

## **Investigating the causes of the downfall of democracy in Afghanistan from 2001 up to 2021**

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### **Introduction**

Democracy in a country always fall due to internal and external factors. The collapse of Democracy not only brings political instability in a country, but it can negative impacts of the countries that have Democracy system. In developing countries, external and internal problems cause Democracy to fall.

Afghanistan's geopolitics place is very important for superpowers, these powers have tried to control political power in Afghanistan directly and indirectly. For this reason, this country has always been dependent on the superpowers of the world, such as England in the 18th and 19th centuries, the Soviet Union in the 20th century, and America in the 21st century, it has been the external factors that caused political instability in Afghanistan, internal factors such as ethnic and language discrimination, economic dependence, weaken the political system causes Democracy to fall in Afghanistan.

The Islamic republic of Afghanistan, which was formed after the events of September 11\ 2001. In December 2001 Afghan political and military representatives met in Bonn, Germany to discuss the formation of a government. This government lasted from September 2001 to August 2021. Afghanistan experienced true democracy during this period. Political parties, civil society, gender equality, election, and social medias had grown in the republic system. beside all these developments this regime was also breeding weakness inside itself that caused the failure and fall of the regime.

The collapse democracy buried all the achievements of 20 years, brought Afghanistan back to 20 years earlier and caused the escape of the brains and funds from this country.

**Problem statement** Afghanistan is a country that is always affected by political instability and the successive collapse of political systems. With the fall of any political system, it loses all its material and spiritual achievements and go back, always it caused Afghanistan to be a weak and dependent country. With the fall of the democracy, constitution, political groups, civil society, gender equality, social media, elections had growth in the Islamic republic Afghanistan, all of them are removed. The collapse of the Republic system in Afghanistan is not a new phenomenon but it always repeats in Afghanistan's history and destroyed the political stability of this country.

With all these achievements the republic of Afghanistan had internal and external obstacles that all these caused the collapse of the regime. to know the reasons of the collapse of the regime all these obstacles need to be investigated.

### **Research purposes**

- 1- Investigating the formation democracy in Afghanistan.
- 2- Investigating developments of Islamic Republic of Afghanistan in the field of political participation, democracy, Election, Political parties and Gender.
- 3- Investigating the problems and weaknesses of Islamic Republic System.

4- Investigating and interpreting the internal factors that caused the fall of the democracy in Afghanistan.

5- Investigating the consequences of collapse of democracy in the Afghanistan, the region and the world.

**Importance and necessity of research:** The negative effects of collapse of Islamic Republic of Afghanistan was not only to this country, since Afghanistan's geopolitical position had also negative effects for regional and global countries. The importance of research is to identify the internal and external factors that causes the collapse of the democracy and interpret and present a solution way for the national and international policy makers for forming a democratic and legitimacy government in Afghanistan because the peace and stability in Afghanistan grants the peace and stability in the world.

**Literature review:** There is no books and articles published for this title because the collapse democracy had recently happened in Afghanistan but there is some books and articles that are published about state building in Afghanistan, America in Afghanistan, the event of 11<sup>th</sup> September 2001, terrorism in Afghanistan. these resources can help in my research.

Hamza vaezi in his book **Afghanistan and incomplete structures of national identity**. for him the signs and symbols of national identity are the land – common history- language –religion- political system, they are incomplete in Afghanistan. The structure of national identity in this country has been questioned.

Ali Masherqi in his book **The crisis of National Identity in Afghanistan** he considered the national identity crisis as a social and sociological issue and criticize national symbols in Afghanistan. He believes the religion a symbol of national identity as failed to establish a national identity, but for him the reason of civil war in Afghanistan it has failed to establish a national identity to religious discrimination.

Mohammad Akram Andishmand in his book **government of nation building in Afghanistan** about national identity in Afghanistan and failed components of nation building in Afghanistan has done research for him the reason for the lack of national identity in this country like political factors- foreign factors – the conflict Durand line – colonial computation. Also Mohammad Akram criticized the name of Afghanistan, he knows one of the obstacles to the formation of national identity in this country, because the name of Afghanistan belongs to a special ethnic group of this country. But most of these books are biased and support from a single ethnic groups. And I want to conduct my research outside of favoring a particular group and The internal and external factors that have led to the collapse of democracy system in Afghanistan have been reviewed in this research.

**Research question:**

- What are the internal factors that caused the fall democracy in Afghanistan?
- Which external factors caused the fall democracy in Afghanistan?
- What were the consequences of the fall democracy in Afghanistan?

**Research hypothesis**

H1- democracy in Afghanistan was like a project that was formed by the help of global society that collapsed after going out of the global society army from Afghanistan.

H2- Political power in this regime was divided between the ethnic groups and there was ethnic tension inside the regime and this issue caused the collapse of democracy in Afghanistan.

**Research method** This research has been done in the form of qualitative research. The information in this research has been collected in the form of a library, books, articles and websites have been use.

**Problem and limitation Research** in a country like Afghanistan that is poor in term of scientific resources. Science production is at a low level; this research faces the following challenges:

1. The collapse of democracy in Afghanistan is a new issue, that's why there are no scientific resources.
2. Because of the security situation the people are also not ready to tell the truth.

**Democracy System**

Democracy is a Latin word that consists of two parts demos meaning people and crasy meaning government. Government by the people, government based on consent, majority rule. {Hussain Afghanyar: 1388, 3}

The main concept of this ideology is the equality of all in the political and legal field. Morally, democracy is based on the relativity of values. That is, there is no absolute criterion for determining the hierarchy of values, which is the result of denying the objectivity of any moral truth. Because by believing in absolute moral concepts, the traditional political domination will continue to be maintained. The principle of the majority of the people will not be accepted. On the contrary, authoritarian and non-democratic regimes have always ruled based on absolute moral values. {Bashriya: 1384, 161}

Democracies have historically been direct or indirect. Direct democracy existed in Greek and Roman city-states in ancient times. Today, direct democracy is considered to belong to the past, direct democracies can only be applied in small states. {Hazraty: 1388, 300}

In indirect democracy, the people hand over the sovereignty to their representatives, who practically manage the affairs of the society and are responsible to the people. In this case, the people have indirect sovereignty and only supervise the work of their representatives. Therefore, parliaments represent the will of the people in its best form. {Amiri: 1389,203}

Democracy is the same form of government and the philosophy of social life and political system which has a series of principles such as elections, determination, separation of powers, gender equality, freedom, multiple parties, institutionalism. {Dadfar Espantya: 1389, 196-197}

Scientists have conflicting opinions about democracy. For example, Kant separates the real boundaries of democracy from tyranny by supporting representative democracy. In his opinion, people as citizens participate in legislation through the election of their representatives. Representative democracy is based on the separation of powers. He rejects direct democracy and considers it to be nothing but tyranny, but instead proposes representative democracy. Kant calls representative democracy (republican system). In the republican system, people should participate in legislation and not interfere in executive and judicial affairs. {Amiri: 1389, 132}

But according to Socrates, democracy creates reckless individualism and ignores the good of society. He believed that when moral and religious restrictions are removed, every citizen will be freed and do whatever they want. Instead of healing the society, education causes social conflicts and conflicts to worsen. This was the situation that the Athenian democracy was suffering from. Socrates considered the Athenian democracy to be a flock of sheep. With such revolutionary criticisms, Socrates shook the government. {Rafat: 1381, 56}

Aristotle also did not have a good middle ground with the democratic government, which represented his aristocratic attitude and, at the same time, the problems that would arise in democracy. including instability, chaos, which Plato also mentioned. The reason for Plato and Aristotle's criticism of democracy was that they preferred virtue to freedom and saw the two in conflict. {Bentham: 1388, 84}

John Locke who lived between 1632-1704. Locke was the leader of the 1688 revolution in England, he changed the royal system into a democratic system. Superior Andrasel has described this revolution as the most successful and moderate of all revolutions. {Polady: 1386,1}

The basis of John Locke's political philosophy was the observation of justice and fairness in the society of shopkeepers and buyers. John Locke's political philosophy is summed up in the words of compromise. We should consider all relations between the people and the government in the form of business or trade. {Polady: 1386, 31,32}

In John Locke's democracy, the contract between the king and the subject, like the contract between the buyer and the shopkeeper, is made freely and with the consent of the parties, while the freedom and loss of the parties in this contract have many problems from a practical point of view. It allows people to go to the polls. This is the true nature of the contract between the king and the

subjects. After completing the contract, the ruler goes after his own interests and the people follow their hunger, there is no obligation. {Polady: 1386,57}

Regarding the history of democracy, it should be said that it first existed in the middle of the fifth century BC in ancient Greece in the city government of Athens. The citizens of Athens achieved unity, solidarity and belonging without equality. In Greek city-states, there were social differences and class structure among the citizens. {Andishmand: 1384, 572}

Since in democracy there should be a direct relationship between public opinion and government action. In this case, Athenian democracy was more advanced than today's democracy. In the city government, public affairs were related to all people, and everything was discussed. The duties of the Athenian government included managing public works, implementing construction projects, helping the poor, regulating professions and prices, collecting taxes, seizing war spoils and other actions that provided the minimum means of living for the people. {Andishmand: 1384, 111} In the Athenian democracy, the three principles of freedom, equality and decision-making were more or less observed by the majority of the people. The characteristics of this democracy are as follows.

- 1- In the political culture of the Greek people, the concentration of power for one person was not accepted.
- 2- Freedom of speech and belief was one of the first conditions for the rule of citizens. In the ancient culture, speaking well, giving useful advice to the government, and demonstrating were among the supreme virtues of citizens.
- 3- The equality of citizens in speaking and making suggestions in the community of citizens was considered as a necessary condition of democracy. Of course, equality in ancient Greece was different from the concept of equality today. {Amiri, 1389-111-112}
- 4- The principle of majority in making decisions was also a feature of Greek democracy, in the sense that people's votes were counted and the decision of the majority was announced. The majority vote was considered final and binding and could be imposed as law, this method can be applied in today's world as well.

The above principles are the common feature between Greek democracy and today's democracy, while Greek democracy has differences from today's, which are as follows.

- 1- Greek democracy was a minority democracy because social groups did not include citizens and did not have the right to interfere in the government. Only a small group of people had citizenship rights. {Amiri, 1389, 113}
- 2- Foreigners living in the city government were not considered citizens, and they were deprived of citizenship rights as foreigners from generation to generation. According to Greek laws, a foreigner was someone who was not born of Greek parents.
- 3- Women did not participate in Greek democracy; they did not have the right to participate in decisions.
- 4- Slaves who turned an important economic wheel were deprived of citizenship rights.
- 5- Unlike today, Greek democracy was directly applicable and the concept of elections seemed unfamiliar. {Amiri, 1389, 114}
- 6- The word freedom means the lack of freedom in today's time, meaning the right to participate in public affairs. But freedom was born with new concepts in the new era and is an integral part of human life.

With all the similarities and differences between Greek democracy and today's democracy. Greek democracy is the foundation of today's democracies, and their experiences are examples of today's democratic systems.

The Romans were more interested in practical politics than in theory and were able to develop institutions that solved many of the problems that existed in Greece. Therefore, the practical contribution of Roman jurists and rulers in democracy was more obvious than that of Greek philosophers. The Romans saw the citizen as a legal matter, not an active participant in public affairs. The separation of powers was considered in the Roman democracy and there was the motive of equality and equal rights in Rome, which forms the foundation of today's democratic systems. After the Roman Empire, democracy disappeared. In today's democracies, elections are one of the basic principles that have been inherited from Rome. {Andishmand, 2014, 38}

In the Middle Ages, there were institutions that believed in hierarchical organizations with the motive of narrative command and obedience. The privilege of some classes over others was the organizing principle of society and government, although there

were widespread uprisings among the lower classes of society. But these uprisings cannot be considered democratic feelings. But these tendencies later helped the growth of democratic ideals and institutions.

After the Roman democracy, the term democracy remained a technical term until 1790 and was used only by theorists and experts. The modern concept of democratic government first appeared in England in the 17th century. During this century, the struggle of the English people against the tyranny of the kings was going on. These struggles fostered social democracy and political democracy. The people's demand from the king was that all the people should participate equally in all the laws that are enacted. {Andishmand, 1384, 756-757} After a civil war (1640-1648), the people of England realized all their democratic dreams. The principles of government were established with the consent of the people, the election of representatives, and the method of legislation in a constitutional way. {Amiri: 1389, 98}

Citizens in a democracy have not only rights, but also the responsibility to participate in the political system that, in turn, protects their rights and freedoms.

Democratic societies are committed to the values of tolerance, cooperation, and compromise. In the words of Mahatma Gandhi, "Intolerance is itself a form of violence and an obstacle to the growth of a true Fair, frequent, and well-managed elections are essential in a Two Forms of Democracy.

Democracies fall into two basic categories, direct and representative. In a direct democracy, citizens, without the intermediary of elected or appointed officials, can participate in making public decisions. Such a system is clearly most practical with relatively small numbers of people — in a community organization, tribal council, or the local unit of a labor union, for example — where members can meet in a single room to discuss issues and arrive at decisions by consensus or majority vote.

Some states, in addition, place "propositions" and "referenda" — mandated changes of law — or possible recall of elected officials on ballots during state elections. These practices are forms of direct democracy, expressing the will of a large population. Many practices may have elements of direct democracy. In Switzerland, many important political decisions on issues, including public health, some local jurisdictions in the United States still practice a form of direct democracy, as energy, and employment, in this town meeting in Harwick, Vermont. Schools and taxes tend to be popular issues. are subject to a vote by the country's citizens. And some might argue that the Internet is creating new forms of direct democracy, as it empowers political groups to raise money for their causes by appealing directly to like-minded citizens.

### **The historical course of the democracy system in Afghanistan**

For the first time, Jamal al-Din Afghan started the social revolution movement with Islamic thought in Afghanistan in the 19th century, but the Malik al-Tawaifi regime of this country stopped his conscious and fruitful movement in the field of political and social activities and forced him to leave his homeland. The colonization of Afghanistan by colonial powers such as England, the Soviet Union, and the United States has prevented this country from becoming a democracy.

Modernization and progress in Afghanistan started in its initial form during the time of Sher Ali Khan. Unfortunately, British intervention created obstacles for Amir. After Amir Shir Ali Khan, his son Amir Yaqub Khan came to power. He was ready for any kind of obedience to the British. An example of his betrayal is the unsolvable problem between the people of Afghanistan and Pakistan, the Durand Line.

In 1880, Amir Abdul Rahman Khan came to power and the basic challenge of Afghanistan's social system reached its peak after his reign. The lack of national consensus, the lack of mutual acceptance among the ethnic and social groups of Afghanistan all have their roots in the incomplete and unreasonable policies of Amir Abdul Rahman Khan. All these were among the obstacles towards a clear and democratic society that continued in the 20th century in Afghanistan. {Hamid, 1390, 98}

The constitutionalist system was formed during the rule of Habibullah Khan. During this period, the Habibiya school became a place for democratic intellectuals. Democratic intellectuals wanted to transform the totalitarian system into a democratic regime. But Habibullah engages in demagogic activities and did not bring any positive changes in changing the political system. {Khuani, 1388, 113}

After Habibullah Khan, his son Amanullah Khan came to power. Amanullah Khan was connected with the academics. By declaring Jihad against the British, Amanullah Khan was able to attract the support of all sections of society, including intellectuals, peasants, and merchants. Amanullah Khan created the constitution for the first time in Afghanistan and transformed absolute monarchy into constitutional monarchy. This law represented the real will of national unity in this country {Khuani, 1388, 116}

Amanullah Khan was known as the founder of the democratic system and the initiator of social, political and economic ideas in Afghanistan. In addition, Amanullah Khan introduced Afghanistan as an independent and free country in the world. Amanullah Khan's hasty and ill-considered transformation aroused the religious feelings of the people. Opposition groups led by Habibullah Kalkani took power and ruled for 9 months. Habibullah Kalkani was assassinated by Nader Khan. Nader Khan, who was a tribalist people, created a cabinet composed of his relatives. After Nader Khan, his son Zahir Shah came to power. Zahir Shah ruled for forty years. His reign is divided into four periods.

1- From 1933-1946, the chancellery period of Mohammad Hashim Khan, Shah's uncle

2- 1946-1953, the period of Prime Minister Shah Mehmood Khan was dominated by open political atmosphere

3-Decade 1953-1963, the period of Daud Khan's presidency, political dictatorship reigned.

4- The decade of 1963-1973, which is known as the decade of democracy, during this period, 5 chancellors created 7 unstable governments. {Poladi: 2016, 230}

During Shah Mahmud's presidency, a relatively open political atmosphere was created, which became known as Shah Mahmud's democracy. Shah Mahmud Khan always talked about democracy. In 1947, the new law of municipalities was implemented based on secret and written elections. Another task was to end the monopoly of Pashto language in education and reintroduce Persian language in schools. Hashim Khan had marginalized Persian language. {Poladi: 2016, 231}

The decade of democracy, the crystallization of democratic institutions in Afghanistan: Shah Mahmood Khan's presidency had a significant role in the formation of democracy in Afghanistan, and during the Daud Khan period, large cadres with democratic motivation were trained in political affairs. The decade of democracy includes the resignation of Sardar Daud Khan until the coup of 1973.

After Dawood Khan's coup d'etat, Yusuf Khan expressed his readiness for the post of chancellor at the suggestion of the Shah. One of the main tasks of Yusuf Khan's chancellorship was to form a group of experts to renew the constitution. Adapt the Afghan society. Loya Jirga was held on September 9, 1964 in order to approve the Constitution. In this constitution, the Shah's family was banned from membership in political parties, the chancellery, council, and the Supreme Court. In this constitution, efforts were made to keep pace with social changes by preserving Islamic values. {Assyrian: 1386, 240}

After the approval of the Constitution, the Shura consisting of the Wolesi Jirga and the Meshrano Jirga was formed, a free and transparent election was held to elect the chancellor, and Doctor Youssef was elected to the chancellery seat for the second time by the Shura. Dr. Youssef's cabinet brought many successes in advancing democracy, such as drafting a new constitution, a five-year economic plan, and improving foreign policy. {Assyrian, 1386, 241}

The end of the democracy period: After a series of improvements that took place in the democracy sector in Afghanistan, but over time, the government lost its democratic color. The reason for that was the lack of social and economic foundations to move towards democracy. Because this type of democracy was a vulnerable democracy without a leader and a regular plan, which each group used for their own benefit. The main condition of democracy, which was a contract between the government and the people, did not exist. Because the institutionalization of democracy in a country requires a platform and a democratic society. The past governments took steps to democratize the social, political, and economic structure without paying attention to this feature. The structure of the social majority of Afghanistan maintained its tribal characteristics and stood against modernity. {Hamid: 1390, 148}

As a result of a military coup in 1973, Daud Khan turned the royal system into a democracy. Daud Khan called the democracy of the Shahi era democracy on paper and promised to establish democracy by announcing the government of the Republic. In

1976, Daud Khan ordered the creation of a commission to revise the constitution. This constitution nullified most of the achievements of the decade of constitutionalism, such as the freedom of the media and the pen. In this law, all the important powers of the government, such as appointing deputies, ministers, members of the Wolesi Jirga, appointing ambassadors, approving laws and decrees, were related to the president, while the president could dissolve the National Council. And the president himself was not responsible to any authority. which was indicative of a dictatorial system, but with it, progress was made in the political, economic, and social fields, including Afghanistan's foreign relations with most countries in the region. {Hamid: 1390, 149}.

In Afghanistan, the development of the idea of democracy has been provided in the two stages of the decade of democracy (1964-1973) and 2001, which due to the political open space and the expansion of various political parties and currents, democracy did not last in the country and Dawood Khan's coup d'état in 1973 against the government of Zahir Shah Rushd. Democracy stopped in this country. democracy in the 80s did not materialize in this country. The political system in this period was unstable and fragile, which can be attributed to the lack of proper economic, social and cultural development and to some extent the dependency of the post-colonial situation. Because the dependence of the post-colonial situation is the fundamental factors, which have caused obstacles to the above components and the growth of democracy through the influence on the government. What has challenged democracy in Afghanistan is not only the structural factors of the political system, but also the existence of dependent and undemocratic governments.

#### **The formation of democracy in Afghanistan (2001-2021)**

After the killing of Ahmad Shah Massoud and the September 11 incident, the United States established a military presence in Afghanistan under the pretext of attacking the Taliban. After the fall of the Taliban, the United Nations issued a resolution on November 14, 2001, and approved the formation of the interim administration through the Inter-Afghan Conference.

Accordingly, the Bonn Conference, with the presence of American representatives, formed a joint government between the United Front and the supporters of former Shah Mohammad Zahir. It established a stage of democratic transition for Afghanistan. The Bonn Agreement proposed three stages for the future of the country in the process of transition to democracy and stability.

- 1- Temporary Administration, Emergency Loya Jirga
- 2- Transitional government. Loya Jirga of the Constitution
- 3- Permanent government.

In Bon, it was decided to form a six-month temporary administration in which the head of the government and the Prime Minister are not present. The head of the administration was voted on. In the voting, Sirat received 12 votes and Hamid Karzai won two votes. This meeting was planned in advance. Apparently, it was thought that the world, especially the United States, was trying to cooperate for a democratic government in Afghanistan, but in this same meeting, the Americans, who were talking about democracy, preferred Hamed Karzai's two votes to Sirat's 12 votes. In this meeting, Khalilzad, an American of Afghan origin, realized the goals behind the scenes of America as the representative of America. The presence of Afghan representatives in this meeting was symbolic. {Beatham: 2009, 167}

The most important responsibility was the agreement of the Bonn Conference. The formation of the committee for the approval of the constitution and subsequently the organization of the Loya Jirga was for the purpose of approving the constitution. And its purpose was to register important and major national issues under this law.

Consolidation of national unity through guaranteeing the equal rights of the country's residents, which is enshrined in the constitution.

Creating the foundations of a national democracy, recognizing the rights of individuals and limiting the ruling power, which the constitution shows and implies.

Establishing political institutions according to the will of the nation, protection national interests and responsible to the nation.

Finally, to create coordination and generate mutual responsibilities between the ruling elite and the people in order to advance national goals and desires. {Hashmi, 2005. p. 27}

In the emergency Loya Jirga opened by Zahir Shah in 2002, Hamid Karzai was re-elected as the head of government in the transitional administration for 18 months.

According to the Ben Loya agreement, the emergency Jirga had three duties:

1- Determining the head of the transitional government

2- Determining the nature of the system

3- The appointment of key posts and the transitional government and their officials, all of which were done according to the will of America. Hamid Karzai became the head of the government when the government system was broken and there was no security in Afghanistan. There were no civil institutions and centres for the defence of civil and human rights in Afghanistan. The new government of Afghanistan considered itself obliged to create conditions for the formation of democracy and its nationalization.

The constitution which was approved by the Loya Jirga and ratified by interim president Hamid Karzai on December 27, 2003, has 12 chapters and 162 articles. In this introduction, it is stated that in order to establish a system based on the will of the people and democracy and in order to create a civil society free from oppression, tyranny, discrimination, violence and based on law, social justice, preserving dignity and human rights and ensuring the freedom and fundamental rights of the people. An effort should be made. {Beatham: 2009, 169}

It is worth noting that the text of the constitution approved by the Loya Jirga differed in 50 cases from the text approved by Hamid Karzai. For example, adding a paragraph in Article 16 (mandatory scientific terms existing in the country will be preserved). The Constitution of Afghanistan has been considered the best constitution compared to the past laws of Afghanistan and the region by respecting Islamic values and democracy. {Andishmand: 2005, 221}

The principle of democracy in the Afghan constitution is one of the principles, which can be assumed from its fourth article. This article expresses the unlimited sovereignty of the Afghan nation through the declaration that national sovereignty in Afghanistan belongs to the nation, directly or through a representative. People apply it themselves. The nation of Afghanistan includes all people who have the citizenship of Afghanistan. The nation of Afghanistan consists of Tajik, Hazara, Uzbek, Pashtun, Turkmen, Baluch, Peshawar, Nuristani, Imaq, Arab, Qazalbash and other ethnic groups. The word "Afghan" is applied to every member of the Afghan nation. No member of the nation will be deprived of Afghan citizenship. (Constitutional Law, 2004. Article four)

In the system that is based on the sovereignty of the people, only the people themselves can play a role in the legitimacy of the sovereignty of humans over other humans. As a result, every act of government power must be based on the will of the nation and be rooted in the people as the main provider of authority in a democratic and populist system. In such a system, the power of the government is taken from the nation through a referendum, "referring to public votes" directly by the people, or indirectly through the election of representatives, for example, through the election of the President of the Republic or the National Assembly. Article 4 of the Constitution of Afghanistan foresees direct and indirect acts of national sovereignty. Where it has been ruled that: national sovereignty in Afghanistan belongs to the nation. which applies it directly or through its representatives. However, in most cases, the sovereignty is not exercised directly, but by the people's representatives in the Wolesi Jirga and the President, and reference to the people's votes is an exception. (Mushtaqi, 2009. p. 86)

The emergence of civil institutions in the last decade made the mental platform and civil behaviours more regular. One of the democratic characteristics of this period was the level and measure of the activity and influence of civil institutions in the political, social and cultural process, while in the 40s, the political field was Cultural, mental and social conditions were less available for the growth of civil institutions.

Despite that, its negative effects on political and social dimensions in Afghanistan cannot be ignored.



Despite the nascent nature of practicing democracy in this country, in three rounds of presidential and parliamentary elections, despite the challenges, Afghans risked their lives and went to the polls and practiced democracy. Afghanistan's political leaders and their foreign supporters ignored these sacrifices and did not take any steps to stabilize it.

The components of democracy, which include the originality of the contract and the election of the leader by the will of the majority in political affairs, relativism, equality of law, so which of these components was able to be applied correctly in the Afghan democracy system? {Andishmand: 2015, 140}

Among other challenges of generalizing democracy as a national and universal process is the lack of rule of law in the country. Without knowing the political culture of democracy, the rulers resorted to violent and undemocratic means. These functions caused the decline of democracy in a society that was a nascent democracy, the will of the majority turned into the tyranny of the minority. Because the majority vote was not free of corruption, 13 thousand incidents of violations and fraud have been recorded in the presidential and parliamentary elections. The number of casualties was higher than two hundred and seventy people, including ten parliamentary candidates, which shows the fragility of this process and dashes all the hopes of the people. The history of Afghanistan is full of tyranny and the use of coercive power to gain political power, and political power has never been transferred peacefully, so it seems difficult to practice democracy and take advantage of its components in those conditions. {Hossein Bakshi: 2013, 120}

Many factors are involved in the failure of the democratic process in Afghanistan, including the lack of balance in the thoughts of politicians and political currents that do political activities without benefiting from a specific ideology. They do not have a special plan for national interests. All their positions were seasonal and temporary. Poverty, unemployment, lack of proper political culture, lack of necessary political knowledge, administrative corruption; The lack of good governance caused the nascent democracy to face great challenges. And he could not go through his maturation in a natural way. You can't call a system a democracy just by going to the polls, the main principles of democracy is that the government is accountable to the people. Unfortunately, this feature did not exist in Afghanistan's democracy, and the imposition of power was mostly done in a vertical way in the society, not in a parallel and lawful way, which can ensure the democratic system. The reason for its failure is the irresponsibility of the politicians who were trying to gain and maintain power in interaction with the outside world, which caused the inefficiency of the political system in Afghanistan.

Democracy in Afghanistan does not show a natural form, but a type of deviation of a democratic process, which can be called authoritarian liberal democracy. {Andishmand: 1392, 133}

Regarding the democracy of the political system of the last decade, it should be said that in this system, the transfer of power is in such a way that despite the existence of democratic institutions such as the parliament and elections, the core and main bloc of power does not change, and in the elections, the power is transferred to the circle of insiders. Although this regime considers itself committed to the rules of democracy, it has an authoritarian nature, which is in conflict with democracy. Here, the purpose of creating legal rules to frame political power is to justify and make the ruler's authority appear legal. In this sense, the special task of the constitution is to help establish and maintain power and justify the execution of the narrators' command from a legal point of view. Also, the dependence of governments and powerful internal groups on foreign powers has confirmed the creation of an undemocratic system in Afghanistan. The provision of economic resources and the necessary political support from the political elite by foreign powers and influential and powerful internal groups has made the relationship between the government and the society fragile, and this has led to an increase in distrust and indifference of the citizens towards the government's decisions. The authoritarian nature of the political system in Afghanistan has prevented it. So that the government, as an agent in this country, cannot play the role of mediator and facilitator between political actors. He has never been able to arbitrate in order to maintain peaceful relations between ethnic groups and social divisions.

**Factors of failure liberal democracy in Afghanistan (2001-2021)**

In the past two decades, Afghanistan enjoyed a relatively democratic system, citizens enjoyed relative rights and freedoms, the rights of minorities were considered in the constitution, political parties and civil society institutions, the media began to operate, education expanded and business increased. Afghanistan's interaction with the world increased. Afghanistan achieved significant progress in all political, social, economic and private fields. But this political system, with all its advantages, had problems that caused its downfall. With its fall, all the assets of this system were lost at just the once.

Many questions have been raised about the collapse of this system. The collapse of the democratic system in Afghanistan cannot be attributed to one factor. Rather, a set of external and internal factors played a role in the collapse of this system. These factors worked hand in hand and gradually weakened and weakened the roots of this system and caused the downfall of this system. Until Ghani's escape destroyed this shaky order. The internal factors that caused the downfall of the democratic system in Afghanistan are listed below.

- **Cultural factors:** The cultural characteristics that destroyed the democratic system in this country are:

The existence of tribal culture, traditional religious fundamentalism, which considered the values of democracy alien and contrary to religious values. These perceptions were against the requirements of the democratic era and culture. The transition to democracy requires the transition from ethnicity and tribalism. Unfortunately, in this sense, Afghanistan was in the Middle Ages, political behavior and elections were all ethnic and tribal, in other words, the political rationality ruling the society was ethnic and tribal rationality. {Shaker, 2005, 140}

Building power relations based on ethnic and tribal rationality has brought bitter consequences. which is the main factor of the national anthem language, and even the name of the country, which is rooted in the tribal structure of power relations. It was based on tribal beliefs and values. These values influence political behavior in this country. If we look at the two presidential and parliamentary elections, we can see ethnic and sectarian motivations. Trading, deals, friendship and enmity all revolve around the division of power based on ethnicity. {Poladi, 2007, 210}

The multi-ethnicity of the Afghan society can be another obstacle to the establishment of a democratic system in the country. Despite having a tribal structure and values, the Pashtuns are divided into Abdali and Gholzai groups and branches, and each of these two tribes are divided into numerous and small branches respectively. Some scholars believe that Pashtun is a linguistic identity rather than an ethnic identity. {Rafat, 2010, 199}

Tajiks are mostly divided into regions and regional identities, and compared to other ethnic groups, they are considered more civilized, and their identity is colored by culture rather than race and blood. Like Badakhshi, Mazari, Panjshiri, but the regional differences are not so great as to prevent the formation of a single leader.

Hazaras who mostly live in the central areas or Hazara and the centres of some major cities. They do not have a clear tribal structure, the old structure of absolute domination by Mir and Sadat has faded among them. The common ethnicity and the Shiite religion of the twelve Imams can be counted as a special feature of this nation. Uzbeks and Turkmen who live mostly in the north of the country have a special ethnic structure. Some Turkmen tribes still have their tribal structure. {Spenta, 2010, 91}

Based on the unjust policies of many governments, this nation was limited in the development of collective identity until the end of the 6th century. Uzbek language, Turkmen and common ethnicity can be counted among the characteristics of this nation. Although the religion of Islam is the historical and cultural commonality that connects most of the ethnic groups of this country, but in the political issue, these commonalities cannot create a sense of harmony and mutual acceptance among the ethnic groups living in this country. {Khuani, 2009, 181}

Since the center-orbital process of state-building in Afghanistan started with foreign instigation by Britain and Russia, the goal was to preserve the political interests of these superpowers in South Asia and Central Asia. The state-building process that started with Abd al-Rahman Khan's coming to power in 1880, at that time, with the financial and military cooperation of Britain, measures were taken to establish the basis of a powerful central government in the country whose borders were defined by

Britain and Russia. Creating a tax system and depriving the heads of tribes and tribes of political power took the first steps towards the creation of this powerful central government. In order to create such a government, in the first step, he made the Gholzai tribe submit by force and directed most of his operations against the Gholzais. After that, he made other ethnic groups in the north, northeast and west regions of the country subject to him with cruelty and cruelty, and in this way, he ensured the control and domination of a powerful central Pashtun government in the country. {Rezaei, 2010, 138 }

Pashtuns were given special privileges and played a key role in the process of power concentration. They were exempted from paying taxes and dividing land, and the Pashtun tribes gained control in different areas of Afghanistan, especially in the north of the country, in the lands that were confiscated from non-Pashtun tribes. Pashtunism had institutionalized the superiority of the Pashtuns, created the grounds for divisions, grudges, and social revenges among ethnic groups and religious groups. From this policy and the centralist movement of the Amir in Afghanistan, some people call it internal colonialism, internal imperialism, and Pashtunization of Afghanistan. This policy caused serious and fundamental changes in the population in the north and center of the country and had a major impact on the classification of ethnic groups in the new political system. According to Barfield, this policy of forced subjugation of ethnic groups in Afghanistan made the Pashtuns as a whole appear on stage for the next 90 years in such a way that they and others consider themselves as a privileged people in the country. It was the beginning of polarization of ethnic politics and ethnic and religious discrimination in Afghanistan. which established the foundation of schism, hostilities and ethnic wars. After the death of Abdul Rahman Khan, his son Habibullah Khan came to power and preserved his father's achievements. In addition, he brought relative changes in his father's policy and that made the ground favorable for the return of exiled Afghans. It also opened new fields for new thoughts and views in the country. Amanullah Khan (1928-1919) under the influence of Mahmoud Tarzi made an effort to make Afghanistan a uniform and unified Kurdish language and Pashtun culture. Amanullah Khan's western policies and interference in the Islamic culture of the Afghan people caused widespread uprisings against him and forced him to leave the country. Habib Lallah Kalkani, a Tajik, came to power for the first time, but the Pashtun tribes, despite their opposition to the previous government, took action to overthrow Habibullah Kalkani because he was a Tajik and non-Pashtun. {Hosseini Afghanyar, 2009, 220}

- **Political factors:** the powerful presence of political parties and civil society is one of the essentials of democracy. In fact, parties are the cogwheels of democracy. Civil society and political parties are the link between the citizens and the government, which on the one hand conveys the people's wishes and demands to the government and creates methods to respond to the needs and desires of the people. At the same time, it gives political education to the people and makes them aware of the country's political culture. Each party has its own ideas and thoughts in various fields of politics, economy and culture, and in case of victory, it advances the society according to its ideology.

In Afghanistan, after the fall of the Taliban, a large number of parties emerged, which had never existed before. But unfortunately, none of the parties had national features. The goals of the existing parties in Afghanistan were only to gain power for the interests of a few members of the party, none of them had a political and economic plan for the future of the country. Although the constitution of Afghanistan 2003 prohibited the formation of parties in Afghanistan based on ethnic and religious affiliations. Therefore, with this situation, there is no hope for the establishment of democracy {Andishmand: 2005, 190}

One of the other basics for the establishment of democracy in a society is the institutionalization of tolerance and tolerance in a society. In a democratic society, people express their opposition to their rivals in the form of scientific criticism and debate, based on the principle of pluralism and multiplicity, no voice is quiet or with the example is not silenced, but the words are answered with the words of scientific criticism, but in the Afghan society, the dominant culture is the culture of violence.

The legacy of several decades of tyranny and the achievement of three decades of war and militarism have created a violent culture in the ruling society. which has affected all aspects of the society. Dominating the rival in Afghanistan is done only through violence. Tolerance, tolerance and solving the problem through dialogue has no meaning and place in the culture of this country. Bullying and authoritarianism is an example of the culture of militarism in this country, and violence is at all levels. Social issues are seen in the form of shapes. Pessimism about human nature leads to an authoritarian attitude, on the contrary,

optimism about human nature and thinking that human nature is unique causes the spirit of tolerance and tolerance to arise and creates the environment for democratic office. The ideas of Jean-Jacques Rousseau form the basis of our statement. {Andishmand: 2005, 140} Jean-Jacques Rousseau was optimistic about human nature, which is bound to the moral behavior of citizens and humane treatment with them. But in Afghanistan, uncertainty towards human nature and doubt, uncertainty of each other has reached its peak. In our political behavior and political culture, we do not see anything other than violence, obscenity, insult, humiliation and verbal abuse have become an inseparable part of Afghanistan's political culture. {Amiri, 2010, 113}

One of the other obstacles to democracy in this country is the weakness and inability of governments. Governments in Afghanistan have always been unable to fully control the territory. In many parts of the country, armed groups opposed to the government ruled. This situation has caused the fall of democratic systems and prepared the ground for the victory of opposition systems. {Bayat, 2008, 177}

The government and its related departments always dealt with the people on the basis of friendship and enmity. A centralized structure where the power was practically limited to a few and there was no guarantee for the participation of the masses and different strata.

In the democratic system of Afghanistan, due to the fact that the society is multi-ethnic, ethnicity has played a prominent role. This system, by applying the model of democracy, should have created the ground for pluralism as a strengthening factor of the political system, but not only this did not happen, but the ethnicization of politics in the system of the Republic of Afghanistan intensified. found more in the last two decades, especially in the last few years, power was defined by ethnicity, and ethnicity was the determinant of political behavior. Distribution of power, elections, support and lack of support, accountability and transparency of rulers, characteristics of leaders were all defined based on ethnic criteria and these criteria are opposed to the criteria of democracy. It was the main factors of the downfall of the democracy system in this country.

The ethnicization of politics and ethnic politics played a prominent role in the downfall of democracy in several ways:

First, individualism, which forms the core of democracy, was nullified.

Second, it denied the possibility of forming independent and law-abiding institutions, which is a requirement of a democratic society.

Third, It widened the platforms of blackmail, violence and even people's indifference towards the corruption and inefficiency of the leaders. These cases made the growth and institutionalization of democracy sterile. {Afghanyar, 2010, 199}

- **Fraudulent elections:** Elections are one of the requirements of democracy and one of the processes that enable democratic practice. This factor plays a large role in the success and failure of democracies. In Afghanistan, however, this performance has always faced many problems and in addition, one of the factors that questioned the legitimacy of democracy in Afghanistan was the election fraud. The election process was full of fraud and forgery, the citizens' votes lost their value, and under the name of elections and the crystallization of the will of the people, the worst kind of modern tyranny was imposed on the people by resorting to the tools of democracy.

- **Politicization of the security forces:** The security forces were the only true guards in the country who fought day and night for the health of the people and the survival of the political system. In the past few years, with little resources, they were able to fulfil their mission towards their society and people. The importance of security forces during Ghani's presidency was the politicization of these forces. During this period, politics had penetrated into the body of the security forces and these forces had become politicized in an unprecedented way. The focus of the politicization of the security forces was ethnicity. Accordingly, the generals and seasoned officers who were from other races and ethnic groups were removed from the security forces train under the pretext of different age, ethnicity; And they were thrown down and those who had no previous military experience were chosen in their place.

In the politicization of the security forces, Ashraf Ghani and Hamdullah Mohib played a key role. Mohib made major decisions alone in the country's security sector. During this period, anyone who had a good relationship with Mohib or was a member of his team as a district commander, border commissioner, commander of the army or The director of national security was

appointed, and those who acted against his words and fought for the homeland were suppressed or removed from the security forces.

Of course, the politicization of the security forces was important for the Citadel in some ways, first of all, it helped to monopolize their power. Second: What caused any program that they applied to be executed. Third- This made them easily take the country to their heart's desire, but the consequence of the politicization of the security forces was devastating for the Afghan political system. Why all the available capacities of the security forces of the country became a victim of hidden political games was not the reason. Their political will and fighting spirit decreased day by day.

- **Convenience determinations:** Selection and appointments in the government were mainly based on ethnic and religious political expediency, and merits did not play a big role in it. A look at the ethnic and political records of the cabinet of the interim government, the transitional government of the legal government of Afghanistan is a good indication of the same. that the deputies and ministers of the government are always determined based on their power and influence in different regions of Afghanistan and not on their personal abilities.

- **Administrative corruption:** In the field of corruption, although many and various factors can be effective, one of the systemic problems of underdeveloped or developing countries is the unwieldiness of the bureaucracy and the unlimited accumulation of power in them. Bureaucracy monopolizes the forces, resources and facilities of the society and appears as powerful units in the society. (Kamali, 2009: p. 36)

Afghanistan is one of the countries that has been on the first rank of the global corruption list for many years and is one of the most known corrupt countries in the world. Corruption has dried up the roots of development and progress in this country and has always been an obstacle to improving its political, economic and social situation.

In the inappropriate system, administrative organizations do not adhere to rules and regulations in the appointment of employees, and factors such as familiarity and kinship, cronyism, orders from influential officials, and dependence on political officials are the basis for hiring people. (Longest and others, 2008: p. 23)

As we know, in our country, job verification and job bases are more attributed than acquired; This means that in this country, the establishment of job bases is mostly based on the ratio of people, not individual merits and not what they have obtained through work and effort. In a society where bases are attributive, effort, ability, talent, and competence lose their meaning, and in this society, people's ability, merit, experience, skill, and competence are never considered; Rather, attention is paid to which family he is from, which tribe, or which political party he belongs to. (same)

The fact is that in the current administrative system of Afghanistan, the appointment and allocation of organizational positions based on, discrimination, or bribery has become commonplace, and collusion between wealthy individuals, politicians, and bureaucratic agents to pass through the filters of the administrative system has become a common practice. It has resulted in the occurrence of administrative corruption. (Saeidi, 2018: 99) In Afghanistan, family interests and solidarity are very strong, and the family members of an employee expect him to break the standards and regulations because of them. It is more on the employee and as a result, the intensity of nepotism increased. (same)

Something that was a reality in the administrative system of the Republic. that the process of administrative work was usually faced with a large number of unnecessary rules and regulations, the interference of the duties of individuals and organizations, and the number of signatures, and the ambiguities in the current administrative procedures and work standards allow their agents to make arbitrary decisions and actions. In addition, the complex and multi-layered process of administrative affairs also encourages clients to offer bribes to speed up the work, which is unfortunately rampant in our country. On the other hand, ordinary people are usually unaware of the duties and responsibilities that government employees have towards them, and they are not fully aware of the quantity and quality of rights and benefits allocated to them. (Taleghani, 2003: p. 77)

The incidence of administrative corruption and unethical behavior on the part of the people of every society more or less exists, and we cannot find a society that is exempt from these cases and call that society a completely corruption-free, ideal society based on ethics and law; But today's conditions and statistics in our society show that our society is a critical society due to the

occurrence of immoral cases, contrary to custom and law, and sometimes the things that have happened in the society can be seen as a society that is in moral decline. (Kamali, 2009: p. 43)

Many individual and social behaviours of the people of the society come from the cultural and moral beliefs of the same society. When moral values such as commitment, responsibility, care, trustworthiness, and attention to the human dignity of the clients become weak in the institutions and the members of the society do not consider themselves obliged to comply with them, it is natural that all kinds of corruption, including administrative corruption, gradually become a value in such institutions. And it becomes the social norm. (Rafipour, 2009: p. 44) In the field of control and monitoring systems, research shows that if control and monitoring is not done correctly, it spreads like a virus; Because if a person at a lower level in the organizational hierarchy goes through the error and corruption of his colleague, other people, both at the lower level and at the higher levels of the organization, seeing this issue in a social way, follow them as an example and They consider the incorrect procedure to be a correct model. In fact, when this happens, the organization becomes corrupt, and probably the related organizations and institutions do not report the error.

In every university, two types of supervision and control can be distinguished:

1. Internal supervision and control, which is interpreted as the mirror of morality, and the guarantee of its implementation is the same inner conscience.
2. External supervision and control, which consists of incentives and punishments. This type of monitoring and control can be implemented through laws and regulations. (Najafpur, 2018: p. 41)

The control and monitoring systems can fight against administrative corruption through two approaches, the psychological approach. The confrontational approach includes administrative investigation, punishment, and prosecution of delinquent employees in the government system, which these systems can actively and centrally seek to find those who ignore the public trust and commit administrative corruption. The psychological approach as a preventive approach includes the creation and development of a favorable environment for the increase and growth of ethics among people in society. This sustainable and preventive solution is based on the spirit and psychological characteristics of people. The purpose of this approach is to strengthen religious, religious and moral values to create more order and honesty among people. Meanwhile, the role of the second approach is far greater than the role of the first approach. (Turgani, 2018: p. 12)

Unfortunately, in our country, both types of supervision and control are limping; In the sense that both our cultural and moral system has not created the guarantee of the necessary internal implementation in individuals, and our system of laws and regulations has not been able to do this; This is why all kinds of administrative corruption have taken root in this country. Inadequate income, poor staff and low pay standards, Poverty is the most common economic factor that leads to corruption. In poor countries where people have little wealth, corruption is more likely because a limited number of people get rich quickly through illegal means. the majority of the people sink into poverty, in the meantime, the government employees are victims of the existing situation in the first step, because on the one hand, their purchasing power decreases, and on the other hand, the government cannot afford to increase their salaries. In such a situation, they have to fulfill the needs and necessities of their lives collect wealth through illegal means, including administrative corruption. (Same., p. 40)

In Afghanistan, many people commit administrative corruption due to insufficient income, low salary and low job rank, which is called "corruption of necessity". This category of employees are those whose income and expenses are not equal and they have to make up for their deficit in a small way. In the meantime, there are people in government offices who commit corruption because of their greed, which is called "corruption based on greed"; And usually they are the ones who have high privileges and are considered as government officials and major player. These people who usually occupy government positions through mediation and partisanship or enter the government body as experts, consultants and specialists were usually those who had some kind of close relationship with high government officials; These people committed corruption because they wanted more. The monopoly of power in Afghanistan's government system was one of the main factors in the growth of corruption because the groups that were involved in the government divided the chukis based on their family, tribe and relatives.

Some governments, due to economic, social and political reasons, sometimes in dealing with cases of corruption, due to political and ethnic expediency, behaved with consideration and indulgence, which creates a safe environment for corrupt employees to be able to carry out their activities. In Afghanistan, the fight against corruption takes place only with those who do not have the political and ethnic background or who are the culprits. Corruption in the republican system is widespread and takes place at different levels due to non-transparent and non-responsive administrative and executive structures, political and ethnic expediency and the lack of decisiveness of some organizations, institutions and supervisory and even judicial authorities, which take a serious and decisive approach. They were not institutionalized, so corruption reached its peak.

Widespread corruption caused the distance between the people and the system to deepen and the people to ignore the fate of the system. The recent months and days of the regime showed that despite understanding the threat, the people still did not believe in the decisions and actions of the regime's officials, and this distrust neutralized the grounds for public mobilization against the threat. Several factors played a role in why corruption was institutionalized in the entire system, some of which are mentioned here:

A- Absence of monitoring and accountability system: The republican system was built on ruins, there was no trace of administration and system in the country, in such a situation, money was rushed into Afghanistan from the United States and its international partners. At that time, there was a single authority for consumption, control and supervision. It did not have Aids are used through organizations and institutions. For this reason, the institutions were made in a fraudulent manner and were content to take a few photos to submit to the funding authority and were not accountable to any other authority. This process became the cause of widespread financial corruption in the country. At the same time, the systematization of government institutions also turned into revenue projects and provided the ground for corruption of government officials and gradually this disease spread to the entire body of the system.

A number of technocrats came from the West, each of whom had gone through a difficult period of immigration and struggled with the problems of the capitalist society in which everything is determined by money. After 2001, they found Afghanistan a paradise for collecting money. They filled their pockets in various ways, unlike other countries where political parties receive a specific financial share from the national budget based on the number of seats in the parliament, and politicians are financially supported by ordinary citizens. But in Afghanistan, due to the fact that no special role was considered for the parties in the system, they did not have a financial contribution and on the other hand, not only did they not support the supporters and people of the parties financially, but they also expected to receive money from the party. It had caused political parties and figures to be mostly formed by financial issues. This became illegal and in return for black money and capital, it was the basis for taking political power. This is how everything became a mafia, as in the recent parliamentary elections, most of the capitalists and businessmen entered the parliament. (Saeedi, 2018: p.122)

Another fact that helped in the spread of corruption was the mentality and spirit of non-acceptance of administrative systems by the common people. Due to not living under the umbrella of complex administrative systems like other countries, the people of Afghanistan were not used to following the necessary and necessary bureaucracies and considered it a waste of paper for their wandering. But at the same time, people were mostly interested in getting their work done and executed in a shorter period of time without considering the necessary administrative procedures and by paying bribes. All these internal factors, along with the external factors that played a decisive role in the failure of the republican system, caused the republican system to not last more than twenty years, and the transition of power to its traditional path, that is, domination and force, and the rights and opportunities that the republican system had provided for the people, especially the young generation, should be destroyed. (Ahmadi, 2023: p 22-19)

The purpose of democracy is to defeat the monopoly of power in the hands of a special few. Monopoly of power is opposed to democracy. In Afghanistan, the monopoly of power in the hands of leaders who do not believe in democracy and democratic processes, especially in the last few years, reduced the possibility of monitoring the performance of government institutions to a minimum and undermined the independence of institutions. Democracy without democratic people leads to offensiveness. As

during the period of Ghani's rule, especially the second period of his rule, the monopoly of power in the hands of a few people was the most important rule of the political game, this caused the abuse of power. had questioned inclusive participation. In fact, it was Ghani who decided to come to the parliament and be a minister. It was natural that this situation weakened and shook the foundations of the political system day by day until it collapsed. The monopoly of power had also robbed the opportunities of peace and war. There was no political will for peace and war.

**Political culture:** The political culture of the people of Afghanistan is a traditional culture and the people are not aware of the political system, political power, and political participation. Still, the closed and old structure in this country is undemocratic and is in conflict with democracy. The principle of accountability and responsibility in front of the people is one of the most important features of democracy. In the traditional and closed structure, government officials can easily refuse the principle of accountability to the people, when the structures are trapped in personal relationships, there is no distinction between an understanding manager and an incompetent manager. In traditional societies, people's performance is not evaluated. Therefore, people are not accountable for their responsibilities and duties. This issue questions one of the most important features of democracy. In the traditional structure of Afghanistan, administrative relations were not based on regulations and laws, but on the basis of personal relations and ethnic and tribal relations. People's ethnic status and social status determines their future destiny. This destroys another pillar of democracy, which is the principle of expertise and meritocracy. {Amiri, 2010, 120}

**Lawlessness:** If we want to define democracy, then democracy can be defined as the rule of law, without the rule of law, democracy will lose its true meaning. Unfortunately, in Afghanistan, breaking the law has become a part of the country's culture, and breaking the law was clearly seen from the highest levels of the government to the lowest level. such as administrative corruption and force. The law in Afghanistan did not have any dignity and respect, despite the fact that the law should be applied equally to everyone without any kind of discrimination, but the law was applied only to the poor and strangers, not to the powerful. In other words, the issue of mediation and political and economic influence of powerful people prevented the implementation of the law. This issue caused democracy not to be institutionalized in Afghanistan. The oppressed were the only victims of injustice in the system. {Rezaei, 2010, 136}

Passive political parties: the main and basic core of democratic systems is formed by political parties, political parties in legitimizing power; Preventing the tyranny of power and providing public interests play a significant role. In fact, the vital interests of citizens cannot be provided without parties, but political parties in Afghanistan have never been able to fulfil their mission towards citizens due to their ethnic, positional and personal nature. Most of these parties They sought to secure their personal interests and abused the open space of democracy and weakened the foundations of democracy by creating ethnic groups and linguistic tensions in the center of the parties. In fact, in the last twenty years, political parties have disrupted the order of democracy. which acted as a deadly poison in the body of democracy. By creating ethnic motives among the members of the society, they spread the seeds of discord in the society And they shook the foundations of democracy. Internal factors such as fraudulent elections, politicization of security forces, ethnic politics, widespread and deep corruption, monopoly of power and inactivity of political parties were among the variables that not only did not allow this political order to be stable and durable, but gradually and silently weakened the foundations of this order. and caused the rapid collapse of this system.

In the economic aspect of democracy, they support the market system and free capitalism. In democracy, most businessmen or capitalists buy people's votes. This is how they take over the government. They continue to use money to buy the media for their own benefit in order to gain their support for their desired policies. Political parties operate with their money. Politicians are often tools in the hands of the rich. {Hamid, 2011, 304} These factors question democracy. Marxists have called American democracy the worship of the dollar. Lenin said about the right to vote in capitalist democracy: In a class society, the right to vote is a mirage and an unreal source. What is true is that the content of democracy is the rule of the rich and wealthy. According to Marxists, true democracy will flourish only when capitalism is destroyed and the inequalities between the wealthy and the poor are minimized. Democracy is the most expensive form of government. Huge sums of money are spent on advertising and holding elections. In rich countries like America, millions of dollars are spent on presidential and senate elections. In poor



developing countries, the situation is similar. Invest the huge amount of money spent on elections and representatives in the fields of national production. {Hamid, 2011, 308}

In countries where there are a large number of poor people, democratic institutions cannot function successfully. If we carefully examine the civil movements in Afghanistan in the last twenty years, we will find that the life of these movements is very short, and the civil movements in Afghanistan are formed at a very high speed. they turn off again.

After the fall of the Taliban and the establishment of a democratic system in Afghanistan, the conditions for social movements became favorable. The 1382 constitution supported all kinds of popular demonstrations and the formation of civil movements, and it was expected that inclusive social movements would take root in Afghanistan and bring about the transition of the society from the current state. But contrary to expectations, no positive action was taken in this direction. {Bushrieh, 2005, 99-100}

In Afghanistan, during the last twenty years, no comprehensive movement has been formed, except for the movement that was formed against the aggression of the Soviet Union. The most important movements in Afghanistan are protest movements and ethnic protest movements. {Poladi, 2007, 57} The reason is that these movements have the ability to combine mental and material elements, material and non-material interests, emotions and rationality. Ethnic movements, on the one hand, are dominated by strong nationalist feelings, and on the other hand, the struggle is carried out in the form of a political structure, and its purpose is to gain power and economic benefits. As soon as these types of movements achieve the first set goals, new goals must be drawn so that the members do not leave the movement, but most of these movements fall separately after the first goals are achieved, because they are quickly formed based on temporary feelings, basically with material aspects and objective interests. They are not likely to fall apart. {Poladi, 2007, 57} The main basis of the social movements in Afghanistan is temporary and fleeting feelings, the factor that makes the movement continue is the use of feelings formed through these links with material benefits and fair distribution among members. These benefits can increase livelihood, distribute power, and benefit members. From power, it includes the improvement of the economic situation of the members or any other material and tangible benefits. Some believe that poor management and organization is the main reason for the failure of civil movements in Afghanistan. Also, the members of the movement do not trust the fair distribution of benefits from the leaders. The members must believe that the movement will benefit them by participating in the collective process, and if they do not achieve this result, it is natural that the movement will collapse from within. In Afghanistan, there is a kind of pessimism towards the leaders. People believe that all the leaders are thinking about their personal interests and their presence in the movements is only used as a tool. It is for this reason that as soon as people's feelings subside, the social life of the movement ends. Another problem that exists in all Afghan civil movements is that they do not have the necessary capacity to make positive use of people's fleeting emotions and turn these movements into continuous movements. In the absence of capacity and trust among the members of the movement and the leadership of inclusive and social movements, it could not become an active political culture. (Bushrieh, 2005, 142)

Another factor that played a role in the failure of these movements is that these movements were not practical and were more idealistic, therefore they did not achieve practical results. The dire security situation was another factor that made people less likely to participate in civil movements due to the fear of suicide attacks. The explosion among the demonstrators of the Roshnai movement on 2 Asad 1395 is a good example for our claim. This incident weakened the movement. Also, the role of the government in weakening such movements should not be forgotten. The government used various methods to bribe the leaders of the movement. {Hamidi, 2019, 18}

**Foreign factors:**

September 11 incident was an unexpected and unpredictable incident. He took an important step in the formation of the government after the Bonn agreements in Afghanistan, in fact, it was the same model or example of building a government from outside with the help of foreigners. It means state building with the help of foreign countries and international organizations. State building in this example is more of a project than a process. The Bonn Agreements for the formation of a government in Afghanistan was a state-building project. This project had serious weaknesses in its heart, which created many challenges in the path of political stability in Afghanistan. {Andishmand, 2014, p.111}

According to the criticism of political experts on the process of democratization of Afghanistan by America, it was a wrong policy because democracy was imposed without considering the conditions of Afghanistan And this process had problems and shortcomings from the beginning. America created a centralized presidential system in Afghanistan with a weak parliament that was not able to check the president. {Amiri: 2014, 322}

The presence of American and foreign forces as guardians of peace and stability in Afghanistan has turned this country into a field of competition and conflict between neighbours and regional powers. Because the presence of American military forces in Afghanistan was worrying for Iran, Russia, India and Central Asian countries. He forced them to act like an example in this country. Also, the non-legalization of the presence of foreign forces in Afghanistan, and the lack of supervision by the Afghan government on their activities and performance were among the negative factors of the presence of foreign forces in Afghanistan. The continuation of such a situation has reduced the level of trust and confidence of the people and questioned democracy in the country. (Adeli, 2015. p. 52)

Despite the presence of American forces in Afghanistan, which have come to ensure security in the country, insecurity and political instability have covered large parts of Afghanistan. The resumption of Terrorism activities in Afghanistan had caused the concern of the international community and the Afghan government, and the only solution proposed by the Afghan government was to talk with the Taliban and join the central government and participate in power, which the Taliban did not accept, continuing the war and insecurity in Afghanistan. They have given sacrifices to our poor people every day, and this situation has shaken the political system of this country. (Rahimi, 2012 p. 301-300)

After 2001, Afghanistan was not only the battlefield of America and terrorism, but on the other hand, considering the foreign policy of Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, and the Republic of Iran towards Afghanistan, there is a serious conflict between the interests of the countries mentioned in Afghanistan, the areas of tension in the foreign relations of this It has caused countries and prolonged the civil war in Afghanistan, hindered peace and political stability in the country (Sajjadi, 2012. p. 357).

America failed in curbing terrorist groups and providing security. After two decades of America's intervention in Afghanistan and ousting the Taliban from power, the military and diplomatic power of the Terrorism increased day by day, to the point where America was forced to withdraw its military forces. out of Afghanistan by the Doha agreement.

**Conclusion:**

Since the political system is one of the social systems, it must be in harmony with other social systems such as culture, economy and law. Otherwise, it will destroy the whole social system of a society. On the other hand, democracy in a country should emerge in a natural and spontaneous way so that over time, the mentality and culture of the society will be ready for such values. On the contrary, the democracy that was formed in Afghanistan after 2001 as a one-sided project by the international community without considering the values and traditions of this country, which unfortunately could not find its place in the community.

Since the role of foreign factors cannot be ignored in the failure of democracy in Afghanistan after 2001. But internal factors have played a more prominent role in the failure of democracy in this country. Traditional cultural existence, ethnicization of politics, illiteracy, expedient determinations, and administrative corruption all worked together to cause the downfall of democracy in this country. Ethnic leaders empowered themselves by using the ethnic sentiments of the masses and traded

political power based on their votes. without having the slightest knowledge of democracy and political education. These leaders misused democracy, political participation, social justice and prepared the ground for the downfall of the democratic system in Afghanistan.

One of the values of democracy in a society is social justice, which unfortunately was practically violated in Afghanistan after 2001, the president considered himself absolute and committed to his people. Ashraf Ghani's performance as the president was practically visible. From the moment he was appointed as the president, he slowly pushed the scope of the war from the south and southwest of the country to the north of Afghanistan.

One of the other values of democracy is the rule of law, which is violated by the president and all those who are in high government positions. According to the 2003 constitution, the decrees are the powers of the president and must be presented to the parliament after the first session of the parliament. if the parliament rejects it, it should be canceled, whereas when the president imposed a 10 percent tax on credit cards in the state of parliament's failure, this issue was rejected by the representatives in the first session of the parliament, but this decree is against the last constitution. You collect from the people. Without people knowing in which way it is consumed. In the same way, the ministers who received a vote of no confidence from the parliament continued to work as supervisors illegally at the order of the president, which created the ground for corruption in government offices and the supervisors have no responsibility before the representatives of the nation. They did not feel that their work had any kind of legitimacy.

One of the other values of democracy is election, which guarantees the political participation of the people in the political system. And at the same time, it gives legitimacy to the political system. The main factor that questioned the legitimacy of the political system and democracy in Afghanistan was the fraudulent elections that created a gap between the nation and the political system. Fraud in the elections and the lack of trust in the results of the elections caused Dr. Abdullah Abdullah to announce himself as another president in front of Ashraf Ghani in Sepidar Palace. And finally, it led to the creation of the national unity government or not a legal government but an expedient one. The national unity government, which was formed against the constitution, and was supposed to be established based on the agreement between Ashraf Ghani and Abdullah Abdullah Loya Jirga, the constitution should be amended and the simple and centralized presidential system should be replaced by the parliamentary system. But Ashraf Ghani's lack of attention to the agreement of the national unity government caused this government to continue its work illegally. The national unity government had no legitimacy in the eyes of the Afghan people. It was an expedient, weak and incapable government that could not perform its duties in the society.

Since the values of democracy did not match with the religious values of the Afghan people. The publication and expansion of freedom as human rights or natural rights attacked the cultural system and religious values of this country and aroused people's feelings against this system, the same feelings that people had against Amanullah Khan and disrupted the government of Amanullah Khan. The weakness and inability of the government made it unable to prevent the entry of Western values and contrary to Afghan values. Freedom of speech, freedom of the media, broadcast of vulgar and immoral serials all made democracy hateful in the eyes of the people and incited people against this system.

One of the values of democracy is the accountability of the government to the nation, which was completely violated in the national unity government and the previous period. The president considers himself responsible not to the nation but to America and its allies. which had turned the democratic system into a dictatorial system in this country, which means that in this system, only the orders and commitments of America and its allies are applied to the people against the wishes of the people.

The president did not have any sense of resistance and standing in front of the opponents of the regime, and as the supreme leader of the country, he constantly ordered the country's military forces to retreat and surrender, and without any resistance and standing, Whereas, if the political system of Afghanistan was legitimate and strong with a strong leadership, it could not be destroyed so easily.\

The philosophy of democracy is defined by the rule of the people by the people above the people, but this mentality did not exist in Afghanistan's democracy, rather they saw democracy as a foreign phenomenon. They never considered themselves

committed to this system. The sense of mistrust between the nation and the political system caused the foundations of democracy in this country to be shaky and shaky And with the Doha deal by the US and the Amarat, collapsed.

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