



Systematic Analysis of State-Nation Building Process in New Afghanistan 2002-2020

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ABSTRACT

Given the fact that many nationalities live in Afghanistan, state-nation building priority is the greatest concern of political elites of Afghanistan. When the former Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan in 1978 and internal war occurred the country was at the center of the foreign policy of the super powers. Society, politics and governance has faced crisis. Upon collapse of Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War in the 1990s, Afghanistan was forgotten by Western governments. However, when al Qaeda, under the patronage of the Taliban Organization, attacked US interests in Africa in September 1998 plus the World Trade Center in the United States on September 11, 2001, its allies and US changed their foreign policies regarding Afghanistan. The plan of new structure establishment based on Liberal Democracy teachings and state-nation building, also, formed as the fall of Taliban regime in Afghanistan and political –semi military groups with mediation of USA were invited in Bonn of Germany. The outcome of this summit resulted in signing Bonn Agreements and adapting liberal democracy within eight constitutional laws. It was expected that these doctrines would overcome previous unbalanced experience of left and right radical regimes, and that inclusive state-nation building would be an acceptable process for all citizens. However, soon it was uncovered that the modern system; liberal structuralism, was in a direct confrontation with traditional functionalism. Therefore, the reason for this process is examined in the framework of systematic analysis (system input, policy planning, policy implementation, outcome, and evaluation).

Keywords: Liberal-Democracy; Political Development; State-Nation-Building

INTRODUCTION AND PROBLEM STATEMENT

Afghanistan is a landlocked country in Continent of Asia. The Geo-Politics and Geo-Economics location of this country in the 18th century has led it to be known as the buffer, due to the Big Game. Meanwhile, in the current era, it is the shortest economical passage of transferring Middle Asia's energy to Southern Asia. These political and economic attributes of Afghanistan underpinned, in less than three centuries, multiple invasions of the former Britain Empire, former Soviet Union, and NATO, lately. "Expansion of NATO to the east is a type of pragmatism rather than Dogmatism and of no doubt, Idealistic and Humanistic mission" Hence, foreign invasion and venerable

wars are one reason for postponing and implementing the state-nation building process in Afghanistan [1,2].

For the first time, debates if state-nation building started by socio-political reformations of Amanulla Khan, from 1919 to 1929. But due to the fall of Amanulla Khan Lordship by Habibullah Kalakani, this process found no position in socio-political literature of Afghanistan. Its reason of foreign stage could be the effects of the Cold War on the government and politics of this country, and at post- communism period the desire of newly independent countries, from Soviet Union, to establish nationalized governments. Because Afghanistan, similar to Middle Asia and west European countries, took its independence from Soviet Union, As if, it was in relation to the effects of the external realm on internal one, the existence of non-democratic governments, and, then, ideological regimes that

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oppose each democratic change. This process, but by the emergence of Liberal Democracy system and the intention of ethnic and religious disputes in the goal of participation in political power, changes the political literature of this country.

The method governing in Afghanistan, since 1747 to 1919 messages a type of traditional conservative and closed system with a pattern of ethnic and religious legitimacy. As, by the lordship of Nader Khan as king and his brother Hashem Khan as chancellor, the relative process of state-nation building of the Amanulla Khan period, diminished the relation between people and government into mastery and vassal, again. This trend, but by governing of Zahir Shah and excelling Hashem Khan made the Democracy Decade, from 1963 to 1973, apparently. In this span of history, due to the lack of political parties' law, the right and left ideologies emerged in imitating methods. Owing to Zahir Shah did not appreciate pervasively democracy in the Democracy Decade. "The king never enacted political parties' law." Therefore, the concept of state-nation was not defined in its comprehensive concept, due to lack of democratic institutes.

On the other hand, the coup of 1974 resulted in the fall of the Royal system and the erecting the first republic system by president Davood Khan. In this period, with concentration on economic development and no political development, the position of state-nation was diminished in favor of one-party republic system. But the process of state-nation building upon the fall of the first republic system by coup of 1978 and formation of right and left radical governments was devastated from socio-political literature of Afghanistan, up to 2001. Owing to signing of Bonn Agreements at 21 Dec of 2001, the process of state-nation building resulted in establishment of temporary governance, transferring, arrangement of Loya Jirga (civic-traditional institution) and enacting of eighth constitutional law. Insofar, this agreement glowed the priority of political society's elites in the explanation of state-nation within the concept of inclusive participation under teachings of Liberal Democracy. Signing of Bonn Agreements was contemporary with Sep 11, 2001 attack on America, that faced the military respond of NATO, under title of "War against International Terrorism" corresponding to democratization in Afghanistan. "One important goal of the USA in the big middle east is the subject of democratizing the Middle East's government by American definition." For instance, by the fall of Taliban regime, abundance of foreign help, liberation of institutes and explanation of International State-Nation Building Model, the closed political literature of Afghanistan converted to the benefit of open governing. Hence, governance of Liberal Democracy made the opportunity to all ethnic and religious groups of Afghanistan try to show their ideas. But non-democratic method of governing in following former ideological governments and especially post-communism, under nationalizing, affected politics. Brubaker says, "National minorities intensively stand against nationalizing politics." Because in Afghanistan, as in Qafqaz, National Minorities or standing groups do live that owing to historical relations to neighbors, stand against negative nationalization. "Foreign countries stand against negative nationalization confronting nationalizing governments in newly independent countries from Soviet Union. Therefore, in the background of all these

incidents from complex challenges in continuity of collision of Liberal new structure with traditional function in politics and government, standing against nationalizing can be alluded to as one of serious challenges in the state-nation building trend of Afghanistan. It means that internal and external oppositions of this process, not only diminished the abilities of the new system, but also intensified the identification crisis, legitimacy, distribution, participation and solidarity, which resulted in deficiency of state-nation building. However, "what challenges do the process of state-nation building on the basis of Liberal Democracy teaching face?" is the main question of this article. Likewise, "what components does Liberal Democracy in Afghanistan consist of?" "What are challenges of nation-state building in Afghanistan?" "What effects these challenges have on process of Liberal Democracy?" are sub questions of this article. As if to answer the first question, the hypothesis of "the experiment of state-nation building shows that due to tribal-traditional function in government and politics, this process wasn't actualized based on Liberal Democracy teachings, and faced a crisis. In this research, the deceptive-explanative method with referring to libraries and note taking of foreign sources and sociological critical thinking from within, approvals and analysis are utilized. The testament of using this process is, from one side, prevents "Area Method", and on the other side, lack of academic research on state-nation building in Afghanistan. As if, lack of software for analyzing question-letters is the reason [3-8].

RESEARCH BACKGROUND

With respect to the historical existence of right and left dependent countries in the region, on the subject of Liberalism state-nation building, no comprehensive research existed in Asia in the West. It seems, this case has been followed in post-communist countries, mostly, in nationalized government frames. Likewise, in the internal stage, also, most of the internal authors used to write from a part of the government's functioning or non-functioning, or in seasonal type. Summarily, in "Foreign Politics of America in Afghanistan", we read, "America with understanding that each structure for its stability requires regulations and centralization, and based on having experience of state-nation building after WWII in Germany, Japan, Balkan at 1990th, wanted to apply these experiences in post-Taliban Afghanistan." Also, in stage of non-functioning of new governance's structures it has been alluded that, "Afghanistan, since 19th century then after, has been facing post-colonization government's structures, and centralized governing has been experiencing as the only experimental method, with no consideration of people's role and in-compensating collapses [9,10].

On systematic relation between structure and employee, helping democratization of institutes in process of state-nation building, also, no research except concerning traditional behavior of political society has been conducted. "In our society politicians are lacking democratic ideas; therefore, they are weak in making structural changes."

From the point that modern state building requires gradual shifting of obsolete and old institutes in benefit of new institutes, except foreign theoretical sources, in Afghanistan, no

scientific research on state-nation building except a book from author of this article undertitle of “Liberal Democracy and State-Nation Building in Afghanistan”, has been written. In one foreign source we read, “State building projects don’t challenge traditional relations directly by instituting, but can succeed in marginalizing traditional relations by making parallel relations underlie rules and regulations.”

Based on foreign help, its inadequate cost, and employing works by relations and no electing, which is related to the International Model of State-Nation Building, no systematic research is tangible except reports and marginally implied in foreign sources. In “Why Governments Fail” we read, “Experts employing to foreign forces, has deprived Afghanistan from them...20% of money is costed for UN in Geneva, 20% costed for non-governmental organizations, and 20% costed for other three layers, so less amount of money was giving to Afghanistan.” However, the author has not been facing any systematic analysis of state-nation building in Afghanistan. Hence, it seems, this article is the first systematic analysis of state-nation building in Afghanistan. That the article particularly accounts debates of state-nation in Afghanistan of post non-democratic regimes under the Liberalist system, but others implies concepts of state-nation in margins of books, is the difference of this article from others [11-16].

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The process of state-nation building in Afghanistan has been related to Liberal Democracy Teachings in Bonn Agreements and enacting of eighth constitutional law; therefore, the theoretical basis of article is contrived in this phenomenon. Liberalism from late 16th up to now constituted the philosophical, cultural, economic and political aspects and facets of mostly Western countries, with three waves of “Classical Liberalism, Liberal Democracy and Neoliberalism”. The relation of this phenomenon with Democracy is the similarity of characteristics among these phenomena. People governance, equality of citizens, Public surveillance, law’s governance, and equal opportunities, freedom of speech, political parties, organizations and groups and eclecticism of job positions are mutual attributes of Liberalism and Democracy.

Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, Jeremy Bentham, James Mill, Herbert Spencer, Benjamin Constant, Adam Smith, Adam Ferguson and others, in first Wave of Liberalism, by contriving of Natural Rights, Humanism, Private Ownership, Social Contract (people and government), Big but Passive Government, proclaim of Negative Freedom, Religious Flexibility, Liberation of workforce from feudalistic constraint, Rationalism and delegation of Vote Right to part of society were able of converting the traditional concept of government into Liberal state-nation. The second wave of Liberalism (Liberal Democracy) contemporary with the Industrial Revolution, increasing capital relationships, and expansion of commodity exchange in the 19th century emerged. The discourse of freedom from negative freedom with considering the lack of individual’s social responsibilities (Freedom from whom and what?) shifted into a positive concept, close to the individual’s amenability of society, in the concept of freedom to whom? Freedom to what? In

addition, freedom to where? In this stage John Stuart Mill, Thomas Hill Green, Bernard Bosanquet, Leonard Hubbaus, Ronald Dworkin, McPherson, Michael Wales, William Beveridge, John Rawls and others with the objection of negative freedom’s concept and natural rights, Individualistic Liberalism integrated with tolerance with liberal society, asserted liberty and equality for all people of a society. This empire transcended duties of government from security of private ownership and patronage of individuals to government social responsibility in the goal of codification. Hence, in this wave, scientific basis of Modernism Underactive society, and strenuous government as dynamic entity converted. The third wave (New-Liberalism) with stating ideas of Friedrich Hayek, Robert Nozick, Milton Friedman, Isaiah Berlin and others, in 1970th, nonconformity of communications revolutions, the development of civic international society, enforcing of Multinational Corporations and coincided with the development of politics and economics. In this period, synchronous national governments and UN, WTO, International Bank, IMF, emerged as new actors in the international environment. In this creation, the concept of government and society has shaped active society and small government, and great politics faced extinction in national borders by the Globalization plan. “The Globalization of economics resulted in diminishing of state-nation controls on economical politics.’ As if, in superiority of Neoliberalism phenomenon, Fukuyama says: “We are witnessing the end of history in this method, the end point of human being’s ideological evolution and globalization of Liberalistic Democracy as the final method of human governing.’ Now the question of “what is the concept of state-nation in third Liberalism waves?” arises. In political literature, Nation is cited as a Multidimensional concept. It is defined of blood, tribal, ethnic, historical and cultural partnerships of one society, sometimes, and is described of socio-political and economic structures agreement of people in one country, other sometimes. Hence, the concept of nation, in multi-aspects of being nation, becoming nation, nationalization’s differentiation with mechanical and organic method in geography, is worth contemplation. “Nation is known of mechanical and historical meanings as people’s organization in Internal interaction, and is known of an organic meaning in relation of individual and institute in formal relationships of a government with other governments.”

In organic exemplification of state-nation, Patriarchal, New-Patriarchal, Populism, Spiritualism, Authoritarianism and Totalitarian are seen. In this exemplification, desires of individual and society are interpreted of national ignorance and accompanied with blaming, and governance emerges in a political system with theological, Charisma and no consideration of social acceptance. “Organic exemplification is traditional political issue, standing against mechanical exemplification underlie social contract order.”

In mechanical exemplification of state-nation, political Liberal systems, Social Democracy and Plural Democracy are defined in imitation of social contract, Utilitarian and Neo-Liberal companions’ ideas. Liberals describe the philosophical concept of government as an artificial and juridical organization, establishing the necessity of supplying human security. Thus,

government in the stage of willingness and Expediency is the basis of willingness, authority and freedom of the Founding Board. Rousseau says, "Man is born free and everywhere he is in chains". Hobbes says, "Nature...likewise other things, is used for industrial imitation of human being"; therefore, human can create an artificial field (government)". Locke says, "Political society arises, only and only, when all parts of it don't consider their natural right, and consign it to hands of society, which could be able to ask their rights from that society, in every situation." Hayek understands government as a phenomenon of credibility, and no natural, "Individual with society in a collaborated act, create the contract as the organizing factor of society. The foundation board has a principal and real entity. It is no component of natural phenomenon in whole organic."

In mechanical exemplification, state-nation concepts are non-alike structures but connected to one another. In this stage, the government is not an organ of organizing and Charisma but a mechanic of organizing society. Therefore, the existence philosophy of individuals reduces into worker and salary-earner, and individuals become responsible citizens, under the traditional-organic ruling. In both mechanical and organic exemplification, government's elements (field, population, government and governance) are pre-necessities of conveying the trend. However, for conveying the trend of becoming a nation in mechanical concepts, with respect of Liberal Democracy attributes of bilateral relationships of state and nation is mandatory. "In Liberal government, becoming nation objectives with respect of ethnic, religious, sexual, juridical and citizenship equalities' In addition, contemporary ideas in the stage of functional diversities state-nation building's concepts are not known of the same meaning. Jagger says, "Government has three different faces: government's power for national potential capacity, political capacity and institutional establishment or regulation." Nonetheless, in Liberal literature, these concepts have unit process, for reasons of mandatorily to one another. "The basis of Liberal government is established by human; thus, state-nation is known as conclusive and unit actor in international environment." From other hand, Rand institute U.S Council on Foreign Relation defines the concept of nation building as the civic institutes' functions and governmental actions in crisis indiscriminate period. "Nation building is the process of creating Civic Order and governmental Functions in the span of war or other incursion types." (Pan, 2003:2). However, Jagger's impression accounts that state building is to emphasize the state's power in national and institutional stages, and nation building in the scope of Rand institute is for civic order and governmental function in crisis periods. At the end, KymlickaWill, also, understands the trend of nation building in the hands of a normative Liberal government in order to promote the superiority of special social culture. "Liberal Democracies are looking forward to expanding a unit social culture world-wide." Hence, it seems, as of multi-dimensional essence and differentiation in utilizing these concepts, these two have not achieved universal structure. Underlie this, for more scrutinizing of these concepts; state-nation building models are defined, also [17-25].

PRIMITIVE AND LATHER MODEL OF STATE-NATION BUILDING

First, nation building, then, state building;

First state building, then, nation building;

In the prime structure, "Firstly, a nation is built in natural or mechanical solidarity, and then the nation establishes the state. This Model is called European" Against European Model, it is the existence of state on nation. It means, "Firstly, a state with governmental institutions is built, subsequently, nation building for the goal of national common identification acquiring will be explained, inland. This Model is called American." In European model, building of nations has ethnic and historical roots while American model of state-nation describes identification of nations as of their civic structure. While American model is Descending, the European model is ascending. Hobsbawm says, "Nations haven't built governments and nationalisms, its adverse formation is the truth."

INTERNATIONAL MODEL OF STATE-NATION BUILDING

The background of the International state-nation building model goes back to WWII. This model is descending, and its legitimacy is accounted for in situations where the normative powers in parallel with internal desires and UN orders go into supporting crisis-stricken countries. Primarily, this model was introduced and started by the USA with the collaboration of Western Germany and Japan in the course of re-building and Renovation. The second utilization of this model goes back to the support of Balkan in 1990th, by the West. As if, the third stage of its advantage was after 11 Sep 2001, and the support of the international community for the new political establishment of Afghanistan. "In this model, a primarily functional government with essential institutes is built, and then the state, after supplying public regulations, tries in nation building." Moreover, post-communistic governments' models exist, which are eschewed in debate. However, with respect to theoretical framework context, this trend based on the title of this research under the international model will be continued [26-31].

FIRST, INPUT OF SYSTEM

Bonn Agreements, with presence of political currents, semi-military and religious, except Taliban, envoys in goal of lasting peace and respect of human rights, signed in Dec 2001 under the surveillance of the United Nation Organization. Establishment of interim power, commitment of Democracy, arrangement of the Loya Jirga for electing the leader of transitional government for two years, establishing of Independent Human Right Commission, Disarmament, execution of constitutional law of 1964, except the benefits related to royalty until enacting of new constitutional law, arrangement of elections by end of transitional government and peace patronage forces' invitation were the foremost benefits of it. "By considering that constituting and supplying the security forces of Afghanistan need time, participants of UN

negotiations, asked for analysis of UN forces establishment as soon as possible, from the Security Council of UN. These forces are expanded due to securing Kabul, gradually other provinces.'

In Bonn Agreements, special authority was given to UNon interim power duties and expediency. "Duties and expediency of interim power members with corresponding of UN will be regulated" (Bonn Agreements, 2001: article 9). Hence, the primal act of interim government with collaboration of UN Organization representation, was implementing Bonn Agreements, such as Establishing Human Rights Commission, common office of election regulations, and arrangement of Loya Jirga was for electing the head of transitional government. With respect of emphasizing on different elections arrangement and deleting the benefits belonged to royal system of 1964 in constitutional law, it is understood that participants of Bonn Conference with rejection of left and right radical regimes Revolutionist and royal system, had absolute agreement on establishing republic government based on Democratic components. As if, representatives of public people, and other political and religious groups enforced the enactment of new constitutional law with "Islamic" suffix in type of the system, under the title of "Islamic Republic of Afghanistan". Therefore, while Afghanistan is a country of multi-ethnic groups, the explanation and establishment of a state-nation based on state building by "hand of human", voted positively. But, what challenged this comprehensive social agreement, from one side, was inclination to Continuity of traditional power in the government under traditional function, and on other hand, radical interpretation of radical groups is their emerging from Islamic values [32-36].

SECOND, POLITICS PLANNING

Based on the sixth article of Bonn Agreements, transitional governance ought to establish the commission of drafting and codification with help of UNAMA that Loya Jirga members sign the pre-codification of constitutional law. People's representatives in Loya Jirga, enacted the eighth constitutional law in integration of Islamic foundations with Liberal Democracy Teachings in 12th seasons and 162 articles, at 14th Dec 2003. In the law, the essence of the government was the "Islamic Republic" and the type of its political system was known as "semi Presidency". As attributes of this law, the answering of the president to the National Council (House of Representative and Senate), and rejection of hereditary governance, traditional conservatism, totalitarian and absolute in the concept of national governance based on people willingness, which was emphasized in 1st paragraph of 4th article. The trend of explaining relations amid people and government based on social contract and electing head of government and representatives by election, in framework of Liberal Democracy Teachings.

Separation of Power rule in fourth, fifth and 7th seasons and responsibility of government in sixth and seventh articles of this law, emphasizes on social justice, public welfare, commitment to Democracy, equality and respecting the International Declaration of Human Rights. Commitment to freedom of speech and thought, freedom of media, Market economics,

freedom of parties and congestions, establishment of intact administration, non-bias participation and electing right in 10th, 11th, 33th, 34th, 35th, 50th, 58th and 156th have been involved in this Law, as Liberal rules. Thus, to answer the first sub question of this article, it can be said, state-nation building in Afghanistan has traditional and modern components. It means, if state-nation is measured in a traditional method, having state-nation elements, social values and common history are traditional components of state-nation in Afghanistan. But, as a nation's concept is not constant and such identities consist only of ethnic, linguistic and historical elements in a span of history in geographical reigns, they can't be known as theology concepts. As if, provided the concept of state-nation analogized based on modern values, the agreement of people in the new political structure underlie Liberalism of constitutional law is a modern component of state-nation. Likewise, Pluralism is another teaching of Liberal Democracy in this law. This concept is defined against all types of Supremacy in the mutual relationship of individuals and society with the government. "When political, cultural, religious and ethnic groups are no absolute leaders, acceptance of differentiation and diversity in beliefs would be formalized in the country, this is, what to say, Pluralism." As if, Pluralism is definable in governing with individual and social concepts in politics, culture, ethics and bureaucracy. Pluralism in the descriptive concept refers to party competition (political), diversities in cultural pluralism and believes in ethical pluralism, and pluralism in normative concept accepts an intact aspect to pervasive diversification. Pluralism was actualized in apparent terms since, from 1919 -1979, in the stage of employing inclined individuals to governmental positions or interaction with traditional groups. But the discourse of Liberal Democracy, accepted the concept of pluralism with no sexual bias in Bonn Agreements and enactment of eighth constitutional law, in formal terms, for the first time. Underlie the 22th, 24th, 33th, 34th, 35th, 36th and 58th articles of constitutional law; people can have their decisions on society and government. Meanwhile, the condition of pluralism concept in earning governmental power under electing and no bias, with underpinning of the 50th article has been guaranteed in this law. In general, one or multiple teachings of Liberal Democracy are enrolled in all articles of new constitutional law of Afghanistan. It objectivizes, in mechanical terms, the Liberal Democracy doctrine in the making of politics and government and their mutual relationship [37,38].

THIRD, IMPLEMENTING POLITICS

Although Afghanistan has all elements of state -nation (field, population, government and governance), prior to the Bonn Agreement no government has arisen out of people's willingness. This evidence shows that political society has political weakness, and this issue underpinned that political society face a crisis in building inclusive and comprehensive government and governance far from willingness of people, as most of governments and governance in Afghanistan have been made or collapsed by traditional assemblies, coups or affected by foreign factors. In the meantime, but, the governance of tradition by direct will of people was made after 2001. Hence,

below, elements of state-nation (field, population, government and governance) based on systematic analysis in the stage of implementing politics in Liberalistic state-nation, are defined.

First, Territory

This element actualizes the human population and national governance in the expanse of water, earth and space to the concept of a state-nation with activeness of citizens. It seems, territory has superiority on concepts of state-nation and racial, ethnic, and religious concepts. For instance, the government of Israel, despite having a uniform racial identification, but is still facing the territory challenge of identification. Afghanistan with consisting of territory identification is international environment, and landlocked to Tajikistan, Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan from north; Extremism growth, juridical ambiguousness of Durand border line, lack of adequate cultural infrastructures and depth strategies of Pakistan in competition with India From south and east; cultural commonalities with Iran, in West. Its land locking to arid essence has made abundance functioning opportunities and restriction for state-nation building. The special privileges of this country is its natural attribute of bonding southern Asia to Middle Asia, and lack of accessibility to the ocean is known as of its economical restrictions.

Second, Population

This element actualizes the socio-political, cultural and economic action in Geo-Politics reign. In Durkheim's opinion, in all geographical reigns, human groups emerge in two categories: mechanical and organic. It seems, the incompatible social structure of Afghanistan, has formed the population element in mechanical format, due to the abundance of ethics, cultures, languages and separated racial habitat. But this trend, due to political supremacy has experienced falsification to non-democratic organic exemplification, which is the reason of internal collision of culture and society. The emotional interaction of minorities to neighborhood countries resulted to reduction of state-nation building process in benefit of ethnic and religious nationalism, as, after the Bonn Agreement Accessing to national uniform identification under the title of Afghan was one serious challenge of Afghanistan in process of state-nation building. As if, the trend of politics and government also shows, beside the minor ethnic groups and religions that have no effect on politics and government, the four substantial ethics of the country, "Pashtun, Tajik, Uzbek and Hazara", one after another constitute the ethnic and religious majority. "The superiority of ethnic majority, in Afghanistan, resulted in more emotional relations of Tajiks to Pashtuns, and more to governmental positions, in the ratio of Shias.

Religion

Religion is another factor of socio-politics structure of Afghanistan, and is known as a threatening factor for the trend of state-nation building. This element, on one hand, describes beliefs in social relationships and social diversification, and, on other hand, has a role in continuity of political power, collapsing due to prejudice in tradition and rejection of

rationalism in society. Insofar as, has made hostile position against government and political society among traditional religious men and political Islam extremists. "For traditional religious men of Afghanistan, governors and political leaders of society are known as non-religious individuals" (Sajjadi, 2012:111) [39].

Ethnicity

In the cultural field, numerous explanations of ethnicity have been presented. In this article, the definition of Antony Giddens, which is compatible with racism of Afghanistan, is known well-enough. "The function and socio-cultural ideas certain of society, differing them from one another is called ethnicity." The origins of racism in religion emerge as the concept of understanding one another, but this understanding has been converted into physiologic and public procession, for people of Afghanistan. Ethnic and tribal dependence not only are on adverse side of modern symbols of life, but also by linguistic and within ethnic symbolizing, shows an opposite facet to citizenship principle. Underlie this, it is known as an inadequate definition of common national identification and is no enough satisfaction in trend of state-nation building.

Language

One basics of national language identification is language, identifying concepts of state-nation with its multi-function. This element functioned as the symbol of supremacy, socio-cultural multiplicity, cultural diversification of people, by militancy approach in Afghanistan, with ethnic bias and identification. Even though Pashto and Persian/Dari have been enacted as the first and second official languages of Afghanistan in constitutional law, other ubiquitous languages are defined as third formal languages of Afghanistan. The 16th article of this law has been one of the controversial disputes inland, because it has made ethnicity and languages compatible with politics, social and political hullabaloo in the trend of state-nation building.

Loya Jirga (Civic-Traditional institute)

This historical element has opened a place for itself as a tool of politics and government for special time, time of significant decisions; on the opposite side of Liberal government's values, that parliament is one of its characteristics. The concept consists of two "Loya" and "Jirga" words. In Pashto, Loya means "big" and "Jirga" is a word of Turkish, meaning congestion. It is said, this ritual Assembly has a historical background in Afghanistan. Gobar says: "Prior to Islam, consultative Assemblies under the title of "Sbha", which most of the people participated in that, and "Smti" Assemblies that only the owners of cattle, guns and lords had the right of involving, existed in the country. A group of researchers, understand Loya Jirga as the tribal tradition of Feudalistic relations, "Jirga is tribal and Feudalistic institution, which has been made for the testament of enforcing basement of tribes, and tribe is a big social unit that its members know their selves of one father and genealogy."

Ummah

It is an abstract issue. Ummah challenges the population element in politics and the government of Afghanistan.

Utilization of the “Ummah” word is used mostly in Slogan terms by fundamentalist imitators. This issue, from one side, does not have authenticity among Sunni and Shia religious groups, and on the other side, the factor of socio-political and religious separation, and is known as a threat in the process of state-nation building. This word, amid Sunnis is used for lordship of “Caliph”, and for Shias is used for endorsing of “Velayat-e Faqih”. The word is utilized for power continuity in hands of the right radical, in the ratio of defining pervasive religious identification.

Third, Governance

Continuity of feudalistic governance, riot of tribes and semi-militaries from orders of centralized government, venerable wars and foreign invasion reduced the concept of governance into concept of state-nation. With exception of “Ahmad Shah Durrani” lordship period that Afghanistan had, inclusive and powerful governance, this element until the lordship of Abdul-Rahman Khan, at 1880, continuously was affected by internal conflicts. The result of this crisis, from one side, collapsed the inclusive governance of “Abdali Kingdom”, and from other hand, increased foreign Intervention until now. Hence, one of prohibitive factors of state-nation building trend is infirmity of governance, which resulted in population crisis.

Forth, Government

If we know the state as a military entity, leading the society, so, state is a tool of government's politics, executive and juridical orders and codification in the trend of political development and its abilities. The entity of government in the philosophy of Liberalism is made of human hand; therefore, with respect to the existing system in Afghanistan, nation building and state building are implemented in politics by the establishment of Democracy.

Definition and acceptance of Democracy underlie sixth article of constitutional law with arrangement of first presidential election in 2004 and first assembly's election and provincial councils at 2005 under leadership of Joint Office for Election Regulation (both internal and international members) happened in a situation of no enactment of election and political parties' law. Hence, both laws by presidential order with emphasizing on Single Non-transferable Vote system in election's law and restriction in no use of party symbols during the competition. This policy made political and technical restrictions on completion of political parties, because Single Non-transferable Vote minimized the role of political parties in parliament with no respect to Single-seating of local voting areas, in ratio to proportional representation. Nevertheless, by arrangement of first presidential and national council elections, implementing role, enactment role and surveillance on the concept of government in capital city and provinces based on 64th, 82th, 84th, and 138th was actualized.

First elected government, with introduction of ministers and members of judicial force, on the basis of 69th, 77th, 91th, 92th and 93th articles of constitutional law in relation to government and 117th article with respect to late paragraph of 50th article

and 118th in relation to supreme Court and national assembly, succeeded in implementing three basis of state building in concept of Liberal Democracy. Thus, in succession, the function and abilities of the political system will be analyzed following pervasive participation, repeated distribution of power, foreign help and international state-nation building model. This model was added in the political literature of Afghanistan after the Bonn Agreements. In this model, besides establishment of government from outside, nation building is the internal process and must not be left behind state building, and foreign help should not be stopped until reaching acceptable development and national identification. Now, considering the government's activeness in implementing politics, the attributes of liberal democratic system in Afghanistan to political social acceptance should be analyzed, too. Almond and Powell say: “Extracting, regulating, distributing, symbol ling, and answering are special works of the political system, actualized by government in behaviorally, scientific methodology in renovation, political and economic development.

Extracting abilities

Provided the political system have the ability to construct bureaucratic and specialist structures, values people's willingness in local and central surfaces. Its legitimacy and civic survival are guaranteed and its extracting abilities will increase. Based on the 50th article of constitutional law, Liberal Democratic governance, since 2002 - 2020, used to reform bureaucratic structures and people's right of accessibility to information within rules of law, and underpinned people's semi inclusive involvement to governmental positions. This government has faced challenges because of security challenges and weakness of political social acceptance.

Regulating abilities

Democratic authority, legitimacy and measurement of individual and groups' activeness are called regulating abilities of government. This principle has been approved in most political systems; nonetheless, non-democratic systems are not adorned with this principle. In the patriarchy system, no tail of bureaucratic staff is tangible; in the hereditary system, employees are under rule of lords in specialist roles, and in the Feudalistic system, it's commitment amid the master and vassal. Hence, if governance is underlying democratic standards, freedoms, the renovation trend and coincided political, economic and good governing are guaranteed. So, the Liberal Democratic governance in Afghanistan, under the populated areas, based on 6th article, earned potential abilities of social justice and individual's value, supporting of human right and Democracy, and with respect to 17th, 43th, 44th to balanced development of women and Kochi people in goal of evolving educations and higher education up to bachelor degree, and on the basis of 35th article of constitutional law in making of congestions, and 33th and 3th to electing right and freedom of speech and media.

Distributing abilities

The analyzing measure of this ability is to explain economic, political and civic freedoms of the political system. In economics and politics, Liberal Democracy actualizes the irenic transition

of political power from one civic organization to another, assignment centralized politics in benefit of pluralist and non-centralized, redistribution of assets and economic reformation and good governing. Afghanistan, in 2004, signed the MDGs of the UN in the framework of strategic development, and committed to eight goals of this approved document in addition to “longstanding and constant security” up to 2020. “Afghanistan, at Sep 2013 claimed that it has reached goals of educations, intact drinking water and death reduction of children.”

Symbolic abilities

Political systems explain their abilities by presenting symbols, idols, laws, rules and programs looking forward to achieving social acceptance. In Liberal Democracy system, with evolution of individualism, identity and legitimacy of the system is evaluated. “Liberal system consists of mechanical dispositions for re-distribution of material benefits underlie instrumental values and constructed pyramid structure that winners or losers constitutes individuals, groups and classes. Thus, the congestive agreement of people and government of Afghanistan to enactment of constitutional law based on Democracy and other situated and civic rules can be symbolic and common abilities of state-nation. As if, establishment of bureaucratic institutions, underlie the 50th article, and supporting of economic businesses, based on 10th and 11th articles of constitutional law, which is compatible with evolution of individualism and relative output of the private sector, are known of the system's abilities.

Answering Abilities

Eisenstadt says, “As we move to modern systems from traditional systems, laws, rules and non-private aspects substitute personal relationships in politics and government.” Upon establishment of the new system, a profile of “spokesman” was created in all governmental and independent institutes, but related to Afghanistan, that informs and answers to people from acts and works of authorities. This action resulted in people evaluating the functions of authorities in accordance with laws and rules, and to convey their criticisms and suggestions. Hence, the answering abilities of Liberal system, hones the systematic relation of government and people. Thus, in answering the second sub question, it can be said: with respect to the corresponding new political establishment with worldwide conditions, and Afghan government was able to reach relatively acceptable achievements, challenges existing the nation-state building process. The juridical ambiguousness of Durand line, lack of cultural infrastructures in south, east and northern of country, and the essence of surrounding by arid are these challenges. In addition, non-compatible social structure, religious and tribal separated places, and supremacy of tribes has substituted national nationalism to tribal nationalism. Meanwhile, the totalitarianism of religious fundamentalist against one another, in-balanced development of villages, racism in governmental functions, ethnic and linguistic overlap, survive and continuity of Loya Jirga against national assembly, emetic's ambiguous interpretation instead of citizens, and political parties' weakness are challenges on state-nation building trend.

FORTH, EVALUATION OF POLITICS

Despite implying some types Liberal Democracy abilities, but due to the security weakness and traditional functions was not able to utilize extracting abilities in order to supply the national budget. Political behavior to the actual population of the country prohibited the presentation of actual specifications. As for the lack of actual numbers of population and other characteristics, it is no of virtual scope to claim that, even, the government has reached pre -MDGs goals. In addition, shortage of energy for the industrial sector, and weakness in preventing the dumping policy of regional countries has minimized the distributive ability to its minor situation. The integration of Liberal Democracy teachings with jurisprudential principles in constitutional law, and no reformative goals of religious institutions in government to realistic interpretation of values, also, resulted in sexual diversification intentions, and rejection of election by extremists are known serious challenges of the system's symbolic abilities. This government with Liberal Democratic appearance but with falling into traditional relations, has not been able to differ the position of “institutions and data”, as, Liberal freedoms have not affected governmental functions. Therefore, structural dichotomy and lack of reformative goals has prohibited the interpretation of this dichotomy in explanation of state-nation building and political development. As the philosophical identification of the new system is described by Liberal Democracy teachings, the evaluations of this article shows the failed experience of traditional function on implementing Liberalistic structures to define political development and state-nation building. As if, in Afghanistan, the concept of nation is left ambiguous with respect to the right concept and citizens' participation in achievable power, by traditional, right and left radical and Liberal Democracy governance. In this country, ethnic, cultural and religious identities with agreement to common values is graphed on ecological framework, underlie traditional politics. This order has converted politically the natural and normal conditions in choosing of better life habitat and living together to racial habitat choosing in separated places. Promoting of racial and belief prejudice in politics, from one side, has prevented the explanation of citizenship order, and from other side, introduces the centralized governance as the factor of social separation and intention on types of separations. Bonn Agreements opened the new door of inclusive participation to citizens and explanation of state-nation building. The Liberalistic governance, since 2001-2009, with relative respect of Liberal Democracy components and corresponding to international politics, was able of semi triggering the process of state-nation building. This system with emphasize on foreign helps by government, tried in following the international model of state-nation building, rising by Bonn Agreements synchronized with nation building as the internal trend. However, weaknesses of this system, since 2009-2019, for political fallen of politics into tribal surfaces corresponding to social designing, prohibited this implementing. The international statistics, from early 2014 to half 2015, among 102 countries and then statistics of international transparency organization, since 2016 -2019, are testaments of this approving claim. In this statistics, a 2, 95 % increase in financial

corruption puts Afghanistan at the top of corrupt countries. In specifications of regularity and security; Afghanistan stands on 100th position, with 3,9% of security decrease, showing the accessibility of citizens to juridical and justice entities with 1% reduction, respecting of citizen's fundamental rights with 4,4% reduction, and judicial justice with 4,16%, population crisis by 17,1% reduction at half 2015 in ratio to 2014. In the meantime, only the characteristics of open government and applying laws are equal in both 2014 and 2015 (World justice project, 2015/6/10). As if, the 2th position of corrupt countries in measurement of 2016 and 2014, and 4th position below Somali, Southern Sudan and Syria in 2018, conveys the message of deficiency in the trend of state-nation building in Afghanistan (World transparency organization website, 2019/1/29). Hence, to answer the third sub question of this article, it can be said: political and value challenges in Afghanistan, resulted in weakness of socio-political system passing inadequately from Traditionalism to Modernism. Because this system with acceptance of Liberal Democracy, apparently, but with fallen to traditional functions, deflected the realistic trend of state-nation building in Afghanistan.

CONCLUSION

Prior to present the result of systematic analysis, a compact explanation of the system is presented. Each system consists of numerous components, and components are in interact with one another. The employees and system have behaviors; systems have restrictions, and goals, and are divided into open and closed clusters. Hence, this article from start to now followed such structure to present independent and realistic analysis. In scope of author, teachings of Liberal Democracy in open method are eligible of applying in realistic explanation of state-nation. But, what deflected this trend and made it deficient is lack of Liberal profiles in politics and government. To concise, the weakness of applying Liberal teachings arises from lack of powerful parties and political elites in commitment to political Pluralism. The consequences of this procession are the inclination of continuity in power by traditional method underlie manipulating people's vote in processes of election. For instance, governance with actual and real statistics of population, and satisfying semi-statics in the span of election's arrangement, acted politically. This unrealistic method resulted in different types of violation and frauds' election. This governance in span of 18 years was not able or did not want to distribute the electrical IDs. Alternatively, by negating the proportional representation system, emphasized on continuity of Single Non-transferable Vote system, which is an obstacle on building national parties in process of government and politics. Giving the instance of second presidential election and provincial councils at 2009 and 2nd election of national assembly at 2010, the utilization of Single Non-transferable Vote system resulted in technical frauds, financial corruption, and manipulating of people's votes. As if, the third presidential election and provincial councils in 2014 because of huge frauds resulted in constructing the National coalition and Chief Executive of the Unity Government of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, in the structure of a new system. A trend which resulted in explicit infringement of constitutional law, deficiency

of democracy, and state-nation building of traditional functions in collision with Liberalism structuralism. In relation to this trend, the third Parliamentary election was arranged, after three years late, in 2018 that, by reason of election's fraud and imaginary and unreal voting centers, was the worst ever election, since 2002-2018, in the political structure of Afghanistan. From bad consequences of this election, not on-time announcement of result, excelling of IEC staff before its particular time, and reformation of election's law before announcement of the result, these are notable. Likewise, juridical challenges and no answering of national council's representatives are not aborted in the process of state-nation building. No considering of parliament's members, at 15th and 16th periods underlie 109th article of constitutional law "Reformation of election's law in last year of enactment, can't be involved in achievements and works' list of national council", also resulted in no mandatory reformation to be done before arrangement of election. Thus, this law, in line with presidential orders in the last year of enactment or in the current election, faced reformation, and triggered types of intentions in politics and government. Pye explains these crises under the titles of Identity, Legitimacy, Distribution, Participation, Solidarity and Penetration:

Identification crisis

Almond and Powel believe, "In the stage of renovation, the Liberal system faces the challenges of nation building and cultural solidarity, which on the basis of that, loyalty to tribe changes loyalty to political system" (Almond and Powel, 1959:36). To concise, when the physical and mental health of an individual and society pale against new political conditions, the identification crisis occurs. In this situation, the position of individuals and social groups is devastated and triggers oneself loss of identification of her/him. Pye says, "Identification crisis, prepares oneself to participate in affairs, but the condition of passing by this crisis depends on political acceptance of society" (Pye, 1969: 306). Now we see this process in Afghanistan that upon establishment of new system, individuals and society, for passing of tradition to modern conditions are facing the crisis. Weakness in peaceful transition and civic education have created an identification crisis, overlap with nationality and religion, and deficiency of political development in the state-nation building process, as political and civic society of Afghanistan are not in line with Afghan identity as national identification. As if, the intention of identification's crisis has caused most voters to participate in elections with ethnic and religious bias and no consideration of individual and social welfare, rather than welfare and developing programs and plans.

Legitimacy crisis

"Legitimacy crisis occurs when the political system doesn't have any desire for equality, pervasive participation and freedom in the process of political development" (Pye, 1969:306). The Liberal Democracy system in Afghanistan, since 2002 - 2018, experienced well and deflected legitimacy, in internal and external stages. The interim power earned its legitimacy by Bonn Agreements, and transitional government by emergency Loya Jirga; it seems that the prime presidential election and national and provincial councils were the culminating points of legitimacy of the new system in internal and external stages. But

the legitimacy crisis of this system started by political penetration in technical and architectural layers of elections, and then establishment of national coalition with breaking constitutional law, as, the invitation of Russian, Iran and China of Taliban in the goal of peace negotiations, direct negotiation with America with Taliban and establishment of representative office of Taliban in Qatar, somewhat, reduced the regional legitimacy of Afghanistan.

Distributive crisis

“Political system is the gathering of mutual acts of governance and people, which by utilizing that, values, works and goods underlie authenticated power are distributed” (Easton, 1965: 22-42). In Afghanistan, in this period, the concept of distribution following prior political trends with no consideration of economic and civic desires of people has been following the traditional method. Stability of distribution based on interaction with heads of tribes and religions have made non-justiciable distribution of power, the distance of people from the system, and weak majority but rich minority. Hence, the traditional politics in distribution of powerful society and political system was not able to create functional relations amid government with low and middle classes, as the intention of distribution crisis became the tool of advertisement of extremists’ forces against government. These groups, with miss using of people’s belief, induce people against the democratic system, which itself resulted in the deficiency of the state-nation building process.

Participation crisis

“If leaders understand the desire of people, individuals and groups of participation as non –juridical and no of legitimacy, a contradiction rises, this contradiction is called the participation crisis” (Pye, 1969: 280). Huntington says, “No consideration to the legitimate desires of society resulting in clustering acts for preserving benefits of one group against other groups are the reason for indiscriminate situations in politics”. In Afghanistan, weakness of inclusive participation cost in weakness of national identification, as direct participation comes under the non-profitable participation. For example, the 60th and 70th articles of constitutional law define special duties and authorization of the president, but no duty for first and second deputies of the president until his death. Hence, the existence of this crisis, from one side, hurt good governing and division of works and profiles, and resulted in the pale role of minorities in election’s profiles.

Penetration crisis

“Penetration crisis happens when the central government is notable to implement juridical authorization to parts of land and population under its territory”. Afghanistan, since the coups of 1978 till now have been facing the penetration crisis, it was expected that the crisis will be eradicated by pervasive participation of people in the new system. But the collision of Liberal structure with traditional functions, continuity of war, and weakness of corresponding among profiles of state-nation triggered in no application of this order. Increase of drug production, the continuity of master-vassal relation, penetration

of fundamentalists in lower classes of society and inception of irreligious belief of Democracy to people.

Solidarity crisis

When non-equality emerges among social groups and separation between leaders and piles, this crisis is made. “Political development is the passage of getting out from the solidarity crisis, and the successful trend of political development is dependent on rational explanation of democratic components in society.” Notwithstanding, in temporary governance, transitional and prime elective government, the democratic mood and solidarity between society and political elites was created, and solidarity crises was devastated, temporarily. But the architecting of elections, ethnic promoting by political elites, increase of financial corruption and lack of a program to achieve the goal of cultural, economic and socio-political separation resulted in systematic weakness and making people distant among political society and lower and middle classes of society, and repeatedly this crisis re-emerged.

To encapsulate, in this article, first of all Liberalism and its relation to Democracy as the theoretical framework has been disputed, and from within both phenomena, attributes for explanation of state-nation position are presented. Subsequently, people’s position in Liberalistic components and systematic relation of it with state-nation building corresponding to contemporary ideas of state-nation building and models of this process are introduced. This method made it possible for the state-nation building concepts to be recognized in Liberal Democratic system, underlie ideas and incidents of the new era. Likewise, the position of state-nation element by reasoning of no identifying of nation’s concepts in former governance is explained. In the end, the structure of Liberal Democracy governance based on Bonn Agreements, new constitutional law, functions and abilities of new political system of Afghanistan with foreign help, is defined. The findings of the author show that the process of state-nation building in Afghanistan, due to traditional function, national nationalism has been shown instead of nation building thoughts, and formed an un-written unity of ethnic and nation between Democracy and social architecting, with no consideration of social desire. The un-democratic order, which finally resulted in the deficiency of the system and intentions of the above crises. Hence, to answering to main question, as it is written in hypothesis part, it is approved the process of state-nation building on the basis of Liberal Democracy teaching is facing with political and juridical obstacles, and collision of traditionalism and modernism to Liberal structures, and the existence of this order, made explanation of Liberal Democracy to face crises in the existed system. At last, this conclusion is logical to extract that due to the collision of executives’ acts with Liberal Democracy; state-nation building has not reached consistency in Afghanistan.

SUGGESTIONS

With consideration that Afghanistan society consists of ethics, nationalities and religious groups, and governance element is weak in making solidarity to pass from traditional relations to

modern relations, some suggestions for devastating these challenges are presented:

Making corresponding amid ethnic and religious leaders to reach unit national identity, underlie citizenship rule, and negation of political culture of master and vassal;

Changes in academic impressions in goal of theoretical development in structures and essence of political system;

Making solidarity mood in goal of independence political participation not apparently in political power;

Making mood of interaction amid politicians in internal, regional and international surfaces;

Making belief in democratic system as trend of adequate governing, which the tolerance and conversation culture is necessary for solidarity.

Acceptance of this democratic fact, by political society, to value social and democratic ideas as sociological ideas under democratic institutes;

Public-Private divide in political structure. Emotions of human to human is not organized by absolute rationalism or abstract claim, but is probably perpetual conversation in the goal of commensalism and this desire of humans will be actualized when human being leaves cruel, disdain and supremacy to one another.

Afghanistan from 1880 to 2001 has not reached state-nation under the governing of centralized system, also from 2002-2020 under the presidential and centralized system state-nation has not reached consistency. Therefore, Societies of this sort requires un-centralized parliamentarian system. Changing the system of centralized-presidential system is subject to rational acts of political parties of Afghanistan.

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