

AFGHANISTAN AND UNITED STATES FOREIGN RELATION AFTER SEPTEMBER 11TH 2001

*Associate Professor Hafiza Khurami
Lecturer of Law and Political Science, Balkh University, Afghanistan.*

Abstract

The incident of 11 September 2001 played an important role in the relations between Afghanistan and the United States. After that Afghanistan was the axis of attention to US foreign policy. The US Military presence in Afghanistan has different reasons. Afghanistan is a tool for the United States to achieve its goal, because Afghanistan has a special geopolitical position through which it can achieve its ideological goals, one of these reasons could be the struggle against Islam.

because the Middle East countries are the cradle of Islam. And the United States considers these countries to be the source of terrorism, which is the enemy of the United States. And to achieve its political goals by establishing military bases in Afghanistan under the influence of powers such as Russia, China and Iran. Afghanistan's proximity to the Middle East and Central Asia, which are rich in oil and gas resources, is also economically important to the United States. So Afghanistan's geopolitical position could be a good platform to achieve these US goals.

Methodology:

The method used in this work is generally qualitative in nature, although at some places quantitative research is used to support the validity of the argument. This work is a library research. In this research use from English and Dari sources. Internet sites have also been used for further enrichment.

Key words: Afghanistan, geopolitics, foreign relation, America, terrorism.

Introduction

Afghanistan has a special geopolitics characteristic in which in every historical period, it is a great interest in global powers. Afghanistan's strategic position has become the country to a regional area and in the course of the competition of Russian tsarist and British Empire in the 19th century and during the cold war was of between competition Soviet Union and US. This particular geographic position in the present century has also been considered seriously the only great power in the world United States, after 11 September Afghanistan came to the attention of the US.

The issue of the US presence has provided certain conditions for Afghanistan after 2001, influenced the foreign and domestic policy of the country. During this time, we didn't have any positive achievement such as, security, good governance, state building, economic, education and training. And despite the political and economic support of the global community that is by the leadership of the United States. The implication for this country is economically depend on foreign countries, and weaving the unemployment,

immigration, corruption, and ethnic differences of illiteracy and so on. As long as we don't know the goals of the US towards our country and based on that politically against global powers and the region based on national interests and national sovereignty, we will never be an independent and successful.

The purpose of the research is survey relation between Afghanistan and US. The importance of geopolitics Afghanistan for US, based on which Afghanistan is located in the American foreign policy axis. Has attracted the interest of the U.S. America has consumed millions of dollar after 2001 and now he is continuing the helps to this country. And assigned the strategic agreement with this country. Following all this why Afghanistan is so important for America and what is the American interest from it and what does it want from us. **The questions** of this research are:

What is the US interest from Afghanistan geopolitics position?

Why is Afghanistan have been awarded the attention of the united states after 2001?

What has the 11th September event got to do with Afghanistan?

This research is important for that the event of 11th September 2001 America the important event and determinative for America and international relation and this event is a turning point in the history of the united states and the relationships of Afghanistan. The united states consider the incident in the fight against terrorism and the fundamentalism of Afghanistan. Thus, Afghanistan's political sphere is shaped by US foreign policy after 2001. The presence of US troops in the country has called into question the independence and legitimacy political system. Knowing and realizing this issue is necessary for government officials and students of political science as future politicians of the country. To have a clear and conscious policy towards the United States. Because how the relationship with the United States as a world superpower plays a decisive role in the political stability of this country.

The research hypothesis is that the United States uses its geopolitical position as a tool to achieve its goals.

Regarding the literature review of the book Geopolitics of Afghanistan in the twentieth century, the geopolitical importance of Afghanistan for regional and global powers has been discussed in general. In the book Afghanistan, the Rise of Colonialism by Khalilullah Haifi, Afghanistan is a colonized country that has been colonized by the United States. Introduced and examined the damages suffered by the Afghan government and people. In the book America after 9/11 by Mahmoud Yazdan Pham, who has collected a collection of articles on this subject. It has examined US domestic and foreign policy since 9/11. Afghanistan has been considered as a place of terrorism in US foreign policy. But this article, want to make clear about relation between the Afghanistan and US and also the goals of the United States, which pursues in Afghanistan with its long-term presence, and which geopolitical position of this country is used to achieve its goals.

Afghanistan and US foreign relations before 11 September 2001

Afghanistan and US had friendly relations from early. The first agreement between the Afghanistan and US was signed in 1936. It was the first step for relation between Afghanistan and US in for the future. Afghanistan was interested to achieve the attention of the US because in that time America was interested only in traditional issues. In this cause in 1937 they assigned a contract about the score and oil contraction for 75 years and be hopeful about established the embassy of united states in America but it did not establish in that time. Afghanistan was interested in relation with America. Because America wasn't a colonial power and it locates far away from Afghanistan. And it cannot be a political factor, but it had an economic and

industrial power rather than other European countries. But it did not play a good role in Afghanistan because Afghanistan had trouble gaining US trust from the begging. {Zamani:1392, p201}

the relation between US and Afghanistan can be classified into six different: period as follows:

- 1- Before world war: interest of Afghanistan to US non-interest US to Afghanistan.
- 2- During the cold war: normal relationships.
- 3- Military occupation of Afghanistan by the red army.US support for Mujahidin.
- 4- Group of wars and the rise of the Taliban: US political and psychological exit from the Afghanistan crisis.
- 5- The fight against terrorism: after event 11 September 2001: attempt to begin strategic relationship. {Muradian:2011, p35}

In the 1925 the embassy of US established in Afghanistan. The US after cold war 2 play an important role in political sphere in Afghanistan. Before cold war 2 Afghanistan was interested relation to US but US Was not. Cold war 2 change the idea of US about Afghanistan. After cold war2 US and Soviet Union were two superpowers in the world. US IN 1942 sent its representative to Kabul. It was an influential step to the non-communism sphere.

During the conflict between East Block and West Bock (US and Soviet Union) Afghanistan attempt to maintain balance between superpowers in its relations. Also Afghanistan was interested in the US, because both countries wanted to prevent Soviet influence in the Afghanistan. {Zamani:1392, p215}

After second world war, US involvement in world affairs increased. However, many in the world unknowingly imagined that peace and order would succeed in international relations with the United Nations. But Soviet interventions in Eastern Europe and the United States in Western Europe and the conflict between capitalism and communism divided the world into two main power poles. The United States forever out of control the chance policy of isolation and became increasingly involved in global affairs. Fear of communism inside the United States also forced the government to take tough measures, most notably the interview of a senator (Joseph McCarthy) whom the majority of Americans considered opposed to freedom of expression and democracy. {Mansoori:1389, p30}

US was accounted a big superpower for foreign policy Afghanistan after cold war. Friendly relation established between two countries but military agreement was impossible between two countries. For two main reasons, conflict between Afghanistan and Pakistan and cooperation of Soviet Union to Afghanistan.

Before cold war Afghanistan unknown for US Just some Afghan student busy in US country. In 1946 Afghanistan request for financial technical assistance but US unpaid assistance. during 1950-1970 about 400 million \$ to Afghanistan for agricultural equipment.

Afghanistan US relations cooled in the 1950s and US didn't answer for request economic and military aid of Afghanistan. Just in 1951 the technical aid included the felid education and agriculture. The during conflict between Afghanistan and Pakistan US support the Pakistan because it beliefs to friendly relation of Pakistan and rejected the military aid of Afghanistan.

The US Change its policy After cold war about Afghanistan. It believed non depend has efficiency for west and Soviet Union, in this case their relation during the Shah Mahmood khan increase the economic sphere but no agree the political sphere, US was not interested Afghanistan revolution. US efforts to take the Afghanistan join to the west block but, Afghanistan foreign policy was based in competition of great powers for gaining the economic aids for development of Afghanistan {Zamani:1392, p220}

The US foreign policy in Afghanistan after 11 September 2001

The attacks 11 September came at a time when the US was a great power state since the collapse of the Soviet Union. In the aftermath of 9/11, the United State divided the world into two parts: With the US, against US. Afghanistan was one of the countries that did not matter much in US Foreign Policy. In the earliest 21st century after ideological loss of communism, America saw himself alone in the world arena and in the absence of traditional competitor and for political performance and support for benefits and following the creation of real and hypothetical enemies to act as a two tropical and to act for the play roll of equal to zero. Although FOKYAMA knows the communist defeat as the end of ideologies but the American presidents that play half of the century as a two polar and was dominant for the basics and roles, they can't leave easily from it and in the world for planning and common interests of military industry {Yazdan Fahm:1384, p32}

After that Samuel Huntington scholars from US presented of the impact of civilizations. There are two view about history trends, one optimistic view and another warning view. The First view is successful west in the cold war. The end of history and the end of conflict between ideologies. It shows the excellence of the liberal Democracy and the second view Sees the happy days of the west as early and warns of the danger of the make-believe enemy in the face of two sanctions between the two civilization of Islam and west {Shaikhi:1397, p360}.

The significance that middle east had for America because there is Islamic ideology and growth of Islamic continuous that had in the region, provide a necessary background for America to turn all of its attention for finding hypothetical enemies and justification of public opinion of the inside of America and western countries to middle east. From this consideration Afghanistan because of its geopolitical position and closeness with middle east had been taken as a device to achieve for this goal. By the use of 60 billion aids of America for Afghan warriors Usama bin laden established the ALQAEDA between the years of 1981 and 1988. {Yazdan Fahm:1384, p43}

On 11th September 2001 the united states were attacked by the terrorists. ALQADE that was supported by the Taliban in Afghanistan accused of being involved in the united states. As by this event the world policy changed, it also affected Afghanistan and the future of this country. On 1st October 2001 America announced that will support the Afghanistan in this political stage and employment program under the united states curated {Rahimi:1390, p78}

Before 11th September Jorje W Bosh didn't have any interest for the foreign policy. But the American attitude toward the world changed in 11th September 2001. On this day, the united states and the world witnessed a awful accident that resulted in the capture of a plane stole at the world trade center in New York, killing several thousand people. And the criteria for evaluating other countries in the world for the united states was that it is in the fight against terrorism with the united states. That it seems from America's sense of payback for terrorism. After 11th September united states has created an effective international coalition to respond to the threat of terrorism. The united nations, NATO, the European union, the organization of Islamic states quickly fated the attacks. And give the aid suggestion to the united states. And British basically provided military supports. And the most important issue is that between the united states and Pakistan new relations were Established. The united states have called on Pakistan to establish a base to facilitate the fight against terrorism. In the face of treats against Pakistan for nuclear tests and military coups in that country, it cut off economic aid to that country. America's and china relations become too hot to use the Chinese intelligence services to provide information about Islamic terrorist group to the united states. {Yazdan Fahm:1384}

The concept of terrorism defined here is not just reflected in a US statute. It is also in the normal of what most students of terrorism seem to have in mind, despite their collective definitional fear. Also, it is also in the normal of what unsure international agreement has evolved on the subject, at least the farther one gets from large joint debating rooms and the closer to rooms where practical cooperation takes place. The latter point is important, given the necessarily heavy US dependence on foreign help for counter terrorism. It is also important that whatever concept of terrorism the United States uses not be clever of being bitter to apply to actions the United States itself may take in pursuit of its security interests. About the latter point, two distinctions are critical. The first is the one between terrorism and the overt use of military force. As the world's famous military power, it is in the United States' interest to keep that distinction clear, but this is not just an independent US interest. The distinction has a broader moral and legal basis, as reflected in international humanitarian law on armed conflict and its rules requiring soldiers to identify themselves openly. The second key distinction is between actions that are the determined result of decisions taken by governmental or group leaders, and actions that result from accidents or thoughtless behavior by lower-ranking individuals. The latter are bound to happen, and have happened, in events involving the United States, just because of the number of circumstances in which US personnel find themselves in which it could happen. {Pillr,2001, p15-16}.

One's concept of terrorism must distinguish clearly—as the definition One was a government's deliberate use of its means to killing scores of cleared tourists the other was a tragic case of mistaken identity by a warship's staff that believed itself to be in a military engagement. The place of secret agents and subnational groups in the definition of terrorism requires a bit more reflection, because the United States has used many of both. Not only that, but such use has sometimes involved deadly force, and some of that force has caused citizen losses {Pillr,2001, p15-16}.

Nevertheless, Bush and his advisors assumed that, after the loss of the repressive Taliban regime, a 'free society' was likely to emerge in Afghanistan. So the freedom agenda, especially liberating Afghan women, was incidental to the main objective: to dismantle and loss Al Qaeda and the Taliban (a part of global terrorism) in order to maintain security in America {Drani,2019, p21}. Otherwise, Afghan women have been 'repressed' since the Mujahedeen victory in 1992, and, even though it had a moral duty after the Soviet withdrawal, the US had not only not helped them, but also left Afghanistan to its own chance, and into the hands of its neighbor's, who supported different factions of the Mujahedeen to fight between each other, which resulted in the killing of thousands of its nationals. However, the related after-effect of the revolution of the Taliban regime was an excellent outcome for the Bush Administration, as it attracted broader support for the Afghan attack. Regardless of the freedom agenda, during the 9/11 period Bush enjoyed great domestic support, as Americans wanted him to bring to justice the 'bastards' who had caused the 9/11 killings {Drani,2019, p21}.

since 1996, the Afghan Taliban government was almost clownishly cruel in its colony. Declaring a religious duty to remove females from the public sphere, the Taliban dedicated themselves to removing young women from school and to the hiding of women who one-time their out-of-date dress codes. These injustices and foolishness attracted little global attention until the Taliban's limited resources – deriving largely from selling opium on the international drug market – were used to support the al-Qaeda terrorist network. What had been ignored as Islamist features were, after 9/11, believed a vital national security threat to the United States. The US-led war in Afghanistan thus began with a perfect motivation: to remove the Taliban regime from the basic power that it exercised over the ancient nation. Bush and his allies resolved to break the connection between the Taliban and al-Qaeda – a terrorist organization dependent on government-level support to income effective, 9/11-style war on Americans. The 9/11 attacks had open how al-Qaeda's capacity was directly equal to the state-level support it received – so America resolved to change that state. Afghanistan was to be the "good war" – at least at its beginning. The necessity of its fighting was

widely accepted. Some twenty-five allies joined the campaign. Leaving in power a government that had helped the 9/11 accomplices was never tenable. Even America's enemies, like Russia, offered moral and logistical (albeit limited) support. In his September 20 address to Congress, George Bush demanded that the Afghan government surrender all al-Qaeda members operating in its jurisdiction. When the request was refused – “We don't control them,” said a Taliban official – America and its NATO allies acted. Displacing the Taliban looked falsely direct. The “Afghan strategy” relied on the placement of comparatively few US personnel. {Lynch,2020, p113,114} The lead role of the CIA suggested America could achieve its ambitions with least use of force; the corruption of divisions within Afghanistan itself would do the job. The Northern Alliance proved the maxim that the enemy of my enemy is my friend. US success was purchased at the price of very few American losses. Fatefully, the strategy important on having to do little in the result of regime change, instead depend on anti-Taliban sections of Afghan society and international institutions to fill the space. A policy of hopeful assumptions overcome Afghanistan from this point until reality finally set in nearly a decade later. The war was to become the longest in American history. The Bush administration was unable to restructure the state using endogenous opposition to the Taliban and, in the absence of a unifying approach from the institutions of both the American government and its allies, fell back on counter terrorism as its measure of success {Lynch,2020, p113,114}.

The Post-9/11 US-Led State-Building in Afghanistan

the model that has emerged has the basis of today's world order is that of the nation-state as adopted by MAX Weber the 1918 Bavarian Revolution and the first world war. He defined the state as human community that claims a monopoly on the legitimate use of force within given territory and noted the near relationship between the state and violence {Edwards:2011, p3}.

The next phase of transition in Afghanistan was instated by the Bonn Agreement of December 2001. that actors at Bonn “lost the legitimacy of their new construct to what they wrongly conceived as the higher value of sovereignty”. This view is wide of the mark. Rather, what Bonn witnessed was an attempt to weave together multiple sources of legitimacy – through the return of the former king and the use of the Loya Jirga (Great Assembly) process (to harness traditional legitimacy) through the promotion of an attractive and popular new leader (to harness charismatic legitimacy) and through the eventual drafting of a new constitution and the holding of free elections (to join legal-rational legitimacy). It was hard to see what more could have been done. Yet if there is a lesson from this experience, it is that winning generalized normative support is no easy matter and here the data collected by The Asia Foundation provide a powerful basis for some concern {Asia fundition:2008, p16-17}.

The political system of Afghanistan has sometimes enjoyed relative legitimacy and popular support throughout history, but most of the time it has lacked legitimacy. The communist coup in Afghanistan led to the disintegration of the power structure. It also adopted a culture of conflict and called into question the principles of legitimacy. In the communist era, the country's leaders faced two basic problems:

First: gaining the legitimacy of the government, which in the context of the government was faced with severe discredit and illegitimacy. Relations with the Soviet Union with the military occupation of Afghanistan by the Soviet Red Army on December 27, 1979, the Russians held power in Afghanistan, but were unable to join the legitimacy of their government in Afghanistan. To achieve a tradition in Afghanistan, but also to bear the burden of the Soviet military presence. Thus, the political system in the communist era in Afghanistan was a period of complete collapse of traditional legitimacy, which in turn suffering the foundations of the legitimacy of the communist government not only in Afghanistan but around the world and in the Soviet Union itself. {Bakhtyari:1391, p181-182}

The US has led a number of state-building initiatives in various parts of the world for more than a century starting in Cuba from 1898 and followed by many other cases including Afghanistan and Iraq. Starting in 2001, the state-building in Afghanistan remains the US' unfinished project. The early major goal of the US-led state-building efforts, in most cases, has been strategic. In its first efforts, the US usually decided to replace or support a regime in a foreign land to defend its core security and economic interests, not to build a democracy. Only later did the US' political morals and its need to sustain domestic support for state-building away make it to try to establish democratic rule in the target nations {Azami,2020, p4}.

The political system in Afghanistan after 2001 was born of the Bonn Conference. This conference was a manifestation of the will and aspirations of the United Nations and the influential powers in the conference, therefore, with the participation of some political, ethnic and international groups, it gained an acceptable legal nature and gained legitimacy in accordance with the political situation. However, the political tendencies of ethnic and group association were so influential in the formation of the Bonn Agreement that the national image of the assembly was affected by ethnic and regulatory conflicts. The situation during the three decades of war in Afghanistan destroyed peace, political stability, and national and historical identity. Nevertheless, the Bonn Agreement, despite all its shortcomings and lack of national coordination, paved the way for the beginning of the political system and democratic political institutions in Afghanistan and was considered the first step from the war towards the stability and legitimacy of the political system. And it was the beginning of joining national sovereignty. {Hashimi:1384, p17-25}

The deployment of large number of US ground troops is the US's second standard of state building. The third principle of American state-building is the use of US. military and civil personnel in the military and political administration of target countries. Afghanistan, as a US state-building case study, lies in the third principle. The post 9/11 US intervention in Afghanistan was the beginning of the US' "War on Terror" rather than a humanitarian intervention. The US' prime target was to defeat and dismantle the Al-Qaeda network and collapse the Taliban regime which had provided safe havens to the former group. Part of the reason for the lack of interest in humanitarian intervention stopped from the fact that, to a large extent, the issue was no longer should an intervention take place, but rather what should be done post-intervention. Hence, state-building replaced humanitarian intervention – the issue around which the debate regarding the facts, morality and legality of Western interventionism joined {Azami,2020,}

The Temporary Administration was the primary product of the Bonn Accords, but the composition of the group at the Bonn Conference influenced the formation of the Interim Administration. The Temporary Administration Board was established on December 22, 2001, as the sole authority to represent national sovereignty. The delegation was instructed, under the Bonn Agreement, to call an emergency Loya Jirga within six months to establish a transitional government. Emergency Loya Jirga, organized in June 2002. For all its shortcomings, it delegated political, administrative, and executive functions to the transitional government in terms of composition. One of the shortcomings of the formation of the transitional government was that the temporary administration had to be removed from their posts before the emergency Loya Jirga was organized, in order to allow for the free appointment and election of members of the transitional government {Hashimi:1384, p17-25}.

In this respect, the main responsibility was borne by the Bonn Conference Agreement. The formation of the Constitutional Drafting Committee and the subsequent convening of the Loya Jirga to approve the constitution. The purpose was to register the following important national issues in this law.

Strengthening national unity by guaranteeing the equal rights of the people of the country, which is enshrined in the constitution. Establishing the foundations of a national democracy, recognizing the rights of individuals and limiting the ruling power as defined and guaranteed by the constitution.

Establishment of political institutions in accordance with the will of the nation, protector of national interests and responsible to the nation.

Finally, to create coordination and production of mutual responsibilities between the ruling body and the people in order to advance national goals and aspirations. {Hashimi:1384, p17-25}

Thus, the US state-building policy in Afghanistan was clearly secondary to the requirements of the military actions against al Qaeda and the remaining Taliban. The US led state-building process had several shortcomings from the very beginning thus the paper has analyzed the US' errors and mistakes in Afghanistan from the perspective of three major components of state-building ranging from the security and peace to the democratization and the reconstructions economic development {AZami,2020, p4}.

The post-9/11 intervention comprised three elements: military, political, and security sector reform. The military response: Operation Enduring Freedom and NATO The military effort in Afghanistan has been under the send of both Operation Permanent Freedom (OEF) and – since it moved beyond Kabul in 2003 – the UN-mandated International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) under NATO command. The attacks of 11 September 2001 led to the first-time begging by NATO of Article 5 of the North Atlantic Treaty, according to which an armed attack on one-member state is deemed an attack on all. NATO thus committed itself – for the first time – to an operation beyond its immediate borders. Though there was political will by NATO to contribute troops, US General Tommy Franks, then leading Operation Long-term Freedom, made clear that he wanted exclusive control over the theatre of operations beyond Kabul. The Bonn Framework 2001–2005 The political response was mapped out by the international community, the UN, and certain Afghan groups in December 2001 in Bonn {Aazmi,2020, p4}

9/11 was a startling and changeable event. An important step in the formation of the government after the Bonn Accords in Afghanistan was in fact the same model or example of external state-building with the help of foreigners. That is, state-building with the help of foreign countries and international organizations. Government-building in this example is more of a project than a process. The Bonn Agreement to form a government in Afghanistan was a state-building project by foreign countries and the United Nations. The project had serious weaknesses that posed many challenges to political stability in Afghanistan{Andishmand:1393, p111}.

Regarding the democracy of the political system of the last decade, it should be said that in this system, the transfer of power is such that despite the existence of democratic institutions such as parliament and elections, the core and main bloc of power do not change and with elections, power shifts in insiders. This regime, although ostensibly committed to the rules of democracy, has an authoritarian nature, which is in conflict with democracy. Here, the purpose of creating legal rules is to frame political power, to justify and legitimize the ruling authority. In this sense, the special task of the constitution is to help establish and maintain power and to justify the application of the narrators' orders legally. It also reaffirmed the dependence of powerful domestic governments and groups on foreign powers in creating an undemocratic system in Afghanistan. The provision of necessary economic resources and political support to political elites by foreign powers and influential and powerful domestic groups has made the relationship between government and society straightforward and fragile, and this has increased citizens' distrust and indifference to government decisions. Until the government as an agent in this country cannot play the role of mediator and facilitator among political actors. It has never been able to judge in order to maintain peaceful relations between ethnic groups and social branches {Adeli:1394, p190-195}

Effects of American presence in Afghanistan

The political system in Afghanistan after 2001 was born of the Bonn Conference. This conference was a manifestation of the will and aspirations of the United Nations and the influential powers in the conference, therefore, with the participation of some political, ethnic and international groups, it gained an acceptable legal nature and gained legitimacy in accordance with the political situation. However, the political bents of ethnic and group association were so influential in the formation of the Bonn Agreement that the national image of the assembly was affected by ethnic and regulatory conflict {Hashimi:1384, p17-25}.

In Afghanistan, the ground for the development of the idea of democracy was provided in two periods of the decade of democracy (1343-1352) and 1380, which due to open political space and the expansion of various currents and political parties, etc. Democracy in this country did not combine. But democracy in this country have not really been realized yet. The political system in this country is unstable and hard, which can be attributed to the lack of proper economic, social and cultural development and to some extent the dependence on the post-colonial situation. Because the dependence of the postcolonial situation is a fundamental factor, which, through influencing the government, has created obstacles to the high components as well as the growth of democracy. {Adeli:1394, p190-195}

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. Regarding the democracy of the political system of the last decade, it should be said that in this system, the transfer of power is such that despite the existence of democratic institutions such as parliament and elections, the core and the main bloc of power do not change. This regime, although allegedly committed to the rules of democracy, has an authoritarian nature, which is in conflict with democracy. Here, the purpose of creating legal rules is to frame political power, to justify and legitimize the ruling authority. In this sense, the special task of the constitution is to help establish and maintain power and to justify the application of the reporters' orders legally. It also copied the dependence of powerful domestic governments and groups on foreign powers in creating an undemocratic system in Afghanistan. The providing of necessary economic resources and political support to political elites by foreign powers and influential and powerful domestic groups has made the relationship between government and society direct and weak, and this has increased citizens' feeling and indifference to government decisions. Until the government as an agent in this country cannot play the role of mediator and facilitator among political actors. It has never been able to judge in order to maintain peaceful relations between ethnic groups and social levels. {Adeli:1394, p190-195}

Reasonably, what Bonn seen was an attempt to weave together several sources of legitimacy – through the return of the past king and the use of the Loya Jirga (Great Assembly) process (to harness traditional legitimacy); through the promotion of an attractive and popular new leader (to join charismatic legitimacy) and through the eventual drafting of a new constitution and the holding of free elections (to join legal-rational legitimacy). It was hard to see what more could have been done. Yet if there is a lesson from this experience, it is that winning generalized normative support is no easy matter – and here the data collected by The Asia Foundation provide a powerful basis for some concern One of the most signal statistics of the 2008 survey relates to people's sense of the direction in which things are going in Afghanistan. Here, we see that only a minority (38%) believe that the country is going in the right direction, with 32 percent believing that it is going in the wrong direction. However, the fact that those with a positive view be more than those with a negative view is not per se a measure of generalized normative support for either the state or the government {Asia fundition,2007, p32}.

The international community, led by US forces, attacked Afghanistan in the result of 9/11 under the cause of fighting terrorism. Thousands of troops arrived Afghanistan. Today, the presence of those forces in Afghanistan to fight the Taliban and al-Qaeda is seen as a means of securing peace and stability. No foreign

military presence in the country since the formation of the United Nations has been recognized by the international community, such as the US military campaign against the Taliban in Afghanistan. Many groups and political and social circles in Afghanistan do not oppose this participation and the presence of American and European forces, despite the differences in beliefs, politics and groups. The majority of the Afghan people also support the presence of foreign forces in their country for fear of instability and war, despite their displeasure and dissatisfaction. {Rahimi:1391, p300-301 }

Rather, it tracks together a range of different views, of which attitudes to state and government are potentially only one. Nonetheless, there is always a danger for governments when a mood of negativity takes root, and there is little obvious joy in these figures for President Karzai. A much more direct measure of satisfaction can be found in people's attitudes as to how the national government is carrying out its responsibilities. Here the results are more positive with 51 percent responding that the national government is doing a "somewhat good job" and 16 percent a "very good job". While these figures hardly point to great interest, they suggest that the responsibility for Afghanistan's problems is not being assigned to the government alone. One reason why this might be the case emerges from the reasons given for their views by respondents who think things are moving in the wrong direction. Fully 33 percent first mention insecurity, well ahead of the next largest factor, corruption (10%). When first and second concerns are added together the significance of insecurity becomes even simpler, with 50 percent of respondents mentioning it. However, two other findings also rate a mention when one is discussing security {Asia fundition,2008, p30}.

Nevertheless, its negative effects on the political and social sizes in Afghanistan cannot be ignored. The presence of US and foreign forces as guardians of peace and stability in Afghanistan has made the country an arena for neighbors and regional powers. Pakistan's involvement in supporting and establishment the Taliban in the war against the government, the presence of US and European troops in Afghanistan is worrying for Iran, Russia, India and Central Asian countries. It forces them to act like stories in this country. Also, the legality of the presence of foreign forces in Afghanistan, and the lack of supervision of the Afghan government on their activities and performance are among the negative factors of the presence of foreign forces in Afghanistan. Extension of such a situation reduces the level of trust and confidence of the people and destroys the legitimacy of the political system. {Adeli:1394, p52 }

Despite the presence of US forces in Afghanistan to provide security in the country, political insecurity and instability have suffused large parts of Afghanistan. The resumption of Taliban activities in Afghanistan has caused concern to the international community and the Afghan government, and the only solution proposed by the Afghan government is to talk to the Taliban and join the central government and participate in power, which the Taliban did not accept, leading to war and insecurity in Afghanistan. "They have continued to lose our poor people every day, which has shaken the political system of this country" {Rahimi:1391, p300}.

Afghanistan has been not only a battleground for the United States and terrorism since 2001, but also for the foreign policy of Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, and the Republic of Iran towards Afghanistan. The very context of tensions in the foreign relations of these countries has caused and continued the civil war in Afghanistan, has stuck peace and political stability in this country .{Sajadi:1391, p357 }

One possibility is that this is a matter on which respondents are opposed to express their views candidly. But it might equally be that they responsibility a few bad eggs for the affairs on which critics have focused attention, or even that they sense the difficulty of policing in an environment as hostile as is to be found in parts of Afghanistan. Respondents were asked whether they think that corruption is a major problem, minor problem, or no problem at all at different levels. Some 48 percent see it as a major problem in their neighborhood, but the figure rises steadily as more remote spheres of government are mentioned – 53

percent at the level of local authorities, 63 percent at the level of provincial government, and 76 percent at the level of Afghanistan as a whole {Asia fundition,2008, p40}.

The legitimacy of Afghanistan's political system has not only been called into question in terms of insecurity, but also its economic dependence has led to political instability. With the induction of the new government in Afghanistan in 2001, the international community and the countries of the world came out to help the country in securing peace and stability with its political and economic support. Accordingly, at the Tokyo Conference in January 2002, the international community promised \$ 4.5 billion to remake Afghanistan over a five-year period. At the 2006 London conference, donors promised \$ 1.5 billion in aid to Afghanistan. If in the last two periods the monarchy and the communist period the political elites were dependent on foreign powers of Britain and the Soviet Union and the sharing of interests and the weakness of the ruling elites increased this dependence, in the new era of foreign power another US entered Afghanistan. Continued economic dependence in this country. {Adeli:1394, p141-134-126}

Afghanistan's instable economy is far more dependent on foreign aid and investment, and this has led toward a shift in the functioning of the political system in line with the wishes and interests of foreign donors. In addition, such strong dependencies put the legitimacy of the state in crisis. "In countries where foreign aid is a significant part of government spending, practical sovereignty is severely reduced because donors impose a wide range of conditions, and this process is as time goes on, therefore, countries with a small share of foreign aid have a greater ability to maintain their policy discretion, and such countries have a higher degree of legitimacy in society. {Andishmand:1393, p111-123}

The opening of free political space for active participation, the expansion of media relations, the press of civic and educational institutions, etc. On the one hand, the weakness of the central government in attracting and organizing them has caused various political and social groups to provide resources to foreign powers. America sentences tend to. Such a thing has created the ground for dependence and lack of necessary and appropriate efficiency in the society. The increasing development of Western-affiliated media and the spreading of Western values, the appointment of unqualified women to some key positions under the cause of promoting egalitarian ideas, democracy, and many others are clear examples of Europe-centric mock of Western values. It is less compatible with traditional Afghan society. Also, ethnic superiority in the selection and appointment of these people has all played a pivotal role in creating a gap between the nation and the government, making the political system in this country criminal and powerless. {Adeli:1394, p141-134}

Security is the cornerstone of a viable, effective state. The German sociologist Max Weber defined the state as "a human community that (successfully) claims the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force within a given territory." A monopoly of force involves overcoming groups that threaten the state and its population, such as militant groups, criminal networks, and other "spoilers."⁴ In addition to personal safety, some have broadened the definition of security to include "human security," which can involve a range of other issues such as political security, community security, economic security, food security, health security, and environmental security. The *Human Security* of the legitimate use of physical force within a given territory." A monopoly of force involves overcoming groups that threaten the state and its population, such as militant groups, criminal networks, and other "spoilers" {Asia fundition,2008, p24-25}.

In terms of corruption, Afghanistan is the third country in the world in terms of political instability among the five countries with administrative and financial corruption. Although the ruling political system has provided significant assistance to the United States and the international community over the past seven years for good governance and the fight against corruption, unfortunately during this period it did not become a healthy and just system and the Afghan government became one of the most corrupt governments in the world. Weighty costs have been incurred in the rule of law, but law enforcement officials are still the main violators. The rulers of power do not enforce the law in the

neighborhoods. Although achieving peace and stability in any society is possible through dialogue, the dense and flawed policy of the Afghan government has made this option very costly and uneven for the stability and development of the country. The spread of insecurity and the strengthening of Taliban forces and al-Qaeda terrorism is the product of this policy. {Andishmand:1392, 270-271, 239-240}

However, responses to another question related to the incidence of corruption in specific institutions suggest that unevenly half of respondents have had no contacts with agencies of the state across a range of issues. One possible explanation is that perceptions of corruption are shaped by a 'reputational cascade' or 'sound chamber' process, where perceptions become received wisdom without being grounded in personal experience. While corruption is a complex phenomenon, often grounded in incentive structures that reward dysfunctional behavior, it is likely to be seen by ordinary citizens as an individual moral failing. Nonetheless, as Ruparelia and Rennie point out in their chapter even if perceptions of corruption are larger-than-life or perceived to be due to the misbehavior of isolated individuals, such widespread views should concern the Government as they tell a profound disbelief in the authority of public institutions which is clearly damaging for state-society relations. Indeed, across a range of indicators, it appears that Afghans are quite sceptical about individual political actors, although again the picture is more nuanced than an initial look might suggest. As far as trust is concerned, 60 percent of respondents conclude that "with most people you need to be very careful" {Asia fundition,2008,37}.

Nevertheless, the Bonn Conference on Afghanistan had positive consequences for the legitimacy of the political system and the political stability of national identity, political participation and equality among the peoples living in Afghanistan. Emphasizes. There was an opportunity for a general election in Afghanistan. According to it, every individual, regardless of ethnic, verbal or religious relationship, had the right to vote and to some extent questioned ethnic rights. Women not only had the opportunity to go to government offices and schools, but also the opportunity to run for the presidency. 35% of the seats in the Afghan National Assembly were held by women. There are at least two women ministers in the cabinet. Jafari religion was recognized. The identities of Afghanistan's various ethnic groups are enshrined in the constitution, and the constitution guarantees the right to education in one's mother tongue. {Mansoor:1396, p82-83}

Both international and Afghanistan actors have failed to act on the need to change informal rules based on support in order to create a state in which power is exercised in a progressively depersonalized and formalized way. This complex process, involving understanding and interacting with political dynamics, requires skills that few agencies priorities and takes time, which is viewed as a luxury in the current to show visible results{Lister,2007p11}.

Conclusion

Due to its geopolitical position, Afghanistan has always been a battleground for world powers and has been considered by these powers as a means to an end. The country has always been a victim of its geopolitical situation and its heavy burden has been borne by the poor people of Afghanistan. The material and divine damages caused by it are irreparable. The use of Afghanistan's geopolitical position has historically been for various purposes and methods, a new issue that has put Afghanistan at the center of US and international community attention. The incident is 11 September, 2001. According to which, Afghanistan became very important for the United States in several aspects. After the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War, in which Afghanistan was also the rival of the United States and the Soviet Union, the United States felt like the only superpower in the world without a rival and thrown a new world order and unipolar system. But over time, powers emerged that prevented the emergence of a new world order and turned the world into a multipolar system. These powers are Russia, China, Iran. Because Afghanistan shares borders with Iran and China and is close to Russia through Central Asia, establishing a military base in Afghanistan could be a wake-up call for these

countries and prevent them from infiltrating the region. Another issue that Afghanistan's important to the United States is that after the fall of the ideology of communism, American scholars, including Huntington, argued that the ideology as opposed to the ideology of liberalism is the sacred religion of Islam. Which is stronger and more real than communism. And one day it will bring down the ideology of the West. So it must be confronted. That is why the United States launched 9/11 to find an excuse for its practical action against the holy religion of Islam. He defined the Middle East as the Greater Middle East, which includes all Islamic countries, including Afghanistan. And he called himself the enemy of terrorism, Islamic fundamentalism. it stated that any country that has political relations with the United States should prepare itself against terrorism. He introduced terrorism as the enemy of all countries of the world. The United States believes that Afghanistan and the Middle East are home to terrorism and pose a serious threat to US security. Therefore, it established its military base in these countries and questioned the independence of these countries. Not only did it question the independence of these countries, but it also ignited the fire of war in these countries. And he used the pretext of Sunni and Shiite religions in Iraq, Syria, Afghanistan and even governments under the pretext of defending these religions. He suffered the worst in this game of Afghanistan. Other goals that the geopolitical position is of particular importance to the United States, and Afghanistan has been used by the United States as a means to an end. It is the world's oil resources that drive the war machine of industry and weapons, and these resources are located in the Middle East. So that the United States can achieve its goals in the world with its weapons and equipment. Afghanistan has been noted for its proximity to the region. Not only has Afghanistan been of close interest to the United States in terms of its proximity to the Middle East, but its proximity to Central Asian countries such as Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, and Tajikistan, which are rich in gas resources, has also attracted US attention. According to the above, Afghanistan has a geopolitical position for the United States, both politically and economically. It has a special place. And because of this situation, Afghanistan has always been a means to an end for the goals of world powers, including the United States. Its independence and security have fallen victim to the goals of these superpowers, especially the United States, since 2001. The situation that the people of Afghanistan are facing today due to the geopolitical situation of this country. It is very painful and hopeful, because the political system of this country is fragile and weak, which is not able to confront the United States and cannot manage its geopolitical position properly and in favor of this country. Although the United States considers itself a supporter of the current regime in Afghanistan and is committed to its economic and political cooperation with this country, it will not be of any benefit to the national interests of this country.

Sources

books

- 1-The Asia foundation. State Building, security and Social change in Afghanistan, - reflection on a Survey of the Afghan people.
- 2-PILLAR, Paulr. (2001) Terrorism and US Foreign policy. Washington D.C, Brookings institution press.
- 3- LYNCH. TIMOTHY J. In the shadow of the Cold War. Cambridge: university press.
- 4-Dorani, Shrifullah. (2019) America in Afghanistan, foreign policy and Decision Making from Bush to Obama. Great Britain.
- 5-Lister, Sarah. (2007) Understanding State- Building and Local Government in Afghanistan. Crisis State Research Center.
- 6- Andishmand, Mohammad Akram. (1393) Nation-State building in Afghanistan. Kabul: Sayeed press
- 7- Andishmand, Mohammad Akram. (1392) The roots of political conflict in Afghanistan. Kabul: Sayeed press

- 8- Bakhtyary, Mohammad Qasem. (1381) Comparative study of foreign policy of Iran and Pakistan Toward Afghanistan. Tehran: Majlesi press
- 9- Rahimi, Mujib Rahman. (1390) A critique on the structure of the system in Afghanistan. Kabul: Sayeed Press
- 10-Rahimi, Sardar Mohammad. (1391) Afghanistan's geopolitics in 20th century. Kabul: Sayeed press
- 11-Zamani, Khair Mohammad. (1392) History of Afghanistan's foreign relations. Second volume Kabul: Resalet press.
- Zamani, Khair Mohammad. (1392) History of Afghanistan's foreign relations. First volume Kabul: Resalet press
- 12- Sajadi, Abdul Qayoom (1391) Political sociology of Afghanistan. Kabul: Khatam-un- nabiyyin higher education Institute.
- 13- Adali, Zakia (1394) The post-colonial situation and the plurality of constitutional laws in Afghanistan. Kabul; Kateb university press.
- 14-Mansoor, Abdul Hafeez. (1396) Obstacles to political development in Afghanistan. Kabul: Sayeed Press.
- 15-Mansoori, Jawad. (1389) The United States of America and middle east. Tehran: Foreign ministry press.
- 16- Hashmi, Tahir. (1384) Constitution and new political system of Afghanistan. Kabul: Parneyan press.
- 17-Hashmi, Tahir. (1387) Fundamental rights and political institutions. Kabul: Maiwand press
- 18-Yazdan Fahm, Mahmmod (1384) The United States after 11th September. Tehran: Sayeed press.

Articles

- 1- Azami, Ahmad shah (2020) the past 9/11 united states led state – building in Afghanistan. Central European journal of politics pg. 1-25
www.cejop.cz
- 2- Kawano, Melanie and McGuire, Amy. State building in Afghanistan (2004). Journal of democracy.
www.du.edu.
- 3- Edwards, Lucy Morgan,(2001)state building in Afghanistan: a case showing the limits? International-review.icrc.org.
- 4- State building in fragile situations country case study- Afghanistan January 2009.
[www.um. Dk>research study](http://www.um.Dk>research study).
- 5- Shaikhy, Amin Muhajer. (1397) A critical analysis of Francis Fukuyama's theory of the end of history. Quarterly journal of political and international research, eighth year, no.35.
- 6- BBC Dawood Muradian. (2011) First-hand account of the strategic pact between Afghanistan and America. www.bbc.com 2014/10
- 7- Amin Muhajer Shaikhy- Amir Dabiry Mihr. (1397) A critical analysis of Francis Fukuyama's theory of the end of history. Quarterly journal of political and international research, eighth year, no.35. p352