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Factors affecting the failure of the government in Afghanistan Taliban under the guidance of regional security group theory

Abstract

This current research is to examine the times and influencing factors in the formation of a failed and bankrupt government in post-Taliban Afghanistan. A large part of political and social anomalies and disorders in this country are closely related to the weakness and incapacity of the government. Historical evidences have shown that the government in Afghanistan has been unable to continuously exercise experimental governance and to provide services and basic goods such as "security, justice and welfare," weak and weak. The main question is "What factors were effective in the failure and weakness of the government after Taliban regime in Afghanistan?" The hypothesis of the article is: the high level of political violence, the low level of socio-political harmony, the main political conflict in the organizing ideology of the state, the lack of legitimacy and the weak idea of the state. It is the most significant factor that puts the post-Taliban governments at the end of the spectrum of failed and advanced governments. research method: the mentioned problem was analyzed in the framework of the security group theory with descriptive-analytical method.

Keywords: Afghanistan, regional security group, state idea, weak state, political cohesion

Afganistan'da hükümetin başarısızlığını etkileyen faktörler Bölgesel güvenlik grubu teorisinin rehberliğinde Taliban

Öz

Bu araştırma, Taliban sonrası Afganistan'da başarısız ve iflas etmiş bir hükümetin oluşmasında etkili olan zaman ve faktörleri incelemektedir. Bu ülkedeki siyasi ve sosyal anormalliklerin ve düzensizliklerin büyük bir kısmı hükümetin zayıflığı ve yetersizliği ile yakından ilgilidir. Tarihsel kanıtlar, Afganistan'daki

hükümetin sürekli olarak deneysel bir yönetim uygulayamadığını ve güvenlik, adalet ve refah" gibi hizmetleri ve temel malları sağlayamadığını, zayıf ve güçsüz olduğunu göstermiştir. Temel soru Afganistan'da Taliban rejimi sonrası hükümetin başarısızlığı ve zayıflığında hangi faktörler etkili olmuştur? Makalenin hipotezi ise: yüksek düzeyde siyasi şiddet, düşük düzeyde sosyo-politik uyum, devletin örgütlenme ideolojisindeki temel siyasi çatışma, meşruiyet eksikliği ve zayıf devlet fikridir. Taliban sonrası hükümetleri başarısız ve gelişmiş hükümetler yelpazesinin sonuna koyan en önemli faktördür. araştırma yöntemi: söz konusu sorun güvenlik grubu teorisi çerçevesinde betimsel-analitik yöntemle analiz edilmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Afganistan, bölgesel güvenlik grubu, devlet fikri, zayıf devlet, siyasi uyum

Introduction

Much of the persistent crises in Afghanistan can be attributed to the presence of a feeble and ineffective government. From the time of Ahmadshah's death, the period he led from the confederation of tribes to the establishment of a national unity government, which was blessed with the presence of foreign forces of an international character, has taken place in abundance. It is through the formation of a powerful government that fulfills the four roles such as "earning benefits, distributing resources, organizing." To be able to social events and to establish order, to control and control the crisis; But all the efforts ultimately failed and the government remained weak, inefficient and without the support of the people. In order to achieve and stabilize a powerful and effective government, three different patterns of politics have been followed, none of these have led to the establishment of a robust political framework; These three models are: "shallow unification policy, deep unification policy and civil deep unification policy" (Dehshyar, 2010, p. 65-83). Ahmad Shah pursued the policy of a shallow integration based on respect for the position of the national leaders and the tribal realities of Afghanistan, and made conciliation with the traditional leaders his top priority. Gave Dostmohamed Khan followed the policy of deep unification, which he considered as a desirable way to create a kind of powerful central government in the heart of the establishment of a strong army and an effort to control ethnicities and tribes. Amir Ahnin agreed to maximize the violence and use of military tools along with the stabilization of bureaucratic structures and administrative institutions as the way to stabilize the policy of deep integration, but Na Allah Khan, what Alesh found religious values and religious beliefs to be the most efficient way to give life to a powerful central government; He established a civil integration policy, although he was forced to leave the country in the midst of ethnic and tribal rebellions. With the fall of the one-nation government of the Taliban, the policy of civil disobedience was chosen as a new policy model in the country. After the Taliban, despite the fact that the government in Afghanistan has become international and the establishment of a powerful and efficient government structure, as well as the strengthening of its social base, have been declared as duties of NATO and ISAF. Sixth, all domestic and international efforts have failed; By studying such a situation, it can be stated that "the existence

of a weak government, the ever-changing authority over the political life of Afghanistan and placing this country in the crescent of instability" are among the prominent features of Afghanistan today. They are coming. In spite of international support, the government in Afghanistan has appeared to be more incapable than in the past in controlling the emotional and psychological nature of the masses and creating institutions that have a variety of functions and legitimacy. Therefore, this question arises that "what factors were effective in the failure of the government in post-Taliban Afghanistan?"; The hypothesis of the article is that "the reduction of political power, the high level of political violence, the low level of social-political harmony and the existence of orderly chaos" which are among the most prominent features of Afghanistan during They have been history, they are among the factors that put the post-Taliban governments at the end of the spectrum of weak and weak states. They have agreed to advance. In this research, the discussed problem has been examined within the context of the security group theory with the method of sociological explanation. The test and measurement of the research hypothesis has been carried out in two main directions: in the theoretical part, it is used to evaluate and review the weak and strong government and the factors influencing the failure of the government in the theory of the security group. wood The second axis explores the factors affecting the weakness and failure of post-Taliban governments in Afghanistan. The objective of the present study is to investigate the domains and influential factors in the formation of a failed and bankrupt government in post-Taliban Afghanistan. A large part of political and social anomalies and disorders in this country have a significant relationship with the weakness and incapacity of the government; This issue has caused the multiplication and deepening of social and political disturbances in the country.

Since the existence of a weak government in Afghanistan has some social factors, the theory of the security group also attempts to explain this issue, explaining these factors under the guidance of this theory is one of the important goals The current research is considered; Hence, the purpose of this study is to elucidate the shortcomings of the Afghan government with an emphasis on the Karzai government and national unity in the light of the security group theory. The current research is "developmental" in terms of its nature, "qualitative" in terms of its nature, and "descriptive-analytical" in terms of its type. In the collection of information, the available library and internet resources in Farsi, English and Dari languages have been used; Therefore, the research community includes the textual community. In terms of temporal and spatial considerations, the inception of this research is anchored in the administrations established post-September 11, 2001. From a local point of view, the focal point is Afghanistan, nevertheless, this nation has attained international significance due to the crisis spreading to the region and beyond, marking it as one of the hallmarks of failed governance.

In terms of thematic focus, the present research is centered on the sociological analysis and examination of the Afghan government's failure.

A- Research background

Theoretically, the aim is to link the independent variable (set of factors) to the dependent variable (government failure in Afghanistan). In order to more accurately evaluate the sources and understand the existing shortcomings and gaps, this constitutes one of the primary objectives of this research, the available literature has been reviewed in three separate sections, the most important of which will be pointed out later :

1. Effects lacking any theoretical approach and analytical model

Most of the works that have studied the failed government in Afghanistan lack any theoretical approach. Ali Qadri (2014) in an article titled "Weak Government and Strong Society" The failed experience of state building in Afghanistan" has studied the factors of the failure of the state in Afghanistan; Author, factors including the lack of strategy (strategy) of the international community for the formation of a powerful state, ignoring the external factor in the expansion of the level of violence in Afghanistan, as well as the unwillingness of political elites to oppose He considers public and collective issues that have faced the formation of a powerful government with failure. Although the author's effort in explaining the weak state factors and its pathology is worth noting, the failure to choose and use a theoretical approach or an appropriate analysis method has prevented (Qadri) from being able to Present your opinions in a more systematic way. Tamim Asi (2014) studied and analyzed the factors and indicators of failed governments in an article entitled "Successive crises: Pathology of the collapse of failed governments in Afghanistan". The strong point of Asi's effect should be considered as the main consideration of the group of factors that made the formation of a powerful state out of reach, but the failure to choose and use an appropriate analytical model or theoretical approach. It is because of the fact that the writer could not discuss his multiple and scattered discussions systematically and according to the levels. Internal, regional and international analysis studies. Aziz Arianfar (2013) tried to explain the root of failure and the lack of success in nation-building and state-building initiatives in Afghanistan. Societies explain the failure of the government well, but they do not use a suitable theoretical approach for their research topic. It has been investigated the resistance and compatibility. Mahmoud Bahush Fardeghi (2016) in his article "Review and Analysis of the Process of State Building in Afghanistan and the Advanced Challenges in the Cold War Era" has attempted a comprehensive analysis of the ineffectiveness of the state-building program in Afghanistan. A number of social factors explain the failure of the government well; In his studies, the internal factors in Afghanistan's crisis include: "ethnic composition, religious composition, linguistic composition, spatial composition and distribution of nations and population,

demand power. group leaders, illiteracy and illiteracy of the people, political views and general poverty" and The external factors of the crisis are: "neighbors, transregional governments, global powers and international institutions", however, the book is hindered by the absence of a suitable theoretical framework.

2. Resources benefiting from the theoretical approach and analytical models

The second group of resources available in the context of the failed government in Afghanistan should be understood as sources that have been explained using some kind of theoretical approach or analytical model, and from this perspective, its approach is a step beyond There are previous rejections; In this section, some effects benefiting from the theoretical approach and analytical models are examined. Abdul Qayyum Sajjadi using the model of social gaps in the book of sociology of Afghanistan; Ethnicity, religion and the Talmud government, which shows the role of the ethnic structure of the government, political tyranny and ethnic-oriented politics in the modern history of Afghanistan, one of the most significant moments in the establishment of a weak state in modern times.

Khalilullah Sardarnia and Seyed Mehdi Hosseini (2013) in the article "Social Challenges of Modern State Building in Afghanistan" have tried to explain the challenges of state building in Afghanistan from the Karzai era with the sociological method. Explain the concept of social gaps; The most important of these challenges, from the authors' point of view, are: a severe and all-encompassing identity crisis, the conflict between tradition and innovation, the crisis of legitimacy, the prevalence of tribal culture over civilian culture, and cultural poverty. - economic poverty and extreme traditionalism of the society; In total, the mentioned works as well as some research topics of Khalili and Fardghi, (1396) Noorian, (1394) Yazdan Pham, (1386) Sardarnia and Hosseini, (1393) Jahangir and Hosseini (1393) can be mentioned. and Kivan Hosseini (2013) with some contents This article has similarities, but in this article, the elements influencing the government's failure in post-Taliban Afghanistan are discussed under the guidance of the security group theory after September 11.

B-Theoretical foundations

1. The concept of a weak state

To clarify the concept, a failed or weak government is placed in a broad spectrum from a bankrupt government; Such governments are ready for crisis and vulnerable to internal or international shocks.

Failed and weak governments are governments that have not been able to perform important functions such as maintaining order and security, legislation, judging and resolving disputes, which have the least civil conditions and necessary goods. They are desperate to guarantee for their people. According to the theory of the security group as the theoretical and conceptual underpinnings of the

present study, strong states are the states that are more coherent at the internal level and move towards finding threats outside the country. On the other hand, weak states are those that do not have experienced governance and compete with supranational actors for security; Such governments are vulnerable to external threats (Bozan and Weaver 66:2007); In addition to these interpretations, the researcher has provided the following definitions in this context: Ratberg believes that the bankruptcy of the government can be considered as a spectrum that includes weak government, bankrupt government and failed government. It is sprinkled; In this case, a robust state is one that encounters a specific set of circumstances and is distinguished from the states that are classified as a weak state by some criteria. (Rotberg, 2003, p. 5) Olson It suggests that the list of failed states can include states that They are faced with serious internal problems that threaten their continuous implementation or have important internal challenges for the political order (Olson, 1993, p. 120).

2. The classification region of the states

Bozan divides the government into two general categories of "strong and weak" according to the level and degree of social-political harmony. (Krasner, 1978, p. 55) - There are different social groups, which is the criterion of their classification as Members of society are states (Bozan and Weaver, 2007, p. 62), according to the security group theory, the vulnerability of states is closely related to weak states and small powers. The weakness of small powers is deeply related to the power of other countries in a system, especially the neighbors and big powers, and frequently stems from their relatively small size or a frail system.

A kind of backwardness of the government and unstable political institutions (here in Afghanistan), exposes the government to internal turmoil and foreign interference. Compared to weak states and small powers, countries that have a potent state and are also considered a great power have much less vulnerabilities.

The internal political structures have sufficient coherence, speed of action and stability at a level that can resist any extensive intervention (Bozan, 1999, p. 137). Bozan in order to explain more the concept of the state. Strong and weak, following the common classifications, the states are divided into three general categories. It divides "pre-modern, modern and post-modern" (Bozan, 17 and 16, 1999); Basically, advanced states are at the end of weak states, postmodern states are at the end of strong states, modern states fall somewhere in the spectrum between weak and strong states.

1-2. Factors affecting the weakness of the government

Cases including "the presence of an elevated degree of political violence, the main political conflict in the organizing ideology of the state, the activity of extremist groups, the lack of a harmonized national identity with the presence of advanced national identities in the country, that does not have a clear and well-known hierarchy of political power are factors that are difficult to

define. The diagnosis of a weak state is focused on them (Bozan, 1388). Bozan, acknowledging the fact that no single factor can be sufficient in defining and explaining the difference between a weak and a strong state, It outlines the types of conditions that can be expected in weak states. Let's face them, the presence of each of them will cause doubt in the strength of the government; Therefore, the factors affecting the weakness of the government cover a wide spectrum.

In the new framework book for security analysis (Bozan and Vyor, 2007), regions and powers (Bozan and Vyor, 2007) and people, governments and fear (2008), there are several variables as factors affecting vulnerability. F states are mentioned. In the theory of the security group of the region, which analyzes the specific vulnerability of a state at the internal level from the perspective of political sociology, we identify the factors affecting the weakness of the state internally and externally. to do In internal factors, it aims at the alignment between the government and the nation, and in this way, it focuses on the connection between the social and political structure of nations. Social divides and according to Bozan, the lack of social harmony in the formation of a fragile situation and a weak government, have been very effective, and such governments are a source of regional and global internal threats. They are regarded as the instances when foreign powers intervene in the internal affairs of vulnerable nations. The use of the weak state and the explanation of the factors affecting it in Afghanistan, makes it possible to analyze the contexts and factors affecting the weak state from the perspective of political sociology. According to the theory of a weak government, in the view of the regional security group, the government in Afghanistan is very weak and fragile and has a set of sociological factors that, in the view of the security group a region has been identified to explain the weak government; In this country, the establishment of the state is based on nationalism and not political nationalism; Increasingly, the existence of government corruption, inefficiency and crisis of legitimacy, weak economy and foundation were among the weak factors and failure of the government in this country.

Bozan believes that governments are like fruits, despite having similarities, they are very diverse and different (Bozan; 2010); In this way, the government in Afghanistan has some similarities with powerful governments, but it also has serious differences.

3. Research theoretical model

Considering the theoretical framework of his research, it can be said: In general, two factors have been effective in the formation of failed governments and as a result of anomalies and social and political disorders. Which include: external factors and societal factors.

4. Factors affecting the weakening and failure of the government in Afghanistan

1-4. High level of political violence

Although all states have more or less recorded violence in their records, even the strongest states need some degree of policing against criminals, internal dissidents, and external agents (Buzan, 2011); The difference is that political violence in closed societies is a chronic thing and Afghanistan is one of these societies (Fashihi Dulatshahi, 2015); In this country, the form and volume of political violence can be studied in the form of terrorism, chaos, conspiracy and internal war. This country has been the center of rebellions, internal conflict of power, internal war and terrorism. The danger of explosions, coups and riots in this country has created a kind of constant sense of insecurity for regimes.

A high level of "violence" causes a crisis of insecurity and then a crisis of legitimacy, which in turn causes a crisis of political power and authoritarianism (Yazdani and Qasimi, 1996, p. 78). Long-standing political violence as one of the primary factors of the weakness and failure of the government in Afghanistan, in the characteristics of the power framework (Newell; 1981, p. 72-75) and social morality (Singer; 1982, p. 45-50) and life It has modern roots. Since the characteristics of the state in Afghanistan is tribal, the tribe lacks tolerance structure, violence has been used as a way to achieve the demands. Tribal codes as a guiding light of politics and government in Afghanistan have faced this country with a crisis of violence.

Emphasis on jealousy, honor, shame and revenge as the most important codes in the culture of the ethnic tribes has destroyed the spirit of national tolerance in the country, which has brought the country into the mire of violence, and this violence is a sign of vitality. Boredom is not dynamism and civility, but a kind of dullness or as Bozan says. It is a sign of political disease (Buzan, 2011). The latest example of organized violence can be found in the suppression of the Roshnaya movement in 2015; On this day, hundreds of people in the capital protested against what they called the systematic discrimination of the government, but the attack of suicide attackers on these demonstrators in the Dehamzang square killed them. A wound was placed (Taloo News, 2017).

2-4. Gaps between the society and the government - lack of national thought (idea)

In Afghanistan, an enduring tension persists between society and the government. According to Bozan, this tension between the state and the nation serves as the primary source of the utmost weakness and vulnerability (Bozan, 1390, p. 99); In this country, the national idea of the state is weak and very limited; Currently, the government in Afghanistan lacks a social base.

According to Bozan's theory, the government in Afghanistan is baseless; He writes: "If the idea of the government is well formed in the minds of the people, the basic government will not be secure." If the idea of the government is weak or weakly placed in the society, and even if it is strong but has opponents, the existing opinions find the possibility of competition with each other. The state's politics finds a fragile state" (Bozan, 2010). Adding to the fact that the government in Afghanistan

lacks public and community ideas, the idea of personal, group, ethnic and religious limits is also facing serious conflicts; These conflicts have increased after the execution of the so-called national unity government, and the gap and mistrust between the national unity government and a section of the people has created a new crisis (Farsi News, 2016) under the unity government. National tension, the tension between the government and the nation has increased. In Afghanistan, the idea of the state was either weak or non-existent; For them, this is a question of dominating an institutional part (rent) over the government department, which they have used this opportunity for their own benefit; while being viewed as one of the institutional weaknesses of the government in Afghanistan, is also one of its factors. As Jamiz Piyaza says in the social gap theory: "A country with severe social, economic, ethnic, religious or logical differences affects its political systems and it will make it weak" (Ahmadi; 2013, p. 31). The political framework in Afghanistan has remained feeble and ineffectual, primarily because it is rooted in the foundations of ethnicity and religion. Ethnicity and religion dominated politics throughout the history of Afghanistan. Politics in Afghanistan is carried out through the military through ethnic, sectarian and tribal networks (Gal, 2009 Gal, 2009). The rulers of this country, in contrast to other governments that were mainly tyrannical, limited tribal loyalties and strengthened loyalty to the government and national identity; Their main goal was to make them obedient and loyal to the government and not to change the loyalty of their members from the tribe to the government.

National identity creates an active agent, while ethnic identity enables a passive and accepting agent (Deshyar, 2008, p. 95); The result of the mentioned situation was the preservation of the power and social position of the peoples and tribes. Even Afghan nationalism has a tribal nature; In this country, xenophobia and liberalism are heavily influenced by ethnic and religious elements. Religion is also in the service of ethnicity and ethnic politics in this country; They overlap with each other in a spectacular way. The only case where religion created the structure of opposition from ethnicity was the rebellions formed against Amanallah Khan's state formation.

A person known as Malai Lang had assumed the role of the conductor (Roberts, 2003, p. 49). Moreover, rulers throughout history have limited the government to their own person and as a result, the national identity, which naturally should be the identity of the government as well, has been weakened, so personal benefit, tribalism and sectarianism In the formation of the modern political system of Afghanistan, a different element should be considered, from one side, the participation of the society. It decreases greatly because instead of giving importance to the national interests, personal, religious and tribal interests are more focused and on the other side because of the existence of centrifugal forces, it is not harmonious. Political man is highly customized. Political harmony during the era of Ashraf Ghani has suffered serious damage.

Many believe that Mr. Ghani, by creating a political circle of his relatives and people, is trying hard to revive the power of the Pashtuns and create a kind of centralized political power to save Afghanistan. Administer according to your wish (Payam Aftab Media Network, 2017).

3-4. The main political conflict in the organizing ideology of the state

In Afghanistan, various political ideologies have been employed to serve the state and have been closely intertwined with the institutional structures of the government. In some historical periods, the organizing ideology has been so deeply embedded in the government that even new schools such as "democracy and human rights" could not change it; For example, ethnic nationalism is so rooted in Afghanistan that it is challenging to envision Afghanistan without it; in contrast, certain organizing ideologies have had superficial foundations, experiencing substantial shifts in their official standing. Coxism and fundamentalism are shallow ideologies, but they have appropriated the main conflicts and have become an obstacle for the formation of an effective national government in Afghanistan.

In Afghanistan, the idea of nationalism, fundamentalism and Islam are in harmony with each other, but the idea of communism and Islam, which according to Bozan, have a universal status, have created conflicting foundations for the idea of the state, but Both of them are powerful elements that are against the territorial concept of the nation-state. (Bozan, 2010, p. 101)

4-4. Westphalian situation

Afghanistan is one of the third world countries that, according to Bozan, has overcome its Westphalian status, and this itself is considered one of the weak factors of the state. The government in Afghanistan did not emerge from the text of the nation, but from the confederation of the chief tribes; Until today, the state and the tribe have maintained their solidarity and loyalty to each other. In Afghanistan, the political nation has never been a substitute for the ethnic-tribal nation, because the political and civil nation are defined based on the right to citizenship and the will to live together, and it is assumed that the government, as a result, will Khab Azad is organized for all citizens; This cultural-ethnic nation has diversity (Salehi Amiri, 2010, p. 82), but according to Cohen, the ethnic-tribal concept of a nation does not hinge on the notion that the nation is a rational association of citizens where laws and shared principles are interconnected, but based on Ethnic roots and organic definition presentation of the nation Ranjbar, 2004). In Afghanistan, the nation is not formed based on the civil nation, but on the basis of ethnic-religious and linguistic distinctions. A civilized nation consists of people who have a common political goal regardless of ethnicity, race, color, religion, gender, and language. A civilized nation is a social principle based on equality in rights and political values, one of which is democracy. (Pamir, 2013) Considering the pyramidal social structure of

Afghanistan, its political structure is also smooth. Everything has been arranged; This structure has been officially recognized as a traditional political structure in the Ben Accords. The ethnic and tribal foundation of power in Afghanistan resulted in the centralization and monopolization of authority, impeding the distribution of power and restricting the participation of the people in political governance. This monopoly and concentration of power thwarted any avenue for the establishment of a national and modern government that could have been achieved through inclusive power-sharing (Andishmand, 2016). Ezainro Maligiri crisis in the failed states of Afghanistan, it has been exposed that the descent view of politics allows to change from a tribal political culture to a modern political culture with universal political participation. It is on the way, it is not. In fact, the traditional political culture leads to the reproduction of the tribal government, which features such as "putting the will of the ruler over the will of the law, political employment based on personal relationships, and looking away from "There is a political rival" (Arianfar, 2014, p. 136). The government in Afghanistan should be called a stateless government. A stateless state cannot succeed in performing its tasks and be efficient in providing political services and goods.

4-5. Activity of extremist groups

Extremism and terrorism in Afghanistan is the result of social unrest, weakening of the identity and idea of the state, decline of morals, lack of legitimacy and intense ethnic and religious contradictions. Indeed, the rise and progression of fundamentalism in Afghanistan are intricately linked to the profound social and political crises that ensued following the collapse of the last communist state and the ascent of the Mujahideen. They find: something that Richard Harrier Dekamjian mentions with the name of pattern of historical experience (Dekamjian, 2019, p. 55 to 60). According to Dekamjian's theory, after the fall of the last communist state in 1992 and the transfer of power to the Mujahideen, Afghanistan faced deep social and political crisis and conflicts. These conflicts together with "the existence of a guiding leader and an organizing ideology, a return to the past and an aversion to any kind of innovation and new creations", the time of the formation and emergence of the anti-modernist movement of the Taliban. Digit

Mujahideen failed to form a comprehensive national government due to reasons such as "partisanship, sectarianism, ethnic pluralism, excessive demands, lack of training and political framework (cadre)". After the failure of the Mujahideen in establishing the desired political system (ideal), the "Taliban", many of whose leaders were members of the Jihadi parties, felt defeated by this failure and the Mujahideen leaders The deviants from the path of truth and Jihad called Allah's Faisabil. The widespread gathering of the visionaries based on the organizing ideology of Salafism and Pashtunism centered on the leader Farahmand, although they confused the Mujahideen government, because of the lack of a national ideal, they could not create a strong government. not

As with the fall of the noble government, the power fell into the hands of the Tajiks and the Pashtuns found themselves outside the circle of power and marginalized. They seized the government and turned Afghanistan into a hotbed of terrorism; Therefore, between the phenomenon of the crisis in Afghanistan and the rise of the Taliban, a great and cyclical relationship can be drawn.

The ascent of the fundamentalist movement and the emergence of the Taliban can be viewed as responses to the crisis, the same lack of social harmony and weak government in the Mujahideen period are related, from this side, between fundamentalism and security threats. And the collapse of socio-political harmony and meaningful relationship is established; These are the same points that Bozan emphasizes: "The spread of extreme political ideas is a threat to national security" (Bozan, 2011, p. 140). Fundamentalism is not the only threat to Afghanistan's national security; But according to Bozan, weak states like Afghanistan leave an important impact on the regional system (Bozan, 2011, p. 335); It will also threaten security at the international and global levels, as it happened on September 11. Just as "racial, ethnic and religious conflicts" have played a role in the political life and the formation and weakness of the government in Afghanistan, the foundation also plays a basic role in the social collapse and the weakness of the government. It is responsible that this prominence should be found more in its uniqueness. Although the ethnic characteristic includes a group and there are numerous and various examples of the cultural characteristic, it seems that in the religious foundation, the cultural characteristic is more colorful and prominent.

In the types of ethnic characteristics, all or some of the cultural characteristics can be identified, especially the inherent belief and cultural superiority; Although, these features are usually hidden and hidden, but the existence of these features in various religious foundations is completely obvious and stunning; Ezainro, religious fundamentalism, is more specific than ethnic conflicts and nationalist movements (Gulmohamdi, 2011). Since the excessive specificity in the establishment has always been presented as a security challenge for the society and the government, Bozan used the metaphor of a rotten apple in the basket about the threatening ideologies against the government. is: "The mere existence of a government that is in favor of the opposite ideology, from the perspective of the principle the so-called rotten apples in the basket are perceived as a threat" (Bozan, 2011, p. 144).

4.6. Threats and security concerns

The government of Afghanistan has been very vulnerable to internal and external threats and potential and actual enemies; "Vulnerability" means that the government in Afghanistan has not been able to rely on its own abilities, possibilities and capabilities to deal with the "times, areas and situations" that are considered the weak and vulnerable points of the country. be tested or brought under control; Although this country entered into security and military alliances with NATO and the United States, it could not control its vulnerabilities.

National security in Afghanistan has not been able to protect the four constituent elements of the country, i.e. "state, land, authority and people".

The most important political commodity that every government should provide to its citizens is security. Survival or security in the framework of the theory of realism is the most important duty of the government, and basically, the government was created for this (Bisles, 2009, p. 144).

With the presence of foreign forces in the country of Afghanistan, in many areas, security is broken. Terrorist incidents and operations in different regions of this country, especially the capital, are one of the serious challenges.

Currently, there are concerns about the fall of five important cities of the country to the hands of the Taliban: "Shahr Gardiz in the southeast, Kunduz in the northeast, Ghazni in the center, Farah in the west, and Maymaneh in the north of the country." They are among the strategic cities of the country that face high security threats. And even the possibility of the fall of these cities has multiplied the worries and unrest of the people; simultaneously, the Ministry of National Defense also considers these disturbances as appropriate and serious (Tolow,News, 2017).

4-7. Reduction of political power

Governments in Afghanistan have always been weak in front of the society. The prevalence of feeble governments and fragile societal structures has been a conspicuous characteristic of Afghanistan. The accumulation of power in the heart of the society makes the government weak and under its authority or equal to it (Dehshiar, 2008). The weak government and its inability to establish security has caused an increase in security concerns in social groups and arming them to protect themselves against rival groups or the central government. Moreover, the possibility of gaining political power by these groups has become more and more possible. Today, only the Taliban and Da'esh are not enough to challenge the central government, but the spread of insecurity and the frailty of the central government in exercising unconditional authority (without conflict) in most parts of the country. The use of repressive tools is an essential requirement for the increase of social and ethnic conflicts.

If we understand power as the key to security in its general sense, each of the socio-ethnic groups has been trying to achieve this importance, willingly or unwillingly through social mobilization and military armament or possibly (sometimes) war. Shagiraneh is introduced (posen; 2014, p. 104- 105). The warlords' sense of failure in obtaining political power or participating in it has become the cause of violence and destruction in the country; This has challenged the government's power and ability to ensure security and stability. Currently, terrorist groups in Afghanistan have taken away security and comfort from the people; In addition to the mentioned 1800 groups, there are illegal armed groups related to small warlords and local thugs in the country, who are involved in drug

trafficking, usurpation of government lands and people, forced marriages. Yes, theft, robbery, trespassing and extortion are involved (Dehqan, 2013).

In the current situation, the government of Afghanistan is facing numerous and serious challenges in carrying out its duties properly and effectively, The foremost among these is ensuring security and combating organized or unorganized crimes, serving as an indication of the decline in the authority of the central government.

Insecurity in Afghanistan has caused many basic programs to come to a standstill. Insecurity has led to the establishment of hopelessness and despair in public opinion, especially in the country's elites (Abadi, 2017).

8-4 Weak political cohesion - internal conflict of power

If we accept Sahan Yozan, who means weak and strong states, i.e. their degree of socio-political cohesion (Bozan, 2010), the government in Afghanistan, because it lacks the characteristic of political-cohesion It has been a community and has been continuously involved in conflict. appeared weak and inefficient; This conflict can be seen openly in the national unity government. The conflict between political factions started the day after the presidential elections and turned into an underground fire with America's mediation. This fire under the ashes has been renewed in different regions and has exposed the government to serious challenges; The latest example is Atmar's resignation from the post of National Security Advisor; In the text of Atmar's resignation letter, it is stated that [he] resigned due to deep and serious differences with the policies and methods at the leadership level of the government regarding the preservation of national unity and consensus, ensuring peace and security. Political leadership and election affairs, good governance and strengthening of regional and international relations In recent months, the country has stepped down from its position (Voice of Afghanistan (Ava) 2017). Moreover, one of the government's function is to establish social cohesion and resolve conflicts; But in Afghanistan, the government itself has historically been a threat to social-political harmony and has turned into a party to the conflict; This objectivity is intricately linked to the theoretical facets of the matter; At this time, Bozan writes: "Weak states are not able to establish internal political and social homogeneity sufficiently or they do not have such a society at all" (Bozan, 1390). The internal conflict of power, which can be seen throughout the social-political history of Afghanistan, has prevented the formation of an efficient government and any opportunity in this direction, both theoretically and practically. It has been received from governments and rulers. The conflict of power until the 1970s was a conflict between clans, clans and the family of the king and princes of the ruling tribe (Andishmand, 2016). During the rule of Amir Abd al-Rahman, who destroyed the power structure for the advantage of the nation, this time, the conflict of power with ethnic color and smell found an opportunity to appear, and Amir Abd

al-Rahman Khan started seventeen wars in Afghanistan. Afghanistan did to suppress the heads of tribes who were mainly non-Pashtuns; In Dawood Khan's coup, this conflict gave way to the conflict of political-military parties and groups, although the hidden and unofficial motives of ethnicity should not be ignored. In the coup d'etat of 7 thor, this process intensified and continued. The conflict between Khalq and Flag factions covered a wide range of issues. One issue was the government method and how to apply the teachings of Marxism in Afghanistan. Khalq faction took a radical approach regarding this issue; However, the flag branch enjoyed the mild and soft position; Their social base and biome also affected their views and political behavior. Majority of the people had a tribal and rural life, but the flags were mostly urban. In this particular, the element of ethnicity was also not without influence because the desire of the members of the people, mostly the Pashtun tribe; But the members of Parcham was mostly non-Pashtun peoples.

In the years following the downfall of the government led by this party, spanning the era of the Mujahideen government and the Taliban government, the ethnic conflict gained the power to expand and find new dimensions, thanks to Anwar Lakh Ehti, the leader of the Social Democratic Party of Afghanistan. He called this transfer and taking over power as the fall of Pashtun rule; Part of the elements of the rise of the Taliban had its roots in this ethnic conflict (Andishmand, 2016, p. 92). Despite the change in the process of gaining power in Afghanistan after 2001 and the fall of the Taliban, it can be observed that a significant number of elections in this country were marred by controversy and accusations of fraud. The use of political power is still ineffective, and in fact, it is a new form of reconciliation between groups. , individuals and tribes have been transformed; The procedure is viewed to be the modern reproduction of the defective and inefficient structure of the past tribes and clans (Nooryan, 2015). The conflict of power in various forms made the ethnic and linguistic heterogeneity more complicated and to the same extent, it made the formation of a strong and modern national government out of reach.

A persistent factor hindering the establishment of modern and national governments in contemporary Afghanistan is the internal power conflict (Akhlaq, 2015) .Undoubtedly, "tension" increases the power of a weak state and threats. The course of developments in the last year also shows a disappointing result of internal problems and tensions. Although it seems that terrorism in the guise of Talib and Daesh are the most important threats to the survival of the government of national unity and the people of Afghanistan, but internal erosion creates more concern.

9-4. Legitimacy crisis

If the government is unable to fulfill its duties and demands, then such a government lacks necessary legitimacy (Marshal and Goldston; 2007, p. 13-14). The crisis of legitimacy and the fragility of the state have a two-way relationship, they complement each other. In fragile states, the

lack of legitimacy leads resulting in the erosion of the government's operational capabilities and services, and this consequence, in turn, ends in a severe weakening of the government's legitimacy. (OECD, 2010, p. 7-8) .The government in Afghanistan lacks legitimacy and political power due to its inability to perform basic functions in various fields, especially security and service, consequently, it emerges as highly feeble and delicate. If we assume that political power exists only for those governments that are able to establish internal peace and protection against external interference (Bozan, 1390:68), the government in Afghanistan is not the only one. Qadiri has created security in various fields for the people, which is an important source. It has been threatened.

If the government is the primary of threat to its citizens, has it not received the main justification for its existence? (Buzan, 2011); Contrary to a strong government that has a single source of power that benefits from widespread legitimacy among the people (Bozan, 2011), according to Bozan, the government in Afghanistan is still weak and has a crisis of legitimacy. You have been infected. Governments in Afghanistan were not built on the basis of satisfaction, which is the basis of legitimate command; Also, it has not benefited from the new source of legitimacy, which is efficiency, and the demands of the people from the government have never been implemented; In this regard, the people are always against the government; This is completely consistent with James Rozna's theory: "The crisis of legitimacy becomes more obvious when people start creating or joining small groups to express their demands. They are against the government" (Rozna, 2004). The government in Afghanistan has neither vertical legitimacy nor horizontal legitimacy. It has no vertical legitimacy because it lacks power. The public does not endorse the laws and regulations instituted by the government; Moreover, the people do not care about the government because the government is not the people and weak and fragile governments lack the ability to create a sense of spiritual solidarity (Rotberg, 2003).

10-4. Foreign interventions

An influencing factor contributing to the government's failure in Afghanistan is the interventions by foreign countries for the purpose of expanding influence; According to Fardhalidi, due to its weakness and poverty, this country has always been a place for regional and extraregional governments to take over (Hallidi, B: 42). The ineffectiveness of the government in Afghanistan and its confrontation with deep and critical faults in security, capacity and Legitimacy has provided the time for foreign intervention in Afghanistan's internal affairs, as a result, this country has remained weak and backward.

In Afghanistan, probably, to a greater extent than any other nation in Asia and maybe in the world, intervention has taken place (Caroe; 1968, p. 25). Afghanistan is one of the countries where

Bozan's theory, i.e. weak state and foreign intervention, has been fully applied: "A feeble state can align with the economic, political, and military interests of a powerful entity."(Buzan, 1390).

The repeated interventions of countries in Afghanistan, if it was due to the weakness and poverty of this country, it was also one of the factors affecting the increase in poverty and weakness of this country, and basically, the goal of these interventions is to weaken. This country is not another case. The weakening of Afghanistan as a strategy of regional and transregional powers has been announced and pursued many times. In order to achieve their interests, the intervening powers have tried to keep this country weak; Also, sometimes they have benefited from internal power conflicts and sometimes they have benefited from identity-cultural conflicts in order to prevent national unity and power; It was not only the country of Pakistan that implemented the scorched earth policy in Afghanistan within the framework of the Zia-al-Haq regime; But before that, England and after that, many other countries in the direction of securing their interests, made weak Afghanistan one of their political priorities. When England lost time against this country's resistance, it abandoned the policy of passive domination and adopted the policy of appeasement and deception against this country because this policy will improve the failure of Afghanistan. guaranteed.

Lord Lytton, as the individual overseeing control in India, believed: "Afghanistan is a state that is more than that, weak and barbaric, and should remain isolated and weak" (Gregorian, 1968, p. 112). The doctrine of Berjanf also led to the weakness of Afghanistan and the collapse of the state. A council based in the Burjenf region, in Afghanistan, made a military intervention to prevent the fall of a weak but socialist government; But the actions of this country did not provide the reasons for the efficiency and ability of the dependent government, which according to Giustozi, it proved to be contrary to these depictions (Giustozi, 2007, p. 81). During the occupation of Afghanistan, the international community continued the responsibility of supporting the Mujahideen until the overthrow of the affiliated government; But following the withdrawal of the Red Army and the overthrow of Najib's government, the main responsibility, i.e. the reconstruction and creation of a strong army and government in Afghanistan, was forgotten. The power struggle in the post-Soviet era made the government extremely inefficient, weak, and ultimately bankrupt and down.

With the Taliban gaining power, Afghanistan has been recognized as a failing and failed state in the international arena; This matter provided the ground for the presence of foreign forces led by the United States in Afghanistan, because the category of the sovereign states as major threats against regional and international stability. From September 11, it became more important (Francois and Sud; 2006, p. 144-145). Following collapse of the Taliban regime, these countries have been and are effective in the chaotic situation of this country, and in this regard, they should pay attention to the

classification between regional and extra-regional players and their benefits and objectives. Rick identified them in Afghanistan.

America, NATO member countries, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, and Iran, each with their own perspective and definition, have entered the field of Afghanistan and the lack of coordination in the interests and policies of the above countries along with the inability of the state. The central position in the management of the situation has made the situation worse. The destructive game of some players such as "Pakistan" in supporting violent groups has reduced the power of the weak Afghan government to find a peace solution and end the crisis to the lowest level (Keane, 2016). In the new political arrangement, "Russia, India and Iran" support the Northern Union; But some countries, such as America, Pakistan, and Arabia, favor the second group, which includes mostly Pashtuns; Therefore, these powers, with the financial and military support of various internal groups in Afghanistan, are seeking to secure their own interests, which are naturally in line with the interests of the Afghan nation, and are fueling more internal conflicts. ; This is what Bozan has theorized: foreign countries help the factions involved in the internal conflict (Bozan, 2011). The major intervening powers in Afghanistan do not have a single goal, especially in supporting the government and fighting terrorism, and this inconsistency has led the Afghan government to bankruptcy; For example, the Americans believe that NATO should root out the Taliban and bring the situation under control by increasing its military power. Therefore, in their public policy, the Americans do not want to negotiate and talk with the Taliban; On the other hand, the European NATO member countries, especially France, Germany, Italy, Spain and England, believe that the problem of Afghanistan has no military solution and only if they choose a strategy.) understanding and progressing to reconstruction and development can be expected to control the situation in this country (Office Political and International Studies, 1386); The conflict between the Afghan government and intervening powers is also a contributing factor to the government's weakness and the Taliban's rise to power.

Discussing negotiations with the Taliban is one of the controversial issues at this time. The government of Afghanistan believes that if it is decided to negotiate with the Taliban, it should be based on a calculated plan and with the coordination of the government of Afghanistan (Jaafari, 2008, p. 102); At this time, foreigners do not include the government of Afghanistan in their conversations. The British unilaterally negotiated with the Taliban in the southern provinces; These inconsistencies and conflicts have created periods of weak government and empowerment of opposing groups.

Conclusion

The results of this research have revealed that over an extended period, a weak and fragile government persisted during the National Unity Government era. Unsupportive social conditions,

long-standing ethnic-religious conflicts, weak and incomplete national identity have made the formation of a comprehensive and powerful government in Afghanistan out of reach.

According to the unfavorable social conditions, the government in Afghanistan is still weak and has failed in providing basic services and goods to the people. Ezainro, the government in Afghanistan, has been continuously facing the crisis of legitimacy and efficiency, and for this reason, it has sacrificed its efficiency and reconciliation with various extremist groups. Yassi is a negotiator; High political violence, lack of security, administrative corruption and government criminality are other factors of the weak state in Afghanistan. The failure process of the government has continued in the new eras that have come with the support of foreign powers, and in this regard, we cannot accept a break in the political history of Afghanistan.

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