms. However, when the Afghan redefined in the new constitution and introduced as national and trans-national identity, the Afghan government must in its policy and practice, transform Afghan identity into national identity. The official languages in Afghanistan are Pashto and Dari, according to the constitution and the use of a

monolingual official language in these cases is contrary to the constitution. The government in Afghanistan can play its role as a modern national government in the process of nation building by shaping national identity based on national and civil nationalism. National Identity is formed on the basis of civil and national identity when all ethnicities of Afghanistan observe their important cultural, social and historical identities and values in the symbols of national identity (Andishmand, 2014).

4.1.2 Creating a National Government

The rulers in this line of earth have been based on tribal relations from the beginning. Once upon a time the Ashkanian, the Selukiyan, the Yuftanians, and the Kushans ruled this land, and over time, Afghanistan was transform into the competitive fields of Taherian, Safariyan, Ghaznaviyan, Ghorian and Seljuk. Throughout history, the Afghan citizens have no right to national sovereignty (Farhang, 2011, pp. 4-21).

With the victory of the military uprising of 1977, family rule became party rule for the first time. Sadly, the leaders of this revolution were not devoid of any kind of fanaticism. Many scholars see one of the motives that driven leaders of the perchem or (flag) out of state power was the existence of ethnic divisions within the People's Democratic Party. With the arrival of the Red Army in Afghanistan and the flag or (perchem) being placed under the leadership of the government, the model of the former Soviet Union was raised with the issue of nationalities and a ministry was formed under the name of the Ministry of National Affairs. Jirgas of different nationalities were held to declare support for the ruling regime and thus, ethnic identity versus prominent national identity was constructed (Collins, 2011, pp. 24-34).

Alongside the Ministry of Defense armed forces, ethnic militias were organized. These forces, which were made up of tribal kettles, often went to among other tribe area to suppress the opposition and thus their struggle became ethnic. For example, General Dostum's militant onslaught on Pashtun areas caused for raising ethnic and regional sensitivities.

As the mujahidin came to power, ethnic and religious divisions in the capital of Afghanistan set up a bloodbath. The role of ethnicity in organizing jihadist arrangements was an obvious truth. The collision of these groups to gain access to its

power has inflicted such a terrible blow on the body of national confidence that it cannot compensated in the short term. In the ethnically based political environment of Afghanistan, citizens sought their rights in the form of ethnic divisions. To put an end to ethnic hostility everyone should have the right to be human and to be Afghan. When one does not feel oppressed by their ethnic identity, ethnic identity will gradually disappear and national identity will replaced. Ethnic demands during the reign of the Mujahidin imposed a black era on Afghan nation. As the Taliban came to power, oppression of other ethnic groups increased. The Taliban were violent in their dealings with non-Pashtuns, and in their emirate's leadership, the presence of Persian-speakers and Turks was few. The absence of a national government in this period caused a sense of alienation between the north and the south and brought the country closer to disintegration (Marsde, 2001, pp. 17-20).

With the collapse of the Taliban regime, the foundation of the new government tilted. Social justice was wrongly define within the framework of ethnic divisions of power. However, the right should belong to the individual and not to the folk or religious group. Every citizen must enjoy all his human and civil rights, regardless of ethnic, religious or regional identity. Discrimination is, of course, fanaticism, and in order to be free from prejudice, one must put an end to discrimination. Today, government posts are divided among representatives of different ethnic groups (Andeshmand, 2014).

This approach has many adverse effects. First, the various categories of government are not equal in terms of importance. For example, the Ministry of Defense, Foreign Affairs, Interior and Finance cannot be compared with the Ministry of Endowments, ministry of Urban Development, Housing, and Ministry of Public Benefits. Thus, the division of government posts by ethnicity cannot fully meet the expectations of different ethnic groups. Secondly, in order to divide the ethnic group into political power, the ethnic groups are demanding greater share of their claims. These claims have no efficacy but a growing social divide. Third, the warlords in such a situation have managed to transform themselves into a channel of distribution of power to their folk. Political officials thus serve the purposes of their tribal leaders rather than adhere to national interests. Fourth, the administrative units that have come to power on the basis of ethnic identity will use their power to serve their people.

Undoubtedly, all citizens of the country require the public service of any government office, not just the minister's companions. For example, under the current circumstances, whenever a person from like the A tribal group is assigned to the Ministry, the other ethnical groups will no longer benefit from the public service of that ministry. In addition, with the appointment of Minister from B, Ethnic People A are either uninterested or under-served by that ministry. Therefore, the criteria for selecting government officials in expertise, commitment, and patriotism, must be sought. Government officials must be free from any ignorant prejudice, and the government's plans must have the benefit of the nation at large. Under such circumstances, ethnic sensitivities will be reduced, and even if all high-level officials are assigned to one ethnic group (regardless of ethnicity), no sensitivity will be created. The division of government posts among the tribes does not reflect the nationality of the national partnership government. Rather, nationalization of the thinking and practice of all members of the governing body is a prerequisite for the formation of a national government. Therefore, it proposes the selection of nationalists and empowering tribal leaders will bring country to destruction.

The process of state building is more formal and practical than the process of nation building. The government create by forming political institutions, constitutional, and other institutions. But the important thing is the "nation" that can have the consistency of government. The government is the executor of the nation's will and the continuation of that government is possible as a result of the nation's consensus. If people do not see their will in the form of government, there is a possibility that the government will collapse. Nation building is not an external project. This applies to all ethnicities and the popular masses of the country that are in solidarity with one another. This sense of solidarity arises when the country's political elites understand the need to form a nation and see their own interests in the process of nation building, not in the divergence of ethnic, sectarian, and religious groups.

4.1.3 Solving Border Problems with Neighbors

The British presence in the Indian subcontinent was a prelude to colonization. However, the struggle of the Indian people led by Mahatma Gandhi caused to the liberation of that country. Nevertheless, the old colonialist, by stimulating religious prejudice, destroyed the subcontinent's integration and separated the western part of the land, called Pakistan, from the body of India. In the 19th century, Indian colonists

signed the Durand treaty with Abdul Rahman Khan. According to the treaty, areas nowadays called Pashtunkha and Baluchistan separated from Afghanistan and joined British India. When Pakistan came to terms with the combination of the two region and Sindh and Punjab, the Afghan governments of the time made some territorial claims to the western half of Pakistan. Some politicians have called for interpolation of these regions into Afghanistan and others have called for the two to be independent. These claims have made Pakistan sensitive, and since its inception, the country has put in place a policy of weakening Afghan governments. They thwarted the unity of the Afghan nation by fomenting ethnic, tribal and religious prejudices. At present, Afghanistan is extremely vulnerable to Pakistan. This country with the support of the Taliban and terrorists, made Peace and comfort in Afghanistan to unattainable ideal. The most important deprivation that the Durand Line has created for Afghanistan the lack of access to high seas.

If the Afghan government can gain the privilege of going to the open sea in return for respect for Pakistan's territorial integrity, an important step will be taken to safeguard Afghan national interests. With the resolve of Pakistan concerned about Afghanistan, That country's tendency to provoke war and promote discord in Afghanistan will diminish. However, the disruption of the balance of military and economic power between Afghanistan and Pakistan, especially in the last three decades, has made Pakistan bolder, and its militant's even dream of turning Afghanistan into the fifth pillar of Pakistan.

4.2 Legal Solutions

The legal solution refers to the solution that linked to the rule of law. These, are the dissolution of non-national parties that operate contrary to the law of political parties and based on various prejudices. This issue will be discuss the first discourse. In the second discourse, the implementation of transitional justice aimed at addressing the crimes of the past will be examine. The third discourse dedicated to the amendment of the Civil Code and the introduction of the Law on Personal Status.

4.2.1 Dissolution of Non-National Parties

The number of political parties in the country is three model. A number of these parties are rooted in jihadist arrangements. Some of them have arisen from the

analysis of jihadist arrangements. Other figures are centered around the characters. In the sense that the birth of the party centered on the person and his capital, not on a single political thought. This bitter truth has made the leadership of most parties in Afghanistan unstable and unelected. Most of these parties have come into being with ethnic and sectarian tendencies, and ethnic, linguistic, and religious interests being preferred over national interests. However, according to Article 35 of the Constitution of Afghanistan, the formation of parties based on ethnicity, language, position and religion not permitted. National parties can arise only by gathering elites, and serve them in the national interest and guide the people in the elections by presenting national programs. Many parties in Afghanistan use the advantage of the armed forces to achieve their goals and seek their existence in the presence of religious, ethnic and linguistic divisions in Afghanistan. Of course, the interventionist governments are also, by backing some political parties seeking their own illegal interests in Afghanistan. To this end, the Afghan constitution prohibits the funding of political parties from outside sources. Since the implementation of the constitution is mandatory. According to the constitution, the Ministry of Justice should, as soon as possible abolish ethnic, religious, regional, armed, and financed foreign-funded parties.

4.2.2 Implementing Transitional Justice

The means of Transitional justice in here is to investigating the crimes that took place in Afghanistan from 1979 (the coup of 7 saur) to 2001 the collapse of the Taliban system. (Independent Human Rights Commission. 2007p.3) However, the victory of the 7 saur uprising was a promise of fundamental reform in Afghanistan. But the haste of the revolutionary leaders and the emotional outbursts of the party led to public opposition to reforms such as ending unfair relations between landlords and peasants, striving for literacy, reducing marriage and death costs. Power seeking of the party leaders created a hostile competition between the people (khalqis) and the flag (perchmis) branches of the party. Large numbers of flag (percham) branch become ambassadors and fled the country and others were tortured. Each of the leaders of the party and the government tried to place the burden of responsibility on the other (Tanin, 2004, pp. 231-242).

With the conquest of Kabul by the Mujahedeen and the formation of the Islamic State, the Marxist life was over. The civil wars, considered a black page in the

history of the country had taken away peace from the Kabulis families. Thousands of people lost their lives (Collins, 2011, pp. 35-38).

The behavior of the arrangement with their enemies' captive was extremely brutal. They were not enough to kill captives. Rather, slaughter of human beings, the burning of human beings, the cutting of women's breasts, the nailing of the head, and other atrocious crimes are recorded in the black papers of inter-disciplinary wars. In addition to these crimes, the plunder of public and private property should also be mentioned. The atrocities of this period had such devastating effects on Afghan national society that it would be impossible to compensate in the short term (Independent Human Rights Commission, 2007, pp. 5-13). The Taliban also carried out mass killings in northern Kabul, Mazar-e-Sharif and Yakavolang. By destroying the Buddhist statues, the Taliban inflicted an irreparable blow to the cultural heritage of the country and with their violent behavior; they presented the world a disgusting image of Islam.

After the collapse of the Taliban regime and the emergence of a new government, the Independent Human Rights Commission of Afghanistan was established. One of the tasks of the commission is to document crime in the last three decades. In this regard, a program called Transitional Justice has been develop which seeks to address the various forms, such as the apology of criminals to victims, the confession of criminals to their shameful acts, Compensation for victims, construction of a memorial for victims and criminal prosecution of human rights violations, to accommodation the forgotten justice of the past three decades. The government's inefficiency in bringing war criminals to trial has been one of the causes of people's frustration with the current situation. Sadly, the House of Nations in the first period had become the housing for a number of war criminals. Moreover, these were the ones that, with the enactment of the Charter of National Reconciliation, created a major obstacle to the implementation of transitional justice. Until the criminals do not get their punishment, the owners of power and wealth will have no strong incentive to adhere to the law and human rights (Independent Human Rights Commission, 2007, pp. 28-36).

4.2.3 Correction of the Constitution

The trust and commitment between the government and society stems from people's real participation in political activity and power. The constitution should guarantee the participation of the people in political power in a transparent, balanced and fair manner. When a district governor and governor of a province appointed by the capital (president) and his government departments without regard to the will and consent of the people. That local ruler begins the government and administration by having the police, security, and military units in place; then it is more like a foreign occupation force than, a responsible and serving ruler. If the two principles of people's participation in political power throughout the territory of government from the capital to the farthest administrative and local unit is considered, accountability, and service to the local government, this can achieved by changing the jurisdiction of the provincial and district councils through constitutional amendments (Andeshmand, 2014).

The multiplicity of laws in the legal system of many countries has been accept. In Afghanistan, the personal lives of minority followers are subject to their own religious rules. In many countries, a common law creates a kind of integration between humans. In Afghan society, which severely affected by different types of social divisions, multiplicity of laws does not seem to be the appropriate solution because of the multiplicity of religions. The current civil law, which has been penetrant in Afghanistan for more than four decades, despites of its strengths also have some weaknesses. Adjusting this law is best responds to needs and provides justice in the best possible way is better than the rule of two different laws in the personal regulation of the two sects following the Quran and Sunnah. Jurists should strive to develop a more effective law than the current civil law by avoiding religious prejudice and by utilizing the valuable treasures of the Qur'an and Sunnah. Until the rule of law is a factor in integrating the Afghan nation. Adoption of a separate law for the personal status of Shiites should not regarded as a sign of justice, since justice means equality in front of the law, not seal of affirmation of religious division. Therefore, this question must answered in case there is a conflict of laws between the Afghan civil law and the personal situation of the Shiites. Which law should be preferred over the other? Any answer to this question will guide law enforcement to

discrimination. In that case, legal equality between the various parties miscellaneous religion will be, violated.

4.3 Religious Solutions

One of the forms of prejudice in Afghanistan is religious prejudice. Given the extreme sensitivity of the issue of religion in Afghan society, the lack of rational treatment of this problem will have serious consequences. The decisive treatment of fanatical mullahs, the intervention of the Iranian and Saudi regimes in the religious affairs of Afghanistan, the efforts of religious intellectuals to end religious divisions are essential to reducing religious divisions.

The link between anti-government insurgency and the religious community in Afghanistan is not unprecedented. The collapse of King Amanullah's reign and communist rule in the country is a great example of this. The basis of the anti-government attitude of religious institutions in this country is rooted in traditional and non-modern society. Traditional masses are usually anti-city and opposed to new values. On the other hand, the dependence of Afghan governments on Western and foreign countries has further exacerbated the anti-government behavior of the clerical community. Hundreds of tribune speak out against democracy in an atmosphere of democracy, urging their audiences to fight opposed to individual freedoms and democratic values (Arianfar, 2016, pp. 631-642). The fanatical mullahs believe that the religion prejudices are in favor of continuity of their politic and dominance. The overwhelming majority of Afghan nations follow Fakhr Kainat (PBUH), and the Hanafi, Ja'fari, and Ismaili religions serve as a criterion for religious division. Therefore, Afghanistan has a multi-religious community. Due to the numerous internal and external factors, national trust among adherents of different religions is become less. Mullahs make religion a tool for propaganda of hatred and strife. Moreover, when they speaking in the religious parties unlike their other speeches that call for the brotherhood and unity of the Islamic Ummah, They commination followers of opposing religions. A true scholar who is aware of genuine Islamic values such as pacifism, justice, compassion and wisdom will never resort to religious fanaticism. Because religion is heavenly and sacred, but sect is earthly and status. Since in Afghanistan religious identity has a great potential for violence, the failure to deal decisively with fanatical Mullahs has irreparable consequences. The

attempt to foster religious intellectuals will be a factor in countering the spread of religious fanaticism in the country.

4.3.1 Eradicating the Infiltrate of Iran and Saudi Arabia

Iran and Saudi Arabia, which, claim leadership in the Muslim world. The rivalry between Iran and Saudi Arabia, which had more of a civilization-cultural dimension before 1979, became religious after Khomeini came to power. The 1992 war between the Islamic Unity Party and the Islamic Union Party, which had good relations with Iran and Saudi Arabia, respectively, symbolized the proxy war between the two governments in Afghanistan. In the religious war of Herat in 2005, many scholars believe that the wickedness of these two regimes can be traced. Some scholars have accused Iran of supporting both sides of the conflict. However, divisive books are sometimes publishing by Iran and Saudi Arabia that have a profound effect on the extent of religious hostility among Afghan nation. Saudi Arabia was the most important donor to the Taliban. The strong religious fanaticism of this group is confirms this claim. The Saudi government was one of three recognizing the Islamic Emirate of the Taliban (Arvin, 2016).

Until the afghan government, wishes to cut the interference of these two country in the religious matter of the Afghan nation and to prevent the entry of divisive books and texts into these countries, religious prejudices in the country will not eradicate. Most Saudi aid is spent on financing Wahhabi propaganda sites. The Iranian Velayet - e - faqih also assesses the incitement of Afghans religious prejudice to their own interests. The attempt of religious intellectuals to end religious divisions also considerable here. All Muslims must strive to use the Prophet's good practice to design a superior moral model. Religious prejudices are the gaps that exist among various jurisprudential religions such as al-Maliki, Shafi'i, Hanbal, Hanafi, Zaidi, Ja'fari and so on. It should be remembered that the founders of sects have never sought to imitate their ideas. In the beginning, sect was defined as a set of jurisprudential theories and was not identity-based. Religious intellectuals need to provide the best solutions in the light of the Qur'an, Sunnah and other sources of Islamic law such as consensus and comparison.

4.4 Cultural Solutions

Ignorance is very dangerous for society. To accelerate the nation-building process, an effort to eradicate illiteracy is essential. Therefore, in the first, this issue will discussed. Moreover, the second, the fight against vicious tribal traditions has been suggest, as one of the ways to combat various prejudices.

The basic problem in the country is that. Everything measured in the balance of the clan culture. In fact, it is through the dominance of tribal culture that no one thinks beyond his or her own tribe. Therefore, tribal culture recognized as a major factor in the nation-building process in Afghanistan. Sometimes if one reaches the status of government or political power, he or she must use ethnicity as a ladder or backbone to reach the goal, therefore the Afghan politician in the history use the element of ethnicities to reach the power. In tribal thought, it is forbidden to think and give rights to any person other than his or her ethnicity, which is interpreted as a disgrace for ethnic name. The dominance of tribal culture over the existing political, economic, cultural, and social spheres of Afghanistan makes access to modernization, democracy, nation-building, and state-building a national identity of civil society and so on, and also making access to development difficult and even impossible. For obviation of the nation building's needs. Must look at its foreground undoubtedly it is impossible to get rid of this social need without breaking the clan's closed structures. Therefore, regardless of the existing cultural realities of Afghanistan, and with particular attention to merely Western experiences modeling in Afghanistan, it fails (Arianfar, 2016, pp. 631-642).

The cultural factor involves low level of literacy and awareness, Religious influences and different perceptions of tribal and indigenous traditions in society. National Culture Due to various factors such as the illiteracy of the majority of the population, ignorance of national issues, ethnic and linguistic inequalities, social discontinuities, and living of the majority of the Afghan population in neighboring countries has not been well developed. The adverse impact of illiteracy on a closed and heterogeneous ethnic and linguistic community kept people's social vision closed and developed a form of prejudice. As a result, the social and political consciousness of the people remained underdeveloped, and society trapped within the very confines of indigenous traditions.

With the victory of the coup of 27 April (7suor), extensive efforts were made to eradicate illiteracy in Afghanistan. Sadly, the inaction of some members of the People's Democratic Party with the people has failed this useful revolutionary plan. If the government of the People's Democratic Republic, first informed the public of the benefits of literacy and the disadvantages of illiteracy, and then they wanted men and women to volunteer join in literacy courses, but the plan would not fail. The illiteracy of the majority of the people of Afghanistan has given the enemies of peace and justice an opportunity to find server for their devastating plans (Tanin, 2004, pp. 231-242).

By forming the Knowledge Corps, a large number of young people ready to serve, the system can be mobilize to educate illiterate people. Thus, along with economic savings, it is also possible to train people to take consistent steps to create employment. As such, there will be no ground for the unemployed youth to join the ranks of the armed opposition. Informed and knowledgeable citizens will be able to have a more rational understanding of the peace and salvation, thus closing the door to the abusers of tribal and religious.

4.4.1 Eliminate the Obscene Tribal Traditions

Traditional and tribal culture is person oriented rather than character oriented. In tribal culture, the status of individuals is determined not by their knowledge, but by their family status and tribal. That is why tribal culture is inherently anti-development. Another characteristic of tribal culture is absolutism. Tribal politics, tribal arbitration, tribal enmity and friendship are absolute. In the tribe, people trusted in politics, they must be unanimous. Therefore, as a result, it can be said that this absolutism prevents any kind of creative thinking and innovation (Arianfar, 2016, pp. 631-642).

The judgment on tribal traditions of Afghanistan must be comprehensive. Hospitality, loyalty, and pure nature can be consider among the favored traditions of Afghans. Nevertheless, Forced marriage, tribal prejudice, and ignorance of science are some of the worst tribal traditions. Tribal prejudices besides threatening the consolidation of national solidarity, There will be a danger of war. In many cases, obscene tribal traditions are in conflict with the prevailing laws of the country and endanger the implementation of the rule of law. The purpose of the law is to provide

justice, order and security. Breaking the law will undoubtedly lead to insecurity. One of the tribal traditions is the formation of Jirga to settle disputes. Tribal leaders do not issue their decisions based on law and justice.

The identity of Afghanistan is not national or cultural because of the ethnic discrimination that makes national identity day-to-day political. Therefore, religious, national, and educational institutions should not align with ethnic groups. Doing so would call into question the authority of the country's national institutions. This, in turn, transforms the legitimate national authority into a rebellious ethnic power. These tribal traditions are vulnerable or, in other words, unreasonable support for traditional tribal eradicate values of national authority. In terms of cultural diversity, the idea that cultural differences should be respected is more than cultural validity. Therefore, a multicultural society should facilitate an environment in which ethnic groups can achieve articulated and defined dependence, and allow groups to form their genuine demands (Arianfar, 2016, pp. 631-642).

4.5 Economic Solutions

Economic solutions become very important today's. Afghanistan is a rich land with poor people. Whenever the Afghan nation have no problem economically, they can live together peacefully.

The economic poverty and the lack of government spending resulting from this poverty and the corruption of the government are driving Afghan governments to depend on foreign aid for a long time, and cuts in aid have led to the collapse of the government. This vicious cycle, which is still ongoing, is one of the major obstacles to the formation and conduct of the nation and state building process in Afghanistan. Economic poverty in society also has a profound effect. It deprives the people of their ability to reach national and social issues. People's interest in participating in political and even social activities, which is part of the requirements of nation building, does not arise in the context of poverty, even in the context of continued poverty (Andishmand, 2014).

In the country, in the past when governments turned their policies based on ethnicity with the exception of the ruling ethnicity, other tribes were not only deprived of privileges but also they were taxpayers. People from disadvantaged and marginalized

areas were not motivated to participate in the politic and their protests were always suppress by the dominant ethnic group. Economics based on tribal and tribal economics benefit and their failure to relate to national markets in a way designed to meet the requirements of the state is called threatening and dangerous national economic interests. The tribes still underestimate today's economic rituals with all its benefits, and they always want a reckless economy in which there is no place for national economy. These tribes do not only want to reconcile their cultural identity in the country and on the national level, but also to pursue common methods and practices of economic exchange based on the value of the clan in the country (Arianfar, 2016, pp. 631-642).

Afghanistan is a rich land with poor people. The mines are rich in iron, copper, aluminum, uranium and coal, oil and gas wells, seas, uphill mountains and struggling citizens, are evidence of this claim. Economic poverty is one of the causes of the tendency of the youth for join to antigovernment armed forces. When these resources exploit through accurate planning, local people will be involved and work with security forces to combat security disruptions in their own interests, thereby bringing government and people to work together. Afghanistan can take the path of industrialization by extracting its mines, along with employment. The seas of the country require that Afghanistan is not an importer of electricity but an exporter. Afghanistan is a vast country and with the improvement of the irrigation system and the mechanization of agriculture, it can achieve self-sufficiency in food supply. By securing employment in the country, Afghan immigrants to other countries can prevented. Afghans' migration to Iran and Pakistan thought to have had tragic consequences. Some Afghans in Iran lack human dignity and are humiliated by them. The dominant religious climate in Iran also pushes Sunni and Shiite religious followers to greater fanaticism. Pakistan's abuse of the presence of Afghan immigrants in the country is also an obvious fact. The Pakistan is using immigrants as a source of aid for the Taliban, which is contributing to the instability in Afghanistan. Afghanistan has the potential to become a transit hub for the region. Geographically, it links Central Asia, the Middle East, the Far East and the subcontinent. It is obvious that under these circumstances, the integration of Afghanistan's interests with the countries of the region will diminish their desire to continue the war in Afghanistan.

From a geopolitical perspective, Afghanistan is a natural extension of Central Asia, and on the other hand, consider the eastern part of Iran's geopolitical structure, and the northern slope of India's geopolitical structure. Moreover, as such, it located at the heart of three important regional geopolitical structures. Afghanistan is the only country in the world whose geopolitical status has not been determined so far. Afghanistan's geostrategic status is also a complex one. Many geo-strategists regard Hindu Kush Mountain as Asia's largest natural fortress. Near Wakhan, Afghanistan is next door to China - one of the world's major economic powers, which is expected to become a major military power in the near future. Whenever the great powers of the region consider, such as India, Pakistan, and Iran, which has one of the largest military forces in the region, Afghanistan seen as an island that located between the oceans of great global and regional powers alongside the two major energy bases of the Middle East and Central Asia. Afghanistan is as the hub of the geopolitical structures of Central Asia, the Indian Ocean, the Iranian Plateau and China as the regional highways. On the other hand, this sensitive and prominent position has made Afghanistan prestigious as a crossroads of various civilizations and cultures and a trade route for the region (Arianfar, 2016, pp. 69-71).

Following the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War, the importance of militarization diminished and competition for geo-economics status started. Therefore, the Middle East, the Persian Gulf, and the Caspian Sea region, Because of this capability become important geostrategic and geo-economics areas. These indicators have been added to the land and sea characteristics of countries as their empowering factors; because with the advancement of countries, the intrinsic importance of the sea and the land, and their combination with new components, has created a new form of geopolitics. Given the importance of geo-economics and economic power, competition for energy resources and the increasing need for energy, especially from the newly industrialized countries of East Asia and South Asia, and competition and efforts to extract, exploit and transfer energy and proposed routes, new issues open to geopolitical issues. This view called the Hartland Energy Strategic Oval, proposed by Jeffrey Camp (Safavi and Shekhani, 2011, pp. 4).

Afghanistan became important because of its proximity to the strategic oval. Afghanistan as a country outside the USA security sphere, with its proximity to important and powerful countries Russia, China, Pakistan, Iran and its strategic

position in the area of influence and proximity to Central Asian energy - Caspian Sea, It had created special geopolitical attractions for USA. In the geopolitical perspective, the United States considers the two main sources of energy supply to the Gulf and the Caspian at least until the first half of the 21st century. So one of the USA goals of attacking Afghanistan is the Eurasian Corridor Plan (Minayi, 2003, pp. 823-824).

4.5.1 Adjustment of the Economic System from a Free Market System to a Complex one and Balanced Development.

If the choice of a market economy was inevitable for economic development and attracting foreign aid to secure and expand stability, only global economic aid could not play a decisive role in this regard. Most important, was how the aid used. Whereas the favorable and effective use of foreign aid was backed by the existence of a healthy government and good governance. The crippled market economy in Afghanistan with a corrupt government that failed to exercise proper oversight became a challenge to the nation-building process. Another bitter and dangerous consequence of the market economy was the growing dependence on foreign aid. There is no doubt that the market economy has many advantages that facilitate economic growth, but the absence of the rule of law and the absence of a healthy government will make the market economy system a robbery system. The efficiency and success of a market economy in Western countries, especially in Europe, is due to the precise mechanism of government oversight of the system. But the biggest problem in the Afghan tax system after the Taliban is widespread and unbearable weakness and corruption that the government has not been able to overcome (Andishmand, 2014).

The laboring masses of Afghanistan have always suffered from various forms of discrimination. Unfortunately, the potential of all regions for economic development has not been exploit. Such discrimination leads to increased ethnic and religious prejudice. Bamyan province, for example, has many talents for tourism development. But ignoring this talent has deprived Afghan nation of a great deal of revenue. The lack of balanced development in Afghanistan has led to the rally of millions of people in major cities such as Kabul, Herat, Mazar-e-Sharif and Kandahar, thus rendering urban services of unacceptable quality. A number of political parties in the country are calling for the establishment of a federal system to resolve the Afghan

crisis. Unfortunately, in Afghanistan, there is no room for such a system. Because so far there is no single nation in Afghanistan. Therefore, the transfer of power from the central government to the local governments will provide the ground for the breakup of the country. Balanced Development across Afghanistan It could lead to the abolition of those who propose a federal government. The creation of a federal system in Afghanistan will be controversial due to the dispersion of ethnic groups in different provinces.

In 2007, survey about the drugs in Afghanistan by the UNODC shown that, the production of opium is about the 53% equal to the country's GDP. According to this survey, the entire cost of exporting drugs in 2007 in Afghanistan is about 4 billion USA dollar. The warlords in Afghanistan have dominance over the produce and business of drugs. And some of them also controlling by the other drug traffickers. The exportation of drugs especially opium from Afghanistan, has serious impact on the economy of the country. Its price and cost have considerable increase while crossing from every border. The total exportation of drugs from Afghanistan in 2007 reach to 660 ton, it is have a huge benefit for the drugs traffickers and terrorist groups to gain millions of dollar. The government oppositional groups supply their necessities from drugs, therefore the international coalition forces or NATO must work with the Afghan security forces to prevent the export and destroying the production of drugs in the country (UNODC, 2007).

In the 2017 following, the increase in drug cultivation the economic value, cultivation and trade of these drugs has also increased, said Javid Ahmed Ghaim, Deputy Minister of Counter Narcotics of Afghanistan. According to him, the value, cultivation and trade of drugs in 2017 has reached $ 4 billion to $ 6.6 billion. New estimates show that this economic value, the share of farmers was only $ 1.4 billion. Mark Colon, head of the UN Office on Drugs and Crime in Afghanistan, also said at the ceremony that the economic value of narcotics in Afghanistan accounts for 20 to 30 percent of Afghanistan's GDP. The Afghan government and the UN Office on Drugs and Crime had earlier reported that Afghan drug production also increased 87% in the last year. New polls show weak rule of law, political instability, insecurity and corruption are among the reasons for the political and security sector to increase drug cultivation in Afghanistan. Unemployment, lack of educational facilities to achieve better jobs, lack of markets for legal products and lack of

financial services for peasants are social and economic reasons for the increase drugs in the country. The survey shows that nearly 70 percent of the peasants have to pay some of taxation form drug cultivation. Most of this tax paid to armed opposition or groups (BBC News, 2018).

5. CONCLUSION

For the process of nation building to proceed well and successfully in a society, people must transcend traditional ethnic, racial, and religious identities and achieve a sense of community. Crossing traditional identities is not easy, however, and requires the creation of a collective consciousness. In developed societies, nation building precedes state building. They have come to a collective consciousness based on historical experience and have understood the necessity of collective solidarity within a nation, then attempted to form the state in its modern sense. Nation building does not result in the elimination of ethnic and religious identities; the government must develop a policy that embraces diverse ethnic, linguistic, and religious identities. In order for the government to lead people towards nation building and to make national identity dominant over ethnic, religious and linguistic identities, the government must create new values through which they can create a sense of convergence for the people and accept them, to create a national identity. The international community has sought to build the Afghan government based on the political participation of the Afghan people and to place political elites of every ethnicity within the political system so that they can bring the Afghan people closer together. However, unfortunately, in the past years, political participation did not come to its true meaning and was too symbolic and therefore not effective in the process of nation building. The Afghan government is currently in dire need of strengthening its nation building. If the government cannot promotes national convergence and creates a sense of collective self-awareness, it will also be difficult to achieve national identity and the danger of tensions and social divisions created by political tensions and disputes will always threaten the Afghan government.

The concept of nation building emerged as a modern one in the political philosophical thought and socio-political developments of the contemporary European centuries, when nationalism emerged as a process of these developments and the rule of kings and princes gave way to the idea of a nation-state and the formation of a nation-state. Until the 15th and 16th centuries, various sources such as

kings, churches, feudal lords ruled Europe. However, in the middle of the 17th century, in fact, the Peace of Westphalia (1648) at the end of the thirty-year European religious wars destroyed the power of the Church, after which the state gradually became the main source of political authority. The change in the thinking and political knowledge of Western society, especially in Europe, was one of the major consequences of the Renaissance. Numerous and various scholars have provided varied views on this subject in recent centuries. The categories of the nation state have an important place in the context of these ideas. The foundation of modern governments was based on new political ideas and knowledge.

The nation, state and national identity are among the most controversial phenomena in Afghanistan political history. The nation-building and state-building process in Afghanistan has faced many challenges and it raises many questions. Abdul Rahman Khan faced many challenges. British fears on the one hand, Russian fears, and Pashtun tribes with whom they are in political conflict on the other the dream of a centralized, authoritarian government had turned into a nightmare. The same fear led Amir to intercept any industrial and structural progress in Afghanistan. After the signing of the Durand Treaties and the Pamir Border Line, and to assured of Russian and British intervention. Attempted to overthrow the feudal and tribal structures and to reform in various contexts. After the death of Amir Abdul Rahman, his son - Amir Habibullah Khan. Follow the policy of forgiving exiles his father's era, people and he followed the same dream of his father. Afghan nationalism during the reign of Zahir Shah, under the chancellorship of Mohammed Hashim Khan has new fate; the Afghan language and identity issue become more highlighted. Given the various theories about nationalism and with nationalism the inevitable consequence of the transition to modernity, to become a nation there is need a common and inclusive language and culture, common values, history and land, communication and development tools. Then we see Afghanistan in this assumption that the absence of which aforementioned phenomena has failed the nation-building process in Afghanistan. One of the most important factors that failed the nation-building process in Afghanistan was the choice of ethnic nationalism over civil nationalism and the imposition of a tribal language and identity on the Afghan people.

Afghanistan has been tribal-oriented during the history of the narrative order of the kings and has been exclusive to the ruling clans until the date of the 27 April (7sur) of 1979. With the victory of the military uprising on April 27, 1979, the government was transfer to the People's Democratic Party Sadly, the ethnic background in Afghanistan was not unaffected by members of the party and ethnic and linguistic differences undermined the party's roots. The accelerated reforms of the ruling party at the time led to the resistance of the people, and sadly, the jihadist arrangements were center on ethnic figures. Kabul became a sea of blood in the wake of the collapse of the Marxist regime and the coming of the Mujahedeen government. The horrible crimes increased the distrust and hatred among the different tribes and religions of Afghanistan. The Taliban, like their counterparts, inflicted fatal blows on the national unity figure. It is regrettable that the governor of Afghanistan in the interim, transition and election periods lacked the ability and determination to destroy the distrust among Afghan citizens. Classifying the structure of political power by ethnicity, coalition with ethnic minorities, and issuing permits for parties, councils, and associations that are contaminated by ethnic, linguistic, religious, and sectarian prejudices. It was a move to value ethnic identities and ignore national identities. Failure to pursue justice in economic development has transformed the corrupt commanders into national and local heroes, making the provincial tribal governments good for the people of the provinces. The persistence of ethnic prejudice paved the way for the vibrant presence of the Taliban in the south and east. Ethnic supremacy consider the Taliban an appropriate one for establishing the ethnic based system. The religious rivalry between Iran and Saudi Arabia was so devastating that transformed ancient Herat province that was embodiment of Shiite and Sunni Islamic brotherhood into a center of Shiite and Sunni hostility. The sentimental and painful resurrection of true intellectuals will be the key to the opening of the national identity crisis in Afghanistan. The homeless nation is doomed to destruction. Given the increasing importance of the economy in the national and international arena, unemployment and poverty will create a sense of alienation from the compatriot. So ending economic poverty will open the way to national convergence. Ignorance has always been a source of pain for individuals and communities. Widespread cultural poverty will be an obstacle to struggling divergent tendencies. Because a person without knowledge is not capable of understanding the harms of prejudice and the provisions of reason.

REFERENCE

Ahady, A. (1994). **The Changing Interests of the Regional Powers and the Resolution of the Afghan Conflict.** Taylor & Francis, Ltd, Vol. 21,(No. 2) https://www.jstor.org/stable/30172212

Ahady, A. (1995). **The Decline of the Pashtuns in Afghanistan**. University of California Press, [online] vol 35(No.7), pp.621-634. Available at: https://www.jstor.org/stable/2645419

Arvin, A. (2013). **The heavy shadow of ethnicism on politics in Afghanistan**. BBChttps://www.bbc.com/persian/afghanistan/2013/11/131104_k02

Arianfar, A. (2016). **The Failure Roots of Nation Building and state Building Projects in Afghanistan.** 2nd ed. cologne Germany: Kaveh Publications.

Ahmadi, M. and Esmailzadeh, M. (2014). **Articles on Afghan Democracy: Opportunities and Challenges**. 1st ed. kabul Afghanistan: Afghanistan Institute for Strategic Studies. https://www.aiss.af/assets/aiss_publication/9b5fa858ef3e1556046670e9cc20796e.pdf

Arvin, A., 2016. **Extremism And Power Play In Afghanistan**. BBC News. Available at: https://www.https://www.bbc.com/persian/afghanistan

Andeshmand, **M.** (2014). **The Nation Building State in Afghanistan**. http://www.goftaman.com/index.php/prs/111-siyasi/226-dowlat-melat

Arvin, A. (2013). **Ethnicity and structure of political power in Afghanistan**. BBC https://www.bbc.com/persian/afghanistan/2013/11/131109_k02

BBC News (2019) **Ethnic Play and Political Dissent in Afghanistan**. Available at: https://www.bbc.com/persian/afghanistan-37786153

Barfield, T. (2011). **Afghanistan's Ethnic Puzzle: Decentralizing Power before the U.S. Withdrawal. Foreign Affairs**. Vol. 90 (No. 5). Available at: https://www.jstor.org/stable/23041776

BBC News. (2019**). Afghanistan profile – Timeline.** Available at: https://www.bbc.com/news/world-south-asia-12024253

Badakhshani, o. (n.d.). **Nation building in Afghanistan**. Docplayer.net. Available at: https://docplayer.net/162938620-Nation-building-in-afghanistan.html

BBC News. (2018). **the value of drug production and trade in Afghanistan**. Available at: https://www.bbc.com/persian/afghanistan-44169910

Blood, P. (2001) ed**. Afghanistan: A Country Study**. Washington: GPO for the Library of Congress, 2001. http://public-library.uk/ebooks/10/35.pdf

Borchgrevink, K. (2007) **Religious Actors and Civil Society in Post-2001 Afghanistan**. International Peace Research Institute, Oslo (PRIO)

BBC News. (2019). **Afghanistan profile.** Available at: https://www.bbc.com/news/world-south-asia-12024253

Badakhshani, O. (2011) **State & Nation Building in Afghanistan.** University of Amsterdam. https://www.academia.edu/4924263/State_and_Nation_in_Afghanistan

Collins, J. (2011). **Understanding War in Afghanistan**. 1st ed. Washington,: s, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

DOBBINS, J., JONES, S., CRANE, K. and DEGRASSE, B. (2007). **THE BEGINNER'S GUIDE TO NATION-BUILDING**. 1776 Main Street, P.O. Box 2138, Santa Monica, CA 90407-2138 1200 South Hayes Street, Arlington: RAND Corporation.

Daskalovski, Z. (2005) **Minorities in Nation-building processes a view from theories of Egalitarian Liberalism**. Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Skopje Bul. Sveti Kliment Ohridski 21/1 http://www.fes.org.mk

Folady, D. (2003) **what is Democracy**. Kabul baher publication 2th ed

Farhang, M. (2011**). Afghanistan in the last five centuries**. 15 ed. Iran, Tehran: Orphan, publication. https://drive.google.com/file/d/0BQrcblRfbfkSWhfM1hCR29yR3c/view

Gutman, A. and Avanzati, B. (2014). **Languages and Ethnic Groups of Afghanistan**. Languages gulper. Available at: http://www.languagesgulper.com/eng/Languages_of_Afghanistan.html

Ghobar, M., 1990. **Afghanistan In The Way Of History**. 4th ed. enqlab publication center.

Harrison,K and Boyd, T. 2018. **Liberalism** https://www.researchgate.net/publication/327127007_Liberalism

Haneef, T. **Introduction to Islamic Jurisprudence**. Lahore Leads University Pakistan. ttps://www.academia.edu/28391487/Introduction_to_Islamic_Jurisprude nce?auto=download

Independent Human Rights Commission. (2007). **People's Voice for Justice**. Kabul: Independent Human Rights Commission Publications, First Edition. https://www.aihrc.org.af/media/files/Reports/Thematic%20reports/Saday e%20Adalat.pdf

Jones, S. (2008). **The Rise of Afghanistan's Insurgency: State Failure and Jihad**. The MIT Press, Vol. 32,(No. 4), pp.pp. 7-40.

Keane, C. (2016). **US Nation-Building in Afghanistan**. New York: Routledge 711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017. http://lccn.loc.gov/2015030413

Katzman, K. and Thomas, C. (2017**). Afghanistan: Post-Taliban Governance, Security, and U.S. Policy**. Congressional Research Service. https://fas.org/sgp/crs/row/RL30588

Khalilzad. Z. (1995). **Afghanistan in 1994: Civil War and Disintegration.** Asian Survey, Vol. 35, No. 2. https://www.jstor.org/stable/2645023

Larson, A. and Tora, B. (2011). **Political Parties in Afghanistan**. 2030 M Street NW, Fifth Floor Washington, DC 20036 USA: National Democratic Institute.

Liakhovsky, A. (2000). **The Civil War in Afghanistan. National security and the future**. vol, 1 No (1.), 185-212. Preuzetos https://hrcak.srce.hr/18412

MARSDE, P. (2001). **Afghanistan: Minorities, Conflict and the Search for Peace**. London: Minority Rights Group International 379 Brixton Road London SW9 7DE UK. Available at: http://Web site: www.minorityrights.org

Mamdouh. I, (2011). **NATION-BUILDING AND INTERNATIONAL POST-CONFLICT ADMINISTRATION IN AFGHANISTAN**, Cairo University https://www.academia.edu/1517634/

Milani, M. (2006). **Iran's Policy Towards Afghanistan**. Middle East Institute, Vol. 60,(No. 2). https://www.jstor.org/stable/4330248

New York Times. (n.d.). **Setting the Stage for the Recount**. Available at: https://archive.nytimes.com/www.nytimes.com/interactive/2009/09/21/world/asia/0921-afghan-election-analysis.html

Ra'ees, W. (2005). **Presidential Election in Afghanistan**: Democracy in the Making. VOL 13,(NO 1, 31-47). https://www.researchgate.net/publication/277149462_Presidential_Election_in_Afghanistan_Democracy_in_the_Making

Razaq, M. (2011*). Breakdown of Afghanistan*. Said publication, St, Asmai http://www.afghanasamai.com/Dscutions-poleticalcullture/afghanasamai-2011/Razaq-Mamon-afghanistan.htm

Rahmany, G. (2018). **Challenges and Obstacles for the Formation of state and Nation Building Process in Afghanistan.** international Journal of Trend in Scientific Research and Development. 2(2), pp.16-18+20+22+24. Available at: http://www.ijtsrd.com /

Riphenburg, C (2005). **Ethnicity and Civil Society in Contemporary Afghanistan**. Middle East Journal, Vol. 59, No. 1. https://www.jstor.org/stable/4330095

Safavi. R (Yahya) and Sheikhian. M (2011) **Short-term and long-term goals of the United States in the military invasion of Afghanistan**. Journal of Human Geography, Second Year, No3 pp.1-44

Shahrani, N. (2005). **King Aman-Allah of Afghanistan's Failed Nation-Building Project and its Aftermath**. volume 38,(number 4). Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/00210860500338432

Tanin, Z (2004). **Afghanistan in ttwentieth century**. Tehran Mohamad Ibrahim shreaty Afghan publication.

UNODC. (2007). **Afghan Opium Report**. Available at: https://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/frontpage/afghan-opium-report.html

Wilder, A. (2005). **A House Divided. Analyzing the 2005 Afghan Elections**. Shahr-i-Naw, Kabul, Afghanistan: The Afghanistan Research and Evaluation Unit. https://www.refworld.org/docid/47c3f3c01b.html

Wahizy, H. (2002). **Afghanistan and incomplete structures of national identity**. Tehran,: orphan publication., pp.15-193. http://www.afghandata.org:8080/xmlui/bitstream/handle/azu/15386/azu_acku_hn670_6_a28_waaw27_1381_w.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y

RESUME

Name Surname: Farid Ahmad Seddiqi

Place/Date of Birth: Herat/Afghanistan. 21/03/1989

Education:

2010 – 2013 Ghalib Institute of higher Education – Bachelor of Law and Political Science.

2017 – 2019 Istanbul Aydin University – Master of Political Science and International Relation.

Languages:

- Dari: Native Language
- Pashto: Native Language
- English: Advance
- Turkish: Excellent

Skills:

Commutation Skills:

- Excellent knowledge of English in both writing and speaking

- Having ability of Managing, Planning and Organizing

- Familiar with Organizational Behavior

- Dealing with people of different culture

- Having ability of working in multicultural and independently

- The ability to balance work on several projects at a time

- Good Team working skills

- Excellent oral and written communications skills

Computer Skills:

 (Microsoft office) Hardware/Software/Lan
Installation/troubleshooting/Backup/Restore/Recovery