Mohammad Ekram Yawar

https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3198-5212
Dr., Türkiye, ekramyawar93@gmail.com

Ethnic and Sectarian Faults and the Crisis of Political and Social Impasse in Afghanistan

Abstract

Afghanistan is an unlimited territory on the top of third world countries, which shares the geography of poverty and deprivation. The structure of government in this country is an undefined structure that does not fit into the political dictionary. The ethnic crisis in this country is the key challenge to modernization. In order to understand the situation of ethnic groups in Afghanistan and the connection of ethnic groups with political institutions and political activists, I have discussed my theoretical model regarding the unique context of ethnicism or tribal nationalism in Afghanistan. Since the composition of the Afghan population is not clear with the separation of minorities, and claims in this regard cannot be accepted. On the other hand, the Pashtuns in Afghanistan, who claim to be the majority and are persistently trying to preserve political power and the first place of political authority for themselves, consider themselves to have the undisputed right to the top of power. Such self-privileging is present in all the different classes that have been discussed in this essay, loyalty to the hegemony of political power in tribal tendencies has become a taboo whose legitimacy has also been obtained from religion and sect in the form of self-examination. The only way out of such a crisis is to experience democracy, which by touching on minimal democracies can provide the basis for inclusive and accountable political institutions.

Keywords: Minorities, Crisis, Politics, Power, Afghanistan, Government

Afganistan'da Etnik ve Mezhepsel Ayrılıklar ve Siyasi ve Sosyal Çıkmaz Krizi

Öz

Afganistan, üçüncü dünya ülkelerinin tepesinde, yoksulluk ve yoksunluk coğrafyasını paylaşan sınırsız bir bölgedir. Bu ülkedeki hükümet yapısı, siyasi sözlüğe sığmayan tanımsız bir yapıdır. Bu ülkedeki etnik kriz, modernleşmenin önündeki en önemli engeldir. Afganistan'daki etnik grupların durumunu ve etnik grupların siyasi kurumlar ve siyasi aktivistlerle bağlantısını anlamak için, Afganistan'daki etnikçilik veya kabile milliyetçiliğinin özgün bağlamına ilişkin teorik modelimi tartıştım. Azınlıkların ayrılması ile Afgan nüfusunun kompozisyonu netleşmediğinden bu yöndeki iddialar kabul edilemez. Öte yandan, Afganistan'da çoğunluk olduklarını iddia eden ve ısrarla siyasi gücü ve siyasi otoritenin ilk sırasını kendileri için korumaya çalışan Peştunlar, kendilerini iktidarın tepesinde tartışmasız hak sahibi olarak görmektedir. Bu kendini ayrıcalıklı görme hali, bu makalede ele alınan tüm farklı sınıflarda mevcut olup, aşiret eğilimlerinde siyasi iktidarın hegemonyasına sadakat, meşruiyetini din ve mezhepten de alan bir tabu haline gelmiştir. Böylesi bir krizden çıkmanın tek yolu, minimal demokrasilere değinerek kapsayıcı ve hesap verebilir siyasi kurumlara zemin sağlayabilecek demokrasiyi deneyimlemektir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *Azınlıklar, Kriz, Siyaset, İktidar, Afganistan, Hükümet*

Introduction

Afghanistan is a country in transition from tradition to modernity that needs to modernize its social, economic, and cultural institutions. And it must inevitably make major changes in its political institutions. As Darun Ajamoglu and James Robinson consider the starting point of the Third World towards modernization to be the creation and expansion of inclusive political institutions, the creation of broad institutions leads to an evolutionary cycle of development. The logic of the evolutionary cycle stems from the fact that inclusive institutions are based on the creation of restrictions on the exercise of power and the plural distribution of political power in society as required by the rule of law (Acemoglu & Robinson, 2013). In addition to the impact of the ethnic crisis, there are other combined crises such as political, economic, social, cultural, and environmental, which affect each other in strengthening and growing.

1) The political crisis is one of the serious crises in Afghanistan that has two roots: First, the internal factor related to social divisions, wars, and the centralization of power in the monopoly of a specific sector, and second, the external factor related to the interventions of regional and world countries in the internal affairs of this country. The political crisis in Afghanistan is combined with a security crisis, a social crisis, a cultural crisis, and an economic crisis.

2) The economic crisis of the country, considering its abundant natural resources and significant mines, is considered one of the poorest countries in the world, and from this perspective,

Afghanistan is in the depths of an economic crisis. The economic crisis has intensified in the shadow of the political crisis.

3) The social crisis is, in a definition, a combination of political, economic, and cultural crises, but specifically the social crisis has been affected by factors such as: social divisions, especially ethnic, linguistic, and religious, the widespread level of poverty, the group supremacy of ethnic minorities, the factor of geography, ethnic texture, and population distribution, and urban and rural differences.

4) The environmental crisis is one of the relatively hidden and unknown crises in Afghanistan, which recently has clearly affected society with its symptoms such as internal migration due to environmental degradation and loss of water resources, etc.

5) Cultural crisis Influential factors: Cultural poverty, low level of knowledge, dominance of traditional religious thinking and extremist fundamentalist tendencies, and the influence of cultures imported from abroad. Related crises: Political crisis, social crisis.

Research question: What are the reasons for the political crisis and ineffectiveness of the political system in the current conditions of Afghanistan? And what is the way out of these concentrated crises?

Research hypothesis: The political crisis and ineffectiveness of political institutions (the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan) are based on the ethnic crisis and the dominance of tribalism over the structure of society and political institutions.

Research variables: Tribalism is introduced as an independent variable and the political system (the republic) is a dependent variable.

1. Basic Concepts

1.1. Crisis

A crisis is an event that occurs suddenly and sometimes progressively, leading to a dangerous and unstable situation for an individual, group or society. A crisis creates conditions that require fundamental and extraordinary measures to resolve. Crises vary in type and severity. A crisis is a major and special stressor that causes conventional ideas to collapse and widespread reactions to arise, creating new damage, threats, risks and needs. Crises are periods that leave their mark on the face of changes related to the life cycle of organizations. A crisis is mainly a loss and annihilation, unplanned, unscheduled, unexpected and almost uncontrollable (Hosseini, 2006). The Chinese word equivalent to crisis gives a better picture of its constituent components. The word crisis in Chinese is composed of the same characters that form "danger"

and "opportunity." As well as indicating an obstacle, damage, loss or threat, crisis also indicates an opportunity for growth or decline.

1.2. Ethnicity

Ethnicity or ethnic group is a group of people whose members have the same or common ancestral and kinship characteristics. Ethnic groups also often have cultural, linguistic, behavioral and religious commonalities that may go back to their ancestors or have arisen based on other factors; therefore, an ethnic group can be a cultural community.

In slave and feudal societies, ethnicity is another type of community of people who have blood ties and share a common land, language and culture, but this community is not yet stable enough. According to Anthony Giddens,Ethnicity refers to the views and patterns of cultural practice that distinguish a given community of people (Ezdi, 2009). Therefore, ethnicity represents being distinct from other ethnic groups, and making distinctions in societies that have ethnic plurality is a fundamental part of ethnocentrism and an ethnic view of society. Accordingly, it includes personal characteristics and ethnic distinctiveness, such as social phenomena such as language, history, descent, religion, ways of dressing, grooming, and other distinctive features.

1.3. Ethnic minorities

A minority or minority group refers to a group of individuals who are different from the majority of a society that holds social power. In such circumstances, the majority may have defined its majority positions in the form of law. The differences that constitute a minority in a society can be traced to human characteristics such as ethnicity, race, religion, social class, gender, wealth, health, or sexual orientation. Members of minorities are often discriminated against by others and are at a disadvantage. Members of minority groups generally have a smaller share of social advantages such as power, wealth, and respect. A minority group is a sociological concept and the result of differences. In the social sciences, the term "minority" is sometimes used to describe social power relations between dominant and subordinate groups, and to indicate "demographic differences" within a population. Social activists may use the language of minority rights on a wide range of issues, including student rights, consumer protection, women's rights, children's rights, and animal rights.

1.4. Tribe

A tribe is a social unit formed from families, clans, and numerous groups based on descent, culture, and common feelings. Max Weber, in explaining this concept and characteristics of a tribe, says: A tribe is a group that lives in a specific territory or is united and

united by a commitment to avenge the blood of relatives, and its members are related to each other by blood or by reason (Arefi, 2002). Therefore, the definition and definition of ethnicity can be seen to be almost in general and partial correspondence with each other. Therefore, ethnicities in many societies, especially in the East, are formed from different tribes that are included in an ethnic whole with a larger ethnic identity.

1.5. Social cleavages

Social cleavages are conflicts, differences and differences in society or social cleavages are actually cracks that arise at the level of society and cause the society to disintegrate, so Afghan society has many social cleavages. And the more the number of social cleavages increases, the more the potential for differences and conflicts increases. If social cleavages are managed properly, they can be used for the dynamism of society, and otherwise, the number of cleavages can cause a major crisis in society due to their deepening. In this regard, social groups emerge along the cleavages.

2. Research Background

The discussion of ethnicism has existed since the past, but as an academic work, addressing the factors and motivations for the growth of ethnicism and its impact on politics and the structure of political power, economy, social and cultural institutions, unfortunately, political reasons have not been given much attention and have only been addressed as side factors and variables in some books, such as the book "Afghanistan's Biography" by Basir Ahmad Dawlatabadi (Dawlatabadi, 1992). "Political Sociology of Afghanistan" by Dr. Sayed Qayyum Sajjadi (Sajjadi, 2001). "Afghanistan: Geography of Crisis" by Dr. Sahib Nazar Moradi (Moradi, 2011). "Criticism of the Structure of the Political System in Afghanistan" by Dr. Mujibur Rahman Rahimi (Rahimi, 2008). "Political Development in Afghanistan by Studying Obstacles and Challenges" by Dr. Mohammad Akram Arefi (Arefi, 2002). "The Response of Tradition to Secularism in Afghanistan" by Yasin Rasuli (Arefi, 2002). "Reasons for Afghanistan's Backwardness" and Ways Out by Ali Jan Rahmani Yazdari (Yazdari, 2009). "Afghanistan and the Right to Development" by Mohammad Sadiq Dehqan (Dehqan, 2007). "Why Are We Left Behind?" by Shafiullah Karvarz Khavari (Khavari, 2012). "The National Identity Crisis in Afghanistan" by Didar Ali Mashriqi (Mashriqi, 2010). and some other articles and sources that are not available to me, especially focus on the role of tribes in Afghan politics.

3. Theoretical Framework

In general, throughout history, we have encountered two types of ethnicity. The first type of ethnicity is based on family and family interests, which usually brings to mind the words

clan and tribe. With the beginning of the migration of human societies, the second type of ethnicity emerged, which actually marked a kind of evolution of societies (countries) and ethnic groups with common characteristics came together to create a nation.

Military invasion, migration, trade and religions have caused evolution in ancient ethnic groups. At the same time, ethnic and generational differences still exist among ethnic groups living in the same country, and these differences continue to be present with ethnic births. Members of one always claim that throughout history, they have had a rich and valuable cultural background, but some historians and demographers believe that many of these cultural issues are born in recent years and have no place in the cultural background of the ethnic group. From a political perspective, the distinction between an ethnic group and a state is the lack of sovereignty and unity within the ethnic group. While ethnicity and race are related concepts, the concept of ethnicity deals more with social groups and is characterized by shared tribal interests, common nationality, common genes, religion, language, or culture, while race deals with the concept of the biological classification of "homosapins" and is characterized based on the characteristics of the genotype and phenotype.

In multiracial and multiethnic countries, dominated races have caused political conflicts by resorting to the theory of natural rights and equality of humans. The dominance of a race or ethnicity over the state apparatus has been a source of ethnic dissatisfaction and resentment. From the perspective of political sociology, the issue of ethnic and national minorities and their relationship with state power is an important issue. The term national minorities is used for specific ethnic and cultural groups that live within a country. whose government is under the domination of another ethnic group. The emergence of the problem of national and ethnic minorities within countries has been the result of the emergence of new nationalism, which has both strengthened the sense of ethnic solidarity of minorities and strengthened the nationalist feelings of the ruling ethnic group (Bashiriyah, 2000). Prejudice refers to the beliefs or attitudes of members of a group about another group. Discrimination refers to the actual treatment of them (Ezdi, 2009). Sociological concepts related to ethnic conflicts at the general level are the concepts of ethnocentrism - group exclusion and resource allocation. Ethnocracy is a prejudice against foreigners along with the evaluation of other cultures in terms of one's own culture. Group exclusion means maintaining and drawing boundaries such as non-marriage, neglect, social and economic restrictions. Ethnic minorities have the following characteristics:

1. Members of these groups are at a disadvantage because they have been discriminated against by others. Discrimination exists when rights and opportunities that a group of people enjoy are not given to another group.

2. Members of minority groups have a sense of group solidarity, that is, a sense of belonging to each other. The experience of being subjected to prejudice and discrimination usually increases feelings of loyalty and shared interests. Members of minority groups often tend to see themselves as an ethnic group separate from the majority.

3. Minority groups are usually physically and socially isolated to some extent from the larger community. They are usually concentrated in certain neighborhoods, cities, or regions of the country (Ezdi, 2009). Robert Merton has identified four possible types of majority group members in terms of their attitudes and behavior toward minorities: the first type is the determined liberal who is not prejudiced against minorities and avoids discrimination, even when it may be in their personal language. The second type is the wavering liberal who considers himself unbiased but bends to the wind if there is a loss or disadvantage involved. The third type of cowardly fanatics are those who have bigoted beliefs against minorities but act in an egalitarian manner due to legal pressure or financial interests. The fourth type of active fanatics who both have strong decisions against other ethnic groups and discriminate against them (Ezdi, 2009). Theoretical model: Given the fading of the racial debate in most countries, the ethnic and tribal structure in Afghanistan is such that it cannot be labeled a nationalist theory. Considering the performance of ethnic activists and their elites in Afghanistan, it is necessary to reconstruct a new theory of the definition of nationalism, which is that instead of the sanctity of the traditions of the ancestors, conservatism based on race and ancient racial culture, racial superiority, and blood ties that reach back to the ancestors, what distinguishes Afghan nationalism is something else, and that is the sanctity of power, the roots of which go back two hundred years, not more. It is ethnicism mixed with the madness of power and ethnic superiority in the political institutions of Afghanistan, which allows for the acquisition of power and maintaining power at any cost by any means possible, and the policy of removing religious sanctities from the upper echelons of the system is even earlier. Ethnic genocides around the world have intensified the importance of ethnocentric studies. The intensification of globalization has also had an impact on ethnic studies after the Cold War. Some see the threat of globalization as a threat to cultural diversity and believe that globalization is a project to standardize identities and cultures, while others see opportunities arising from globalization for prominent ethnic groups to show themselves more and more and consider it an opportunity to

revive ethnic identities. Therefore, our theoretical model is specifically designed for Afghanistan, which has been used in this study. In addition to our theoretical model, which is the political superiority of ethnicism using traditional tools such as religion, language, ethnic and modern subcultures, other theories have also been used.

4. Ethnicity and Population Composition

Afghan nationalism was actually formed based on the name of this land under the name Afghanistan and goes back to the ethnic tendencies of the Pashtuns. And most Afghan scholars have fueled it without paying attention to the reality of this land, Afghan nationalism is actually nothing separate from Pashtunism or Pashtun nationalism. It is interesting that within Afghanistan itself, no non-Pashtun is known as Afghan (Afghan) because when the word Afghan or Afghan is considered, the same Pashtun is meant. "This diversity, multi-ethnicity and plurality have never crystallized in Afghanistan in the process of nation-building and the development of a balanced and representative nationalism (nationalism) like multi-ethnic societies like India, to achieve national unity and national solidarity" (Rahimi, 2016). If Afghan nationalism has brought a kind of pride, arrogance and self-confidence to the Pashtuns and has embodied an imaginary superiority, but for other ethnic groups, it has been interpreted as an ideology of oppression and domination. As Sayed Askar Mousavi refers to Afghan nationalism as a taboo (Rasouli, 2007). Therefore, such nationalism has caused a crisis in national identity, in which other ethnic groups do not consider themselves to belong to a country called Afghanistan. In an ethnic state, the relationship between the ethnic groups and the state is defined in a system of deprivation. Because ethnic tyranny is a phenomenon that has its roots in the historical and social structure of this land (Rasouli, 2007). When the diversity and multiplicity in a country like Afghanistan reaches the point where "one is not satisfied with his own rights and encroaches on the rights of others" (Mansur, 2013) there is no reason for development. Anwarul Haq Ahadi (Afganistan Afgan Ulusal Partisi lideri Enver Haq Ahadi). clearly writes that the Pashtuns are the elder brothers and do not accept second place in any way. Since the Pashtuns constitute the majority of the population, the Afghan government was formed by the Pashtuns and Afghanistan is the only Pashtun government in the world, and minorities must accept the Pashtun identity.

Samsur Afghan, the author of the book Saqaw II, also states that the main factor in the crisis and unrest in Afghanistan is the failure to recognize the elder brother's rights, which means leadership in this country. Citing this book; the first time Habibullah Khan Kalakani, who is known as Bacha Saqaw in the history of the Afghan government, damaged this country, and the

second time Rabbani-Masood acted in the role of Saqaw; Of these two periods of his rule in Kabul, he calls it the second Saqavi (Mansur, 2013). The political term Big Brother is associated with fascism, the rejection of the Persian language, the fabrication of history, and the creation of fabricated civilizational resources are considered mocking programs of claiming ethnic superiority. It has turned the linguistic gap into a crisis of ethnicism that has been tried to lead to political hegemony. Ethnic diversity and heterogeneity have caused the failure of nation-building, and this country has not been created without a common national identity that everyone can consider themselves loyal to, because the interactions of the political structure revolve around a single ethnic group, accordingly, "the country's political system has been more related to population subsystems in the form of ethnic groups and tribes, rather than being related to the social system.

This has blocked the political participation of tribes and citizens, and ultimately, non-ruling tribes have always had a divergent attitude towards the power structure and have looked at the rulers with suspicion, and has caused a culture of constant conflict and strife between them and those with political power" (Navid & Bostani 2021). The Afghan government has built its foundations on the basis of ethnicity. This has exacerbated ethnic divisions in the long run and strengthened the ethnic crisis. The emphasis on ethnic-oriented characteristics and the decision of cultural policies have led to the ups and downs of these tensions, which the system will not be able to control in the long run.

Pashtunwali is a set of laws and traditions that regulate relations between members of a tribal society. The principles of these laws are based on human dignity, vindictiveness, and hospitality. And its details include: honor and dignity, respect for promises and agreements, courage, revenge or revenge, equality of tribal members, individual independence, obedience to elders and leaders, loyalty, plunder in times of war and conflict, hospitality (Arefi, 2002). The population of Afghanistan has never been known and has not been known. Which currently requires an accurate census, so every writer and historian has had an approximate statistic that the lowest figure presented is 15 million and the highest figure is 35 million. (Afghanistan in the course of history in 1967, 15,271,687 people; Afghanistan in the last five centuries in 1988, 15,000,000 people; Statistics of 1350 AH Kabul: 17,863,000 people; Estimated statistics of 1981 Kabul: 15,631,807 people; American Institute in 1990 AD 16,904,904 people; Etelaat Newspaper 9/2/1978 17,000,000 people; Etelaat Newspaper 10/2/1978 AH 19,000,000 people; Afghanistan, the victorious revolution of 1979: lands, governments and people of Afghanistan 1981 21,370,000 people; Afghanistan, Baluch tribes: 12,000,000 people; Soviet invasion and

crimes in Afghanistan: 15,000,000 people; Afghanistan written by Mahmoud Shakir 16,000,000 people; Afghanistan, the roof of the world: 15,000,000 people; Atlas of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, 1981, 16,000,000 people; Afghanistan, Diplomacy of Two Faces, 16,000,000 people, and finally, the Complete Atlas of Gita-Shaniya, Tehran, 1990, 18,630,000 people (Dawlatabadi, 1992). Relations between tribes are subject to numerous variables such as political conditions, the emergence of a common threat, private ties between tribal leaders, and legal and imaginary issues between their individuals, and the like. Tribal relations in the last century have been characterized as follows: competition and war, which have been almost the dominant logic in relations between tribes. At higher levels, competitions and conflicts are ongoing between Afghan tribes such as Pashtuns, Tajiks, Uzbeks, and Hazaras, and at the level of a tribe, they include tribes such as Ghilzais and Durrani, in the eastern regions between Shinwaris and Afridis, etc.

5. Ethnicity and the Structure of the Political System

Nowhere is a more difficult problem than that which has emerged in the ethnic context and socio-economic structure of this country. Linguistic, racial, cultural and religious differences have often been accompanied by semi-feudal, tribal and tribal social structures. A history of political instability and a primitive communication system that prevented the development of a homogeneous and unified culture has perpetuated narrow-mindedness and discouraged social unity and national integrity (Dawlatabadi, 1992). The issue of ethnicity in Afghanistan is one of the major variables that has presented the contemporary history of Afghanistan with a serious problem in all its consequences, such that: The ethnic-tribal structure of Afghan society has posed numerous challenges to the definition and formation of national identity and unity. The multiplicity of ethnicities in this country, on the one hand, and the inability to resolve and digest this reality, have created favorable conditions for extreme ethnic-tribal tendencies and prejudices. Wherever we touch the social structure of Afghanistan, the cry of ethnic and tribalism rises from it. In a situation where the issue of blood and color is fading in the world and individual and collective capabilities are attracting attention, the people of Afghanistan continue to recognize themselves and others in terms of ethnic-racial color and determine their cultural-social boundaries on that basis.

In Afghanistan, in general, every tribe has had a jirga, that is, an administrative-political association, and the government has always had an organic relationship with the tribal jirga and was, in fact, considered a continuation of the jirga. We will follow the issue of ethnicity in

Afghanistan with regard to the article published by Amanullah Shafahi on the Nai website, which has been examined at three levels of analysis and layers (Bashiriyah, 2000).

5.1 Ethnicity among the masses

National feelings and emotions are the result of the attachment that a society has to common assets, beliefs and myths. Therefore, the greater the level of national attachments and assets, the more purposeful, glorious and lasting the mobilization and concentration of national feelings and emotions to prove and create factors of national cohesion will be. However, the existence of these necessary elements in Afghanistan has not been able to find the opportunity to manifest itself well. Ethnic and tribal boundaries among the Afghan masses are defined and clear. In Afghanistan, the process of socialization is such that the people of this country think and act ethnically rather than nationally. Unfortunately, the ethnic and tribal structure in Afghanistan has made the people of this country highly dependent on their tribe and clan, so that many Afghan citizens only consider life within the protection of their tribe possible. The existence of more than 200 tribes and ethnic groups in Afghanistan, which has presented this country as the best example among countries with multiple ethnicities and cultures, has caused ethnic populations to describe themselves through patterns related to lineage, religion, or language.

Of course, linguistic or religious descriptions are at a later stage than genealogical and ethnic descriptions, and with the gathering of several tendencies, this issue must be examined within the framework of the theory of "gaps". However, what is certain is that although ideological and linguistic tendencies among the masses in Afghanistan have their place and are considered factors in the incomplete constructions of national identity and unity, it is the extreme ethnicism of the Afghan masses that has a stronger background and support. As Brent Glatzer says: Ethnic identity, due to its ancient themes, is more of an ethnic feeling than other social tendencies, which leads to specific aggression when conflicts arise (Shafaii, 2010). Just as the lack of public awareness can delay the process of national unity in a society and provide the grounds and conditions for the activation of cracks, the provision of extraordinary conditions for ethnic awareness can also be dangerous. Something we witnessed in relation to Afghanistan after the communist revolution and the beginning of the jihad in 1978. From this time on, with the weakening of central authority and the opening of external borders to the masses, the level of awareness and knowledge of the subordinate ethnic groups increased and to compensate for the bitterness and suffering of the past, they entered the social and political scenes en masse, and this issue caused a lot of friction between them and the always ruling

Pashtun ethnic group, who continued to think in the space of the past. One of the characteristics of tribal culture is strong negative prejudice towards other peoples and tribes and inappropriate behavior towards them (Yazdari, 2009) which is more prevalent among ethnic groups.

5.2. Ethnicity at the Middle Levels

5.2.1. Ethnic Scholars, Academics, and Cultural Professionals

Developed countries that have resolved their ethnic and ideological issues achieved this success when the intellectual elites in these countries realized that there was no other way except to repair ethnic and ideological gaps as quickly as possible in a reasonable and systematic manner. In this process, religious scholars, thinkers and intellectuals, cultural figures, and media and newspaper owners played a positive role, until today we find that in a country like Switzerland, which is a multi-ethnic country, there is no trace of destructive ethnic tendencies and the subsequent political and social blockage. However, in Afghanistan, the pace of movement towards the formation of a national identity by the intellectual elites has taken the opposite path. The past record of religious leaders, university graduates, and intellectuals and cultural professionals instills a sense of disappointment in people.

If we attribute the phenomenon of ethnocentrism at the level of the masses to their ignorance, how can we justify the existence of this phenomenon among the educated and elite strata? Unfortunately, looking back shows many cases where intellectual elites, either due to personal ideas or due to being in the service of the masters of power, have carried out negative and destructive actions against national unity and identity. Now, we will briefly study these people in three categories (Shafaii, 2010).

5.2.2. Ethnographic religious leaders

Religious teachings and teachings, due to their partiality and blending with the spirit and characteristics of the environment and tribe, create deep attachment and prejudice in the human groups of followers. Therefore, the level of similarity and social compactness in religious societies is very deep, lasting and unbreakable.

For this reason, religious unity and commonality can be considered as the main and important foundations of identity and national harmony. Perhaps no element can be considered as influential and decisive in ethnic relations and social structure in Afghan society as religion. The two major religions of Shia and Sunni, as well as the numerous sects related to these two religious groups that have covered the people of Afghanistan, have created a kind of binding cultural-belief boundaries among their disparate followers (Shafaii, 2010). Of course, we should not forget that we are talking about ethnicism and that religious sectarianism is not

possible in this context. At this opportunity, the discussion of the performance of religious leaders is due to their ethnicist tendencies and positions, which in this way turns intersecting gaps into dense gaps. In Afghanistan, ethnic conflicts from the perspective of religion have two distinct sides. While on one side is the Sunni Hanafi religious majority with a mix of Pashtuns, Tajiks, Uzbeks and Turkmen, on the other side is the Hazara Shia minority group. Therefore, the extremist tendencies and tendencies of religious leaders against the Hazara Shias combine ethnicity and religion and create a dense divide. In Afghanistan, several historical events in which religious leaders have issued fatwas against the Hazara Shias, taking into account the element of ethnicity and religion, and carving out a Sharia basis, are considered turning points.

5.2.3. Ethnic-oriented intellectuals and educated people

There is almost no educated person or person with any understanding in Afghanistan who would speak ill of their own people. These people are all angels of God on earth, but they are in constant conflict and conflict with each other. The main problem is that the educated unfortunately become the loud speakers of the baseless values of the people (Mashriqi, 2010). Thinkers, intellectuals and educated people, as the intellectual leaders of society, are considered a symbol of the existence or lack of national identity in a country. In Afghanistan, just as religious leaders have fallen into the trap of ethnicism in many cases, intellectuals and educated people have also not been able to pull themselves out of the woven cocoon of ethnicism as they should have and perhaps could not. This is why ethnicism at the upper levels of the masses of Afghanistan is to a large extent the product of the intellectual emanations of the educated elite. Those who often left the country without any preconceptions but returned to Afghanistan with a wave of ethnic and racial tendencies. The scope of ethnic tendencies on the part of Afghan thinkers and educated people has also extended to the current atmosphere of Afghan society. While many thinkers and university professors left Afghanistan following the start of the civil wars in 1978, many of them returned to Afghanistan with the fall of the Taliban in 2001. The least expected of these people was that years of residence in developed countries would have changed the shape of their thinking.

But in practice we see something else. In the current atmosphere of Afghanistan, where universities and scientific centers have become relatively active, talking about ethnicity, language, and religion has a high position in the thinking of the scientific and intellectual elite. It is due to ethnocentric thoughts that ethnocentrism is intermittently extended to the upper levels, that is, the statesmen (Shafaii, 2010).

5.2.4. Cultural elites and ethnicism

In Afghanistan, ethnic and racial diversity has exhibited different cultures. Separate cultural complexes are so intertwined in the spirit and levels of life of their members that they sometimes deny the opportunity and permission to interact with other neighboring cultures. But what is the position of those whom we know here as cultural elites in the process of ethnicism and ethnic divisions? The meaning of cultural elites is clear. Those who have their hands on fire in the cultural sphere of society, teachers, masters of newspapers and media, artists and all those who are placed in the middle levels through culture. Just as we considered the level of ethnicism among religious leaders and scientific-intellectual elites to be high, this hypothesis is also true in relation to cultural elites. All those who narrate the past speak of extreme discrimination among students by their teachers. In Afghanistan, the low level of primary education on the one hand and the prejudices of teachers belonging to the ruling Pashtun ethnic group who were sent to non-Pashtun areas on the other have caused additional suffering to students from ethnic minorities.

History testifies that new schools became popular in minority areas much later than in other areas, but even then, due to the blind prejudices of their teachers, who were often illiterate, minority children would graduate from school illiterate after years of education (Shafaii, 2010). With the advent of the Marxist revolution and the rise of the Mujahideen, the political and subsequent cultural atmosphere changed completely, and following the formation of ethnic groups and parties, ethnic cultural figures were raised inside and outside Afghanistan, which resulted in the existence of extremist affiliations among cultural figures, which is evident in the current atmosphere of Afghanistan.

A country where ethnicism is currently clearly visible in its cultural arenas, and in the private arenas, media, press, and even artistic activities are carried out in a completely segregated manner by ethnic affiliates. The production and distribution of several movies, including "The Kite Runner" in 2006, in which the Hazara ethnic minority was brazenly insulted, is a good example of the presence of ethnicism in today's Afghan art scene. Ethnic elites, using cultural elements, create an ethnic identity separate from the identity of other members of the population of the land, but also create a gap between ethnic groups in the competition for political power (Shafaii, 2010).

5.2.5. Ethnic groups and parties

Ethnic parties and groups are a subject of much debate in the middle levels of Afghan society. There is no long history of political parties and groups in Afghanistan. Because until

the last forty years, there were no political parties and groups in Afghanistan to speak of whether they were ethnic or not. The few resistances that have taken place against past governments, especially by the Hazaras, cannot be given a partisan or political color, but can only be considered at the level of the rebellions themselves. With the political developments in the last three to four decades in Afghanistan, the discussion of parties and groups that were founded on ethnic lines, thought ethnically, and acted ethnically is very extensive (Shafaii, 2010). From the first social experiences to the last political and military events in Afghanistan over the past half century when political parties, organizations, and social institutions were established, it is clear that the formation and future growth of left and right parties in the country has been based primarily on the presence and participation of the tribe related to the leaders in these parties (Moradi, 2011). The first traces of ethnic parties can be traced back to 1947. Three reformist parties participated in the elections for the Seventh Majlis of Afghanistan. The "Watan" and "Nidai Khalq" parties had specific tendencies among the Persian-speaking representatives and belonged to non-ruling tribes, and in contrast to these two, a third party called "Wish Zalmian" was formed with a Pashtunist tendency. Shortly before the beginning of the Daoud Khani Republic (1973), many educated Afghans who had gone to Western countries, especially Russia, returned to Afghanistan. These people founded the "People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan" with a strong Marxist orientation. In 1945, this party split into two parties, the "People's Democratic Party" and the "Flag". In this split, the ethnic and linguistic orientations of individuals in both groups showed their serious influence. The list of names of the central members of both factions clearly shows the ethnic, linguistic and partisan orientations of the party members. The Khalqis had more nationalistic aspirations in their approach and feelings than the Parchamis, the Khalqis were more related to the Pashtuns of Afghanistan. In the meantime, two parties, "Afghan Millat" and "Stam Milli", also emerged, both of which were founded with names and slogans that smelled of ethnicism. The Afghan Millat Party was founded by Mohammad Farhad, and the majority of its members were Pashtuns, often with Marxist ideology and accused of racist tendencies and ethnic and linguistic prejudices. The majority of Afghan Millat members were Pashtuns, especially the youth of the tribes and border areas.

This is because the main slogan of this party, which advocated Pashtunistan, was very attractive to the people and tribes of the border areas of Pashtunistan, and other ethnic groups were not seen among them. This party later lost its importance and influence due to its racist ideas and

ethnic and linguistic prejudices. The Setam Milli Party is another ethnic party that was founded at the same time and exactly against the goals of the Afghan Millat Party.

In fact, this party, led by Tahir Badakhshi, was from non-Pashtun ethnic groups, and under the name "Setam Milli", they wanted to pretend that Pashtuns had oppressed other ethnic groups for two centuries. "The national oppression approach was to unite the youth of nationalities deprived of political power (Uzbek, Hazara, Tajik) in a political organization and work towards achieving their civil and political rights." However, the members of this party still considered themselves loyal to Marxist ideals (Shafaii, 2010).

5.2.6. Ethnic Jihadi Parties

In fact, the peak of ethnic parties in Afghanistan should be studied in terms of jihadi parties. After the Marxist coup by Nur Mohammad Taraki and the Afghan army and the overthrow of the newly established regime of the Republic of Daoud Khan in Afghanistan, parties emerged from the masses and the middle classes, which can be said to be all ethnic parties.

The numerous parties that were called jihadi parties at that time were armed groups that were established by like-minded people from the same ethnicity and selected their combat forces mainly from within their tribe, while sometimes they called themselves national and used the suffix "Afghanistan" (Shafaii, 2010). Political and jihadi parties in Afghanistan, influenced by the traditional model of Afghan social structure, have remained confined to ethnic networks and kinship relations in society, and the political knowledge of the political elites of the parties has been formed as a result of their political orientation and methods based on ethnic customs, behavior, and attitudes. Finally, ethnicity has played a decisive role in political competition and participation in central governance. Parties in the current situation in Afghanistan are not in a very different situation from what we saw during the jihad.

The only difference is that the militarism of the parties has been reduced to some extent. Currently, there are nearly a hundred legal parties in Afghanistan, and it can be said with certainty that if any party succeeds in going beyond the level of registration and statutes and recruiting members from among the masses, they will only succeed in recruiting members from among the youth and educated people of their own race, and it is these people who are looking forward to the votes of the masses of the same roots during the election process (Shafaii, 2010).

5.3 Ethnicity at the Upper Levels

The upper level refers to those at the top of the pyramid of a society. The few who have the power to fulfill their desires and impose their will on the majority of society. In a general

sense, the upper level includes rulers and statesmen, which include all the powers, institutions, and executive, legislative, and judicial organs of a country. Since the power to make decisions and implement them is in the hands of this level of society, its responsibility for its results is very important and sensitive. In general, the good and bad of a country and society depends on the performance of this group. Political ethnicism is widely intertwined in the thinking of Pashtun leaders, as Nazifullah Shahrani says: The Arabs have a proverb in this regard: "I am against my brother, I am with my brother against my cousin, I, my brother, and my cousin against others and the people of the world." In anthropology, there is also a theory about such a structure in tribal societies. The meaning of this proverb is that whoever feels a racial and ethnic rivalry, when they are in a dispute, those who are closer to one side will form a group or coalition with each other. In this regard, in the internal issues of the Pashtun brothers and the issue of power in Afghanistan, considering the historical disputes that have been and are still ongoing between the Durrani and Ghalja tribes, but in the third pillar, their dispute is against non-Pashtuns. That is, there is an internal conflict and war between the Ghalja and Durrani, but in the third pillar, they try to keep power for themselves and not lose it. As during the time when power was in the hands of Burhanuddin Rabbani, the Pashtuns were not happy and were always complaining, especially the educated generation and Pashtun intellectuals. There are articles and writings on this subject.

The British also played a role in this regard and advised the Americans that only the Pashtuns could rule in Afghanistan and that only this tribe had the right to be in power. In the current situation, the same assumption prevails that only one tribe has the right to rule in Afghanistan, but this is a false assumption (Shahrani, 2011). "In Afghanistan, the government is still subordinate to the relations that exist between the supporters of different tribes. The (Pashto) tribes, especially the Durrani and the Ghilzai (both of which are considered important and large Pashtun tribes), consider the central government to be their puppet" (Sajjadi, 2001). The function of the government in Afghanistan has been to repeat and continue the traditional ineffective system that has never wanted or been able to find "national comprehensiveness" and "legitimate authority." In principle, the governments in Afghanistan have had similar functions and common characteristics, one of which is "stabilizing and developing the central tribe" and the other is "weakening, subjugating, and marginalizing" other tribes and minorities.
The unilateral and coercive rule of the Pashtun rulers, the exercise of ethnic and political monopoly and totalitarianism in the arena of power and political sovereignty, had blocked the participation of other tribes, even their elites, in the structure of the Afghan government. The

promotion and consolidation of the idea and ideal of monopoly had gradually turned into political-ethnic fascism in the arena of governance and among the rulers of the country (Shafaii, 2010).

5.4. Dealing with and Continuing the Ethnic Crisis

During these twenty years, instead of strengthening democracy and the national democratic system and moving forward in line with the culture of mutual acceptance, equality and brotherhood, on the contrary, in some cases, and in the form of a republican system, we have gone back to the ethnic idea and idea of several decades ago and with a new method based on the authority of a specific ethnic group that considers itself the heir, inheritor and owner of the new Afghanistan and views the rest as immigrants and sometimes as aggressors, and some even consider them slaves who must act and act according to the orders of their masters who constitute the majority.

What is clear is that during the last five years and the rule under the leadership of Ashraf Ghani, this tribal thinking has been seriously strengthened. At first glance, this tendency and mindset goes back to the actions of the president himself, who has been the promoter of this intellectual tendency. When he refuses to mention the title of national hero to Ahmad Shah Massoud, contrary to the constitution, and does not participate in the commemoration of his anniversary even once every five years, or does not participate in it less, and at the same time expresses his interest in Pashtun figures such as Amanullah Khan, Mohmand, etc., in the broadest sense of the word, it expresses a unique ethnic outlook that reinforces this intellectual tendency. At the same time, when those around the president, such as the Makhkash, Sultanzai, and Tanveer, with his previous outlook, seek to insult, eliminate, and sideline specific social groups and ethnicities, and practically express their opinions and seek ethnic superiority in the media, even as his close electoral advisor or high-ranking government employee, and no harm is done to them, it shows the depth of this catastrophic thinking (Sedat & Gholamreza, 2021). "The issue of ethnicity in Afghanistan can be easily observed in different dimensions and different structures of social life. Ethnicity can be clearly felt from the Afghan democratic system, from the elections to the Afghan Star cultural program" (Mashriqi, 2010). So with what hope, criteria, logic, and optimism, did he still believe in the demagoguery words and literature of the first person of the country with the slogan that no Afghan is superior or inferior to another Afghan? While what is important is his performance, which today speaks to these concerns. From the quota system for the entrance exam to the purge of important civil and military departments from the existence of certain individuals and groups, such as the list that was

recently published from civil departments, which speaks to the height of prejudice and tragedy of this ethnic and tribal outlook that is pushing and pushing the diverse society of Afghanistan towards further ethnic intensification and division.

If the previous president's personal view had not been an ethnic view based on creating a majority and creating a minority, and he had broken the tradition that a Hazara or an Uzbek or even a Turkmen could be the Minister of Defense or Finance, and had appointed a worthy person from another ethnic minority as deputy, and had removed the president and his previous view from the departments, and had dealt seriously and legally with those around him, such as the Makhkash and Sultanzoy, there would have been no room for the likes of Tanvir to speak, and he would not have uttered such ridiculous words. And at least this dogmatic and fascist thought would have remained in the same sick mind and would have destroyed its owner (Sedat & Gholamreza, 2021). Now, with this approach and thinking that the people around the president have and express, and his five-year performance; At least there is considerable hope for a transition from the ugly ethnic tradition and previous monopolization that has existed for years, which cannot be expected to be eliminated in the short term. With this approach, more time must be spent to institutionalize a culture of equality and brotherhood in the country, and this is only possible with awareness and mutual acceptance among the ethnic groups.

Conclusion

To the extent that the state-building process in a country is successful, negative ethnic and ethnocentric tendencies are reduced and ethnic friction and ethnic conflicts are prevented, and vice versa. That is, in societies where this process is challenged and in crisis, there is a strong possibility of politicizing the ethnic issue, and therefore there is a risk of instability and insecurity and even confiscation of land and part of the land in favor of foreigners. One of the most important ethnic movements is separatism, in which an ethnic group seeks to separate from the political body of a country. Efforts for autonomy can be observed in the Kurds of Iraq and Iran. Similarly, the Baloch of Balochistan, Pakistan, and possibly the Baloch of Iran also have a sense of independence and autonomy. The foundation and basis of the political system based on ethnicity were laid in the meeting. High-ranking government officials have always emphasized the presence of each ethnic group in the political and administrative system in proportion to their radius or population graph.

The division of ministries and other important departments to ethnic leaders is a precondition for the intensification of the ethnic identity crisis, which causes ethnic divisions and weakens nation-building, and is considered an obstacle to political development. Social

blockage, attributionism, and particularism that destroy the space for free competition, victimization, and neglect of other ethnic groups, lead to the politicization of civil administrations and society. There is a possible solution to less politicization of ethnicity in Afghanistan, and that is to propose a form of governance in Afghanistan and include it in the constitution in which the right to local administration is reserved for the local people themselves. In my opinion, the issue of ethnicity and ethnicity should not even be raised, despite the fact that some call for a federal government and divide Afghanistan into seven zones. It is better to avoid politicizing ethnicity, language, and religion, and instead take the localities where people live as the basis, without considering who lives there. For example, we now have a very unreasonable system of administrative units. First, it is necessary to conduct a proper census, then divide the administrative units based on population. Since this is a difficult issue, these districts should be the basis of governance as administrative units, so that each village, each district, and each province has the right to govern itself. On the basis that political positions, i.e. district and province officials, are elected by the same local people regardless of ethnicity. Holistic and partial: This model relies more on the melting of ethnic diversity. In Afghanistan, attention was paid to this issue early on, which was followed by the enactment of laws, instructions, and executive orders that rely on the mixing of ethnic groups. This solution remained only in mind and did not find practical application. This approach has also had its critics. Islam and Law: Emphasis on establishing an Islamic government and resolving social and political conflicts. Islamic identity versus ethnic identity must be strengthened. However, the problems with this approach are the different perceptions of the Islamic government that have been experienced in the following forms over the past three decades: the Islamic government of the Mujahideen, the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan, and the former Islamic Republic, none of which have been able to break the country's deadlock. Trust-building, institutional pluralism: In this regard, Davud Rawsh, a university professor, talks about building trust among Afghan ethnic groups, and Vahid Binesh, a university professor, talks about localizing trust and spreading it from the bottom up, meaning creating a trust-building environment from society to politics, and includes balanced economic development, culture-building, and education, among the strategies for localizing trust. Similarly, ethnic tolerance instead of ethnic orientation leads to pluralism.

References

Acemoglu, D., & Robinson, J. A. (2013). *Why nations fail: The origins of power, prosperity, and poverty*. Crown Currency.

Arefi, M. A. (2002). Political sociology of Afghanistan. *Publisher Political Sciences*, 5 (2). https://tinyurl.com/yjpaphux

Bashiriyah, H. (2000). Political Development and the Crisis of National Identity. *Conversations on National Identity in Iran. D*. Mirmohammadi (drl.). National Research Institute, Tehran.

Dawlatabadi, B. A. (1992) *Book, Afghanistan's Identity Card.* Bija. For Access https://archive.af/bib/2266

Dehqan, M. S. (2007). *Afghanistan and the Right to Development.* Siraj Cultural and Social Center.

Ezdi, O. A. (2009). *Anthony Giddens and Late Modernity*. Kayhan.

Ezdi, O. A. (2009). *Anthony Giddens ve Son Modernite*. Kayhan.

Hosseini, R. (2006). *Language and Body. Salah and Tarbiat Publications*. 37. https://tinyurl.com/52xbsu65

Khavari, S. K. (2012). *Why are we left behind?* Saeed Publications, Kabul.

Mansur, A. H. (2013). *Obstacles to Political Development in Afghanistan.* Saeed Publishing House.

Mashriqi, D. A. (2010). *National Identity Crisis in Afghanistan: Strategies and Solutions.* Saeed Publishing House, Kabul.

Moradi, S. (2011). *Afghanistan: Geography of Crisis.* Saeed. Publishing House.

Navid, K. Bostani, A. (2021). Nation, State and Rule of Law kitabının incelemesi. *Critical Research Journal of Humanities Texts and Programs*, 6. https://tinyurl.com/yevmvz4m

Rahimi, M. R. (2008). *A Critique of the Structure of the Political System in Afghanistan.* Azam Publishing House, Kabul.

Rahimi, M. R. (2016). The Necessity of Changing the Structure of Afghanistan's Political System" https://tinyurl.com/6k5c4jdr

Rasouli, Y. (2007). *The Response of Tradition to Secularism in Afghanistan*. Irfan Publishing House.

Sajjadi, Q. (2001). *Political Sociology of Afghanistan: Ethnicity, Religion and Government*. Ketab Institute.

Sedat, S. & Gholamreza, S. (2021). The rise and fall of Afghan Shiites and their future under the Taliban government. *Afghan Voice News Agency*. https://tinyurl.com/28sdn2w2

Shafaii, A. (2010). Nation Building. http://www.zendagi.com/new_page_1108.htm1389

Shahrani, E. (2011). *History of Ethnic Groups in Afghanistan Published by Qezil Chupan Cultural Center.* https://tinyurl.com/44pd9ury

Yazdari, A. R. (2009). *Causes of Afghanistan's Underdevelopment and Ways Out.* Enduring Legacy.