

# Afghanistan Democratization

## Why It Is Failed State

4-13-2020 By: Sheba Ali

### The ethnic breakdown of Afghanistan...

A map of Afghanistan is color-coded by province to represent different ethnic groups. A pie chart to the right shows the percentage of each ethnic group: Pashtun (42%), Hazara (13%), Tajik (27%), Uzbek (9%), and Other (9%).

Introduction: Afghanistan is a country with a long and complex history. It is a country that has been the center of many wars and conflicts. The country is a failed state because of its political, economic, and social problems. The country is a failed state because of its political, economic, and social problems. The country is a failed state because of its political, economic, and social problems.



Afghanistan is a small ethnic state with an ancient culture dating back to 3300 BC. The country is a failed state because of its political, economic, and social problems. The country is a failed state because of its political, economic, and social problems.



### HISTORY OF AFGHANISTAN

A timeline and map showing the historical events and geographical context of Afghanistan. The timeline includes dates from 3300 BC to 1975 AD. The map shows the country's location in Central Asia.



### AFGHANISTAN

A collection of various articles, photos, and diagrams related to Afghanistan. It includes a map of the country, a list of key figures, and several paragraphs of text. The layout is dense and organized into sections.

### Turkmen

One of the most recent ethnic groups in Afghanistan, and they reside in the Northern part of Afghanistan alongside with their Uzbek neighbors. Turkmen comes from a Turkic tribe that emerged back in the 7th and 8th century, and they are mostly Sunni Muslim. The language that Turkmen speaks is Turkmen, which is one of the official languages in Afghanistan constitution. Similar to Uzbeks, Turkmen are also not noticeable in being ignored from the Pashtun ruling class, and they have not been represented in the administration. Turkmen align themselves with Uzbeks as a way to gain more safety and influence in the Northern Afghanistan. They have fought against the Taliban brutality in the northern provinces.

## The ethnic breakdown of Afghanistan...



In Afghanistan, the best way of describing Afghanistan is that they are at an ethnic conflict with one another of the opposition groups. When Afghanistan was formed as a country, the Pashtun rulers were in power, and they have used their ethnic power to employ their own ethnic people. Pashtuns had the opportunity to be in all areas of education, military, politics, and many more. Tajiks were only limited towards the economic sector and educational situation, while the Hazaras did not achieve anything in any sector. All ethnic groups have ways of mistreating each other with their own stereotypes about ethnic groups. The Pashtuns were labeled as "brave, savages, and barbarians," Tajiks were considered to be "foolish" - which means they are cheap with their money, Uzbeks were known as "unreliable, unorganized, dirty, not hardworking, lazy, criminal, and wicked," and Hazaras were labeled as "dirty, fat, weak, big and coarse eater, and poor." The five major ethnic groups in Afghanistan have stereotype each other based off of appearance, and all of them are odds with one another.

The Pashtun people are considered the largest ethnicity group in Afghanistan while Tajik is the second most populated ethnic group following by Hazara, Uzbek, Turkmen, etc. Afghanistan is considered a Central Asian country with a mixture of South, West, North, and Eastern Asian people. The major language in the Afghan Constitution (2004) is Pashto and Dari. Though Afghanistan has major ethnic groups, there are about 50 other ethnic groups listed in the Afghanistan's constitution which includes the following: Aymaq, Turkmen, Baluch, Pashai, Nuristan, Gujjar, Arab, Shikhal, Pashtai and others.

### Pashtun

Pashtuns are one of the largest ethnic groups in Afghanistan and the second largest group in Pakistan. There is about 42% of them in Afghanistan, and mostly they reside in the southern part of Afghanistan. The language they speak is Pashto, but many of them speak Dari. They speak Dari when it is necessary to speak in context of the location in Afghanistan like Kabul or Mazar Sharif for example. Pashtuns are famous because descent from Jesus and the Pashto language origins were a combination of Iranian dialects that falls in the category of Indo-European group of languages. The Pashtuns are mostly consisted of Sunni Pashtuns, but there is a small group of Shia Pashtuns in part of Afghanistan and Pakistan. The social structure of the Pashtuns is that they have found form of oppression or discrimination under the view of their own ethnicity. The Pashtuns have numerous of tribes and sub-tribes each within their tribes. The Figure 1 chart shows below explains the Pashtun tribes, and which way of them were descended of the major tribal leaders.

The social structure that every tribal leader follows is the Pashtunwali code, which is an honorable behavior, tribal pride, moral and ethical rules, demand for justice, and their faith in Islam. These values and rules have been transmitted orally by Pashtun tribes for many centuries. It is basically the way of life for Pashtun people, and these traditions that Pashtuns carry are different from other ethnic groups. The Pashtunwali code still lives strong among Afghan, and they heavily follow it. The ideal of living a Pashtunwali presents an attractive movement in today's society. Every good Pashtun, either if they live in Afghanistan, Pakistan, or anywhere in the world, have a strong honor and independence toward their own tribe or ethnicity. It is the way of understanding the Pashtun culture, and negotiating a way to engage with the whole people. Usually, Pashtuns would their code as individualist and as society in their dealings with their tribes.

One of the well-known nomadic group, the Kuchis, are an ethnic Pashtuns that originate from the southern and eastern part of Afghanistan. Kuchi is a Dari word which translates to "nomad" in English. The Kuchis do not have an actual home, and they moved around the country in search for a food, feed, and water. Many of the Kuchis migrate to the northern part of Afghanistan where majority of Uzbeks and Tajiks inhabited their area. There are about a few thousands Kuchis that follows the nomadic tradition in farming, which many of them settled in the Registan a desert between the Kandahar and Helmand provinces. The Kuchis keeps on moving to other parts of Afghanistan where they can find an available land. One of the most significant conflict that broke out was the issue of land property rights in 2010, between a group in the Mazar-e-Sharif Province, there was tension which between the Hazaras and the Kuchis, it was one of the highest levels of violence in the recent decade, and many Hazaras were forced to flee their land. Many of the Hazaras who have protested out in the streets of Kabul against the government for not taking action in this matter. The issue between the Kuchis and Hazaras is that the Kuchis never owned a land on their own, and they were the issue between the Kuchis and Hazaras.

### Hazara

The terminology for Hazara is a combination of Persian and Mongol which means a "descendant" which was applied back into the Mongol word for using. Typically, a descendant represents the rest of the Mongolian tribes that were left behind in Afghanistan by Genghis Khan. Saïed Akbar Siddiqui (1998), the author of The Hazaras of Afghanistan: An Historical, Cultural, Economic, and Political Science, had conducted a linguistic based analysis on the terminology for Hazara. He noted: "The Mongols divided their troops into groups of ten, and sub-groups (leader of a group of hundred), Expressions such as dsh baah (leader of a group of ten) and baah (leader of a group of hundred), later became and later (100-bud hospital), commonly used in Afghanistan today, are very probably ideas after these military Mongol divisions."

In the last five centuries, the Hazaras, historically, have faced many widespread persecutions in Afghanistan. The first known ethnic discrimination dates back to the 15th century persecutions in Uzbek, Mongol from modern-day Uzbekistan, had come to discriminate the Hazaras when he conquered Kabul. Then in the 18th-19th, it was reported, during the reign of Emir Ayub Khan, that the Hazaras were either sold, sold off to slavery, or sent to the neighboring country of Russia. Thousands of Pashtuns, during the reign of the Taliban in 1996-2001, the Hazaras have faced many social, economic, and political persecution, and some of them have fled to seek refuge in that the Taliban would not let them stay. Since post 2001 to present time had intervention from the US-A NATO, the role for the Hazaras have improved dramatically.

Many of the Hazaras have worked hard to achieve their educational degree, and they worked in positions such as politics, economics, news reporter, doctors, and many more. Unlike other ethnic groups like the Pashtuns, Tajiks, and Uzbeks, in which they are known for getting education among women in the job areas whereas the Hazaras, on the other hand, are known for getting education and success in the educational field. Even though some Hazaras are now in a position to get their own money, many of them still face discrimination in Afghanistan. Some people in their own Hazaras, they refuse appearance, and trying to comprehend why there is an ethnicity that they have been discriminated. They refuse appearance as well as their religion, and they have been discriminated against the Afghanistan.

Majority of the Shia faith Hazaras have various organizations that promote discrimination in government. Although there is a change from their education to services in the Hazaras working in well widespread social persecution within their community. The Hazaras are still persecuted.

Afghanistan is a country with tribal groups with tribal loyalties. National sovereignty manifested direct nation of Afghanistan citizenship of Afghanistan comprised of Pashtuns, Nuristanis and other tribes. Afghanistan, no one shall be deprived of citizenship 2004



Central Asian country with a mixture of South, West, North, and Eastern Asian people. The official language in the Afghan Constitution (2004) is Pashto and Dari. Though Afghanistan has four major ethnic groups, there are about ten other ethnic groups noted in the Afghanistans's constitution which includes the following: Aymaq, Turkmen, Baloch, Pasht, Nuristanis, Gogjar, Arak, Izbak, Pamiri and others.

### Pashtun

Pashtuns are one of the largest ethnic groups in Afghanistan and the second largest group in Pakistan. There is about 42% of them in Afghanistan, and mostly they reside in the southern part of Afghanistan. The language they speak is Pashto, but many of them speak Dari. They speak Dari when it is necessary to speak in context of the location in Afghanistan like Kabul or Mazar-e-Sharif for example. Pashtuns are Eastern Iranian descent from Persia and the Pashto language originates from a combination of Iranian dialects that falls in the category of Indo-European group of languages. The Pashtuns are mostly consisted of Sunni Pashtuns, but there is a small group of Shia Pashtuns in part of Afghanistan and Pakistan. The social structure of the Pashtuns is that they have faced form of oppression or discrimination under the elites of their own ethnicity. The Pashtuns have numerous of tribes and sub-tribes each within their tribes. The Figure 2 chart shown below explains the Pashtun tribes, and which many of them were descendants of the major tribal leaders. The social structure that many tribal leaders follow is the Pashtunwali code, which is an honorable behavior, tribal pride, moral and ethical rules, demand for marital harmony, and their faith in Islam. These values and rules have been transmitted orally by Pashtun tribes for many centuries. It is basically the way of life for Pashtun people, and these traditions that Pashtuns carry are different from other ethnic groups. The Pashtunwali code still lives average among Afghans, and they loyally follow it. The ideal of being a Pashtunwali presents an attractive statement in today's society. Every proud Pashtun, either if they live in Afghanistan, Pakistan, or anywhere in the world, have a strong honor and independent toward their own tribe or ethnicity. It is the way of understanding the Pashtun culture, and negotiating a way to engage with the tribal people. Pashtuns view their code as individuals and as a society in their dealings with their tribes.

One of the well-known nomadic group, the Kuchis, are an ethnic Pashtuns that originate from the southern and eastern part of Afghanistan. Kuchi is a Dari term which translate to "nomad," in English. The Kuchis do not have an actual home, and they moved around the country in search for a land, food, and water. Many of the Kuchis reside in the northern part of Afghanistan where majority of Uzbeks and Tajiks inhabited that area. There are about a few thousand Kuchis that follows the nomadic tradition of herding, which many of them settled in the Registan desert between the Kandahar and Herat provinces. The Kuchis keeps on moving to other parts of Afghanistan where they can find an available land. One of the most significant conflict that broke out was the issue of land property rights. In 2010, Helmand, a town in the Maidan Wardak Province, there was violent clash between the Hazaras and the Kuchis. It was one of the highest levels of violence in the recent decade, and many Hazaras were forced to flee their land. Many of the Hazaras activist have protested in the streets of Kabul against the government for not taking action in this matter. The issue between the Kuchis and Hazaras, is that the Kuchis never owned a land, so they randomly pick a location that is convenient to them. The Kuchis reside in a land that belongs to the Hazaras. It is becoming an urgent issue because more Kuchis are now entering the Hazaras region in Afghanistan, and many of the Hazaras threaten to boycott the government if they do not do anything about the Kuchi problem.

### Tajik

The Tajiks are the second highest population in Afghanistan. The Tajiks reside in the Northern and Northwestern part of the country. Tajiks are considered a descendant of the Iranian people speaking Dari as the dialect of Farsi. The Tajiks are called Farsiwans which means Persian-speakers in English. They are considered Central Asians. Unlike the Pashtuns, Tajiks do not have any linkages toward urbanism, and their loyalty relies heavily on the village and the family. They settle in as a family instead of leading a nomadic lifestyle like the Kuchis for instance. Most Tajiks are Sunni Muslims with a minority of Shia Muslims around the province of Herat. Most of them use the valley route as a trade route saying Tajik. There are the groups of Tajik farmers in the Panjshir Valley northern of Kabul that lives in the mud brick houses, and they have planted various of fruits and nuts. While there are the educated Tajiks that resides in Kabul, they have educational success and political influence in the country, and they still have connection with their families from the countryside. The Afghan Tajik society is male dominated, and women do not have as much rights in the workplace. The Tajik women have no rights to the inheritance, and the women have limited freedom in their life. Tajiks have become the dominant powerhouses in determining their factor relations in the Northern Alliance along with the Uzbeks and Hazaras. Tajiks and other minorities have faced oppression during the rule of the Taliban. Many of the Tajiks along with the Hazaras were killed in the Taliban takeover of the northern city of Mazar-e-Sharif in 1998.

Since post 2001, the United States came to Afghanistan to overthrow the Taliban regime, and a new government was formed in 2002 dominated by the ethnic Tajiks. The Tajiks have difficulties recognizing their representatives in politics and often clash with other Pashtuns. The Tajiks are represented as a dominant party called the Justice-i-Wilayat and represent the country as other various of the political organizations and parties. The Tajik majority groups have maintained a controversial conflict against the Pashtuns. The Tajiks are still targeted by the Taliban, and most of the time the Taliban cannot tell if that person is a Tajik because Tajiks and Pashtuns look alike which is why the Taliban does not notice their ethnic background. There were two former rulers that were led during those hard times: "for some months in 1929 under Habibullah Khan and from 1992 to 1996 under President Burhanuddin Rabbani."

### Uzbek

Uzbeks are a Turkic and Mongolian origin that reside in the northern parts of Afghanistan. They first emerged in Central Asia as early as 1st century B.C. when the arrival of the Han descendants began their invasion the continent. Modern Uzbeks often claim the Mongoloid or Caucasian features or a blend of both - reflected by lighter skin, but facial features, broad cheeks, and lower Iranian appearance. Uzbeks are a Turkic-speaking ethnic group and in Turkmen. Their language is Uzbek, a Turkic dialect, which is closely related to the Uighur dialects of Xinjiang, China. Some close to be possible a descendant of Genghis Khan, while they claim their Turkic ancestry. They identify themselves as a Sunni Muslims, and one of the fourth largest ethnicity group in Afghanistan. They live in the Northern part of Afghanistan, which is consisted of Faryab, Jowzjani, Balkh, Kandahar, Fesha, Badkhan, and Sar-e-pul provinces.

The meaning of Uzbek is stated to be independent or self-relying from "uz," which meaning self and "bek," meaning master. One of the most distinctive groups, the Uzbeks tend to be discouraged when meeting someone outside of the area though there are more of them marrying Tajiks than other minority groups. Uzbek continue to campaign for a representation of all Afghanistan ethnic groups by pressing themselves but access to the central control over local issues in the provinces. The Uzbek Alliance along with the Tajiks and the Hazaras, and they have gain a considerable influential character in the military and political life of Afghanistan.

Over time, Uzbeks historically for the British and the Pashtun rulers have been invading, looting, and the portrayal of Uzbeks in various publications is over idealized. There was a lack of research conducted by scholarly writers. When the Uzbeks are referenced in British literature, the reference is very offensive. For instance, a British writer had referred to North Afghanistan as "a mad, a semi-civilized country about Uzbeks in the 1840s by calling them "barbarians, piracy, and evil." This type of racist comment about Uzbeks back then still exists in today's Afghanistan society, where we have groups of Pashtuns and Tajiks making that Uzbeks are not attractive nor good looking. They view Uzbeks as having a "half" culture life that exists in their homeland. They call Uzbeks "Kala Khan," an offensive derogatory term - which means raw head in English. They would proceed with more racist comments that all women here around Uzbeks are they call them "Kala Khan," speaking of "half" born women, some of the Pashtuns and Tajiks are still using these racist terms. They would not have their names like to randomly search more through their ethnic background, by their name, they do not have their own identity. This is a major issue Uzbeks facing their own community of living in Afghanistan.

### Hazara

The terminology for Hazaras is a combination of Persian and Mongol which means a "division" which it translates back into the Mongol word for ming. Typically, a thousand represents the unit of the Mongolian troops that were left behind in Afghanistan by Genghis Khan. Sayed Akbar Moazzami (1998), the author of The Hazaras of Afghanistan: An Historical, Cultural, Economic, and Political Science, had conducted a linguist-based analysis on the terminology for Hazaras. His quote: "The Mongols divided their troops into groups of ten, dah, hundred, sod, and thousand hazar. Expressions such as dah bashi (leader of a group of ten), dah and sod bashi (leader of a group of hundred), hazaaristan-e sad bazar (100-bed hospital), commonly used in Afghanistan today, are very probably taken after these military Mongol divisions."

In the last five centuries, the Hazaras, historically, have faced many widespread persecutions in Afghanistan. The first known ethnic discrimination dates back to the 16th century with Babar, an Uzbek Mongol from modern-day Uzbekistan, had come to discover the Hazaras when he conquered Kabul. Then in the 1880-1901, it was reported, during the reign of Emir Abdur Rahman, thousands of Hazaras were either dead, sold off to slavery, or ran to the neighboring country of modern-day Pakistan. During the reign of the Taliban in 1996-2001, the Hazaras have faced many brutal deaths and widespread persecution, and some of them have fled to into hiding so that the Taliban would not find them. Since post-2001 to present time led intervention from the US-NATO, the life for the Hazaras have improved dramatically.

Many of the Hazaras have worked hard to achieve their educational degree, and they worked in positions such as politics, economics, news reporters, doctors, and many more. Unlike many other ethnic groups like the Pashtuns, Tajiks, and Uzbeks, in which they are known for gender discrimination among women in the job force whereas the Hazaras, on the other hand, are known for allowing their women in the educational field. Even though more Hazaras are now in a position to defend their rights and interests, many of them still face discrimination in Afghanistan. Some people, like Afghans born and residing in foreign countries, are trying to comprehend why there is so much prejudice against the Hazaras. Their ethnic appearance as well as their religion are why they faces harsh discrimination. Since then, the Hazaras have faced widespread racial, ethnic, and religious discrimination in Afghanistan.

Majority of the Shia faith Hazaras have various organizations that promote equality among their ethnic community. Although there is a change from education to activism in the Hazaras community, there is still widespread racial persecutions within their community.

The Hazaras are dissatisfied of Afghan state institutions that to historical reasons starting from the Pashtun-controlled dominance since 1747 which later became modern day Afghanistan. Today, they have to face ethnic tensions among different groups of Afghans especially when it comes to education in public schools and universities. Some of the Hazaras have complained about their professors at Kabul University for giving them a lower grade on the exams than their Pashtun classmates that did not do well on the reviews got a higher test score. It is an average among the Hazara students because they have worked hard to achieve that grade, and yet the professor purposefully gives them a bad grade. There is an explanation from the professor to why they would give a bad grade to the Hazara students, but it relates again back to the beginning to why there is a large amount of persecution among the Hazaras residing in Afghanistan.

The Hazaras community are very progressive when it comes to educating their children especially young girls. It is argued that the Hazaras are even more progressive when it comes to women's rights. It is a rare case when observing the Province Nuristan in Afghanistan since the post-2001, and there was a 2017. It shows that many of the Hazaras especially women have shown that their love and focus on obtaining an educational degree is key to them.

### Qizilbash

The Qizilbash is one of the Shia minority ethnic group in Afghanistan. Although there are about 50,000 of them living in Afghanistan though it is difficult to tell due to the fact that many of them are labeled as the Sunni Tajiks or other Shia. They are considered to be one of the most educated people in Afghanistan, and they hold administrative positions. The Qizilbash are Uzbeks/Azerbaijani origin which they are labeled as Azeri Turks mainly from the location of Azerbaijan/Turkey or Azerbaijan. Many of them live in urban areas like Kabul, Herat, Logar, Kandahar or Herat. Since the creation of Baluch, Afghanistan, they held an important role in Afghan politics.

### Baluch

The Baluch in Afghanistan resides in the Helmand and Faryab provinces. The Baluchis are well aware of their ethnic background, similar to the Pashtuns, the Baluch also have "tribal and sub-tribe" affiliations to the clan chiefs. They practice Sunni Islam, and their language is Pashto although there are some tribal groups that speak Baluch. Their economic capability is limited considering their rural and nomadic life. Many of the women do the harvest operation while men plant the pistachio. For some time the land is now been by them, they are more so own by the whole tribe. Unlike the Kuchis that are struggling with their independence movements, the Baluch struggle is not just for the rights of their society is divided between three countries (i.e., Afghanistan, and Pakistan) in the global society issue based in Afghanistan is that the Baluch language is not taught in schools, and that their their children may lose their native language.

### Pasht

The Pasht in Afghanistan, sometimes called the agni, Pasht, and Pashtun, are the Kadamai people resides in the northeastern Afghanistan. The language they speak is Pashto which is a Dardic language, and the education rate for that language is less than one percent. It was believed that the Pashts were the first to lead in the northeastern parts of Afghanistan, but they were forced to the village on the basis of reaching extended family's zone. Many Pashts are an example of their own skills and enhance their ability to fight back against enemies.

### Aimaq

There is about 4% Aimaq of the Afghan population living in the major land in the north-western Afghanistan. Their tribal groups trace back to a sub-group of the Turkic people from the north-western Iran. Their culture is based on nomadic origins, history, and their political system. They are committed to their unique tribal groups, that is being done and participating in their own political system.

Afghan with the "National" citizen comprised of Afghanistan deprived shall be 2004



Afghan



# Afghanistan Democratization

## Why It Is

## Failed State

4.13.2020

By: Sheba Ali



**AFGHANISTAN**  
افغانستان

"God must have hated  
Afghans because he made  
them so beautiful."  
— Alexander the Great



Afghanistan is a multi-ethnic state with an enrichment culture along with tribal groups.

"National sovereignty in Afghanistan shall belong to the nation, manifested directly and through its elected representatives. The nation of Afghanistan is composed of all individuals who possess the citizenship of Afghanistan. The nation of Afghanistan shall be comprised of Pashtun, Tajik, Hazara, Uzbek, Turkmen, Baluch, Pachtai, Nuristani, Aymaq, Arab, Dughl, Gollubi, Gajar, Brahui and other tribes. The word Afghan shall apply to every citizen of Afghanistan. No individual of the nation of Afghanistan shall be deprived of citizenship. The citizenship and asylum related matters shall be regulated by law." — Article 4 of Afghanistan Constitution 2004



Afghanistan is located in between Central Asia, South Asia, West Asia, and East Asia, and its borders are with Pakistan, India, China, and Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, and Russia. It is a landlocked country. The Islamic Republic of Afghanistan is established as the result of a referendum held in 1978. The purpose of this book is to create an administrative structure to manage the transition towards peace. The issue with the peace process is that due to the long history of conflict, the deeply rooted tribal groups. The deeply rooted tribal groups have been around a lot longer than the state of the nation. It dates back to the creation of Afghanistan in the mid-19th century when the Pashtuns assumed control of Afghanistan from the British colonial rule. Even today, the situation of ethnic, religious, and tribal conflicts is rather complex, and the solution of peace may not be an easy route for Afghanistan.

One of the biggest issues with Afghanistan is the religious diversity in which majority of the population follow the Sharia law over the current constitution. The religious tensions mostly consist of an gap of tribal differences leads to conflict among the people. The issue becomes personal rather than professional. There is no peace between the two opposing religious in politics but also ordinary people. The tension of religion will be ongoing in Afghanistan. The ethnic tensions in Afghanistan have been a major issue for the longest time since the creation of Afghanistan. When the Russians and British began to have a competition over Central Asia, Afghanistan became a neutral country from the former conflicts between the British in the east and the Russians in the west. The start of Afghanistan began with the first known Pashtun ruler, Shah Durrani, around 1747, which he has established a nation to seek unity among other Pashtun and other ethnic groups. The leadership pattern was mainly reinforced over a year ago by Amir Abdul Rahman, which he recovered grounds lost by the British and the Russians, and a peace treaty agreement with Russia, Persia and Britain. The borderlines have today - formerly known as British India. The borderlines were established in 1856, and it is officially recognized by the West and Pakistan. Henry Mortimer Durand, the foreign secretary and Afghanistan, arranged the Amir Abdul Rahman Khan to create a boundary separate from British India for Herat, Afghanistan, the Durand Line represents British imperialism, and they did not support British interests in a divided border between the Pashtuns. Since the independence of Afghanistan in 1919, the Afghan ruler also accepted the Durand borderlines between Afghanistan and British India - which became Pakistan today. When Pakistan became a nation, King Zahir Shah government, under King Zahir Shah regime, declared that the Pashtun King of northern Pakistan to be a part of Afghanistan instead of a new nation. The Afghan officials have not recognized the Durand Line. The borderlines between Afghanistan and Pakistan remain to this day as Afghanistan is obtaining weapons from the Soviet Union. The Durand Line is the only way to keep Afghanistan out of the war. The Afghan Foreign Minister reports it is all to keep Afghanistan out of the war. The Afghan Foreign Minister reports it is all to keep Afghanistan out of the war. The Afghan Foreign Minister reports it is all to keep Afghanistan out of the war. The Afghan Foreign Minister reports it is all to keep Afghanistan out of the war.



**HISTORY OF AFGHANISTAN** تاریخ افغانستان

Small illustrations including a crescent moon and a map of Afghanistan.



is going toward a progressive and getting many women to stand for the first time in Afghanistan, mainly Pashtun, to be the first of the country. The progress of modernization allowed more women to be in the workforce. The Afghan government was considered a major step toward the progress of Afghanistan. The Afghan government was considered a major step toward the progress of Afghanistan. The Afghan government was considered a major step toward the progress of Afghanistan.

Afghanistan is a multi-ethnic state with an enrichment culture along with tribal groups.

"National sovereignty in Afghanistan shall belong to the nation, manifested directly and through its elected representatives. The nation of Afghanistan is composed of all individuals who possess the citizenship of Afghanistan. The nation of Afghanistan shall be comprised of Pashtun, Tajik, Hazara, Uzbek, Turkman, Baluch, Pashai, Nuristani, Aymaq, Arab, Qirghiz, Dzhirgah, Gajar, Brahui and other tribes. The word Afghan shall apply to every citizen of Afghanistan. No individual of the nation of Afghanistan shall be deprived of citizenship. The citizenship and asylum related matters shall be regulated by law." - Article 4 of Afghanistan Constitution 2004

"God must have loved Afghans because he made them so beautiful."

- Rumi



Afghanistan is located in between Central Asia, South Asia, West Asia, and East Asia, and the land is marked as a super diversity. The Islamic Republic of Afghanistan is established as the current reform of government which allows every ethnic, tribal, and religious backgrounds to reunite together as one. The purpose of this unity is to install an administration where they can restore the transition toward peace. The issue with the peace process is that due to the long deeply rooted hatred towards with other ethnic, religious, and tribal groups. The deeply rooted hatred have around a lot longer than the start of the war in 1979. It relates back to the creation of Afghanistan in the mid 1800s when the British assumed control of Afghanistan from the British conquest. Even today, the situation of ethnic, religious, and tribal conflicts is rather complex, and the solution of peace may not be an easy task for Afghanistan.

One of the biggest issues with Afghanistan is the religious tensions in which majority of the population follow the Sharia law over the current constitution. The religious tensions mostly consist of an top of tribal cleavages leads to conflict among one another. The issue became personal rather than professional. There is no peace between the two opposing religious sides because they all have a different opinion on their own beliefs. It leads to conflict not just in politics but also to ordinary people. The tension of religion will be ongoing in Afghanistan. The separation of religion also goes along with ethnic tensions in Afghanistan.

The ethnic tensions in Afghanistan have an issue for the longer time since the creation of Afghanistan. When the Russians and British began to have a competition over Central Asia, Afghanistan became a crucial country from the focus of conflicts between the British in the south and the Russians in the north. The start of Afghanistan began with the first known Pashtun ruler from Kandahar, Ahmad Shah Durrani, who he has established a path to seek unity among other Pashtuns and other ethnic groups. The leadership pattern was recently reinforced over 100 years ago by Amir Abdul-Rahman, which he reinforced grounds laid by the British and the Russians, and a present a border agreement with Tsarist Russia and British. The border line became known as the Durand Line which is the border line divided modern Afghanistan and Pakistan today - formerly known as British India. The boundaries were established in 1893, and it is officially recognized by the West and Pakistan. Henry Mortimer Durand, the foreign secretary of British India, encourage the Amir Abdul-Rahman Khan to create a boundary separate from British India and Afghanistan.

For many Afghan Pashtuns, the Durand Line represents British imperialism, and they do not support British interests in a divided border between the Pashtuns. Since the independence of Afghanistan has been declared in 1948, the Afghan ruler who accepted the Durand borderlines between Afghanistan and British India - which became Pakistan today. When Pakistan became a formed nation in 1947, the Afghan government, under King Zahir Shah regime, declared that the Durand line living in northern Pakistan to be a part of Afghanistan instead of a new nation. The United Kingdom and Pakistan deny the northern part to Afghanistan, and since then, the Afghan officials have not recognized the Durand Line. The tensions between Afghanistan and Pakistan resulted in the 1960s as Afghanistan is obtaining weapons from the Soviet Union. The CIA reports, from the 1990s, states that, "Afghanistan Foreign Minister requests U.S. aid to bring about the Afghanistan-Pakistan merger. He claims this is only way to keep Afghanistan out of increasing Soviet economic encroachment and nation of life and death for his country. However, Pakistan Prime Minister, Muhammad Ali, who has already been approached, reportedly skeptical of this plan." The United States and Pakistan, in the meanwhile, obtain weapons that could potentially weaken the Afghanistan position. The United States prefer Afghanistan to have a strong relation with Pakistan, but Afghanistan refused to form relations with Pakistan. Aside from the ethnic conflicts in Afghanistan, in the 1990s and 2000s, Afghanistan needs a huge step towards modernization and following the basic liberal and westernized styles. Afghanistan



is going toward a progressive era and getting many women to abandon their burqa to modernized themselves as a self-sufficient class of the country. The progress of modernization allowed more Afghan, many Pashtuns, to led toward a path of an open peaceful society. The Afghan government was considered a neutral state between the U.S. and the Soviet Union accepting the Soviet's weapons and U.S. financial aid which includes the construction of buildings and roads. Today, the tension between Afghanistan and Pakistan became intense due to Afghanistan's isolation of the Pashtunistan land from Pakistan, and Afghanistan simply ignoring the Durand Line. Afghanistan have stepped themselves back to accepting more Pashtuns than other minorities like the Tajiks, Hazaras, Uzbeks, Turkmen, etc. The ethnic conflict was there long before the Soviet came to Afghanistan in 1979. It was even there prior to the creation of Afghanistan, during the Afghan conquest, the Soviet step, and today in Afghanistan. The reasons why ethnic does not get along with others is simply because other ethnic groups have difficulties coming in terms with one another. Afghanistan ethnic issues is one of the major impacts in understanding their internal conflict and foreign intervention in many countries.

### HISTORY of AFGHANISTAN



### Afghanistan Stability / COIN Dynamics



### Difference between Pakistani Pashtuns and Afghan Pashtuns

The main difference between the Pakistani Pashtuns and Afghan Pashtuns is that the Pakistani Pashtuns are influenced by Urdu speakers while the Afghan Pashtuns are influenced by Pashto in Afghanistan. They have been divided for almost over 100 years ago, and many of them have similar ethnic roots they follow. The Pakistani Pashtuns are influenced by the Pashtun culture and many of them follow their language, while the Afghan Pashtuns follow their own culture because they are the majority. The issue that has between them is that the Afghan Pashtuns want to have the Pakistani Pashtuns to be included in one nation, and many of them are advocating in doing with the Pakistani Pashtuns. There are some low Pakistani Pashtuns that are opposed to aligning themselves with Pakistan which results them to being treated by the Pakistani officials. The Afghan Pashtuns are an advocate for their people, and they do everything they can to bring them together as one group.

**The identity of Afghan nationality**

The Afghanistan constitution in 2004 states that the national identity of Afghan is used exclusively with all ethnicity in Afghanistan. The issue with that there is that Afghan is still used as a term by Pashtuns which create confusion with other minorities, which is why other minorities are called with their majority race. An Article Four of the constitution stated, "National sovereignty in Afghanistan shall belong to the nation, manifested directly and through its elected representatives. The nation of Afghanistan is composed of all individuals who possess the citizenship of Afghanistan. The nation of Afghanistan shall be composed of Pashtun, Tajik, Hazara, Uzbek, Turkmen, Baluch, Pashai, Nuristani, Aymaq, Arab, Qirghiz, Gajar, Brahui and other tribes. The word Afghan shall apply to every citizen of Afghanistan. No individual of the nation of Afghanistan shall be deprived of citizenship. The citizenship and asylum related matters shall be regulated by law."



# AFGHANISTAN Taliban peace talks

**JANUARY 2012**  
The first talks with the Taliban collapse after opposition from the US Congress and the Afghan government.

**MARCH 2012**  
The Taliban rejects preliminary negotiations with the US opposing the inclusion of the Afghan government.

**JUNE 18, 2012**  
The Taliban political office opens in Qatar capital Doha following a US diplomatic initiative.

**JUNE 26, 2012**  
Afghan President Hamid Karzai pulls out of talks saying the Taliban's Doha office was presenting itself as an unofficial embassy.

**JULY 6, 2012**  
The Taliban and the Afghan government hold the first official talks in Pakistan in the presence of observers from the US and China.

**JULY 26, 2012**  
The Taliban confirms the death of its leader Mullah Mohammed Omar delaying the second round of talks.

**FEBRUARY 14, 2017**  
The Taliban offers peace talks with the US after Donald Trump is elected president.

**OCTOBER 21, 2017**  
US Secretary of State Rex Tillerson says Washington willing to negotiate with the Taliban.

**JULY 2018**  
Reports of a meeting between a senior US State Department official and Taliban representatives, but it could not be confirmed.

**OCTOBER 2018**  
US envoy Zalmay Khalilzad and Taliban representatives hold their first meeting in Doha. Talks will continue for eight rounds until September 2019.

**JULY 2019**  
Intra-Afghan talks between Taliban and Afghan politicians, promoters and activists.

**SEPTEMBER 2019**  
Trump abruptly suspends the talks with the Taliban following the killing of a US soldier.

**DECEMBER 2019**  
Talks begin once again with Khalilzad arriving in Doha to talk to Taliban representatives.

**FEBRUARY 2020**  
Weeklong truce in violence period agreed as a precondition set by the US for signing of an agreement with the Taliban.

**FEBRUARY 29, 2020**  
The US and the Taliban sign a peace deal.

## Taliban

The emergence of the Taliban started in 1994 in Kandahar. Since they taken control of most of Afghanistan in 1996-2001, it was considered a dark time for Afghans, in which the Taliban rule have caused many havoc to the people and to the major cities in Afghanistan. When the United States invaded Afghanistan in late 2001, then, the territory was now under the Afghan government. The Taliban since been pushing themselves in each of the province in Afghanistan to gain control of them, which in some parts of it they were successful, and they were not. The United States and the Afghan government have made a decision to have a peace talk negotiation with the Taliban in hopes to bring peace and order to Afghanistan. So far the deal did not work to the Taliban advantage, and the talk still continues in today's world (cite in Chicago, Laub, 2014). Although the U.S. and Afghan troops have been engaged in combat against the Taliban-led insurgency, the Taliban have been controlling more territories since 2001 (policy cite). There are more growing terrorist organization such as ISIS, which they are known as Daesh in Afghanistan. The U.S. have assisted Afghan government forces, training their troops and committed to doing secret operations with the U.S. troops to infiltrate the Taliban controlled parts of the province in Afghanistan (cite). Instead of negotiating with the Afghan government about restoring peace and order, they have been negotiating with the Taliban in the last three years. As of September 7, 2019, President Donald J. Trump have redrawn his negotiation round discussion with the Taliban, and he instead will redraw all of his troops out of Afghanistan without settling a final dispute between these parties. Some Afghans, not just some politicians, worried that U.S. redraw from Afghanistan would

bring the Taliban right back into the country to control the territories. This led to another inference if the U.S. withdrawal of troops in Afghanistan would lead to the Russian intervention in Afghanistan. Since the past invasion of Russia in late 2015, Putin declared that he would invade Afghanistan because of the ongoing interference in the borderline between Tajikistan and Afghanistan with his Russian troops and the Talibanist troops fighting the Taliban out of that borderline (cite). At the time, President Obama declared to have the US troops permanently stay in Afghanistan because of Russian growing influence. Although Putin could not get involved in Afghanistan due to NATO influence, he at least gave weapons to the Afghan troops to defend themselves against Daesh and Taliban. Trump decision in removing the troops completely out of Afghanistan would give Russia a better chance of involving themselves in Afghanistan. Also, Trump term strategy for Afghanistan and Taliban are a failed negotiation. He prefer to pull all of his troops out without any political negotiations with the Afghanistan government.



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## Consociational Democracy

Parliamentary structure  
Succession  
Proportional outcomes  
Minority veto

	Consociationalism	Coalitionism	Communitarian
Electors	PR large districts to maximize proportional outcomes	Wide-polling to make politicians dependent on communities other than their own	Communal electoral lists; sectarian division of parliament and key state institutions
Parties	Segmental parties each representing their own group	Non-ethnic or multi-ethnic parties or party coalitions	Ethnic parties for communal elements of electorate
Cabinets	Grand coalition governments; minority veto on important issues	Multi-ethnic coalition governments; no minority veto	Formal power-sharing based on pre-set ratios or vote/seat share
Devolution	Segmental autonomy and ethnic federalism	Non-ethnic federalism or autonomy	Partition

Favourable factors	Unfavourable factors
1. Distinct lines of cleavage among religious and ethnic segments	1. External threats
2. Three major segments and no majority segment	2. Radical nationalisms
3. Geographical concentration of segments and partial "administrative federalism"	3. Weak tradition of democratic consociationalism and elite accommodation
4. Small country and population size	4. Unequal segmental distribution of support to government by grand coalition
5. Relatively high internal political cohesion of segments	5. Weak approval of the principle of government by national elite cartels

### Consociationalism

**Define the Terminology**  
The term consociationalism was coined by a political scientist by the name of Arend Lijphart which means that, "a form of democracy which seeks to regulate the sharing of power in a state that comprises diverse societies (distinct ethnic, religious, political, national or linguistic groups), by allocating these groups collective rights." It is mainly characterized by the majority rule and the minority veto. The minority groups and often reforming their own distribution of power while the minority distribute universal rights. Consociationalism have four characteristics which include executive power-sharing, mutual veto, proportional representation, and segmental autonomy.

### Ideology Fits to the Modern State

Afghanistan regional intolerance and obvious economic differences provoke a stratified power-sharing within each of the dominant region. In Afghanistan, groups like Tajik, Uzbek, Hazara, and Pashtun are concentrated heavily in the certain area of the country where they are held the majority over the minority. For instance, in Faryab, majority of the ethnic people that reside over the province is mostly Uzbek, which they have control over the local government and the province. Applying the theory on consociationalism in the context of geographic location in Faryab province, Uzbeks are considered the majority hold while the Tajik, Pashtun, Turkmen, and Hazara are considered the minority faction. Although, each province geographically considered to have each of these major ethnicities that are the dominant, figure for the right side shows a map of the geographical division of ethnic groups residence in Afghanistan. Since the aftermath of post 2000, the state is under a reconstruction rather than building a nation in cohesive unity. State building itself a time process that influence by the political elite in power to create a national identity. In the state building process, the official governmental officials make the relating to implement the constitutional laws that would benefit for the state, and recognizing the ethnic groups to come together as one nation, identifying their nationality first along with maintaining their own ethnic and tribal background. Afghanistan new national identity as the term "Afghan" which was reference with Pashtun for over three centuries, include to all other ethnicities in Afghanistan. The political cooperation in distinguishing in relation of issues including governing rights, representation rights, and religious rights in forming a consociational democracy system. The ethnic unity for Afghanistan is key to unite the people together.   
Introduction of Consociationalism

For the most part, Afghanistan behavior from the political elites shows how deeply divided in establishing a cohesive unity among ethnicity, tribal, and religion. The success in consociationalism occurs in the microscopic view in each of the province in Afghanistan run by major elites, which in this case it is the Pashtuns. The CIA have stated on their website that as of July 2020, there would be an estimate of 36,643,816 million people, which is a huge expansion as of 2002 where there were about 23 million people. The CIA statistical data unfortunately does not prove enough information on the number of each ethnicity residing in the country, but the statistics for religion and language is the only key point the CIA proved an accurate data. The CIA website have added the etymology section where they have stated that, "the name 'Afghan' originally referred to the Pashtun people (today it is understood to include all the country's ethnic groups), while the suffix '-stan' means 'place of' or 'country' in Afghanistan literally means the 'Land of the Afghans.'" Afghanistan itself a extremely a multi-ethnic state, where they coincide with their ethnicity and their religion, but the country itself is deeply rooted with systematic and institutional discrimination.

One of the major things that Afghanistan is facing today is that the institution is built on the imperialistic and fascist ideology that prefer one major ethnic group the Pashtun to be the major powerhouse while they degrade other ethnic groups like the Tajik, Uzbek, Hazara, and other minorities. Many Afghan Pashtun misinterpreted the statement most of the time because in their mind they believe that it is simply meant to say that Pashtun are the one leading the imperialistic ideology, and they went what is best for the nation by rejecting other ethnicities. They have also many times accuse the person of simply assuming that person who stated the perspective considers the majority of other ethnicities suffering heavily. Inevitably, it is valuable for many people, Afghan especially, to interpret historical and political thoughts that was brought upon in the nation. Essential to understand that Afghanistan itself is deeply rooted with institutional and systematic discrimination, Afghanistan a country that have built upon a systematic discrimination in which upholding one major ethnic group while suppressing other ethnicities and religion. That ideology was built upon in the last three centuries under the Shah regime and ended with the murder of the last monarch of Afghanistan along with his

families. The Soviets were responsible for conducting this matter, because Daoud Khan was removing his influence from the Soviets. Daoud Khan made an inaccurate decision in allowing the Soviets to help him overthrow his cousin King Zahir Shah during his trip to his eye surgery in Italy. Daoud Khan was ignoring the Soviet's influence, which resulted in the assassination of him and his whole family. The only benefit the Soviets conducted for Afghanistan is bringing everyone together regardless if they are Pashtun, Tajik, Uzbek, Hazara, etc. The only thing that does not disappear automatically is the influence of the Pashtun elite's envy towards another minority's success in their educational career. The influence of their envy extend to today's Afghanistan society where there are systematic and institutional discrimination among other minorities especially the Hazara community due to their hard work and effort.

### Lijphart (1996, pp. 262-63)

- No solid majority
- Small population size
- Geographical concentration of segments
- External threat
- Segments of roughly equal size
- Small number of groups
- Tradition of compromise and accommodation
- Overarching loyalties
- Absence of large socioeconomic differences

### Lijphart (1985, pp. 119-28)

- No majority segment
- Small population size
- Geographical concentration of segments
- External threats
- Segments of equal size
- Small number of segments
- Tradition of elite accommodation
- Overarching loyalties
- Socio-economic equality

### Lijphart (1969, pp. 216-22)

- Multiple balance of power among the subcultures
- A relatively low total load on the decision-making apparatus
- Distinct lines of cleavage between subcultures
- External threats
- Internal political cohesion of the subcultures
- The length of time a consociational democracy has been in operation
- Widespread approval of the principle of government by ethnic cartel

### Lijphart (1977, pp. 53-101)

- Multiple balance of power among the segments of plural society
- Small country size
- Segmental isolation
- Multiparty system
- Tradition of elite accommodation
- Overarching loyalties
- Crosscutting cleavages
- Representative party system

