

Factors of the Formation of Totalitarian Governments in Afghanistan

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Abstract

Among the issues that have existed in our political thought, there has been the prescription of hereditary government, the theory that leaves the hands of influential rulers free to exercise governance and even allows them to commit authoritarian acts. Many scholars and writers have written in this field and examined the relationship or confrontation between tyranny and religion, culture, and social environment. In this regard, any of them studied and analyzed the relationship between tyranny and elements such as culture, geography, education, family, religion, ethnicity, social environment, poverty, and foreign interventions, according to their literature and way of thinking; for which I will present their findings to the dear readers.

Keywords: Political thought, hereditary government, culture, social environment, poverty

INTRODUCTION

Why is there a Need for the Dictator in Afghanistan and what are the Obstacles to the Formation and Stability of the State-nation?

Before dealing with the main issue, I want to raise this question: Why there is no need for a dictator in India?

India is a big country: India is the largest democracy in the world. In India, a powerful modern state was built from the very beginning [1]. Unlike Pakistan, the Indian government remained impartial on religious and ethnic issues. In India, the government does not interfere in the affairs of religion and religion in the affairs of the government.

In India, no one raises the question of the necessity of dictators and dictatorship, and the reason is that the modern government was able to ensure the rule of law in India [2]. In India, not only the economy growing rapidly, but the culture of tolerance, which means accepting ethnic, cultural, political, social, and religious diversity, is also expanding and becoming a habit of the society. In this great country, which is considered the home of cultures, religions, ethnic groups, people have equal rights, and no one and no group has the right to superiority over another in the name of race, religion, etc.

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Japan, Afghanistan, India, and Pakistan appeared on the world map at once:

Pakistan, which appeared on the world's political map at the same time as India, neither a modern and stable state nor a nation was built in this country [3]. In the land of Pakistan, dictator comes after dictator and general after general, and right now the difficult economic, political, and security situation and the existence of a weak government make the path of dictator after dictator smooth.

In Afghanistan, worse than in Pakistan, we are captive to the dictatorial trap. Afghanistan has been plunged into the depths of darkness and illusion from the beginning of its birth until today and it is believed to be continuing for years to come [4]. Hope for a bright, rationalist and trustworthy future, not only is not visible, even cannot be imagined.

But we did not answer the question of why the necessity of the dictator arose. Of course, there are important questions against the intellectuals and scientists such as: what is the state of the society; how are the existing problems solved? What should the future society be like? Which values create trust and harmony in society? And some other important questions.

To answer the question raised, I will try to present some of the contents and factors that reflect a small part of the realities on one hand, and on the other hand, reveal the main dimensions of the pro-dictatorship society along with criticism and doubt [5].

As we see in the region, including in Afghanistan, the events are very turbulent and stormy; in the writings, in the statements, in the plans and in the speeches, feelings and emotions have the upper hand; however, our intellectuals and scientists should not be stormy, emotional and turbulent [6]. The existing difficult situation, first of all, requires reflection and independent and critical thinking. Either the ideological investigations, wishes, dreams, idealisms, and stormy thinking cut off the relationship of a human being from the realities, or, becoming stormy and emotional leaves a person in a vacuum and draws conclusions without relationship to the facts. Evaluations and ideological passions do not know the time and the place, while realities do not exist outside of space and time.

Political Factors

Political factors as a challenge have sterilized the formation of modern and national governments in different dimensions in the last two centuries. Gaining political power not through people's choice, but through conflict and war over power is a negative factor in building a state-nation and forming a national modern state. The dependence of Afghan governments and rulers on foreign support, both in the field of gaining political power and in the direction of continuing authority, with varying degrees in the last two centuries, constitutes another part of the challenges of the nation-state building process [7]. The weakness or illegitimacy of dominant governments and rulers, caused by bloody power conflicts, makes them unable to form a modern national government.

DICTATORSHIP AND ABSOLUTISM OF THE RULERS

This has always blocked the way to the formation of modern and national governments in the contemporary history of Afghanistan. While political participation and pluralism are considered the requirements for the formation of a modern national government, political tyranny, and exclusivism based on ethnic, tribal, linguistic, and religious discrimination destroy the basis of this participation.

If we consider Abdul Rahman Khan as the founder of contemporary Afghanistan in the current geography and the founder of a state with territorial sovereignty, he formed this state and sovereignty with tribal discrimination. In addition to paying an exorbitant and durable monthly salary to the heads and important people of his tribe (the ruling tribe of Muhammadzais); he also set a salary of 400 rupees for each man of the tribe and 300 rupees for each woman of the tribe which means "relative salary" (monthly salary based on blood relationship with the mentioned tribe).

During the formation of modern national governments and the development of the nation-state, especially in the 20th century when even this development included Eastern and Asian countries liberated from colonialism; the political system of Afghanistan was continued on the path of the family power concentration based on clans and ethnocentrism [8]. This incomplete and flawed political movement and life prevented the growth and strengthening of the political system focused on national thinking and national participation.

The creation of an ideological state is another factor of the hindering in the direction of the modern national government and the formation of a nation-state. Afghanistan witnessed left and right ideological governments in the last four decades. Ideological states are not able to form a modern national state [9]. The Ideological political systems are totalitarian systems that take free-thinking and pluralism from society. In the ideological ruling system, the society is vassal and serf rather than citizens.

One of the characteristics of the ideological government, which is incompatible and alien to the modern national government, is the lack of merit, lack of responsibility and lack of accountability of the rulers to the society and the people. The rulers of an ideological state are not appointed to rule based on merit and expertise (Arendt, 2023).

TRADITIONAL-TRIBAL STRUCTURES

The root of the complexity and difficulty of the situation in Afghanistan, in addition to the ongoing conflict, is mainly in the social and cultural structures of the society, and the war itself is a product of these structures. The old pre-medieval social and cultural structures have turned our region into a clash point of modernism and tribalism, not only Afghanistan but our region has entered the 21st century with these structures that are completely alien to the dominant values and norms in our time [10]. These old and backward structures have created serious obstacles to the establishment of a modern government and the establishment of democracy, including in Afghanistan. For example, the structure of patriarchy is the dominant element in the social, political, and cultural life of the society; and the ethnic, religious, and sexual superiority, has made the issue of equality difficult which is one of the main pillars of democracy.

Democracy is the system of providing equality and social justice. In my opinion, the main issue is not the salvation of social classes and strata, but the main issue is the salvation and freedom of each individual in society. Also, the main issue is that every individual should be ruling over his own life and destiny. In Afghanistan, there is still strong resistance against the "individual" as a unit of society. Instead, family, clan, tribe, nation, and religion are recognized as the unit of society. Very easily and simply, a person not only becomes a victim of these units, but a person also becomes a victim of the name and the so-called esteem of these units. In a society where the social unit is clan, tribe, etc., humans are changed into symbols; Customs, and traditions decide instead. In such a situation, especially a woman individuality loses her personality and identity. This system and this old and medieval way of thinking has not only created huge social, political, and legal problems, but it is also a baseless thinking that is devoid of any kind of scientific basis.

In democracy, the social unit is the "individual" and every human being is treated as an independent human being regardless of ethnic origin, religious belief, and social position. In a society where the social unit is clan, tribe and etc., punishment, revenge and responsibilities also have a collective aspect. A family and or a clan is punished for the sin of an individual. Political and legal theories reflect traditional, tribal, and ethnic structures instead of individual. (Hobbes, 2016) The positioning of the statesmen and the discussions of the Afghan parliament are examples of such thinking and dealing.

Democracy cannot be established in a society where the social unit is the nation, tribe, and clan, because the core of democracy is the individual and the individual freedom. Democracy has an inseparable relationship with the concepts of "people's sovereignty" and "individual" as a "reasonable and free" entity. Human is both "the individual" and "the social being". Human beings, as an individual should be free and independent and as social beings with equal rights, should participate with others in the work of society and in the work of politics. An individual, in addition to being a social unit, is also a legal and political concept. The meaning of the individual policy is that each individual in the society should have an influence on political decision-making. (Dawoodi, 2009)

Democracy and human rights are two inseparable concepts. Democracy and human rights are the complement of each other. Human rights when are realized in the society, peoples' freedoms when are respected, human's dignities when are respected, and people including women when have independent identities, independent personalities, and independent decision-making, which an individual is known as a social unit.

Pay attention, when the individual is nothing and the individual is not a social unit, politicians, writers, and analysts see modernism in the appearance of cities on the one hand, and on the other hand, they depict events in political and operative forms. Analyzes, conclusions, and findings of issues and incidents in Afghanistan and the region are done in the same way. In such analyses and evaluations, millions of people who are captives of religious fundamentalism and anti-human traditions, are forgotten. While the pages of newspapers, television screens, and computers are full of news related to bomb explosions, military operations, and etc., but about the hundreds of thousands of children, including girls, who are every day deprived of the right to education and knowledge, their dreams, their hopes and their tomorrow is killed nothing is said. While in practice, neither tall and beautiful buildings are a sign of modernization nor do political and operative images reflect the incidents and events.

All incidents and events are not political and operative. Kabul and other cities have signs of the modernized image, but the tribal traditions, insights, and customs that revolve on superstitions and dogmas, contrary to knowledge and intellect, have the ability to change these beautiful images and level them to the ground once again.

Those who emphasize the "necessity of a dictator in Kabul", their assessment is based on the traditions and customs that prevail in a large part of the country.

The achievements of the modern history of Afghanistan, which have been started in some of the cities, will expand and become stronger when the individual is considered the social unit; While in some other regions of Afghanistan, women are killed for the sin of work and acid is sprinkled on their faces for the sin of education.

The experiences of today's world show that in any society where the social unit is the individual, there is not only equality and freedom, but social decisions are also made collectively. These decisions are both effective and also respected by society. However, in the society where the individual is not considered the social unit, not only there is no freedom and equality in it, but decisions are no made collectively, and decisions are imposed by force instead of compliance. For example, in Sweden, the social unit is the individual. There is freedom and equality in this country, social decisions are made collectively and are complied. In this country, the sovereignty belongs to the society and it is the society that has the last word. In Islamic Iran, the social unit is the collective instead of the individual. In this country not only, there is no freedom and equality, but sovereignty belongs to the individual instead of the society, and decisions are made by a mullah who is alien of the time, the jurist guardian (Religious Leader), the guardian of all, at the present Mr. Khamenei is leaning on this seat.

Now, scientists and intellectuals should take the initiative and cut off their connection with the thought that deals with the individual based on affiliations of ethnicity, language, religious, sexual, social position ... and consider the individual as an independent and free social unit. This is possible when human values are the criteria of judgment.

LACK OF INDEPENDENT THOUGHT

The human being is a very weak creature of nature, and what makes a man strong is thought. Have you noticed how slowly a person grows from the time of birth and stands up after a long time? It takes years to defend themselves and find their own food. But other animals grow quickly, stand on their feet soon, and provide their own food. A human being separates themselves from nature by their thought,

and overcomes nature and natural disasters again through their thought, instead of their arms, horns, teeth, claws, and fingers. Thanks to thought, humans live in society instead of the forest. Humans are not only the product of nature, but to a large extent, a product of social relations. Unlike other living beings, humans not only aren't spectators of incidents and events, but they think and immerse themselves in thought about why and how incidents and events occur and what their results and products can be.

Human being having an independent thought, a person can perform an independent action. Above all, Barack Obama was elected to the presidency based on the thought that he acted without "racial" clauses. Thus, this new thought and creative thinking will be the cause to free the world from the deep economic crisis. It should be seen where such ideas will appear - from America, from Europe, from Japan. or from somewhere else.

Human being becomes the owner of will and decision with the blessing of thought, and those who hostage the human's thought, in fact they take away the right of will and decision of him and bring him down to the level of an intellectual slave. Independent thought creates independent people, and independent people create an independent society. An independent society cannot be established until the people and their thoughts become independent.

What acts as the main cause of misery and backwardness in Afghanistan is poverty of thought, poverty of culture and poverty of thinking, instead of poverty of economic. Neither Myths, dogmas and legends of yesterday can help us in understanding the issues, especially social issues, nor can miracles be done to solve the existing problems. There is not such a book to guide us to overcome the existing problems. We ourselves must be aware of the realities through independent thought and creative thinking, and identify and conquer them; but we should never try to make the facts our property. The facts cannot become the property of anyone.

The Afghan society, first of all needs to change its thinking and create new ideas which are the creative thought and independent thought. Others were also poor. Others were poor and hungry. Others were also homeless and displaced. Others were also left behind. But they started the path of progress and overcoming problems when their thought became independent; they doubted and accepted to make mistakes and acted without fear in using reason and wisdom.

In Afghanistan not only the society, but also the social mentality has been hit by devastating storms and terrible dogmas, that basic message is Homogeneity and enmity with dissent. Same-mindedness and sovereignty of thinking is an imitation blocked the way of progress and freedom in Afghanistan. Same-mindedness and homogenization thinking helps the dictatorship, instead of democracy, and dictators are homogenizers. Same-mindedness and imitative thinking, in addition to mental and intellectual laziness in the society, has also made an atmosphere of anger and violence, which shows intolerance and impatience in front of dissident. Overcoming such mental and intellectual difficulties requires intellectual independence and the courage to make a decision. According to Kant "I think therefore I am". Think about the behavior and actions of your leader so that she is not a demagogue or a devil, and he does not get the position and wealth at the cost of your life and sacrifice. Listen and use your common sense before you believe and act. Think about the behavior and actions of your leader so that he is not a demagogue or devil and does not gain status and wealth at the cost of your life and sacrifice. After all, we humans are not the machine products of a factory, that we should all be the same by pressing a button. We have wisdom and thinking, which unfortunately, we use less and some do not use it at all, to the extent that they turn into a living bomb. Thinking and using wisdom save a person from ideological dogmas, from imitating and following, and a person overcomes his mental and intellectual laziness by thinking. Thinking and freedom of thought helps to develop ideological pluralism and creates respect dissidents.

THE WAR IS ON THE "LAST WORD"

The most important issue in power is who has the last word. Whoever has the last word, represents the power. In dictatorships and autocratic regimes, dictators have the last word. In other words, it is "force" or "dominant" that makes the final decision and legitimacy is given to this decision by religious or non-religious ideology. Stalin's ruling was "the ruling of history", Hitler's ruling was "the ruling of the superior race", Mao's ruling was "the ruling of the revolution" and Khamenei's ruling is "the ruling of Islam".

In democracy, the last word belongs to the people and the society, and the society does this independently without guidance, without consultation, without dictation, and without supervisor.

In Afghanistan, force has continuously relied on ideology and ideology on force, and it is primarily the union of force, wealth and ideology that has deprived society and people of their independence and the right to have the final word. The elements of "force", "wealth" and "ideology" not only play a dominant role in governance and power, but also has deeply affected the collective culture and mentality. In the history of Afghanistan, there has not been a social movement whose goal was to provide justice, individual freedom and independence of the society. Individual freedom never existed in this country and now never exists. The current century is the century of transformations and changes, the deep economic crisis around the world has placed this transformation and change in the center. Afghanistan one hand, lives in this world, and on the other hand, it needs constant change and transformation like other societies. Afghanistan without changes and transformations cannot overcome with the existing problems.

But unfortunately in Afghanistan, unlike the rest of the world, war has been declared against the changes and developments for a long time, every time the conditions and opportunities for change and progress arise in Afghanistan and freedoms grow, the forces of dark thinking, demagogues and enemies of Progress and development, using the lack of independence of thought and the chronic immaturity of social mentality, take out the cleaver, excommunicate the changes progress and development are slandered, deny the changes and use Islam as a means of suppressing the changes.

Disturbances and popular rebellions during King Amanullah's time, apart from religion-religious considerations, were primarily, against freedom and suppressed freedom. When has there really been an uprising for the sake of progress, provision of social justice, political-civil freedoms, individual freedom and in defense of human values in Afghanistan? When has there really been an uprising in Afghanistan to transfer the right of the final word to the society? The past generations have left us a country without freedom and severely backward. The current generation and most likely the two future generations of Afghanistan should solve the problems that others have solved two or three hundred years ago.

Cultural Factors

The Unfavorable cultural platform for the formation of a modern national government is always one of the factors of instability and failure of the mentioned government in Afghanistan. The cultural factor includes a very low level of the literacy and awareness, the influences religion and religious based on different understandings and perceptions, tribal and native customs and traditions in the society.

National spirit and culture based on the various factors such as illiteracy of the majority of the society, ignorance of the national issues, ethnic and language Inhomogeneities, social discontinuities and separate life in villages and valleys that are not connected to each other, the presence and residence of the main bodies and or the majority of the Afghan ethnic groups in the neighboring countries and . . . has not had good development and objectivity. The spirit and thought of national unity, did not become the public awareness and spontaneous in Afghanistan. If national spirit and national unity are sometimes talked at the level of public opinion, it is only emotionally discussed and noticed during the foreign invasion (Rahimi, 2018).

LANGUAGE

Diversity and multiplicity of languages in Afghanistan is one of the most important challenges in nation building and nation-state formation. Language separates the frontier of people and is considered as their identity. Even though language, like ethnic and racial identity, is not a stable identity, and it is an acquired matter, but it is mostly connected with ethnicity in Afghanistan, and plays a role as an influential element in nation-building and formation of nation-state. Ethnic relationship with language has led to further political and social separation. Although it was tried to prevent the problem of multilingualism on the formation of a modern national government with the officialization of Pashto and Farsi or Dari languages, but the political and discriminatory treatment in this regard, has increased the level of this problem.

RELIGION AND ITS RELATIONSHIP WITH DICTATORSHIP

Religion is also one of the challenges of nation building and forming a modern national government in Afghanistan. Not only from the point of view that religious beliefs and perceptions create inconsistency with the manifestations of modern life and modernity in Afghanistan, but also from the point of view that the lack of religious unity makes the social break severe and deep. Although the majority of Afghan people are Muslims of Sunni Hanafi religious, however the minority of twelve Imami Shia and the Ismailia Shia are a part of the Afghan society. The historical disagreements between the two sects of Sunni and Shia, has played a negative role in nation-building and formation of nation-state at different times in Afghanistan. The disagreement in the religious beliefs and perceptions of the followers of the mentioned religions, has always shown its effects with a kind of alienation, cultural and social separation.

Many jurists and philosopher have briefly addressed to this issue; As sometimes they have addressed it through passing references and sometimes, some have tried to present it in the form of a theory. The first case can be found in political views, which are usually found in jurisprudence books, especially in the rulings related to the duties of a Shariah (legal) ruler, sultan or imam, such as the levels of enjoining good and forbidding evil, judging, setting Sharia limits, collecting Shariah property (e.g. Zakat and Khums) and their consumption, performing Friday prayers, sighting the moon to determine the beginning and end of the holy month of Ramadan, performing the Hajj ceremony, taking care of the homeless, and in some cases, marriage and divorce, are mentioned.

However, in the second case, it should be said: there were court jurists and poets especially during the Umayyad and Abbasid eras, who justified the tyranny and autocracy of the rulers, and this itself became a prelude to what later some of the thinkers (philosophers) such as; Mawardi in *Al-Ahkam al-Sultaniyyah* and Ibn Khaldun in his famous introduction, address it in the form of a theory.

One of the most important issues the political thought of Islam witnessed, was the prescription of hereditary government and legitimizing, as if it is one of the fixed pillars of politics in Islam. Some people started to base this theory; A theory that leaves the hand of the influential ruler free in handing over and bequeathing the government and the public province to a certain person who will take over the government after him and become his successor.

This point of view is one of the most obvious political points of view, the purpose of which is religious and popular legitimization to this type of government, and it is clearly seen in the words of scholars, writers and thinkers of old and new Sunnis; For example, Mawardi, after considering the coagulation of the Imamate as one of the two ways of choosing the people of *Ahl Hal wa Aqd* (Members of settlement). In explanations of the reason for the legitimacy of the second way, he said: "And as for the coagulation of Imamate through the will of the previous Imam, it is one of those cases where consensus have reached on its permissibility and its validity is accidental." And there are two reasons for this consensus that Muslims have fallowed and have not denied: First, Abu Bakr bequeathed Imamate to Umar, and Muslims also accepted Umar with Abu Bakr's will. Second, Umar left Imamate to the people

of the Shura, and the people of the Shura, who were the elders of their time, accepted their entry into this Shura due to their belief in the authenticity of the will in the Imamate.

In legitimization to this point of view, Ibn Khaldun has exaggerated so much who considered Muawiya's bequest to his son, Yazid, whose debauchery is not hidden from anyone as shari'a, and through this passage, the caliphate of the Umayyad and Abbasid caliphs, who continued the path and method of Yazid's, has considered legitimate. Ibn Khaldun has considered the basis of the legitimacy of this type of government, the selection of Umar by Abu Bakr, and the selection and nomination of six members of the Shura after Umar to assume the position of caliphate. (Ibn Khaldun, 2011) He has a long statement in this regard, that we refer those interested to Ibn Khaldun's introduction, so that the dimensions of the structure of political thought in the history of Islam will be clarified for the reader, and how the foundations, approaches and concepts of this thought have always been subject to politics. This is despite the fact that these bases, approaches and concepts have not had the least compatibility with the values of Islam and Sharia, which should form the theoretical and intellectual framework of the Islamic Ummah, Islamic scholars and writers.

Rejecting such theories, Kawakebi adds: "The religion Islam can never be accused of approving tyranny; because the religion of Islam, with its appearance, eradicated racial discrimination and tyranny, destroyed polytheism, prohibited closeness to God through anyone, and invited people to freedom in speech and action.

Of course, this is not only the feature of Islam, but in Kawakebi's opinion, all religions that have holy books invite people to freedom and reject tyranny. Certainly, "Islam, and indeed all religions, are based on the principle of "La ilaha illallah", which means that no one deserves to be worshiped except, Sane Azam (the creator of the universe)." (Kawakebi, 1984) Therefore, tyranny, except through the ignorance or disregarded for the orders and issues of religions, how has entered the religion. Therefore, the problem is not caused by the structure of the religion itself, but by the deviant ideas that have entered the religion, and the religion has become completely different from what we see in the actions and deeds of the people.

Therefore, the religious tyranny has not originated from any other goal other than political goal, and this is the exact point that Kawakebi realized, and it should be mentioned that this tyranny is more than religious, it is political that has been disguised as religion. To fulfill their goals, politicians used religion; because they knew that religious teachings are highly respected by the people.

In fact, this is an intellectual-psychological theft and finally it is the first form of tyranny. The way Kawakebi has defended the real religion, cannot be considered the religious tyranny in any way. This tyranny only accuses and challenges the existing and confused religion, that is common among the people, and based on Kawakebi's point of views and opinions, this religion cannot be considered a religion, but it should be considered a tyranny; because it is nothing but the thoughts that have been proposed by some people and inherited to some others, and taught to the people by force, so that their followers can achieve their goals. This tyranny is an intellectual-cultural tyranny that has nothing to do with the religion.

From what has been said, it can be concluded that some Muslim scholars in the literature of Islamic political thought have spoken about the ruler and legitimization of hereditary, autocratic and exclusive governments until recent times. However, Kawakebi deeply believed that Islam is free of artificial and imposed values. According to him, it is necessary to return to the basic principles and teachings of religion and revive its teachings, in order to get rid of the evils of corrupt and false values and the accumulation of superstitions in religion.

The unfortunate effect of illiteracy on the closed and heterogeneous ethnic and language society, kept the people's social vision closed and spread a kind of prejudice, narrow-mindedness and inflexibility.

As a result of this situation, the social and political consciousness of the people remained undeveloped and the society was trapped in the very limited boundaries of local customs and traditions.

NATIONALITY

Ethnic diversity and pluralism in Afghanistan, which is associated with language diversity, makes the formation of a modern national government more challenging and complicated than ever. Is it possible, to build a modern national state with the participation of ethnic groups in political power? According to the definition of the nation as the political thought, participation in political power, based on ethnic identity in the form of pre-determined percentages, is in conflict with the formation of a modern national state. Is the combination of these two possible, so that both ethnic participation is achieved and the society and government move towards citizenship, and lead to the national and modern state?

Ethnicity has a deep root in Afghanistan politics. The element of ethnicity is one of the determining and very influential elements in the political power structure of Afghanistan. While the acceptance of ethnic pluralism in multi-ethnic societies always forms the policy of modern and national governments, but in Afghanistan, many contemporary governments and rulers, have paid attention to adopt a similar or assimilation policy, instead of the policy of ethnic pluralism. This policy began especially during the chancellery of Sardar Mohammad Hashim Khan (1935) and one of the steps of this assimilation was changing the language of education from the two languages of Pashto and Farsi to Pashto in all Afghan schools and compulsory teaching of this language for students of non-Pashto speaking areas; however, this method which continued for ten years, was changed after its failure in the chancellery of Shah Mahmoud, and the language of teaching became bilingual again. (Rahimi, 2018)

One of the challenges caused by the ethnic diversity in Afghanistan over nation-building and the formation of the nation-state is the use of the leaders of political groups from this diversity. Ethnic nature of politics in Afghanistan continuously, leads these political leaders to use ethnicity as a tool. They try to continue the ethnic nature of politics in order to use it as ethnic leaders and make the ethnic a source of legitimacy and power. Therefore, ethnicization of politics in Afghanistan, is a major obstacle and challenge in the path of nation-state building. Even if there are nationalist ideas in Afghanistan among the different political and social elements and circles, it is the ethnic nationalism and ethnocentrism nationalism, not national nationalism.

CULTURAL SUCCUMBING TO DESPOTISM

Human and culture are two inseparable concepts. Human cannot live without culture and culture does not exist without man. (Bashiriyeh, 2023) All human beings are born of this or that culture. But besides being cultural, human is also a set of social relationships that are constantly changing. This change in humans also fosters the ability and talent of changing culture, in order to overcome the old and anti-human cultural values, and create new human values. The weakest characteristic of human lies in the fact that he becomes the hostage of something that he himself has created. What I mean by autocratic culture are those cultural values that are alien to the spirit of the times and human values. What I mean by autocratic culture are the values that create disunity instead of harmony, and divide the society. What I mean by autocratic culture; are customs, local traditions, clan affiliations, etc., which on the one hand prevents the rule of law, and on the other hand they insult and humiliate human beings, and trample their rights and freedoms in a brutal, fearless and harsh way. Now that anti-human tribal traditions; are working together with the religious fundamentalism, not only people are killed, but the dead bodies are also punished, heads are cut off and bodies are hanged. The society needs the rule of values in which every person of the society find himself in it. These values are human values that belong to every human being and are acceptable to everyone.

The history and especially the political history of Afghanistan is the history of tyranny. The political history of Afghanistan is the history of tyranny in tyranny and tyranny behind tyranny. As Hegel says: "In a society where tyranny is accepted as fate, tyrants do not feel threatened either." This danger is felt

when people understand that tyranny is not their destiny. In Afghanistan, the black flag of tyranny is flying everywhere, even in the family. The experience of Europe indicates that with the disappearance of dictators and tyrants, the society moves towards democracy and freedom. In Germany with the death of Hitler and in Italy with the death of Mussolini, the foundation of democracy was laid. In Spain, with the death of General Franco, a strong movement towards democracy and freedom began. It happened the same in Greece and Portugal and in Eastern Europe too. But in Afghanistan, with the death of a dictator, another dictator is made and placed on the throne of power. To repeat, who came to power in Afghanistan and was not a dictator? Those who fought for a lifetime against tyranny and to ensure social justice and shouted slogans of freedom and equality, they themselves turned into the worst despots and dictators when they came to power. In Afghanistan, thousands and hundreds of thousands of people are prone to become dictators. Where are the roots of these dictators and despots?

The thought and politics that searched for the root of tyranny in the existence of this and that person, in the existence of this and that king, or in the existence of this and that ruler, itself created tyranny and disaster. The root of tyranny should be sought in the ruling culture and in the social structures of society instead of individuals. The root of tyranny should be sought in education where the elements of petrification, coercion, force, threat and dry standards of beating prevail. In this type of education, neither human beings' understanding nor intelligence are cultivated, nor are intellect and wisdom used. Here, the goal of education is to impose pre-prepared principles, dogmas, blind discipline, imitation and unquestioning obedience. It is as the result of this devastating education, that the people of Afghanistan got used to coercion, force, jealousy, obedience, imitation and imposing their will on the others. Max Weber was of the opinion that in order to know the society, the behavior of the people of that society should be known.

Succumbing to despotism, being indifference against good and bad political and social phenomena, obedience and subjection to the ruler are another part of the cultural consequences of the Afghan society. The absolutist rule of sultans and emirs for long centuries, like the master-serf system in Afghanistan, made a kind of culture of oppression acceptancy, disregarding against the performance of the rulers, persuasion and fatalism in the mentality of the ruling people. The presence and predominance of this culture in the minds and opinions of the public is one of the obstacles to the formation of a state-nation and creation of a citizen society and citizen nation.

FAMILY AN INSTITUTION OF INEQUALITY IN AFGHANISTAN

We all want our families to be safe, healthy and happy. We all want our children to be brought up for a purposeful life. Family is a place of love, friendship and kindness. Family and upbringing in the family are very important. The formation of our personality begins in the family. Our behaviors and social traits are formed for the first time in the family. We also learn about the social norms and rules in the family, and these norms and rules affect our future personality and behavior. We first learn about what is good and what is bad in the family and we get to know the society from the door of our home.

Let's start with the culture of upbringing, and behavior in the family. The usual upbringing of the family has an authoritarian and coercive aspect, and this upbringing and behavior, has turned the family into the center for the cultivation of tyranny and violence. This kind of upbringing and behavior is the beginning of inequality between men and women both in the family and in the society. It is in the family, that the feeling of superiority and being superior of the boy begins, and the sense of equality between boys and girls is destroyed from the childhood. Parents treat boys and girls differently, and boys are raised with cuteness and more privileges. The behavior of parents undoubtedly, affects the life and the future of their children. The son sees his future in the ruling face of father and the daughter sees her future in the oppressed and condemned face of her mother. Likewise, obstacles are created from the beginning of childhood against the physical and mental development of the girl, and it practically turns her into a weak creature and a second-class human being. The girl is taught things to accept the existing situation as her destiny. The usual upbringing and behavior in the family not only deprives the girl's

freedom, but she loses her human being position and is reduced to the level of an object and an animal. In other words, the girl becomes the property of the man, who gets the right to make absolute decisions about her life and future. As a result of this upbringing and behavior, a patriarchal and masculine society has been built in Afghanistan. The man is the ruler both in the family and in the society. Also the meaning of a male society is that the management of the society belongs to the man and the land, house, money, property... belong to the man too. In the male society, there is not only a sexual distance between men and women, but also there is a deep social distance. In the patriarchal Afghan society, on one hand, if the man does not understand a woman, on the other hand, a woman does not understand herself as a "person" and "personality". It is as a result of the usual family upbringing that people have become accustomed to "tyranny", "inequality" and "superiority" since childhood. People are used to violating human rights and freedoms since childhood. Upbringing and usual behavior have turned the family which is the place of love and friendship, into the woman's prison. In ancient Greece, men used to make love with young children instead of women, and the reason was that love with the woman puts down the "superiority" and "dominance" of man. In families, by following anti-human manners and customs, kindness has been replaced by anger and love has been replaced by violence. For example, if someone outside the family rapes a member of the family, instead of defending the victim and providing justice, the family takes the path of jealousy and rips the victim's stomach so that others do not aware of the case. The main answer to this tragedy is not to punish the perpetrators, but to address the customs that justify this type of jealousy, this type of horror and this type of tragedy. Many experiences show the fact, in the family where education and upbringing is purposeful and wise, in the family where upbringing is based on contentment and decisions are adopted based on discussion and reasoning, the family is happy, strong and fortunate.

Economic Factor

Economic poverty and deep weaknesses in the economic foundation, are serious obstacles to the state-nation building in Afghanistan. The economic poverty and the lack of financial expenses of the government due to this poverty lead the Afghan governments to permanent dependence on the foreign aid and the interruption of this aid always lead to the collapse of the government.

In the early 19th century, when the Durrani or Abdali government gradually lost its revenue in the Indian subcontinent due to the increasing influence and domination of the British and the constant internal power conflict between the Saduzais and the Muhammadzais, and then between the rulers and the emirs of the Muhammadzais, this drew the government and the rulers into increasing dependence on foreign aid to finance their expenses. This dependence deepened after the two times of British campaigns and wars, despite the fact that the British lost in these wars. Amir Abd al-Rahman Khan, who reached the throne at the end of the second war between Afghanistan and the British, with their agreement, continued to rule with their financial and military assistance, even though he was deprived of political independence.

The reign of his son Amir Habibullah was also dependent on these grants. When Amanullah Khan declared independence in 1919, he was deprived of British aid. Shah Amanullah could not complete his reforms and overcome the internal rebellions in the absence of foreign financial and military aid. His government collapsed. Nine months later, Mohammad Nader Khan reached the throne with the financial and military aids of Britain and after half a century of his family's rule until 1978, the survival of the government and its military and security institutions were depended on the foreign aids, which mostly included the aids from the Soviet Union. The result of this dependence was the execution of two military coups in 1973 and 1978 by Soviet supporters. The People Democratic Party seized political power in the second military coup. During the fourteen years of its presence in Afghanistan, the government of the mentioned party, which was able to survive with the direct and indirect military and financial assistance of the former Soviet Union, created the largest and most equipped army. But when the Russian aid was stopped after the collapse of the Soviet Union, the government in Kabul collapsed and all its institutions were looted. (Tanin, 2004)

The Mojahedin and the Taliban governments that came after that did not have any chance in providing government expenses from domestic sources. The successor of the Taliban government, which was the government chaired by Hamid Karzai, became even more dependent on foreign financial and military aids during the last thirteen years, than in all previous periods. There is no sign that the government headed by Mohammad Ashraf Ghani will overcome this challenge and finance the government's expenses from domestic revenues.

The economic poverty also has an unfortunate effect on the society. It takes the power and opportunity to reach the national and social issues from the public. People's interest and attachment in participating in political and even social activities, which is part of the requirements of nation-state building, cannot be created in the situation and atmosphere of extreme poverty, which has continuously engulfed Afghan society. This situation creates mistrust, both among the society and between the government and the people. People in unfortunate conditions of poverty and distress cannot access the power of change in life.

Geographical Location and Social Structures

The physical and geographical structure of Afghanistan is another factor of the weakness and failure in the formation and consistency of the modern national governments and the formation of a nation-state in Afghanistan. The challenges of the Afghanistan's geographical structure in nation-state building come from different dimensions and aspects.

From the foreign perspective, Afghanistan, as a buffer country between the two colonial powers, Tsarist Russia and then Bolshevik Russia and British colonialism and then the United States of America, was continuously placed as their playground and competition. The companionship of the united countries of the region and the competing international powers in the game and competition over Afghanistan has added to the complexity of the games of this competition. The impact and negative consequences of the competition over Afghanistan can be studied in political instability; while political stability is considered one of the main elements of nation-state building.

The geographical structure of Afghanistan from the internal perspective is also challenging and difficult for state-nation building. The mountainous location and the dispersion of the country's population among the valleys in the mountains and the rural life and separated from each other make the phenomenon of nation formation in Afghanistan inaccessible.

Over all, The Afghan society is consisted of different tribes and clans with different languages and even multiple religions. Nations and tribes in this country have different traditions and customs. Although some writers and analysts recognize the Pashtun ethnic group as a tribal society in Afghanistan, but many other ethnic groups in this country, also have a different tribal structure and their own traditions. This structure, in the conditions of intellectual backwardness and very low level of literacy and awareness, has led to further dispersion and division of the society both at the common people level and at the properties level between the political and the intellectual society.

The tradition and tribal culture of the nations are in confrontation and conflict with each other and prevent the development of national culture. Traditions and customs of ethnics, lead to the growth and spread of prejudice and superiority in the minds of ethnic communities. The tribal traditions and customs are mostly based on the feelings and emotions that are rooted in the previous history of these societies. In such a tribal culture, no opportunity is given for the growth of citizenship, which is necessary for the formation of a nation-state. Tribal culture keeps the society traditional and closed and prevents the society of becoming a citizen, based on individuality and individual capabilities. Tribal culture promotes antagonism instead of pluralism and intolerance, and fosters prejudice and superiority in the minds of the different ethnic groups.

One of the factors that makes the complex social structure more complicated from the perspective of the multiplicity of ethnic groups in the formation of modern national state is related to the geography of ethnic residence in this country. The concentration of different ethnicities with different languages in specific areas, adds to more heterogeneity. Even the social structure in the cities, especially the capital city of Kabul, also has an ethnic structure. The city has mainly been changed into the ethnic quarters. (Rahimi D. , 2016)

Another problem of social structure of Afghanistan in the path of state-nation building, is the too slow more than of transformation and change in society's thoughts and vision. The Intellectual transformation and social change in Afghanistan, can never be compared with the intellectual and social transformations, even the neighboring countries. In Afghanistan, despite of the thirty years of war, group and million migrations, individuality was not formed. The society still remains a mass society. The majority of the people, still follow their ethnic and tribal elders in their political and social decisions and activities, even though they are unworthy and even illiterate. It is surprising that even intellectuals and educated people who studied and resided in the modern western societies, when they return to this society, they lose their individuality and instead of influencing the society and creating a transformation in conservative thought and traditions, they transform themselves.

CONCLUSION

The formula for creating a modern state is: one country, one sovereignty and one law. Otherwise, a modern government cannot be created. The modern state first of all moves on two wheels, one is sovereignty (the sovereignty belongs to the people) and the other is legality (the law is made by the society itself). The principle of "the sovereignty of people" was created in the late 12th century against the authority of the church that ruled in the name of God, and the governments find that only implementing the principle of legitimacy, the modern government is an independent institution of the people, religion, culture and traditions.

If the government, especially in a multi-ethnic, multi-religious and multicultural society, does not have this independence, it is not a national government, it is not a "neutral" government, and this type of government cannot provide justice. (Montesquieu, 2012) Think if the government in India was not religiously impartial, what would be the deal and behavior with the Muslim minority and other minorities? Also, if the governments in the western countries were not religiously impartial, what situation would the Muslim minority face in these countries?

Therefore, not only the nation, but also the state is not a natural result of social evolution. These two are made and what is made is not a natural result of evolution. The nature of power is the concentration, and centralism. But the demand of democracy is the distribution of power in the society. Three independent institutions - Parliament, Government, Judiciary - which divide government power is not a natural result of any social evolution. This principle, instead of a "natural result of social evolution", has turned from thought into the basic legality of the structure of the modern state, which was formulated by the French scientist Montesquieu in the book "The Spirit of Laws". Also, the theory that considers nationality as the natural result of the evolution of the nation, and the nation as the natural result of the evolution of the nationality is closer to a myth than reality. I don't know where the place of "nationality" is in social evolution and what is the equivalent of nationality in the English language? Also, the theory that considers nationality as the natural result of the evolution of the nation, and the nation as the natural result of the evolution of the nationality is closer to a myth than reality. I don't know where the place of "nationality" is in social evolution and what is the equivalent of nationality in the English language?

In Afghanistan, the nation is not built with the values of yesterday and the formulas of the 19th century, such as; "language", "ethnicity", "religion", "loyalty", and in our time, these elements do not play the constructive role. For example, the element of "loyalty" today does not have the role it had yesterday. Millions of people live in the most developed countries of the world who are not loyal to the

nations of these countries. For example, millions of Turks live in Germany, who are loyal to the Turkish nation instead of the German nation. Hundreds of thousands of Pakistanis who are living in Britain maintain their cultural and social ties with Pakistan. Also tens of thousands of people live in the small countries of Holland and Denmark, who are not loyal to the Danish and Dutch nations. But these people follow the law based on the transnational principles of human rights and participate in politics and power.

In the era of globalism, what plays a constructive and harmonizing role in the structure of a democratic government, is trans-ethnic and transnational values, and these values include: democracy, human values, individual freedoms, women's rights and civil society, and etc. In Afghanistan the strengthening and establishment of "sovereignty and legality" and "justice and equality" can create "loyalty"; the sovereignty that every member of the society has the right to participate in, and the law that defends and guarantees the freedom and the rights of each individual. For sure, the observance of such values can shake the foundation of totalitarianism and is a message for a civilized and pluralistic society.

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