



The Nation Building Challenges in Afghanistan

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Abstract

Afghanistan is a multinational country that suffers from the lack of cultural, social and political homogeneity. This heterogeneity has led to several factions, disintegration and fragmentation of the Afghan society in the long term. Keeping in mind that Afghanistan is a heterogeneous society from a natural and human point of view, the process of nation building has been accompanied by many challenges and obstacles. Due to its geographical distribution, this country has caused the presence of many tribes and human groups, and as a result of this dispersion, the interaction between these groups has faced many challenges. Also, the strategic position of this country has played a deterrent role. In its contemporary history, Afghanistan was continuously considered as a region of competition in the colonial games of the expansionist powers, especially the Russians, the British, and then the Americans. The Soviet Union has turned these competitions into a hot battlefield, which has also added to the challenges.

In the process of nation building in Afghanistan, various factors and challenges such as natural geography, human geography, political challenges and economic challenges have disrupted the process of nation building. The above challenges have caused ethnic, religious, linguistic, etc. differences in this country. For them, these differences are the failure of the nation-building process. Nation-building is the most effective key for solidarity and achieving collective benefits in today's era, especially in countries like Afghanistan, which suffers from internal conflicts and external interventions and has not yet experienced the process of nation-building in a real way. It is considered an important value in the political life of this country. Therefore, in this article, the role of the challenges of nation building has been examined and analyzed. The current research has investigated this trend with descriptive analytical method using books, articles and internet resources.

Key words: nation-building, religious-ethnic divide, elites, political, culture.

1. Introduction

Although the process of nation-building has a long history of several hundred years, especially after the French revolution, this phenomenon grew faster in the years after World War II. In the post-Cold War space, in a new type of state-nation-building, which is mainly deduced from the experiences of the 1990s in the Balkans, Iraq and Afghanistan, a foreign agent tries to go ahead with its planning and support policies. State-to lead nation-building in

another country. Of course, the background of this type should be known about Germany and Japan after World War II (Aminian and Ghahrodi, 2011).

But the development of nation-building in culturally heterogeneous countries, especially with linguistic, ethnic and religious diversity and their belief in being a nation, requires the creation of a suitable social and political platform, which is based on social justice, political and economic development. It says that all the multiple identities of a society see their rights and presence in its mirror (Mashreghi, 2018).

From the point of view of political and social science scientists, nation building is considered important for the stability and development of all spheres of life. To extent the national crisis is considered to be one of the main challenges for the security, stability, development and progress of a society (Rahimi, 2016).

Afghanistan is one of the few countries in the world, due to the multitude of ethnic groups and nationalities, where different and sometimes heterogeneous ethnic groups and tribes live. Apart from the major ethnic groups, many ethnic minorities live in this country (Sajjadi, 2016).

Due to the lack of a unifying solution, the diversity and heterogeneity of the ethnic groups has caused the nation-building process in this country to not be able to overcome the related crisis successfully. Therefore, despite the passage of many years since the independence of this country, a common national identity has not yet been defined and acceptable for all ethnic groups and nationalities (ibid.).

According to the social fabric of Afghanistan, this country is made up of different ethnic groups with different values, the ethnic diversity in Afghanistan has caused many problems for nation building. The nation-building process, which is one of the most important political issues, still faces many challenges in the Afghan society. From the beginning of the formation of Afghanistan until now, the rulers of Afghanistan have ruled with the ethnic card, and their policy in front of other ethnic groups has been associated with supremacy and supremacy.

This ethnic supremacy, along with other challenges, has hindered the realization of the nation-building process. Considering that nation-building can be the best tool for solidarity in the multi-fabric society of Afghanistan. For this reason, in the present study, with the aim of explaining and understanding the challenges of nation-building in Afghanistan, these challenges have been examined and analyzed.

2-1. Nation building

Nation building is a sociological-historical approach that with the fading of ethnic, tribal, racial, gender, linguistic and... A significant number of "people", in a specific land, achieve a "common historical identity" and consider maintaining its values as one of their vital duties (Haqshinas and Yousefi, 2010). In fact, it can be said that no matter how much the nation-state system is strengthened and stabilized at the global level, it will be provided more favorably at the domestic (national) level of each country and will subsequently help to ensure order at the regional and international levels. Qawam and Zargar, 2017).

Considering the experience of European countries, Huntington proposes several stages in the nation-building process, which are:

- 1- The action of the modern government elites to create a modern government and develop new institutions and bureaucracy and developments in the fields of information, communication, economy, etc.;
- 2- The government's action for nation-building and national identity through modern educational, communication, and cultural institutions and the development of national authority over transnational identities and authority;
- 3- increasing the responsiveness and efficiency of the modern government and new government institutions;

4- Creating and expanding the collaborative capacities of the government and institutions to involve individuals (Sardar Niya, 2013).

2-2- Nation-building

The nation-building state is one of the achievements of modern man, which originates from the Westphalia peace treaty in Europe. The countries of the world generally go through two models for the nation-building state. The bottom-up model, or the European model, and the top-down model, or the American model, in the first model, a nation is formed first, then it establishes its government, and in the second model, a government is formed first, then the nation is formed. It makes a balance. Other models that some of them mention eventually lead to one of these two models (Abtahi and Torabi, 2014).

Nation-building is a process in which a political society tries to acquire, maintain and promote its autonomy, sovereignty and independence through the accumulation of power and the development of institutional capacity. Such a goal is highly dependent on increasing social-national solidarity and integration and political stability, especially in the concept of developing democratic institutions (Moradzadeh and ShakriKhoi, 2016).

3- Ethnic identity

Ethnic identity and its intensification and prominence is one of the important social issues of multi-ethnic countries. The importance of this issue is greater, especially in underdeveloped countries. In these countries, where the civil society has not yet been institutionalized with its mechanisms, the intensification of ethnic identity can have destructive effects on their destiny. The main influence of ethnicity and ethnic identity in such countries is large. But this issue can also cause harm to people at the micro level. For example, at the level of ethnic identity, by affecting the national identity, it can endanger the foundation of a country. At the micro level, the intensification of ethnic identity by affecting the life relationships of people who live next to each other for some reason can create certain problems (Lehsaizadeh and others, 2009).

4- Ethnic-Religious Cracks

From a conceptual point of view, social rift refers to the basic conflicts and differences in the society in the fields of ethnicity, race, religion, language, class, and also modern conflicts. The ethnic gap is the distance and inequalities that have caused inequality in the political, economic and cultural-social fields in the granting of privileges and rights, in such a way that some ethnic groups are either excluded or marginalized at different levels of society Girin (Falahnejad and others, 2017).

5- Challenges of natural geography effective in the process of nation building in Afghanistan

The land is an area of land and water that is governed by the nation-state. The concept of nation-state loses its meaning without the existence of land. The element of geography is of great importance in the field of politics and in the form of land, it is one of the main elements of the state-nation phenomenon (Farji Rad and others, 2011). The land plays other important roles for the nations; the first argument that is always presented is that the land is a conceptual link between the nation and the state, in the form of state-nation (Jones and others, 2016).

Each of the geographical indicators of Afghanistan can affect the social structure and political action of its citizens. In the current situation, Afghanistan has distinctive features. Afghanistan is a landlocked country. In the south, this country borders the tribal areas of Pakistan, which is considered one of the centers of insecurity in this country, and because of the people's ties with this region, it practically has no control over these relations. On the other hand, in the northern regions, this country, together with Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan, does not practically include their government supervision due to the lack of proper infrastructure. In the western borders, there are opportunities for this country only in the northern parts of Darad and other areas on the western banks of the border with Iran are the deserts of Lam Yazare. Meanwhile, this issue has a double function for Afghanistan. Because, on the one hand, Afghanistan does not have any territorial claims that can be a danger for a nation-state, and on the other hand, these characteristics have created problems for the development process as a platform for solving the problems of nation-state-building. More importantly, being confined to land has had the greatest impact on this feature (Farji Rad et al., 2011).

6- Special Geographical Position of Afghanistan

Afghanistan is located in the middle of Central Asia as a closed fist and has the shape of a crossroads between the subcontinent of India, Central Asia, China and West Asia; For this reason, until the beginning of the 18th century, it was divided between the neighboring states and powers and was exposed to invasions from the north, south, west and east. The mountain ranges of Afghanistan have created a kind of important and strategic position for this country (Aliabadi, 2016). Afghanistan is located in the middle of Central Asia as a closed fist and has the shape of a crossroads between the subcontinent of India, Central Asia, China and West Asia; For this reason, until the beginning of the 18th century, it was divided between the neighboring states and powers and was exposed to invasions from the north, south, west and east. The mountain ranges of Afghanistan have created a kind of important and strategic position for this country (Aliabadi, 2016). The physical and geographical structure of Afghanistan is another factor in the weakness and failure of the formation and consistency of modern states and the formation of the nation-state in Afghanistan. The challenges of Afghanistan's geographical structure in nation-building come from different dimensions and aspects. From the external perspective, Afghanistan, as a buffer country between the two colonial powers, Tsarist Russia and then Russia-Bolshevik and British colonialism and then the United States of America, was continuously placed in their playground and competition. The geographical structure of Afghanistan is also considered a challenge for nation-building from the internal perspective. The mountainous location and the dispersion of the country's population among the valleys of the mountains and rural life and separate from each other make the phenomenon of nation formation in Afghanistan more inaccessible (Nourian, 2015).

7- Traditional Tribal Culture and Structure

Afghanistan is one of the few countries in the world, due to the multitude of ethnic groups and nationalities, where different and sometimes heterogeneous ethnic groups and tribes live. Due to the lack of a unifying solution, the diversity and heterogeneity of the ethnic groups has caused the nation-building process in this country to not be able to overcome the related crisis successfully. Therefore, even though many years have passed since the independence of this country, a common national identity has not yet been defined and acceptable for all ethnic groups and nationalities, and on this basis, in this country, scattered ethnic identities have replaced the national identity. (Sajjadi, 2016).

The durability of the traditional constructions of the tribal system has under its control about one third of the population of Afghanistan. This system, which is still alive among the Pashtuns of Ilati, is manifested in several institutions such as: Khan (head of the tribe), Malek (Kadkhoda), Jirga (an assembly that decides on all issues related to the group) and Loya Jirga (an assembly of representatives of different provinces that make decisions on major national issues, such as: approval and amending the constitution...), the guarantee and power that supports these customs is either religious, or it originates from economic institutions, or from the prestige and credit that the elders, that is, the association that often holds the power, derive from. take (Brigou and Roa, 1987).

Ethnic construction in Afghanistan is arranged in such a way that, from a practical and mental point of view, it has confused the way of mutual trust, communication and self-restraint. This situation has caused the tribal organization to have various identity differences and conflicts in terms of texture, which are generally classified in the levels of heterogeneity. Multiple levels of identity with all the incongruous characteristics that appear in the social balance have left several types of common effects on the national destiny (Farji Rad and others, 2011)

Mohammad Akram Arefi in analyzing the cultural challenges of political development in Afghanistan; First, these challenges are placed in the religious cultural systems and the Ili cultural system in the native cultural system, and in the new cultural system, liberalism and communism are mentioned. The combination of tribal mentality and Islamic fundamentalism has gradually turned into a political culture that poses major challenges to the development. The new political culture with themes such as ethnocentrism, violence, mistrust and negative individualism has drawn a sword on the country's political development in various ways (Irfan and Khani, 2017).

Traditional and tribal culture of Afghan society is oral and non-written culture. In oral culture, people are not responsible for their actions and behavior. In oral culture, dealing with social and political issues is not based on rules and regulations, but based on personal desires and interests. Oral culture is inherently anti-development culture; Because one of the characteristics of this culture is the lack of accountability of statesmen and individuals for their behavior. Traditional and tribal culture is a person oriented culture and not personality oriented. This statement means that in the traditional society, the social position and dignity of people is judged not based on their knowledge, expertise and thoughts, but based on their personal and family position and social base. His family and social base are judged. In this culture of thought, people's expertise and work skills are not of serious importance to the khordar, but his family relationship and ethnic and racial base are taken into consideration. This negative characteristic of traditional culture destroys another important element of democratization and challenges the nation-building process (Mansour, 2017).

7-1- Deep Cultural and Social Gaps

The main characteristic of the Afghan society, which has emerged in the political structure of this country, is the multi-ethnic, religious and generally cultural structure of this country. The main and fundamental factors of inefficiency and the challenge of this structure should be considered to be influenced and caused by the special work and unorganized and disintegrable processes of such a structure. Due to the different ethnic groups and religions in Afghanistan, the social and cultural structure is based on discontinuous foundations and disorganization that show multiple, inconsistent and different characteristics in the objective function of a structure. Emphasizing tribal allegiances, insisting on descent values and subcultures, prioritizing religious ideas over religious solidarity principles, and making tribal symbols taboo instead of national symbols are obvious manifestations of education. It is the lack of "national spirit" that has crystallized the profiles of multiple structures in the political unit of Afghanistan (Noorian, 2015).

One of the factors of not developing a modern national government and creating a nation in Afghanistan is due to the unclear image of national values and common national interests. National values are universal or collective values that create the common needs of the residents of a country in order to promote common life. However, common national values and interests in Afghanistan remain undefined and unagreed. The multiplicity of ethnic and linguistic groups, their separate and heterogeneous life, remaining bound by tribal and ethnic traditions, becomes an obstacle in the direction of introducing and establishing common national values and interests. Ethnic groups define national identity and national values based on their interests and interests (ibid: 122).

7-2- Religious Divide

The meaning of religious conflict is a situation in which the tension and characteristics of forces are formed based on religious beliefs and tendencies and follows the process of social hostility and conflict. When some people try to impose their values on others, due to serious differences in beliefs and values, this causes religious conflict, which is affected by social conditions and internal flow. Transition to social conflicts with conflicting goals intensifies (Sajadi, 2016).

Perhaps no element can be considered as influential and decisive in the social-ethnic relations of Afghanistan as religion. Since religion exists in the depth of beliefs and beliefs of the people of Afghanistan, in the spirit and levels of traditions and attachments to religion, it has limited the mental capacity of the tribes to the degree of opening the rationality and ability of the collective wisdom and to the emergence and spread of "nervousness" in the conscience. The collective unconscious is a data field (Farji Rad and others, 2011). The historical memory of Afghan society remembers frequent individual and collective conflicts due to religious affiliations and tendencies. These conflicts have sometimes led to bloody confrontations (Farji Rad and others, 2011).

7-3- Ethnic Divide in Afghanistan

The long-standing conflict in Afghanistan is basically ethnic. Each ethnic group tries to make a place for itself in the political structure of power; But they fail in this direction, they move towards violence. d. The level of interest and ethnic solidarity in this society is much higher than social solidarity in an advanced society; it has an organic aspect and is based on a kind of division of social work. Currently, based on ethnicity, two main groups are active in Afghanistan: the Northern Alliance, which mainly includes Tajik, Hazara, and Uzbek ethnic groups, and the second group, which includes mostly Pashtuns. Establishing a balance between the Pashtun and non-Pashtun groups and the

intra-Pashtun ethnic divide and the overall ethnic characteristics of the Afghan society are among the main challenges of the nation-building state in this country (Qureshi Karin and others, 2017).

The ethnic divide in Afghanistan, despite the fact that due to the ethnic and tribal nature of the social structure of this society, has always been an effective factor in political life, but sometimes it was inactive and did not have a serious impact. The non-ruling ethnic groups, who have always had a negative and suspicious view of the ruling ethnic group and especially the central government, in most cases, due to the coercive force of social control, have not had the opportunity to emerge and only in cases where family conflicts Over power, the compulsion to control political sovereignty has reduced, and the activation of these divisions has led to ethnic conflicts and bloody tribal conflicts (Sajadi, 2016).

In Afghanistan, the ethnic identity can be defined, but the political identity has not yet been formed, and the Afghan tribes are currently organized on the basis of race, and the political currents of Afghanistan could not put the country and the various tribes of Afghanistan in the endurance of becoming a nation, and this has led to the formation of cultures. They remained tribal and ethnic, and unfortunately, we still do not see a current that takes a serious step in this direction (Shefa'i, 2007 at: www.b.b.c.p.com). The experience of failing the "Afghan nation" by placing the Pashtun people and the Pashto language at its core, not only has not brought any progress in the past century, but has also torn apart Shiraz and national violence in the country.

If it is not prevented, the collapse of the country into several parts is inevitable. It can be said with certainty that the nation-building project in Afghanistan based on the Pashtun ethnic group has failed and a new plan for nation-building and state-building in the country should be thought of. At least a century and a half ago, Afghan governments, especially the Karzai government, squandered great capacities in the way of consolidating tribal and ethnic sovereignty and Pashtunization of the country. While these costs should be spent in the way of strengthening national unity (Arinfar,).

7-4- Linguistic Identity

Language is one of the basic elements of national identity, which, with its multifaceted functions, makes the national society the same level and dignity and cultivates common concepts and interests. But in Afghanistan, language has served as a model of separation and alienation of the country's ethnic groups and nationals

It is a symbol of ethnic identity and differentiation and sometimes even a sign of racial prejudice. In Afghanistan, there are two main and official languages that have played a role as two criteria of cultural separation in the national arena: "Pashto" is the language that distinguishes the Pashtun people from other ethnic groups and is an important element of cultural-ethnic continuity and an effective factor of differentiation. And the Pashtun community's political status has been set. "Persian" is the mother tongue of two big tribes, Tajik and Hazaha, but the absolute majority of Afghan people speak it. The hostile policy of many of the country's rulers towards the Persian language, despite its official status, has led to the expansion and intensification of linguistic sensitivities. The preference of Pashto language to Farsi in educational, administrative and cultural centers on the one hand has led to the weakening of the sphere of influence of this historical heritage and on the other hand, it has fueled the tension and social-cultural confrontation between Farsi speakers and Pashto speakers. Is. The problem of linguistic polarization does not end in this issue. In addition to the above-mentioned languages, there are as many ethnic diversity, language varieties and local dialects in Afghanistan: Uzbek, Turkmen, Imagi, Kyrgyz, Peshawari, Nuristani and more than fifty other languages and dialects among them. It is common for different ethnic groups and clans in the country that sometimes affiliation and even prejudice has spread to the number of people who speak these languages (Farji Rad et al., 2011).

8- Cultural and Social Poverty

The relationship between political development and culture in Afghanistan has always been one of the concerns of people of culture and thought. To what extent, Afghanistan's development programs have been effective in forming a culture based on the nation's individualism and creating motivation, commitment and mobility in people; Almost everyone's answer is no. Therefore, the cultural variable has always played a negative role as a challenge for the political development of Afghanistan. For the first time, Bashir Ahmad Ansari raised the tribal mentality regarding the cultural obstacles to development in Afghanistan, and after him, almost directly or indirectly, many people spoke about this combination in the challenges of Afghanistan's political development. Come. From Bashir Ahmad Ansari's point of view, the Islamic world in general and Afghanistan in particular have suffered from tribal mentality (Irfan and Khani, 2017).

The country of Afghanistan is a clear example of cultural poverty and awareness, in this regard, factors such as lack of modernization in social and communication structures, stagnation of the political system, and the continuation of the rigid social and cultural system have been effective. The long-term war in Afghanistan has caused the destruction of the educational system and extreme cultural poverty (Sardarnia and Hosseini, 2014). Of course, in recent years, there have been developments in the field of pre-university and university education that should not be ignored, however, they still have a considerable distance from the ideal point, and this itself is an important obstacle to nation-building and a factor for the fragility of the government. Has acted (same: 60).

Afghanistan has a diverse ethnic, linguistic, religious and cultural demographic composition. The impact of war and long-term internal conflicts in recent decades has caused huge losses in the society, which aside from the amount of life and economic losses, the society has also overshadowed the process of nation building in this country. One of the big challenges in the field of The population of Afghanistan is a problem, there is a high percentage of illiteracy in this country. The lack of proper social infrastructure has prevented the attraction and participation of different people and groups in the process of nation building in this country (Badakhshani, 2014).

9- National Identity Crisis in Afghanistan

In geography, the identity of each person and each place is a function of the elements of the biosphere, its functions and symbols. Based on this, identity as a functional variable is a set of characteristics, spatial identifiers and learned behavioral patterns through which a person distinguishes his place and group from other places and groups. Identity appears more or less in objective institutions, interests and sense of responsibility and becomes the basis for the emergence and evolution of social life. The concept of identity refers to the natural human needs to be recognized. Knowing the dimensions of who and what human beings are has a history as long as the history of human group life; Because basically multiple dimensions of identity are formed in connection with social interaction and socialization process. The search for identity as a necessity for the continuation of the social system is an attempt to establish a correct relationship between the individual and the society as a whole (Kaviani-Rad and Fatahi, 2012).

Undoubtedly, today the question of identity and the issue of identity crisis is one of the most controversial questions in human society, because identity is tied to what and the nature of human beings, and any answer and orientation to this question, Determining the place of man in the world will determine the future course of mankind and will determine the future interactions of the world. On the other hand, the category of identity today has suffered a crisis in various ways. The emergence of the global media and the entry into the information age, massive population migrations and the exile of people from their lands have worn out the dependence of identity on place and space to a

great extent, and the new space and new worlds are all or the cause of this. There have been crises or they have intensified it (Moradi, 2015).

National identity as a social and political phenomenon is born in the modern era of Europe, which starts from the 17th century. This concept has made its way to third world and newly independent countries in the late 19th century and especially after the two world wars. National identity emerged with the formation of the nation in its modern sense. National identity is a scientific concept from the new creations of social sciences, which has been spreading since the second half of the 20th century instead of the concept of "national character and national character" which was a concept of the era of romantic thinking. Professor Motahari believes that "if we call national identity a form of national feeling or nationalism, the definition provided is the existence of a common feeling or conscience and collective consciousness among a number of people who make up a political unit or a nation. (Navabakhsh and Moqtadarzadeh Maleki, 2012).

Considering the natural geography of Afghanistan, the lack of common identity in this country does not seem strange. Two-thirds of Afghanistan's land is covered by the western end of the Hindu Kush mountain range, which forms one of the highest and most rugged mountain regions in the world. By looking at the map of Afghanistan, it is clear that not only the high mountains form the main geographical aspect of Afghanistan, but also many cities, including Kabul, the capital of the country, are also separated from separated from each other. The small mountain communities of Turke, the number of inhabitants of some of them does not even reach a hundred people, are so remote that their communication with the outside world is very limited and sometimes it is limited to the passage of a private car that takes some people along the road. (Corna, 2004).

In the country of Afghanistan, due to the existence of strong ethnic and tribal feelings and tendencies and the absence of a sense of belonging to a particular single nation, it has caused the formation of a sectarian identity. Based on this, the Afghan society should reach an identity consensus in the sense of emphasizing the basis of an inclusive and formative identity for civil identity. This is despite the fact that in a society where there is a feeling of belonging to a single nation, the identity takes a civil form. In a society with a sectarian identity, it is very difficult for the government to control and dominate the society. This has caused the central governments in Afghanistan to not be able to effectively control the marginal and rural areas that house the majority of the country's population. Afghanistan is an ethnic land where different ethnic groups live. The tribal system has hindered the progress, development, and transformation of the Afghan society and the tribal system has separated the nations and groups of people from each other (Khobdel et al., 2003).

One of the challenging issues of Afghan society is the national identity crisis. That is, due to the lack of national identity, social identity has not yet been formed in Afghanistan. Some believe that in Afghanistan, we are facing a "multi-fabric" or even "multiple" society rather than a national one. . "Multiple fragmentation" is the most accurate description of Afghanistan's tribal society, therefore, the root crisis in Afghanistan is the crisis of "national identity" in such a way that it is in conflict with "social" identity. It means that no "national identity" has been created in Afghanistan so far (Uzbaki, 2015). which has made Afghanistan face a crisis of national identity today.

In fact, it can be said that identity is the most important crisis that has stood in the way of modernization and development in Afghanistan. Mahmoud Tarzi, the architect of Afghanistan's identity, built identity structures on the elimination of the Persian language; It was never able to display the complete structures of national identity. Mahmoud Tarzi's actions, which were directly and indirectly influenced by the nationalism of the 19th century; He imposed identity structures on our nation that did not agree with the will of the majority of the Afghan nation. These structures caused social discontinuities, which have dangerously manifested themselves in the form of dense cracks. Even the removal actions of Abdul Rahman Khan and the monolingual policy of Hashim Khan and Mohammad Khan

Mohmand did not affect the national identity. Pan-Afghanism in Afghanistan became the political discourse of the 30s and 40s by directly modeling Atatürk's Pan-Turkism and indirectly influenced by Nazism (Irfan and Khani, 2017).

10- The Weakness of the Central Government

Never in the history of Afghanistan since the 16th century (since independence) has there been any issue that the government is the highest institution of governance. In Afghanistan, the government not only does not have a long-term governance experience, but has also become a bankrupt government. The extent of the authority of the central government is only limited to the capital and some big cities of the country. The next part of Afghanistan's governance tradition has been the weakness of the government in front of the society. The government has always been weak in this country; Because it did not have the ability to dominate an ethnic and tribal social structure that is resistant and sometimes dominates the government, which has provided the ground for the failure of the process of nation-state building and creating instability (Bahoush Fardeghi and Zanganeh, 2016: 34).

Since the formation of the Durrani dynasty, which is the beginning of the modern era of Afghanistan, this country has experienced a constant crisis. The chronic crisis in Afghanistan, which has made South Asia face instability even today, stems from this fact, that is, the inability to create a powerful and effective government structure. All efforts have failed over the past few centuries because the nature of social relations, which are basically ethnic and tribal, is still strong. Ethnic and tribal divisions, like the centuries before life, are part of the identity and perspective of the people in Afghanistan. The government is fragmented and divided, and for this reason, the multiple sources of authority prevent the concentration of power in the capital. In order to establish a powerful central government, there was never a fundamental attempt to completely collapse the ethnic nature of the society, and the only attempt was to strengthen and intensify the control over ethnicities and tribes. Afghanistan's chronic crisis has a historical character and a textual nature (emerging from the heart of the society and social equations) which originates from the reality of the country's ethnicity (Dahshiar, 2010).

Extensive efforts in the direction of the process of nation-state building by the international community in Afghanistan and under the leadership of the United States of America are aimed at increasing the empowerment of the central government and confronting the factors that undermine the stability and security of this country. Attention to the formation of a strong government and the foundation of a modern and democratic government and the system of separation of powers has created hope in the direction of this country's movement towards empowerment and the possibility of independent action. Extensive measures to strengthen national solidarity and the nation-building process were also placed on the agenda of the international agenda and countries such as the United States, which has continued with ups and downs since 2001. Although these efforts are aimed at building the government and making it possible to exercise authority, it faces many problems due to cultural characteristics and the lack of proper infrastructure in this country (Badakhshani, 2014).

Despite the emergence of different regimes that had diverse ideologies and governmental structures in Afghanistan, historically this country has been formed by a weak central government whose statesmen did not want or could not exercise financial and administrative authority. So that today more than 80% of the population of Afghanistan lives in rural areas and the government of this country is facing a large budget deficit and is not able to exercise its authority in the majority of the country's territory and the local powerful, the rulers These areas are undisputed (Heidari and Rahnavard, 2011). Despite the formation of the central government in Afghanistan, the government of Kabul is mainly considered a weak government (Qureshi Kirin and others, 2017). However, the weakness of the central government throughout the history of Afghanistan has caused the nation-building process to fail.

11- Political Structure

The political structure of Afghanistan throughout the modern history has had many fundamental flaws in the two sectors of state building and government building. Due to the lack of a universal and national desire to establish a state, state-building in plural societies will inevitably turn to nation-building. For this reason, nation-building and state-building in such societies are parallel to each other and basically there is no separation between them; In the way that there is a relationship between these two concepts "this same". In Afghanistan, like other heterogeneous societies, there was never any desire to form a government. With the formation of the modern government in Afghanistan, it was inevitable to adapt the requirements of this modern phenomenon. By extending the central power to the whole country and challenging the power of different ethnic groups, a feeling of dissatisfaction and disgust with the central government was formed among various groups. The problematic nation-building government in Afghanistan caused ethnic alignment and this method was followed in the post-Taliban period as well (Naimi, 2017).

The political structure in Afghanistan (centralized government) The outstanding paradox about modern Afghanistan is this: a country that needs a decentralized government that can provide services to its scattered population with different races has one of the most centralized governments in the world. . This paradox has caused the most basic needs of Afghan citizens to remain largely unanswered and unfulfilled, and the people of that country to be vulnerable to foreign forces that have brought their conflicts to the Afghan field for a long time. (Mulay, 2007).

Changing the presidential system to the type of "authoritarian democracy" in Afghanistan and concentrating power in the hands of one person seems more likely than creating a democratic and democratic system. The process of drafting and approving the constitution and choosing a system for Afghanistan as a country after the war was done in a hurry and under the influence of the westernized elites. The reason has been to establish superiority and dominance of one ethnic group over other social and ethnic groups. The current exclusive and centralized presidential system in Afghanistan is doomed to failure due to its failure to provide a reasonable response to the demands of the ethnic groups and groups in Afghanistan at the stage of horizontal ethnic relations (Rahimi, 2017).

Considering the ethnic diversity in Afghanistan, the centralized presidential system is one of the main challenges for the solidarity and nation-building process in Afghanistan. If the centralized system is changed and the presence of other ethnic groups in the power body, the intensity of the differences will be reduced and the environment for creating an atmosphere of empathy and public participation will be favorable.

12- Political Challenges

Terabit Ger says that the mere existence of ethnic lines in a country does not cause an ethnic war, but it is the elites who cause ethnic conflicts and the responsibility of these wars rests with the leaders. So, as can be understood from the above statement, according to the commentators, elites, leaders, or in other words ethnic factionalists come to power in a situation where conditions are already prepared so that they can use those conditions. , to take over the leadership of the tribes. The power of these leaders is to the extent that they can control the intensity and amount of violence and they basically do not play a role in the production of ethnic identity (Naimi, 2017).

In the contemporary history of Afghanistan, the governments have not had a long-term governance experience and often became a bankrupt government due to weakness in front of the society. The main source of this crisis, which has gradually destroyed the legitimacy and authority of the Afghan governments, lies within the government itself. Because the elites and political leaders ruling this country not only did not have a single discourse and ideological coherence, but they have always struggled with civil wars. From this point of view, the history of the 20th century of

Afghanistan; The history of the rule of the elites has been the scene of their political competitions. In this way, out of thirteen Afghan political leaders in this century, nine of them have been killed and five others have fled abroad (Farzanehpour and Yusuf Zahi, 2017).

The behavior of Afghanistan's elites is sometimes based on emotional, kinship, tribal, ethnic, directional and value tendencies; Religion, beliefs, and ideology have been affected. This attitude has divided the Afghans into different ethnic groups and caused them to face each other sometimes (Balkhi, 2015).

In Afghanistan, there is a belief that ethnic leaders and factionalists play the first and most important role in igniting the fire of ethnic war, as well as inciting ethnic groups to face each other and directing the tendency of different ethnic groups to ethnicism. Although the claim that ethnic leaders play a role in these problems is valid, if we are going to reduce all the problems caused by ethnicism to the competition of ethnic elites, we have gone astray. The truth of the matter is, until there is a favorable environment, ethnic-oriented elites cannot work together (Naimi, 2017).

12-1- The Existence of Ethnic Political Culture

Political culture expresses the political beliefs and attitudes of the people of a society. In development literature and in order to explain the causes of political and economic underdevelopment in underdeveloped societies, the component of political culture is used as a variable. Sidney Verba considers political culture as a system of values, beliefs and symbols that forms the basis of political action. Political culture in Afghanistan expresses the type of view and attitude of the people and elites of Afghanistan towards politics and political power, which is formed under the influence of beliefs and traditions and determines the patterns of their political actions and behavior in accepting or rejecting governments. Through a study of Afghanistan's political culture, the attitude and vision of Afghans towards the political system, rulers and their attitude towards the people throughout history is determined (Balkhi, 2015).

Ethnic tendencies and feelings and the subsequent feeling of obligation and responsibility towards the members of a particular ethnicity are important elements of the political culture in Afghanistan. People define and secure their socio-political position through ethnic affiliation and use it as an important political, social, economic and cultural support. Regarding the use and finding of the word tribe in Afghanistan, Richard Tupper states that tribe is probably a concept that has a wide application among Afghans and includes all social relations of groups and social conflicts. (Badakhshani, 2014). The concept of nation is the key to the network of affiliation and loyalty of every Afghan, of course, if we consider ideological affiliations, they are superior to ethnic affiliations in critical moments (Papoli Yazdi, 1993). One of the main behavioral characteristics of Afghanistan's ethnic and political groups has been resorting to coercive and violent means and methods to gain political power over the past few decades (Qureshi et al. 201).

12-2- Weakness of Civil Society and Political Parties

The history of political parties in Afghanistan goes back to the early 20th century; From the time when the first constitutionalists founded the first political party in 1909 under the name of Jamiat Seri Melli, about a century has passed since then, and during this period, Afghanistan has experienced the presence and activity of numerous political parties. . During this period, Afghan political parties have lacked the necessary ability and efficiency to fulfill the wishes of the Afghan people and perform their special tasks. The ineffectiveness of Afghanistan's political parties is the product of various economic, social, political and cultural factors (Balkhi, 2015).

One of the essentials of democracy is the strong presence of civil society and political parties. In fact, parties are known as "cogwheels of the democratic system". Civil society and political parties are actually an intermediate link between the people and the government, which, on the one hand, conveys the people's wishes and demands to the

government and forces the political apparatus to respond to the people's needs and desires, from On the other hand, it plays a role in the socialization of people. There have been parties in different periods in Afghanistan, but in no historical period have we faced the multiplicity of parties and the swelling of parties like today. The political parties that exist in Afghanistan are not equal to the criteria of the party, they are mostly ethnic and are used for the personal interests of individuals, and none of these parties have the full characteristics of a political party (Uzbaki, 2015).

Afghan society, which is made up of different ethnic groups and groups, can recognize minorities and majorities with equal rights only with the institutionalization of democracy, but unfortunately, the lack of powerful parties and the multiplicity of ethnic-oriented parties cause the lack of growth and institutionalization of democracy. It happened in Afghanistan and the process of nation building in this country has not been facilitated with democratic values in mind.

13- Economic Challenges

Afghanistan is known as one of the underdeveloped countries in the international arena. This country is one of the poorest countries in the world with a very low per capita import of 98% (Badakhshani, 2014). One of the preconditions of democracy is the establishment of industrial and commercial economy. But our society still lives with the traditional economy (agricultural and pastoral) and some regions of the country also live with the corrupt economy of opium. This lifestyle and traditional economy produces its own culture. In terms of sociological and logical necessity, the priority of economy over politics, economic development and reaching the threshold of industrial and commercial economy, has priority over purely political efforts. Because in the traditional and agricultural economy, the level of interaction between the people of a society is extremely low, and this creates the basis for internalization and alienation, and it never provides a basis for the citizens to know each other and to feel the unity of thinking of themselves as members of the same family. (Uzbeki, 2015).

Economic poverty and deep weaknesses in the economic foundation are serious obstacles to nation-state building in Afghanistan. Economic poverty and the lack of financial expenses of the government caused by this poverty make the governments of Afghanistan permanently dependent on foreign aid, and the interruption of this aid leads to the collapse of the government. Economic poverty also has a very unfortunate effect on the society. Economic poverty takes the power and opportunity to reach national and social issues from the general public. People's interest and attachment in participating in political and social activities, which is a part of the requirements of nation-building, cannot be created in the situation and atmosphere of poverty, even the severe poverty that has continuously engulfed the society of Afghanistan. People in the unfortunate situation of poverty and poverty cannot access the power of change in life. While convergence and social participation in social and political activities are part of the requirements of becoming a nation and forming a nation-state, poverty has always created disunity and isolation in Afghanistan instead of convergence and participation (Andishmand, 2014).

14- Analysis

Afghanistan is a mountainous land and has many unevenness's, these uneven nesses have played a negative role in the dispersion of ethnic groups and have caused non-mixing of ethnic groups. Considering its important strategic position, Afghanistan has always been the focus of various countries, and these countries have tried to have more influence in this country due to the influence of the Afghanistan route to the Indian subcontinent and Central Asia. Therefore, the situation of Afghanistan is one of the challenging factors in the process of nation building.

Along with the natural geography, the challenges of human geography that exist in this land are also among the major challenges and obstacles to becoming a nation. These include traditional and tribal culture, deep cultural and social gaps, religious divide, ethnic divide, cultural and social poverty, linguistic identity. Afghanistan is a land where more

than eighty percent of its people are villagers who are mostly deprived of literacy, lack of sufficient literacy and deprivation of urban life has strengthened tribalism. Nation-building, which is a new process, is in conflict with tradition and modernity in this land, and it seems difficult to realize it in such a society.

In Afghanistan, different ethnic groups live with different cultures and languages, the Afghan society that suffers from these differences and heterogeneity has challenged any kind of convergence and mutual acceptance. Although this superiority and ethnic, linguistic and cultural supremacy exists among all the ethnic groups of Afghanistan, but the rulers who have still relied on the power of this land belong to a particular people and they seek to control this with an ethnic point of view. They have come to the land; this supremacy has caused a gap and discord among the people of Afghanistan.

Also, since the reign of Amir Abdul Rahman, the country of Afghanistan has lacked a powerful central government with a centralized structure. The lack of a powerful government that can subdue divergent forces is one of the challenges that Afghan governments have faced. . Since Afghanistan is a multi-ethnic country, the centralized political structure in which all ethnic groups have not participated has created many challenges. Because the political structure based on the objective realities of a society can play a positive role in the participation of ethnic groups in the body of power. Afghanistan is a country whose name was placed on this land during the time of Abdul Rahman Khan; The word Afghanistan was approved as the name of a country in the constitution of Amanullah Khan, and in the constitution of Mohammad Zahir Shah, it was used with a new definition to mean all people who are citizens of Afghanistan. The word Afghan, which is derived from the ethnic name Petan (Pashtun), is not acceptable to other ethnic groups, and the people of this country are actually in a crisis of national identity.

Political challenges are also important and influential in the nation-building process; In Afghanistan, due to the fact that the government is formed on the basis of ethnicity and tribe, there is no political culture in this land that is based on merit, justice and equality, but the ruling political culture in Afghanistan is centered on ethnic, geographical, religious and party ideologies. have been. This kind of anti-value culture has been used to sway public opinion. The lack of political elites that can be effective in unifying the ethnic groups and their participation in important and decisive issues, and also the absence of strong political parties in this country has caused people not to think beyond their ethnicity and descent. Also, the economic challenge is another influential factor in the process of nation building. Afghan society in They live in poverty and economic deprivation. Economic factors have limited the scope of any social activity for the people of Afghanistan.

14 - Conclusion

As it was said that Afghanistan is suffering due to the lack of national solidarity, this suffering is caused by the factors that have been imposed on the people from the past until now. The crisis of solidarity and national identity in Afghanistan is caused by the lack of acceptance and mutual respect for each other, which has crystallized among all Afghan rulers. Instead of thinking about the unity and solidarity of all the ethnic groups of Afghanistan, they have been thinking more about their own family and people, and such short-sightedness has caused disunity and the non-realization of the nation-building process in this country.

If we take a brief look at the history of nation-building from the time of Abdul Rahman's reign until now, it can be clearly seen that the rulers of Afghanistan have not done any fundamental work to build the nation. Rather, instead of building a nation, they have been looking for the realization of ethnic nationalism. Such a one-sided act of Shiraz has disrupted unity and empathy in Afghanistan and led to deep differences of descent and the nation-building process has come to a dead end. In the process of nation building in Afghanistan, various factors and challenges such as natural

geography, human geography, political challenges and economic challenges have disrupted the process of nation building.

Of course, there have been problems and challenges in other societies as well, which have disappeared as a result of the struggles of nationalist forces and people-oriented governments; But in Afghanistan, not only has no action been taken to reduce these challenges, they have even added to these problems by fueling ethnic, linguistic and religious differences. However, it can be stated that in Afghanistan, efforts to realize nation building have been made in a one-sided way and based on ethnic, linguistic and religious ideology. This method of imposition in Afghanistan has brought many obstacles and has not been realized until now.

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