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Historical Study and Analysis of the Role of Ethnic Politics in the Political Structure of Afghanistan (Contemporary Period)

Abstract

The political structure in Afghanistan has been shaped by ethnic politics, and since its founding, the country's governance has been largely based on a single ethnic group, and the participation of major ethnic groups in the country's political structure has been largely avoided. The main objective of this study is to analyze and evaluate the single ethnic policy in the political structure, while this country is ethnically diverse. The main question in this article is: What has been the role of ethnic politics in the political structure of Afghanistan in the contemporary period? In response to this question, the hypothesis is put forward that the political structure based on ethnic politics in Afghanistan has been centered on the ruling tribe, and that different states have had similar and different characteristics and approaches, and in addition, the shortcomings of the ruling states have sometimes been met with resistance from the traditional and tribal society of Afghanistan. Ethnic politics has three patterns and models, with Afghan rulers using the ethnic homogenization model in some periods of their rule and the ethnic pluralism model in other periods, and finally some rulers used the unity-in-multiple model. The research method in the present study is a developmental and applied method. The findings of this study show that Afghanistan is one of the countries with ethnic diversity.

Keywords: Ethnic Politics, Political Structure, Ethnic Diversity, Assimilation, Pluralism And Unity İn Pluralism

Afganistan'ın Siyasi Yapısında Etnik Siyasetin Rolünün Tarihsel İncelemesi ve Analizi (Çağdaş Dönem)

Öz

Afganistan'daki siyasi yapı etnik siyaset tarafından şekillendirilmiş, kuruluşundan bu yana ülke yönetimi büyük ölçüde tek bir etnik gruba dayandırılmış ve büyük etnik grupların ülkenin siyasi yapısına katılımı büyük ölçüde engellenmiştir. Bu çalışmanın temel amacı, etnik çeşitliliğe sahip bu ülkenin siyasi yapısındaki tek etnik politikayı analiz etmek ve değerlendirmektir. Bu makaledeki ana soru şudur: Çağdaş dönemde Afganistan'ın siyasi yapısında etnik siyasetin rolü ne olmuştur? Bu soruya yanıt olarak Afganistan'da etnik siyasete dayalı siyasi yapının yönetici kabile merkezli olduğu, farklı devletlerin benzer ve farklı özelliklere ve yaklaşımlara sahip olduğu, ayrıca yönetici devletlerin eksikliklerinin kimi zaman Afganistan'ın geleneksel ve aşiret toplumunun direnişiyle karşılaştığı hipotezi ortaya atılmaktadır. Etnik siyasetin üç modeli vardır: Afgan yöneticiler iktidarlarının bazı dönemlerinde etnik homojenleştirme modelini, diğer dönemlerde etnik çoğulculuk modelini ve son olarak bazı yöneticiler çokluk içinde birlik modelini kullanmışlardır. Bu çalışmadaki araştırma yöntemi gelişimsel ve uygulamalı bir yöntemdir. Bu çalışmanın bulguları Afganistan'ın etnik çeşitliliğe sahip ülkelerden biri olduğunu göstermektedir.

Anahtar kelimeler: Etnik Siyaset, Siyasi Yapı, Etnik Çeşitlilik, Asimilasyon, Çoğulculuk ve Çoğulculuk İçinde Birlik

Introduction

Afghanistan has a heterogeneous and multi-ethnic structure, and the issue of ethnicity and nationalism has been one of the major threats to the unity and source of differences in the social fabric of Afghan society since ancient times, and has been one of the serious obstacles to national cohesion, integration, and political development in this country (Mir Ali et al., 2015). Of course, since its establishment as an independent country (1747), Afghanistan has paid attention to this phenomenon and, in order to overcome it, in different periods and governments, taking into account the diversity and characteristics of Afghan ethnic groups, on the one hand and on the other hand, taking into account the conditions prevailing in the region and the national interests and political systems of this country, has resorted to ethnic politics. The political structure in Afghanistan has been formed based on ethnic politics.

The structure of this country has always been in the grip of ethnic politics Azainro, this topic is of great importance for researchers to analyze and analyze so that it will pave the way for future generations. Azainro, it is necessary to explain and address the role of ethnic politics in the political structure of the country.

The main question that is raised in this article. It is: How is the role of ethnic politics in the political structure of Afghanistan analyzed?

1. Sub-questions

1. During which period of Afghan rulers did the model of ethnic identity take place?

2. During which period of Afghan rulers did the model of ethnic pluralism take place?

3. During which period of Afghan rulers did the model of unity in ethnic plurality continue to take place?

2. Research Hypothesis

Public and practical policies regarding ethnicity in Afghanistan in the contemporary period and different states have had similar and different characteristics and approaches, and in addition, the shortcomings of the ruling states have sometimes been met with resistance from the traditional and tribal society of Afghanistan.

1. From the era of Abdali, Abdul Rahman, Habibullah, Nader, Hashim, Dawood and the Mujahideen era, they benefited from the approach of patterns and models of national identity based on (specific) Afghanism in terms of leadership and mastery, and despite the fact that they institutionalized Afghan nationalism.

2. From the era of Amanullah, Shah Mahmud, Zahir Shah, Nur Muhammad Taraki, Hafizullah Amin, Babrak Karmal and Najibullah, they moved towards pluralism models that ended in equality and equality of nations.

Although they had impressive achievements, traditional values hindered them and ultimately left the playing field level for the other side.

3. Finally, the Republic of Daud Khan and the governments of Hamid Karzai and Mohammad Ashraf Ghani emphasized the model and models of unity in the same time. But none of these rulers were successful in this movement.

This research is in the category of development and applied research. Considering the type and subject of the research, the collection of research data is based on documentary and library methods.

3. Research Background

Various studies and articles have been written about ethnic politics, political structure, and cultural and social diversity in Afghanistan, which can generally be classified into several categories.

1. The phenomenon of ethnicism is a negative phenomenon that has been examined on the axis of Afghanism (Pashtunism), and the ethnic policies of the rulers of Afghanistan have been "unsuccessful and based on nervousness," which can be referred to in the article "The

Political Development of Afghanistan and the Inhibiting Role of Ethnicity in Its Formation," written by Mohammad Ali Mir Ali and Mohammad Mohseni.

2. Due to the severity of religious, linguistic and especially ethnic differences among "all the peoples of Afghanistan", the ethnic policy of the rulers of Afghanistan is considered to be largely due to "foreign interference".

In this regard, Hafizullah Hafiz's thesis entitled "Comparative Study of the Role of Iran and Saudi Arabia in Managing the Afghan Conflict (2001, 2017) is available.

3. Regarding the position of the political structure of Afghanistan, one can refer to the article "The Position of Ethnic Groups in the Formation of the Political Structure of the Afghan Government after 2001 AD", written by Kiumars Yazdanpanah and Seyyed Jalal Ahmadi, which mainly deals with the position of ethnic groups during the republican period.

While ethnic politics in the form of unity in the majority existed in this period in a weak and intense form.

4. Regarding the solution to the crises in Afghanistan, the research under the title "The Solution to Ethnic Problems in Afghanistan" by "Barfield" suggests that the solution to overcome the crisis and decentralize the power structure and give more authority to local governments.

While one of the main factors in crises is the monopoly of the political structure by one tribe. The innovation of this research is that it makes the dark layers of history clearer and more accessible for future generations, which will provide further research using multiple historical, social, political, and cultural sources and a new research area. This research seeks to provide accurate and useful reports on the role of ethnic policies in the political structure and, on the other hand, to focus more on ethnic politics in the field of ethnic politics in the period. The sources cited about the ethnic politics of Afghanistan are not fully documented. While this issue has been one of the most fundamental issues in the study of the political structure of Afghanistan throughout the history of this country, it has dominated. This article will attempt to analyze and evaluate the political structure of Afghanistan based on the patterns and models of ethnic politics.

"The French Revolution had very important consequences all over the world starting from the 18th century. It led to the formation of constitutional movements and resulted in changes in the political structures of countries. This political change transformed monarchies into nation states and multinational empires into multiple nation states. The French Revolution changed

the ideology of constitutional regimes. It has also formed its terminology" (Ebinç, 2024, p. 140). In this case, there will be dynamism of ethnic mobilisations in the historical process.

4. Theoretical Framework of Ethnic Politics

Ethnic politics is a type of strategy through which interactions and relations between ethnic groups and the ruling group on the one hand, and relations between ethnic groups with each other and with the national society on the other hand, can be regulated, controlled, and changed in a way that is proportionate and consistent with other existing macro-policies.

In fact, ethnic policies determine the way in which states and governments deal with ethnic groups and cultures within a political and geographical territory. However, the following elements can be mentioned:

a) Targeting: It is a stage (purposeful) that results from and ends with policies, programs and strategies.

b) Policy: It includes a set of approaches, behaviors and actions.

c) Programs: Strategies, methods, and a set of measures that give objectivity to the nature and content of policies and move them from the potential world to reality.

d) Tools and resources: The set of material and moral resources and potential and actual capacities that are used to achieve policies and programs.

e) Methods: These are methods and mechanisms that determine the type of tools and means needed for their implementation, in accordance with the type of policies and programs. It is obvious that the type of methods, tools, and implementation considerations in ethnic policies are part of the defined goals; Therefore, ethnic policy considerations can be defined as a set of goals, strategies, approaches, programs and actions, methods, tools and means that are designed, pursued and implemented by governments for effective leadership and management of society in political, social, cultural and economic macro-structures (Gholami, 2015). In this study, three general patterns of regulating identity group relations, namely, power style, power sharing, and social integration, will be examined. Each of these styles revolves around the two central components of coercion and consensus, and their mechanisms span the boundaries between coercion and consensus. The overall outcome of such styles is, respectively, assimilation, social absorption politics, and coalition-building pluralism (Nazari & Sazmand, 2014).

A) The Model of Assimilativeness (Power with the Aim of Assimilativeness)

Assimilativeness, 1 in sociology means the process of adopting the values, patterns, and lifestyle of the dominant group by individuals and groups from the society in such a way that they are absorbed and assimilated within the dominant group Theories of unity or assimilativeness (adaptation or imitation or unification or assimilation) are used to clarify the

problem and make the minority a majority. Assimilation can be considered the process of permanent integration of members of an immigrant ethnic and cultural group or other minority into a larger society (Alwani et al. 2015). In other words, the method of power with the aim of uniformity is the effort of states to nullify the values and identity distinctions of different groups in the flow of macro (national) values through the use of direct and sometimes inflexible political, economic, military, social and cultural tools and methods that are structurally and without the necessary subtleties, in a peaceful (equality of opportunities, encouragement and incitement) and non-peaceful (the art of corporal punishment, imprisonment, deprivation, isolation, humiliation, forced displacement, and genocide) are pursued.

The goal of assimilation policies is to combine (absorb) the biological, cultural, social, and psychological characteristics of distinct and individual groups in order to create a society without identity differences, which aims to reduce cultural and structural differences between different groups and create a homogeneous and homogeneous society (Nazari & Sazmand, 2014). Therefore, if these policies are fully implemented and at the peak of this process, we will have a homogeneous and homogeneous society in which there will be no differences between groups, whether racial or cultural. Ethnicity, as a means of distributing wealth and power, will no longer play a significant role. Citizens are also considered only as "individuals" and not as "members of groups" or ethnic groups, and as a result, they cannot have any claims against the state. Of course, it is worth mentioning that complete assimilation is almost impossible, because minority groups do not lose their entire identity and retain part of their culture within their group and environment, such as the culture of local peoples, which is the natural refuge of ethnic and local literature. Moreover, in the era of globalization, policies of cultural, religious, ethnic, and racial integration face serious challenges compared to the past and are practically doomed to failure.

Because the limitations that globalization creates for these policies are numerous and states do not have the capacity and sovereignty of the past to implement and utilize them. Also, at present, various communities, groups, and subcultures are playing a role and have gained greater ability to introduce themselves and continue their lives, whether through mass migrations, through the publication of various books and publications, or through referrals to international organizations (Rezapour & Nadari, 2013).

B) Pluralism Model (Divided Power for Social Inclusion and Integration)

The concept of pluralism was first coined by J. S. Furnival. He used Burmese and Indonesian societies to illustrate pluralistic societies. People of very different ethnic

backgrounds did not see each other except in the marketplace; where they had to provide goods and services to other groups. The market was the glue that held different groups together like pieces of a mosaic.

In fact, a mosaic is a useful metaphor for diversity; a surface made up of multiple, distinct and distinct elements (Rezapour & Nadari, 2013). This set of theories seeks to avoid any action that would lead to tension between the minority and the majority. Pluralism, which often occurs in liberal societies, can therefore be called the liberal view of the principle of state neutrality in matters related to minorities (Alwani et al., 2015). The most prominent example of the use of such a method is the federal system of the United States, which has tended towards this policy since the 1970s. One of the important demands of the ethnically federated regions is greater influence on the central government as a tool to protect their interests and, in particular, to strengthen their claims on government financial resources, which ultimately translates into regional competition, especially when the constituent units of the federation also represent different ethnic communities.

One alternative to ethnic federalism to reduce ethnic conflict in these regions is to transform the ethnic regions into several states. In this case, each of these units will strive to gain separate benefits for itself and maximize its share of the central government's services and budget, and therefore, the role of ethnic components in their political behavior will decrease. Despite the existence of major ethnic regions, no single state is capable of threatening the stability of the central government (Nazari & Sazmand, 2014). The policy of pluralism has been formulated in the form of various theories and models, taking into account the requirements of each country and its ideological foundations. Some of these models are the multicultural model, the power-sharing model, the political convergence model, federalism and centripetalism, the social policy-making model, and the models of inclusive government, good governance and social capital, and the development and collective memory model. However, in general, the pluralist perspective, which is the opposite of homogenization, considers the organization of a country's political body in a desirable way that That each ideological family has both the opportunity and the means to protect its own values, and at the same time achieve its rights and gain the necessary basis for active participation in political arenas.

The realization of such a system implies the acceptance of a kind of neutrality on the part of the ruling power and the participation of existing groups in promoting public interests. In other words, in a pluralistic society, all cultural, political, and intellectual groups are accepted and, through participation and coexistence, while maintaining their own characteristics, are integrated into a single social and political system (Rezapour & Nadari, 2013).

5. Unity in Diversity Model (Integrationist with the Aim of Coalition-Building Pluralism)

Based on this group of theories, the emphasis is on diversity within unity; while seeking to dominate a single culture, it also recognizes the rights of minorities. Instead of rejecting and erasing ethno-cultural diversity, such an approach is based on realizing citizenship rights for the cultures and languages existing in the national territory and defining national identity on the basis of unity in plurality (Alwani et al., 2015). In this approach, based on the principle of priority and constant advancement of collective and group rights over individual interests and benefits, national cohesion and solidarity are pursued through plurality in the light of union and accumulation of interests. In this situation, while focusing on fundamental principles such as ensuring equality, equal opportunities, voluntary participation, and the right to transform a minority into a majority through a referendum, two policies are in the agenda:

A) The Politics of Difference, based on which the political system emphasizes the fundamental differences between the majority and the minority, and requires them to accept these differences and adapt to them.

B) Politics of Recognition, based on which the identity of the minority is recognized and on this basis they are invited to participate, and in return, the minority is obliged to adhere to the national framework and behave within it (Nazari & Sazmand, 2014).

6. Implementation of Ethnic Policy Models in Afghanistan

Afghanistan is the fourth largest country in the vast Asian continent in terms of ethnic and cultural diversity. More than fifty ethnic groups with distinct cultural characteristics, hundreds of tribes and clans, more than thirty independent languages and dialects, followers of various Islamic sects and sects, and believers in other religions lived in this land (Uruzgani, 2011). Although there are no accurate statistics on the number and population of the ethnic groups of Afghanistan; Because the Afghan government considered the ethnic issue agenda to be contrary to national unity and interests and detrimental to the country's stability and security. In the censuses that have been conducted, the names of ethnic groups and their population numbers are not included.

In other words, the rule of law in Afghanistan has always been subject to encroachment by ethnic groups and sub-territorial groups due to the fact that society has enjoyed greater power compared to the state (Faraji Rad et al., 2011). The weakness of states is one of the The distinctive features of Afghanistan's history have been accompanied by the country's overall backwardness. The lack of capacity to absorb resources, distribute resources, implement

reforms, and organize social relations in a quality manner, which are the basic tasks of a modern state, has not been provided with such an opportunity in Afghanistan.

Widespread social confusion due to the existence of deep ethnic, tribal, and linguistic faults among conflicting groups and, in principle, the entire population, has created conditions conducive to the incompetence and failure of the state; as a result, it has transformed Afghan identity into a highly fragmented one, which has prevented the formation of a national will for national cohesion (Deshyar, 2009). In contrast, Afghan leaders, including Abdali, Abdul Rahman, and Amanullah, tried in various ways to strengthen the central government and transform social relations, dominant value patterns, deep-rooted tribal equations, and the balance of power in favor of a more powerful central government (Heydari & Rahmanood, 2018). Ethnic policies that have been designed and implemented since the establishment of Afghanistan as an independent country, in different periods and states based on the type of view on the category of ethnic diversity, domestic, regional and international conditions, and with regard to the criteria of ethnic group diversity, have been formulated in three models, which are:

7. Ethnic Identity Model

Afghanistan, since the time when the state was established as an independent country in 1747 AD, was based on ethnicity (Warren et al., 2015). This created a kind of two-way relationship between the political power structure and ethnic power. On the one hand, the state needed the support of various Afghan tribes (Pashtuns) to maintain its power and authority, and on the other hand, Afghans considered the states as their agents who were obliged to provide and defend the demands of the political and military structure in return for their support (Sajadi, 2001). Especially after the two or three Anglo-Afghan wars, which laid the foundations of Afghan nationalism in this country and caused Afghanism to become institutionalized like nationalism in the face of external threats and gain widespread legitimacy (Deshyar, 2007).

a.The Period of Ahmad Shah Abdali

Ahmad Shah Abdali (1747), who was an intelligent and religious individual, on the one hand, paid attention to the capacity, power, and role of the Afghans in military and financial matters, and especially in the establishment of the new Afghanistan, and provided the ground for the growth of Afghan nationalism, and on the other hand, he turned religion into a powerful tool for mobilizing society in support of the central government (Deshyar, 2007:8) .

He created, for the first time, a centralized power within the framework of indigenous values; behavioral patterns and identity of the Afghans. Because he realized that in order to have the

greatest influence and impact on the basis of social conditions, political power must be concentrated within a specific framework.

Realism, as it were, guided him to this logic. He took this path for nearly three decades, and by exploiting tribal capabilities within traditional frameworks, he achieved his goals; in a land where most conflicts stem from regional, tribal, and sub-tribal differences, it makes sense to create change by relying on the power of a single tribe and maintaining the dominant tribal system.

Ahmad Shah, within the existing framework, contributed to giving modern Afghanistan its identity; but what became clear after his departure from the scene was that in a land where the greatest benefits accrue to the group, tribe, nation, and the person who has the most effective weapon, superiority and victory cannot be achieved unless there is an unchallenged form of rule. A century of ethnic and tribal unrest and conflicts in Afghanistan after the death of Ahmad Shah Abdali made this reality even more evident (Deshyar, 2008). In other words, Abdali granted privileges to the Afghan tribes and clans, and this trend was continued by his successors, resulting in the political and economic superiority of the Afghans, and the political logic of the tribe and ethnicity became institutionalized as the basic rule of political action in Afghan society. Something that has still maintained its dominance over the culture and political mind of Afghanistan (Mir Ali, et,al, 2015:11).

b. The Period of Abdul Rahman Khan

Abdul Rahman Khan's (1880-1901) accession to power and rule was the beginning of his efforts to eliminate this defect. During his 20 years of powerful rule, he always kept in mind that the superiority of the weak central government over the masses, tribes, warlords and local leaders, in other words, the domination of the powerful society, should be achieved through the creation of a modern army. His rule was met with much resistance from tribal leaders and religious elders, and more than forty uprisings took place against him, the most important of which were the uprisings of the Ghiljai tribes of the Pashtun people in 1886, the Uzbeks in 1888, and the Hazaras from 1891 to 1893.

These uprisings demonstrated to him the importance of an administrative organization equipped with military force for conquest. In order to maintain central power, without worrying about regional situations, the Amir accepted the Durand Line, at the request of Mortimer Durand, the Foreign Secretary of the British-ruled Indian government; something the Afghans would never accept. He created an army that was based on monthly salaries and at the time of his death numbered one hundred thousand men.

People joined it voluntarily and to earn an income. The Public Service Law was passed by the Loya Jirga (Grand Council) in 1941. At the beginning of the twentieth century, almost 50 percent of the country's budget was allocated to the army, which was in line with the policies of Abdul Rahman Khan (Deshyar, 2008). In other words, Abdul Rahman's reforms aimed at developing a modern army and establishing a civilian and judicial service, centralization, and modernization began on a large scale. After sixteen years of war with opposing forces in various parts of the country, he was able to unite all parts of the state under central authority and establish a modern tax system, army, intelligence, and poliçe (Masdaq, 2015). Despite all this, in achieving his great goal of influencing the tribal system and engineering the social spheres resulting from it to the benefit of the central government, which remained a failed commander in itself, he ignored the need to organize the army based on a set of administrative and executive principles and rituals (Deshyar, 2008). He also advocated ethnic cleansing, although he initially opposed all ethnic groups, but ultimately remained confined to Afghan ethnic-political and Sunni religious-political relations. One example is that court scholars, under the orders of Abdul Rahman, issued a fatwa declaring the Hazaras to be infidels and ordered jihad against them, which ultimately ended in a bloody war and the annihilation of the Hazaras (Ali, 2015).

c. Habibullah Khan's Era

During Habibullah's reign (1901), his libertarian ideas and the differences in character he had with Abdul Rahman led to adjustments in this relatively open policy, which provided opportunities for political development (Akhlaqi, 2001) and political modernization. (Ghabbar, 1989). However, during his time, political power was not distributed beyond the framework of Pashtunism, and no political status was considered for other ethnic groups in the state structures; only the emir's authority over them was (Akhlaqi, 2001).

d. Mohammad Nader's Era

After the accession of Mohammad Nader in 1929 (33 CE) to the Tenth Dynasty, the discourse of democracy initiated by Amanullah Khan was curtailed and replaced by religious nationalism and ethnic politics.

Nader Shah promoted ethnic supremacy and nationalism. For example, he banned the Dari language and gave priority to the Pashto language, and also restricted the freedom and civil rights of the Hazara and Shia people (Mir Ali et al., 2015).

e. The Period of Mohammad Zahir Shah

After Nader Khan, because his successor, Mohammad Zahir (1933-73), was not more than nineteen years old and had not yet gained experience in governing the country, the country was governed by his uncles.

During this period, nationalism and nationalism flourished as a discourse of a superior race, and efforts were made to theorize, codify, and teach the history of Afghanistan based on this theory (Tanin, 2004). These efforts propagated the ideology of Afghanism, or in other words, institutionalized the right of Afghans to monopolize sovereignty by virtue of being the majority and as the superior nation, especially during the presidency of Mohammad Hashem and Mohammad Davud, both of whom were under the influence of the ideology of "Hitlerian Nazism." They had, it reached its peak (Mir'ali et al., 2015). Hashim Khan placed the establishment of a powerful central government at the forefront of his policies and, relying on religious extremism, severely repressed opponents of the government who sought political, social, and civil liberties (Farzanehpour & Yousafzai, 2016). Similarly, Dawood Khan, who was in control of the Afghan discourse, sometimes repressed other ethnic groups, especially the Hazaras, and sometimes prevented them from holding high-ranking government positions, schools, and military academies (Mir Ali et al., 2015).

f. The Mujahideen Era

In the wake of the revolution, policies of ethnic supremacy and ethnic identification were pursued by the Taliban rulers through the Mujahideen government (1992-96) and the Mujahideen administration led by Rabbani (1996-2001).

The Mujahideen government was based almost entirely on the traditional and religious beliefs of Afghan society; The religion of Islam and the laws of Sharia were established, and in this society, it was imposed that only the elite or the leading group of Mujahideen was capable of forming a government in this country.

However, it was not long before the ideological discord between the political elite and the masses of the people, as well as the differences between the political leaders and the leaders of the political currents, became apparent (Farzanehpour & Yousefzahi, 2016). Therefore, the Mujahideen administration not only failed to create a new order, but also placed Afghan society in a chaotic state of "war of all against all" based on ethnicity. In fact, it was their conflict and infighting that led to the emergence of the Taliban movement (Tajik & Sharifi, 2008). Initially, all ethnic groups had included interaction and dialogue in their agenda, but they did not reach a conclusion in time and this time they chose a power struggle among the four ethnic groups based on ethnic politics. Since 1994, four military forces have been present in Kabul, fighting for political power. Each of these ethnic groups was formed on the basis of ethnic politics.

Masoud the Tajik commander, Dostum the Uzbek commander, Shahid Mazari the leader of the Hazaras, and Hekmatyar the emir of the Afghans. Ethnic consolidation and the claim to

play a role for each ethnic group in national affairs justified the emergence and growth of the four groups. The four groups fought to form a new type of power in Kabul But this time, the Mujahideen government, through ethnic politics, fell into the hands of the Tajiks, who came to power and largely monopolized power, eliminating and denying the Hazaras.

Despite the good relations between the Hazaras and the Tajiks and Pashtuns, the rights of the Hazara people were ignored by the transitional government. The cabinet of the Mujahideen transitional government did not include any of the Shiite factions (Mansour, 1992). As mentioned above, the Mujahideen Provisional Government was formed in late 1988, at the same time as the Soviet forces withdrew from Afghanistan, under the leadership of Sabghatullah Mujaddi.

In this government, no rights were recognized for the Hazaras, although numerous efforts were made to include the Eighty-Party Coalition Council in it, but the hands were at work to deny and ignore the identity of the Hazara people (Dolatabadi, 1992). When the provisional government of the Mujahideen was formed. It broke all its agreements and treaties with the Unity Party and the Uzbek National Movement. This time, ethnic and unequal policies were implemented by the Tajiks who were at the top of the power pyramid, and in line with ethnic policies, the armed forces of the Unity Party and the forces of the National Movement became the political structure of the country.

Rabbani's government coordinated with Sayyaf's coalition to launch a military offensive to eliminate and annihilate the military forces of the Hezb-e-Wahdat and the people of western Kabul. The fighting that took place in the winter of 1992 caused heavy casualties and financial losses to the people and residents of western Kabul, especially the Hazaras (Bakhtiari, 2006). The massacre of Shiites in the Afshar neighborhood on 12 and 13 Bahman 1371 by the forces of the Rabbani government is one of the most horrific war crimes that occurred in Afghanistan. Hundreds of civilians were killed. In this war, forces loyal to Sayyaf and Massoud spent 24 hours killing, looting, raping, and burning houses. According to estimates, about 700 people were killed, and later, 58 bodies were discovered in a mass grave. (Mousavi, 2000).

8. Ethnic Pluralism Model

a. The Era of Amanullah Khan

Shah Amanullah (1919-29), during his reign, also made another attempt to directly increase the power of the ruler over that of tribal leaders and local warlords. Unlike Ahmad Shah Abdali, who insisted on ethnicism to strengthen the position and power of the ruler, and Abdul Rahman, who considered the institutionalization of the army to be compatible with the realities of Afghan society, Amanullah Khan was against the weakening of the values that were

based on The foundation was laid by tribal, religious and local leaders who were meeting with the ruler in Kabul. He, who had been deeply affected by the changes in some countries in the region, especially Iran and Turkey.

He came to believe that as long as the foundation of values was intact, efforts to accumulate power through the creation of new institutions were futile; in other words, it was easier. But its benefits will be small (Deshyar, 2008). Changing the absolute monarchy, prohibiting ethnic and religious discrimination, equality of nations and nationalities before the law, officially recognizing the rights of citizenship for all citizens, freedom, the media, eliminating tribal privileges, and hundreds of other reforms (Mir Ali & Mohseni, 2015). Amanullah's goal was to create a national identity by ignoring all ethnic groups, which would create a strong society and a centralized state. The helpless were being counted in Afghanistan.

Ataturk's experience had led him to believe that the least expensive and most reliable way to strengthen the state in relation to Afghan society was only possible by undermining the values of society. In the religious sense, he targeted the center of power of the society, the traditional and tribal areas, and he decided to eliminate the tribal empire that was the foundation of the society's power, and replaced it with national identity and nationalism based on modern values. (Deshyar, 2008). Therefore, it was actually for the first time in the history of Afghanistan that ethnic and religious pluralism was raised and transformed from a marginal issue into a policy text during the reign of Amanullah.

This policy was resumed under Shah Mahmud (1946-53), after encountering obstacles such as deviation from modernity, petrification, the elimination of intellectuals and government elites from politics, the lack of a strong army, and, according to scholars, strong dependence on the ulama during the nine-month government of Habibullah Kolkani (1929), ethnic supremacy, and oppression during the governments of Nader Khan and Hashem.

a. The era of Mohammad Zahir Shah

The last years of Mohammad Zahir's era (1963-73), which is famous for its ten legislative rules in Afghanistan, brought about relatively important reforms in the structure of the country's political system. In 1963, the Constitution was drafted and new hopes were created for the regeneration of the intellectual discourse. This was a major step towards political development and the creation of democratic institutions.

Overall, Zahir Faraz's forty-year government had many ups and downs. In some periods, repression and tyranny dominated the political and intellectual space of the country, and in others, remarkable freedoms were granted to individuals and political and social groups (Mir

Ali & Mohseni, 2015). In other words, during the years of Zahir Shah's rule, Afghanistan went through four decades of repression (1946-1963), democracy (1946-53), authoritarianism (1953-63), and the establishment of democracy (1963-73) (Farzanehpour & Yousafzai, 2016).

c. Dawood Khan Period

The aforementioned approach changed course once again in the Republic of Dawood Khan and then was considered in the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan (1978-92). The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, which had communist roots, used harsh and violent measures to establish a strong government. The goal of the states in these periods was to eliminate all traditional symbols, tribal patterns, and social relations based on indigenous elements in order to bring society under their control and to ensure its compliance with the state (Dehshiar, 2008).

9. The Model of Unity in Ethnic Plurality

a. The Era of Dawood Khan

The Republic of Dawood Khan adopts an integrationist approach to ethnic politics with the goal of coalition-building pluralism. Unlike his predecessor, which was based on three traditional pillars of ethnicism (emphasis on Afghan nationalism), family ties, and religion (Dehshiar, 2008), Dawood Khan embarked on reforms (Dehshiar, 2008). Dawood Khan, with the leadership of the country's main institutions such as the presidency, prime minister, defense, and foreign affairs, built an authoritarian state (Davoudi, 2002). By declaring his republican system, one of the most important foundations of the state's political legitimacy in Afghanistan; The monarchy collapsed. It also shook the government and the next principle of this structure, which was the religion of Islam. Daoud Khan was optimistic about parties, media, and the press, which were considered as tools for the political and socialization of the nation, and instead relied too much on his own intellectual abilities (Farzanehpour & Yousafzai, 2016). In his republican constitution, the manifestation of national sovereignty, power, and legitimacy depended on the will and consent of the Afghan nation (Ministry of Justice, 2003). However, Daoud Khan's republic did not help increase participation. The rights and satisfaction of the Afghan nation with its government could not be achieved. Especially after the change in the Islamic symbol removed the flag, mihrab, and pulpit from it and replaced it with an eagle. The people showed a strong armed reaction, and the purge and cleansing of the Afghan leftist and communist elites who sought to impose their regime on the people and ensure the rule of their state, increased the intensity of the civil war. (Farzanehpour & Yousafzai, 2016). Thus, Daoud's rule, by pursuing its ethnic policy with the dominance of Afghanism (Mir Ali & Mohseni,

2015), and by formally recognizing other ethnic groups, can be interpreted in the model of the ethnic policy of unity in plurality.

b. Hamid Karzai's era

Another step taken to address the issues of the groups during Hamid Karzai's reign (2001-14); Since 2001, and after the Bonn Conference, with the agreement of all ethnic groups and with international pressure and support, the interim government led by Karzai in Afghanistan has been effective (Hossein Khani, 2011). Within six months, an emergency Loya Jirga was held in Kabul and the formation of the interim government for a period of two years was approved, and Karzai was appointed as the head of state.

Then, on January 4, 2004, a new constitution was adopted, establishing the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan (Krampe, 2013), and the transitional government became the country's official government, with legislative completion following the National Assembly elections in December 2005.

The importance of the Bonn Agreement was that after three decades of conflict and failed attempts to end the Afghan crisis, in an unexpected development, with the help of the international community, all political groups and parties (except the Taliban and the Islamic Party) agreed to establish a state based on democracy; the appropriate ethnic, geographical, religious composition, and participation of women were taken into account, and the principle of separation of powers was also accepted (Hossein Khani, 2011). The fundamental legal significance was also that it designed political centralization in Afghanistan and also the stabilization of the country's state institutions; therefore, this constitution is considered a major step in the nation-building efforts.

In particular, Afghan politicians hoped that this law would provide the basis for ending the division between Afghan groups and their alliance (Cheganizadeh & Sahrai, 2014). However, since the Hezb-e-Islami and the Taliban had no place in the central government and 90 percent of key government posts were held by the Tajik alliance alone, it not only did not necessarily represent Afghanistan's ethnic diversity, but also one of the most important factors The war also became more protracted (Hafiz, 2017). In turn, ethnic differences became apparent, and in the second round of the 2009 presidential election, Abdullah, the Tajik candidate, withdrew from the race against Hamid Karzai, the Afghan candidate (Heydari & Rahmanood, 2018) although both sides were supported by various regions, ethnic groups, and political parties in the country.

However, what was decided at the 14th session of the parliament on the political structure of 2001 was to some extent in line with the pluralist approach. The 2004 constitution officially recognized the identity of the peoples, local languages, and the two Hanafi and Ja'fari schools of thought. In terms of liberal democracy, the number of parties and elections were considered as the basis for free competition for power. In addition, the emphasis on diversity in the composition of government institutions, even if only nominally, the broadcasting of mixed Pashto and Dari programs on the media, and the delivery of bilingual speeches by government officials are signs of the "unity in diversity" approach. The law also prohibits parties from engaging in ethnic activities that have members from at least 20 of the 34 provinces; Presidential candidates must have 100,000 voter supporters from 20 provinces, with at least 2 percent from each province. In addition, the generalization and formalization of the Afghan identity and the removal of ethnicity from the national ID card are issues that are more similar to the model of identification (Arvin, 2001). Of course, recently, with an emphasis on Afghan identity, the name of the ethnicity has also been included in the national ID cards.

The Karzai government also pursued a policy of compromise with warlords and local leaders (Deshiyar, 2012) who sometimes acted on his orders and The central government also used soldiers. Karzai, in line with ethnic politics, practically disarmed the Hazaras. He started the disarmament program from the Hazara-inhabited areas, not from Kunduz, where the Uzbeks live, or from Panjshir, where the Tajiks live? (Khatami, 2004). This disarmament program started from Behsud and Bamiyan and the Hazara-inhabited areas. Hazara leaders came out in a cooperative position. The Hazaras of Afghanistan were the first people to accept the handover of their weapons with open arms. But other ethnic groups did not participate in this process, and this issue was due to the ethnic politics of other ethnic groups, as many from Tajik, Uzbek and Pashtun areas did not attend and surrender their weapons.

The new constitution approved in 2001 also did not contain any legal prohibitions against Hazaras reaching the highest levels of power and government; (Constitution of 2001), and in the selection of the President, ministers, deputies, heads of the legislative branch, judiciary and courts, no ethnic or religious condition was imposed, although in practice, ethnic behavior is practiced. In these circumstances, the ballot was returned and individuals were introduced to the parliament by the Hazara leaders three times for a vote of confidence, but none of these individuals were able to receive a vote of confidence (Aiti, 2021). Ethnic politics, the Karzai government, which has been formed in line with ethnic politics, is observed in government departments.

Table of total government employees of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan by ethnicity (1) (Secretariat, 2005)

Ethnic Groups	Pashton	Tajik	Hazara	Ozbek	Aimaq	Nooristani	Sadat	Turkman	Baloch	Pashayee	Qizilbash	Bayat	Arab	Others
Number of Employees	3327	5870	580	348	7	23	171	33	30	21	15	13	5	20
Percentage of Total Employees	34.63	52.95	5.29	3.62	0.07	0.24	1.78	0.34	0.31	0.22	0.16	0.14	0.5	0.21

Chart (1) Civil Servants by Ethnicity (Secretariat, 2005)

Employee Ethnic Composition Chart
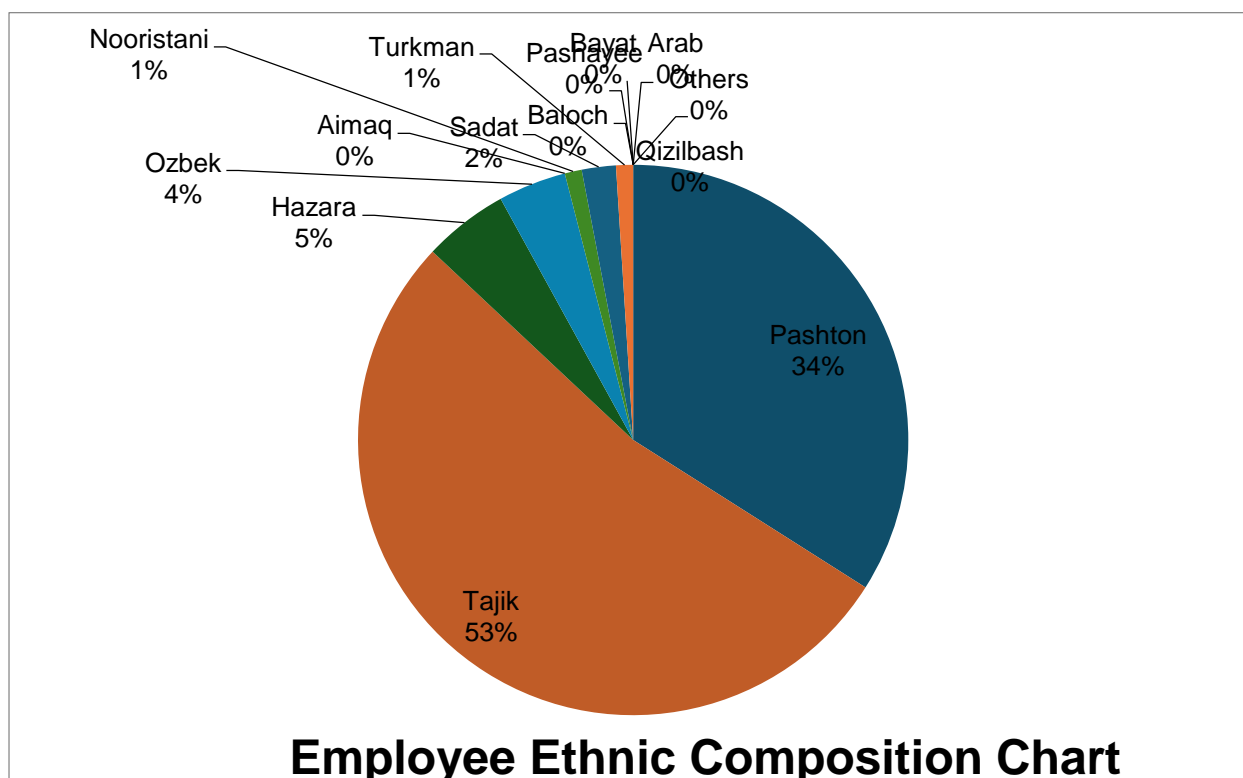
Hamid Karzai, who was appointed as the interim head of the Afghan government at the Bonn conference and, after winning the presidential elections twice, completed his legal term

after 12 years and officially handed over power to the next government by holding another election.

c. Mohammad Ashraf Ghani's term

After the 2014 elections and the announcement of the presidential results by the Independent Election Commission, the height of the disagreements between the presidential candidates, the rejection of the election results, the possibility of ethnic tension and the formation of a "parallel government"1, and therefore, with the mediation of the US Secretary of State, an alternative plan for a national unity government was formed (Sharan, 2016). And considering that in the leadership of the Afghan National Unity Government that was formed after the tense 2014 elections, seven people were placed at the top of the pyramid of the political structure of the Afghan government based on ethnic policies, which are: Mohammad Ashraf Ghani, President, from the Pashtun tribe, Abdul Rashid Dostum, First Vice President, Uzbek, and Mohammad Sarwar Danish, Second Vice President, Hazara, and Abdullah

(Chief Executive Officer) from the Tajik tribe, Mohammad Khan, First Vice President, Pashtun, and Mohammad Mohaqiq, Second Vice President, Hazara, Ahmad Zia Massoud, Presidential Representative for Reforms and Governance, were also of Tajik descent. In addition, the two groups divided the political structure of the government in the lower ranks The cabinet had divided the provinces and embassies among them, with the mediation of the United States, in a way that reflected the ethnic realities of the country, so that Afghanistan's ethnic composition could be adequately represented in the political structure.

Table (2) Ethnic composition of the members of the National Unity Cabinet (Yazdan Panah and Ahmadi 2021/327)

| Ethnic Group	Pashton	Tajik	Hazara	Ozbek	Others	Total
Number	10	8	5	2	1	26
Percentage	38	31	19	8	4	100
Members of the Transformation and Continuity Team (Mohammad Ashraf Ghani)						
Ethnic Group	Pashton	Tajik	Hazara	Ozbek	Others	Total
Number	8	2	2	1	1	14
Percentage	57	14	14	7	7	100
Members of Reform and Convergence (Abdullah)						
Ethnic Group	Pashton	Tajik	Hazara	Ozbek	Others	Total
Number	2	6	3	1	0	12
Percentage	17	50	25	8	0	100

The differences between the two political factions in power intensified the polarization of the government and led to a parallel political structure. However, President Ghani tried to centralize power around the administration and his advisors (Sharan, 2016: 159). On the other hand, Abdullah tried to bring his jihadi allies, who had been marginalized by Hamid Karzai, back into the political structure (Sharan, 2016). Based on this approach to ethnic politics, the political structure also became ethnic, and the distribution of government posts among ethnic groups was exclusive.

A study of the ethnic composition of important departments of the Administration, the Office of the Chief Executive, the Office of the Second Deputy Chief Executive, and a list of advisors to the President of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan shows (Sharan, 2016). The following charts show the ethnic composition of departments in the National Unity Government.

Charts (3, 4, 5 and 6) Ethnic composition of recruitments in executive offices as of September 2015. (Sharan 2016/100, drawing by Yazdan Panah and Ahmadi, 2021/331)
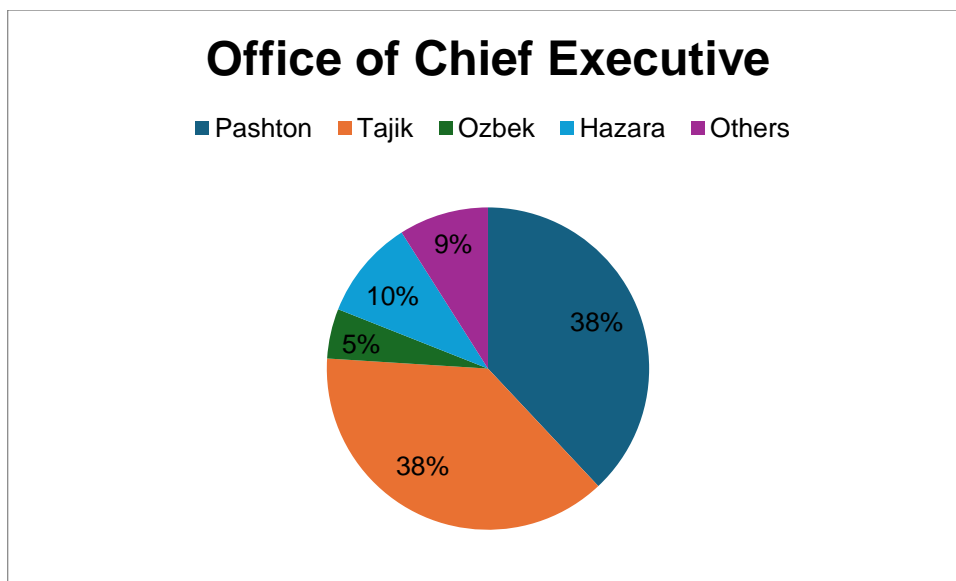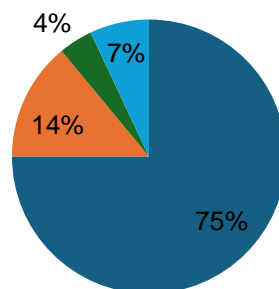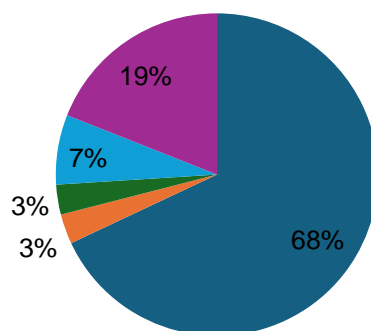
Office of Second Deputy Chief Executive

Pashton
4%

Tajik
9%

Ozbek
4%
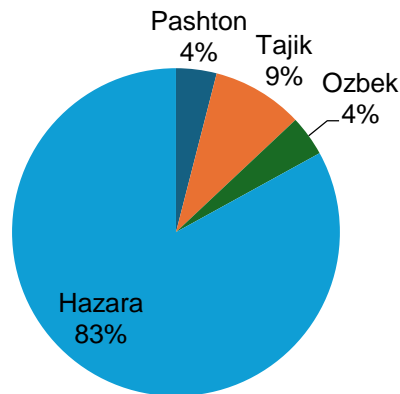
Hazara
83%

Administrative Office of President

■ Pashton　■ Tajik　■ Ozbek　■ Hazara

4%

7%

14%

75%

Office Advisor to the President

■ Pashton　■ Tajik　■ Ozbek　■ Hazara　■ Others

19%

7%

3%

3%

68%

Given the existence of a political structure and the influence of a council, including the "Loya Jirga," which is the most competent decision-making body in Afghanistan and has

Afghan roots and superiority; continuity of leadership; allocation of the presidency of important national organs and foreign and international missions to Afghans (especially in the Ghani government); the national anthem and national terms in Pashto; the president's uniform; and, along with the recognition of other ethnic groups, the Dari language and the Shia religion and its contribution to the political structure; these are some of the things that can be summarized in the post-Taliban period in a concise model.

Conclusion

In conclusion, it can be said that the political structure of Afghanistan is dependent on ethnic politics. The behaviors and actions of the rulers of Afghanistan can be categorized into three patterns and models of ethnic politics.

The first category: In sociology, it was used to mean the process of accepting the values, patterns, and lifestyle of the superior group by individuals and groups of society in such a way that they are absorbed and digested within the superior group. Theories of unity or assimilation (adaptation or simulation or homogenization or homogenization) see the solution in erasing the problem and transforming the minority into the majority. Assimilation can be considered the process of permanent integration of members of an ethnic and cultural group, immigrants or other minorities, into a larger society. Since the founding of Afghanistan, the rulers have used the approach of patterns and models of ethnic assimilation based on Afghanism (Pashto) to lead and control it, and despite institutionalizing Afghan nationalism. However, they were unable to fully integrate other ethnic groups into the political structure, eliminate cultural differences, and change the equations of the center and its periphery. The second category: In this pattern and model, in Afghanistan, there are people with very different ethnic backgrounds and the ethnic structure is in a mosaic and puzzle form. Pluralistic governance could keep different ethnic groups together like pieces of a mosaic. In the pluralistic model, the Afghan rulers They used the approach of pluralism patterns and models that led to the equality and equality of ethnic groups. Although they had significant achievements, traditional values hindered them and ultimately ceded the playing field to the other side. The third category: According to this model, plurality is emphasized along with unity; during the period of the Republic of Daoud Khan and the twenty-year period of the republican system in Afghanistan, although the rulers sought to dominate a single culture; to return power to the Pashtun people. They also recognized the rights of ethnic and religious groups. Instead of eliminating and excluding ethnic groups, ethnic and cultural diversity was defined based on the realization of citizenship rights to the cultures and languages existing in the national territory and the definition of national identity based on unity

in plurality. So that one day the Uzbek language, the Hazara language, and the Pashtun language were officially included in the country's calendar. The findings of this study show that the political structure in Afghanistan has always been based on ethnic policies and the ruling Afghan tribe (Pashto). In other human societies, people have power over the states. However, in Afghan society, which is a highly traditional society that has power based on religion, sect, ethnicity, and even tribe. In this country, all interactions, relations, political and social affairs are formed based on religion, ethnicity, and the continuation of states is in the shadow of ethnicity and religion. On the other hand, the rulers of the states have also tried in various ways to reduce the influence of ethnicity and religion and transform the bilateral relations of ethnicity, tribe, and states and turn them in favor of central sovereignty.

From Abdali, Abdul Rahman, Habibullah, Nader, Hashim, and Dawood, the Mujahideen used the approach of patterns and models of ethnic identification based on Afghanism to lead and control it, and despite institutionalizing Afghan nationalism, But they could not completely integrate other ethnic groups into To integrate the political structure and eliminate cultural differences and change the equations of the center and its periphery. Also, Amanullah, Shah Mahmud, Zahir Shah, Nur Mohammad Taraki, Hafizullah Amin, Babrak Karmal and Najibullah moved towards pluralism models and patterns that led to equality and equity of ethnic groups. Although they had significant achievements, traditional values hindered them and ultimately left the playing field to the other side. Finally, the Republic of Daoud Khan and the governments of Hamid Karzai and Mohammad Ashraf Ghani emphasized the model and models of unity in diversity and recognized all ethnic groups and religions, and concentrated on the dominance of the (Pashto) tribe and tried to lead and control social relations among themselves and the relations of society or the state in this way. Although in Afghanistan this type of ethnic policy seems to be more effective than the other two and during the republic period, it yielded relatively good results. But now, too, the negative effects of ethnicism have existed in all areas of Afghan life and are a major obstacle to national identity, political development and the effectiveness of governments in this country.

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