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Department of Political Science and Public Administration

SOCIO-POLITICAL CONSEQUENCES OF UNITED STATES INTERVENTION IN AFGHANISTAN (2001-2021)

Master Thesis

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Supervisor
Asst. Prof. Dr. Rahmat ULLAH

Istanbul - 2024

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Huma Sohail

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that in the preparation of this thesis, all scientific and ethical guidelines have been strictly followed. Any work by others that has been used is properly cited in accordance with academic standards. The data used in this thesis have not been falsified, and no part of this thesis has been submitted to this university or any other institution as a separate thesis.

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The thesis study by Huma Sohail, titled "Socio-Political Consequences of U.S. Intervention in Afghanistan (2001-2021)," has been accepted as a master's Thesis in the Department of Political Science and Public Administration by our jury.

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SUMMARY

Since 1996, Afghanistan under the rule of the Taliban has been isolated and cut off from the international community. The Taliban did not allow women to study or work and severely violated the rights of ethnic, religious minorities and Human Rights violation. In 2001, after the September 11th attacks, America and its allies intervened in Afghanistan, causing the Taliban government to fall and initiating a decade of democracy in the country.

America's presence from 2001 to 2021, while providing significant opportunities and capacities for the people of Afghanistan, was also marked by numerous mistakes and errors. Despite extensive research on the United States' presence and its dimensions and consequences, there has not been a comprehensive study regarding the social and political consequences of the U.S. presence in Afghanistan. This research, therefore, addresses the question: What have been the political and social consequences of American intervention in Afghanistan?

The study analyzes and evaluates specific dimensions and consequences of America's presence in Afghanistan. The findings indicate that although America created many opportunities and capacities, strategic mistakes and errors made by the U.S. hindered Afghanistan's progress and development. Consequently, the country remains economically dependent on agriculture, politically divided and hostile, culturally backward, and socially very backward and undeveloped.

Key words: Intervention, America, Afghanistan, political, cultural, security, social.

ÖZET

1996 yılından bu yana Taliban yönetimindeki Afganistan izole edilmiş ve uluslararası toplumdan kopmuştur. Taliban, kadınların okumasına veya çalışmasına izin vermemiş ve etnik ve dini azınlıkların haklarını ciddi şekilde ihlal etmiştir. 2001 yılındaki 11 Eylül saldırılarının ardından Amerika ve müttefikleri Afganistan'a saldırmış, Taliban hükümeti devrilmiş ve ülkede on yıllık bir demokrasi dönemi başlamıştır.

Amerika'nın 2001'den 2021'e kadar olan varlığı, Afgan halkına önemli fırsatlar ve kapasiteler sağlamakla birlikte, aynı zamanda birçok hata ve yanılgıya da yol açmıştır. ABD'nin Afganistan'daki varlığı, boyutları ve sonuçlarına ilişkin çeşitli araştırmalar yapılmış olsa da, ABD'nin Afganistan'daki varlığının toplumsal ve siyasi sonuçlarına dair kapsamlı bir çalışma yapılmamıştır. Bu nedenle mevcut araştırma şu soruyu sormaktadır: Amerika'nın Afganistan'a müdahalesinin siyasi, sosyal, güvenlik ve kültürel sonuçları neler olmuştur?

Bu çalışma, Amerika'nın Afganistan'daki varlığının belirli boyutlarını ve sonuçlarını analiz etmeye ve değerlendirmeye çalışmıştır. Araştırmanın bulguları, Amerika'nın Afganistan'da birçok fırsat ve kapasite yaratmasına rağmen, stratejik hatalar ve yanlışlar nedeniyle bu ülkenin ilerlemesine ve gelişmesine engel olduğunu göstermektedir. Geçmişte olduğu gibi, Afganistan ekonomik olarak tarıma bağımlı, politik olarak bölünmüş ve düşmanca, kültürel olarak geri kalmış ve sosyal olarak çok geri ve gelişmemiş durumdadır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Müdahale, Amerika, Afganistan, siyasi, kültürel, güvenlik.

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ABBREDIVATIONS

U.S	**:**	UNİTED STATES OF AMERİCA
NATO	**:**	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
ISIS	**:**	Islamic State in Iraq and Syria
LOYA JIRGA	**:**	known as the authority for approval of the constitution
HIA	**:**	An Afghan Political Party
UNAMA	**:**	United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan
SIGAR	**:**	Special Inspector General for Afghanistan Reconstruction
UNESCO	**:**	The United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization

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PREFACE

The U.S. intervention in Afghanistan profoundly shaped the country's political and social landscape, leaving lasting impacts that continue to resonate today. What began as a mission to combat terrorism and remove the Taliban regime evolved into a two-decade-long engagement that influenced nearly every aspect of Afghan life? The U.S. withdrawal in 2021 marked a pivotal moment, triggering political instability, a humanitarian crisis, and the erosion of hard-won social progress, particularly for women and minorities.

This study examines the socio-political consequences of U.S. actions in Afghanistan, focusing on the challenges of rebuilding a nation amidst conflict and the broader regional implications. I hope this work contributes to a deeper understanding of the complexities of foreign intervention and its lasting effects.

I would like to express my gratitude to all the professors at Istanbul Gelişim University and my friends who supported and assisted me in writing this thesis achieve success. Your guidance and encouragement were invaluable throughout this journey, and I am truly grateful for your help.

Huma Sohail

CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND OF STUDY

1.1 Introduction

The terrorist attacks of September 11 brought a significant change in the foreign policy of the United States. In response to this incident, various opinions emerged from lawyers and politicians. American officials, particularly former President George Bush, evaluated the September 11 incident as a war and an armed attack, invoking the right of legitimate defense to address it.

Consequently, the American government, asserting that it was attacked, considered defense as its right. The Al-Qaeda network, which had a history of terrorist attacks against the United States, was identified as the primary suspect of these attacks. Following this, the American government attacked Afghanistan, where this group had found refuge, under the banner of fighting terrorism, along with the international community, and managed to intervention it in a short period.

The United States of America sought to leverage the September 11 event as a tool to achieve its global objectives. These goals included the legitimate defense of the United States against terrorist acts under the banner of fighting terrorism, completing the encirclement of the energy heartland, and establishing the country's hegemony over the international community. This strategy was part of the pre-emptive strike doctrine. After the September 11 incident, President Bush divided the world into two poles—friends and enemies—to establish and maintain American hegemony.

Afghanistan's geopolitical features further motivated the United States to be present in the country, beyond the goal of combating terrorism. These features include:

1. Proximity to Russia and China, two powerful rivals of America.
2. Proximity to the Middle East.
3. NATO's expansion to the east.
4. Afghanistan's neighborhood with Iran, the energy heartland.
5. Proximity to Central Asia and the Caucasus.
6. Proximity to the Indian Ocean, the Strait of Hormuz, and the Persian Gulf.
7. Neighborhood with two nascent nuclear powers, Pakistan and India.

In the short term, the United States aimed to lay the foundations for establishing its hegemony over the world community, with the long-term goal of solidifying this dominance. This research intends to study and analyze the short-term and long-term consequences of the United States' intervention on Afghanistan by examining the characteristics.

1.2 Statement of the problem

The terrorist event of September 11, 2001, and the subsequent invasion of Afghanistan by the U.S. on October 7 of the same year, positioned Afghanistan as a focal point of U.S. foreign policy. Political and security changes in Afghanistan following the raid and its capture by allied forces have been among the most significant and complex regional and international challenges over the past two decades.

The hegemonic power of America and its vital role in the world as the creator of the new world order, coupled with its strong presence in Afghanistan during the last two decades—which ultimately culminated in a shocking withdrawal—resulted in a collapse of the political and social situation in Afghanistan. This collapse led to significant suffering for the Afghan people. Various factors have influenced this issue, including differing approaches, interests, goals, and policies of regional and extra-regional actors towards Afghanistan, and the failure to realize a common regional approach.

These developments have perpetuated political, social, and security conflicts in Afghanistan. Therefore, the major questions that must be answered now are: What was the role of America in the occurrence of political and social conflicts in Afghanistan? What are the political and social consequences of America's military intervention in Afghanistan? In this research, we aim to answer these questions and analyze and evaluate the political and social consequences of American intervention for Afghanistan.

1.3 Purpose of the study

Since 2001, when the United States of America intervention in Afghanistan under the pretext of fighting terrorism, the people of this country have been living in poverty and insecurity. However, this intervention has also been costly for the United States of America, leading Presidents Barak Obama, Donald Trump, and subsequently Joe Biden to conclude that they must leave Afghanistan at any cost.

After two decades of military intervention and international cooperation, the United States withdrew its forces from Afghanistan. While there were improvements in the country's security forces, economic infrastructure, and social services compared to 20 years ago, several political analysts argue that these gains were outweighed by the significant costs. Analysts such as Ahmad Saeedi[1] and Faizullah Jalal [2]contend that the prolonged military presence primarily resulted in an estimated $2 trillion in economic damage, the loss of over 2,400 American soldiers' lives, and approximately 3,800 NATO troops, as well as the deaths of tens of thousands of Afghan civilians. Based on this context, this research aims to address the following goals:

1. The political consequences of the 20-year presence of America in Afghanistan.
2. The socio-cultural consequences of the 20-year presence of America in Afghanistan.

1.4 Significance of the study

On August 31, 2021, the U.S. government marked the end of its 20-year-long war in Afghanistan. As a result, the Taliban and its allies took over nearly full control of the country, completing the process of the U.S. withdrawal from Afghanistan. With this withdrawal, Afghanistan, ravaged by over four decades of war and instability, was, as BBC Journalist Lyse Doucette put it, turned "upside down and inside out." Observers, both within and outside

[1] Ahmad Saeedi was born 1958 in Ghor Province. He is political Analyst and was a former Afghan Diplomat in Pakistan.
[2] Faizullah Jalal was born 1959 in Afghanistan. He was a professor of law and political science at Kabul University and a critic of the former Government. He also has the same opinion as Ahmad Saeedi. Both believe that military presence of foreigners during these years has achieved little except for billions of dollars in damage, the death of many American soldiers and NATO members, and the death of thousands of Afghan citizens.

Afghanistan, were left wondering how the country would fare under a Taliban regime (Sharan, 2023).

Shortly after, on September 7, 2021, the Taliban announced a 33-member caretaker cabinet, which had no women and consisted mostly of Pashtun Taliban and Haqqani veterans, hardliners, and loyalists. Only 2 Tajiks and 1 Uzbek were included, and no Hazaras were named in the setup.

Despite this composition, regional diplomatic engagement with the Taliban began. China offered USD 31 million in aid, and Pakistan—often accused of tacitly backing the Taliban and hosting the Haqqani Network on its territory—organized a ministerial-level meeting attended by the Foreign Ministers of China, Iran, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan to discuss Afghanistan.

In the background of this research, it is intended to make the readers aware of the situation in Afghanistan and the future of this war-torn country under the rule of the Taliban.
This thesis analyses Afghanistan under the Taliban regime, the US military intervention in Afghanistan with its coalitions and alliances, and the political and cultural consequences of this intervention. This will provide a better understanding of the current situation in Afghanistan.

1.5 Method of the study

This research is a library-based study, primarily utilizing books and journals as its main sources. The literature review conducted here does not involve empirical testing. The method for collecting research data involves selecting, searching, presenting, analyzing library data.
The other method that has been used in the thesis is to conducted interview with experts.

1.6 Data Collection

The method of collecting information is qualitative, so the secondary data collection technique is used. Therefore, mostly the data collection relies on books, internet, articles, bulletins and monthly reports of the said organization. The other data collection method that has been used in the thesis is to conduct interview with experts.

1.7 Theoretical/Conceptual Framework

The current research is descriptive and analytical, utilizing various sources including books, articles, interviews, and internet sites. These sources have been studied, and the collected data has been analyzed and evaluated according to the theory of offensive realism.

Rebalancing fundamentally refers to the gradual shift of American foreign policy focus from the West to the East and Asia, explained within the framework of the realist approach. Offensive realism, associated with John Mearsheimer [3]American political scientist, clearly elucidates this concept and the politics derived from it. Mearsheimer, while adhering to the fundamental principles and assumptions of realism in international relations—such as the primary role of the state, the anarchic structure of the international system (indicating a lack of central authority), security-seeking, self-help, power-seeking behaviors of states, and the zero-sum game—formulates a new logic based on these principles.

In the logic of aggressive neorealism, the rule of action of governments is to maximize power in the system, because the only way to continue to survive in the anarchic world is to increase the power of the hegemonic system in relation to others. The root of this concern lies in the desire of the great powers with offensive military capability to strike each other, and as a result, the mistrust and suspicion of the governments towards each other's goals and intentions.

By increasing their power, governments expand the scope of national interests and eventually seek a hegemonic position. The goal of every great power is to maximize its share of global power and domination to become the "only superpower" (Ikenberry, 2012). For a state to become a hegemon, it must fulfill three conditions: to become the hegemon of the region be transformed, gain tangible power and wealth have nuclear weapons at his disposal (Mearsheimer, 2001).

Each of these conditions represents a step towards gaining power. In reviewing the strategies of great powers to gain regional hegemony, Mearsheimer refers to two strategies: the

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[3] John Joseph Mearsheimer is an American political scientist and international relations scholar. He is the R. Wendell Harrison Distinguished Service Professor at the University of Chicago.
He is a prominent proponent of offensive realism, argues that the anarchic nature of the international system compels states to pursue power aggressively to ensure their survival. This perspective is rooted in the realist tradition, which emphasizes the central role of states, the lack of overarching authority in international relations, and the inevitability of conflict due to the zero-sum nature of power dynamics.

strategy of increasing the relative power and the strategy of controlling the aggressors and preventing them from becoming the executor of the strategy.

The strategy of gaining power, including war and occupation; relative power at the expense of the blackmailing government to take advantage of the rival by threatening to use force; and it is to get along or avoid compromise. On the other side of this game, there are strategies aimed at controlling encroachment. One of these strategies is balancing, which includes internal balancing, the formation of international alliances (external balancing) or a combination of the two (Mearsheimer 2001).

Therefore, Mearsheimer accepts that maximizing power with the aim of gaining a global hegemonic position is very difficult and impossible. Therefore, the great powers have the benefit of hegemony in their region and at the same time, they prevent the alignment and hegemony of other great powers in their respective regions. Mearsheimer considers America a regional hegemon, not a global hegemon; a regional hegemon, based on the establishment of his hegemony, tries to prevent the hegemony of other powers in other regions.

Therefore, the political rebalancing is aimed at preserving the hegemonic position of America in the balance of global forces. The 2021 U.S. national security document known as the "Interim National Security Strategy Guidance" acknowledges that "the distribution of global power has changed, and new threats have been directed at U.S (The White House 2021).

This view considers the Chinese system as the main hegemonic threat. Sees the international system under a kind of redistribution of power, mainly the application of the theory of aggressive neorealism as a framework for analyzing the hegemonic "interventionist" policy of America, especially in the Middle East after September 11, has always been common. In the current conditions where there have been changes in America's regional strategy, this theory is still capable of explanation, but this time it addresses the reasons for America's hegemonic policy of "non-intervention" and withdrawal from Afghanistan. Therefore, just as this theory was able to explain the U.S. interventionist policy in Afghanistan in 2001, it also can explain the consequences of the U.S. presence.

1.8 Questions of the Study

This thesis tries to answer the following questions:

1. What have been the political consequences of the U.S. intervention in Afghanistan?
2. What is the socio-consequences of the United States of America intervention in Afghanistan?

1.9 Hypothesis

This study covers the following hypothesis:

- The United States intervention in Afghanistan exacerbated the collapse of social and political institutions, increased sectarian violence, and decreased public trust in the democratic system, which ultimately led to the inability to establish stability and sustainable development.
- Despite the political and security challenges, America's intervention in Afghanistan has had positive cultural and social impacts. The intellectual and cultural levels of Afghan society have increased, and the overall worldview of the Afghan society has broadened, indicating positive outcomes of the intervention in these aspects.

Argues that American foreign policy since the 1990s has been driven by the concept of "aggressive realism," aimed at global dominance. This strategy assumes that all regions hold significant security importance for the U.S, necessitating an expansive security umbrella.

The goals of this policy included democratization, regime change, and nation-building, leading to continuous conflict in the post-Cold War era.

Historically, major shifts in international structures have often resulted from changes in the capabilities and policies of great powers. The increased focus of the United States on Asia exemplifies such a shift. This focus has been a central topic in elite circles, with the concept of "rebalancing" emerging in the late 1990. Theorists like Mearsheimer have identified China's rise as a significant threat to U.S. security, influencing this strategic pivot. The September 11 attacks and the ensuing perception of terrorism as the primary threat, particularly from the Middle East, marked a shift in American strategy. The early signs of this change were evident in the U.S.'s intervention in Afghanistan.

(Soleimani Purlak, 2020) contends that while the U.S. initially succeeded in toppling the Taliban and disrupting Al-Qaeda, it soon became mired in a protracted war of attrition. This led to a reassessment of strategic priorities, with a shift towards Asia becoming evident. The "Asia Pivot" strategy, formalized during the Barak Obama administration, aimed to play a significant role in the Asia-Pacific region. The Donald Trump administration's focus on China

and the Abraham Accords [4] further emphasized this shift. Joe Biden's decision to withdraw from Afghanistan represented the culmination of this rebalancing strategy (Soleimani Purlak, 2020).

Various political scientists have analyzed America's actions in Afghanistan from different perspectives. Research on this topic often revolves around America's grand strategy of rebalancing, divided into two main categories. The first category includes perspective-based analyses, such as Mearsheimer's articles "The Peaceful Rise of China" (2006), "Balancing at a Distance: The Superior U.S. Grand Strategy" (2016), and "Donald Trump Must Embrace a Realist Foreign Policy" (2017). Mearsheimer, through the lens of offensive realism, highlights China's rise as a major shift in international structure and argues for confronting this threat. (Lahire and Matin, 2017) explores the connection between U.S. intervention in Afghanistan and its broader hegemonic ambitions.

The article examines the impact of American policies on the drug trade and terrorism in Afghanistan. Despite attempts by President Obama to withdraw U.S. forces, President Trump's administration focused on maintaining a strong military presence. Anahita points out that the U.S. invasion exacerbated the drug trade and terrorism, contributing to Afghanistan's instability.

The second category of analyses includes that (Javadi, 2020) discusses the evolution of American foreign policy in Afghanistan, emphasizing its strategic significance as a buffer state and transit route. The shift from isolationism to active engagement in international affairs, particularly post-9/11, highlighted Afghanistan's geopolitical importance. Javadi argues that the U.S. developed an ideological heartland concept tailored to Afghanistan to avoid traditional colonialism.

(Bagheri, 2023) investigates the rapid collapse of the Afghan army following the U.S. invasion. His study, based on semi-structured interviews with experts, identifies factors contributing to the army's downfall, such as lack of confidence, corruption, and disconnect from the Afghan government.

[4] The Abraham Accords are a set of agreements initiated in 2020 to normalize diplomatic relations between Israel and several Arab countries, including the United Arab Emirates (UAE), Bahrain, and later Morocco and Sudan. Brokered by the United States, these accords signify a major shift in Middle Eastern geopolitics by establishing formal ties between Israel and these Arab nations, focusing on cooperation in trade, technology, and security. The accords break with the longstanding Arab position of not recognizing Israel until the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is resolved, aiming to foster stability and counterbalance regional challenges.

(Fateminejad, 2022) examines the impact of U.S-Iran rivalry on Afghanistan's security during the U.S. presence from 2001 to 2021. He highlights how foreign competition and conflicting interests between the U.S. and Iran influenced Afghanistan’s national security.

(Habibi, 2003) analyzes American foreign policy in Afghanistan from 2001 to 2019, focusing on how the policy evolved from counterterrorism and state-building to principled realism under different administrations.

Additional internal sources, such as Hossein Deshiyar’s "America's Foreign Policy in Afghanistan" (2013) and the article by (Bahosh, M and Zanganeh, P, 2016) provide insights into Obama’s policies and the factors shaping the security crisis in Afghanistan (Lahire and Hosseini, 2017) offers a comparative analysis of Bush, Obama, and Trump’s strategies towards Afghanistan, emphasizing the impact of war costs, American interests, and Pakistan’s role.

(Dombrowski, 2009) discuss Trump's foreign policy on Afghanistan, highlighting its continuity with previous administrations' military policies. This perspective underscores the need for further exploration of the similarities and differences in U.S. foreign policy across different presidential administrations.

1.10 Organization of research

The research is divided into five chapters. The first chapter, Introduction, explains the general framework, research plan and review of existing literature. The second chapter is socio-political background of Afghanistan. The third chapter deals with U.S. intervention in Afghanistan. The fourth chapter examines the socio-political consequences of U.S. intervention in Afghanistan. Finally, the thesis ends with the fifth chapter which is about discussions, evaluations and recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO

SOCIO POLITCAL BACKGROUND OF AFGHANISTAN

2.1 Characteristics of Afghan Society

Afghanistan is a mountainous country located at the crossroads of the Asian continent. In general, this country is a part of Central Asia, but sometimes it appears in a region that is not connected to the Middle East or South Asia. It has motivational, linguistic, and geographical ties with the other countries. This country shares borders with Pakistan in the West, South, and East with Durand Line, China in the Northeast, and Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, and Turkmenistan in the North (Habibi, 2003).

In 1747, Afghanistan was declared a state by Ahmad Shah Baba for the first time, and its borders were determined. Afghanistan is located at the crossroads of the West and the East and is home to different tribes and cultures. It is a very ancient country and from the point of view of history, it has remained a major commercial center and thus it has been invaded and looted by different forces at different times. Throughout history, this area was occupied by Persians, Macedonians, Arabs, Mongols, Turks, and Greeks. New Afghanistan emerged as an independent country for the first time after the Third Afghan-British War in 1919 when foreigners stopped interfering in Afghanistan's affairs.

After the Russian invasion of this country, bad security in the country, and civil war, after the September 11 incident, the American invasion destroyed the history of this country. As a result of these misfortunes, Afghanistan is now moving towards reconstruction. The nation has taken steps towards unity and rebuilding the country, but it has not yet succeeded in bringing peace and brotherhood to the country.

Afghanistan is facing many problems, from the collapsed economic system to the return of millions of refugees, drug trafficking, the existence of warlords, and the opposition of different political parties in the existing government, these are all the reasons that The current government is struggling with it and these are all the problems that Afghanistan is facing in the 21st century (Habibi, 2003).

Afghanistan's economy is based on agriculture, mining, and trade. Agriculture is the primary sector for employment and food supply in the country. Additionally, Afghanistan possesses abundant natural resources, including mineral reserves such as coal, gold, copper, oil, and gas.

2.1.1 Ethnic Groups

Afghanistan has a multi-ethnic society and different ethnic groups such as Pashtun, Tajik, Hazara, Uzbek and Baloch. The area of Afghanistan is approximately 652,864 square kilometers. Afghanistan shares its borders with Iran, Pakistan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, and China. Afghanistan is a multi-ethnic and multi-religious country and has a lot of cultural diversity. The population of Afghanistan is generally made up of several ethnicities, but several main ethnicities are:

2.2.1 Pashtun ethnicity

Pashtuns are one of the largest ethnic groups in Afghanistan and live in the southern and eastern regions of the country. Pashtun language is influential as the mother tongue and culture of Pashtuns. Though their exact numbers are uncertain and as with other communities are contested, previous estimates have suggested that they make up around 42 percent of the population. They live mainly in the south and the east of the country. They have a distinct language called Pashto (an official language since 1936) but also speak Pashto, which are both Iranian dialects that fall within the Indo-European group of languages. They are generally able to speak Farsi, when necessary, often relying on the language in the context of trade dealings in the region.

It is speculated that Pashtuns are descendants of Eastern Iranians, who immigrated to the area from Persia. However, there is also an interesting legend, which claims that they originate from one of the ancient tribes of Israel. Pashtuns are Sunni Muslims and can also be found in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa in Pakistan (about 14 million). They are seen as the historic founders of the Afghan Kingdom, with an apparent predominance in administration power until recently.

The social structure of the Pashtuns is based on the Pashtunwali (Pukhtunwali) code, which is a mixture of a tribal code of honor and local interpretations of Shari'a. This requires the speaking of Pashtu and the adherence to established customs. Hospitality, protection of their guests, defense of property, family honor and protection of the female relatives are some of the most important principles for Pashtuns. They rely on the tribal council jirga for the enforcement of disputes and local decision-making, as well as the seclusion of women from all affairs outside the home. A major aspect of the Pashtunwali code emphasizes personal authority and freedom. Women are required to wear full-face, and full-length garments known

as the burka. Pashtun culture is celebrated for its traditional music, dancing, poetry and storytelling.

Many Pashtuns rely upon agriculture (irrigated wheat) and animal husbandry for their source of income, with some involved in trading in these and other commodities. Population relocation and poverty caused by the chronic lack of stability in Afghanistan has led to a rise in drug trafficking, mainly opium via Pakistan to Europe and North America. The difficult living conditions together with the lack of clean water and health care contributes to a short life expectancy of only about 46 years. Those living in the Kabul area seem to enjoy slightly better living standards.

After the United States' invasion of Afghanistan from 2001 to 2014, Hamid Karzai, one of Karzai's relatives in Kandahar, was elected as the president, and after that, the transfer of power was entrusted to Mohammad Ashraf Ghani, who was the president with the support of the U.S. government until August 15, 2021, but he fled the country at the same time as the United States of America and its allies withdrew from Afghanistan. Then the Taliban returned to power under the leader of Mullah Haibatullah Akhundzada and captured the territory of Afghanistan.

Akhundzada, is an Afghan cleric who is the supreme leader of Afghanistan in the internationally unrecognized Taliban regime who is extremely ethnic and tribalism, and now Mullah Hebatullah is ruling Afghanistan from Kandahar and the language it has forced Pashtun throughout Afghanistan. It has removed other ethnic groups from the government structure. He has brought all the Pashtuns to power and governance. In other words, the Pashtuns have dominated Afghanistan again and want to Pashtunize everything (Nouri, 2022).

2.2.2 Tajik ethnicity

Tajiks are one of the largest ethnic groups in Afghanistan and live in the northern and northeastern regions of the country. Tajik language, which is a version of Persian, is known as the mother tongue and culture of Tajiks. Most Tajiks are Sunni Muslims, with a minority of Twelver Imami Shi'a in the west around the city of Herat and speak a form of Dari (Farsi dialect) close to the national language of Iran.

They belong to an ethnic group that appears not to have retained memories of their tribal past, which as a result seems lost in ancient times. Instead, unlike the Pashtuns they have no specific social structure, and Afghan Tajik loyalty patterns evolve around the village and family. Interestingly, they appear to have adopted the social and cultural patterns of their neighbors in the regions where they live.

The close links between Tajiks and Afghanistan's Durrani dynasty provided many Tajiks with opportunities to accumulate wealth and access to modern education. However, since they were closely linked to the regime overthrown with Soviet support in 1978, they came under heavy attack during that war. Tajik farms in and around Kabul were shelled, and they were forced to evacuate or to mobilize to defend themselves. The mobilization led to the formation of several resistance groups, the most prominent of which was that of Ahmed Shah Masoud of Panjshir, who was assassinated shortly before 11 September 2001.

Tajiks, although influential in Afghan politics, have only ruled Afghanistan for two brief periods, first in 1929 when Habibullah Kalakani ruled Afghanistan for nine months and the second time in 1992 when Burhanuddin Rabbani became President under the Peshawar Accord, and who was subsequently ousted from Kabul by the Taliban in 1996. Tajiks are increasingly mobilizing themselves politically, and many are associated with the Jamaat-e Islami party.

Since then, the Tajiks have dominated what is known as the Northern Alliance a collection of opposition groups fighting the Taliban that the international community recognized as the Afghan government after the fall of the Taliban. During the Taliban regime, Tajiks were suppressed along with other ethnic groups, and many were killed after the Taliban took control of the northern city of Mazar-e-Sharif in 1998. In 2001, after the 9/11 attacks on the United States of America led an international coalition of forces to overthrow the Taliban

regime, which was allied with al-Qaeda. This alliance cooperated with the Northern Alliance, although it was led by a non-aligned Pashtun named Hamid Karzai.

However, the Taliban was defeated and the government supported by America and the West became dominant in Afghanistan, and this was the most golden era of Tajiks. Because the Tajiks took over the high officials and major parts of the government. But with the escape of Ashraf Ghani and the fall of Afghanistan into the hands of the Taliban, now all Tajik officials have fled outside Afghanistan has fallen into the hands of the Pashtuns.

2.2.3 Hazara Ethnicity

Hazaras constitute a significant population in Afghanistan and live in the central regions of the country. The native language of the Hazaras is under the influence of Persian. The size of the Hazara population, as with other communities in Afghanistan, is highly uncertain as the country's authorities have never conducted a national census of the population. However, it is broadly recognized that none of the country's ethnic groups form a majority, and the exact percentages of each group as part of the national population are estimates and often highly politicized.

The size of the Hazara community has also declined significantly because of forced migration, land grabbing and persecution. They were once the largest Afghan ethnic group, constituting nearly two-thirds of the total population of the country before the 19th century. Some estimates suggest that more than half of the Hazaras were massacred, forced to flee or taken into slavery during the 1891 Hazara War when the Afghan King Amir Abdur Rahman Khan (1880-1901) led a genocidal campaign of violence against Hazaras.

Many of the Hazaras who fled the persecution by Amir Abdur Rahman Khan settled in the Indian subcontinent or Iran, laying the foundation of the Hazara communities that now live in the Pakistani city of Quetta and various districts in Iran's eastern provinces. These communities have increased in size as more Hazaras who fled from Afghanistan over the past four decades have settled within them, especially in Quetta.

The origins of the Hazara community are much debated. Although a common myth suggests that Hazaras originated from a contingent of the army of Genghis Khan in the 13th century, there is no historical evidence to support these claims. Other more plausible theories suggest that Hazaras are more likely to have descended from communities that inhabited the region well before the advent of Genghis Khan.

Hazaras speak a dialect of Dari (Farsi dialect) called Hazaragi and most of them follow the Shi'a (Twelver Imami) school of Islam. As a result, Shi'a Hazaras constitute a religious minority in a country where the majority practice Sunni Islam. Significant numbers of Hazaras are also followers of the Ismaili Shi'a school of Islam or are Sunni Muslims. Within Afghanistan, Hazaras are known for their distinctive music and literary traditions with a rich oral history, poetry and music. Hazaragi poetry and music are mainly folkloric, having been passed down orally through (Spooner 2016).

In Afghanistan, the majority of Shi'a Hazaras live in Hazarajat (or land of the Hazar) which is situated in the rugged central mountainous core of Afghanistan with an area of approximately 50,000 square kilometres. The region includes the provinces of Bamyan and Daikundi and several adjacent districts in the provinces of Ghazni, Uruzgan, Wardak, Parwan, Baghlan, Samangan and Sar-e Pul.

There are significant Sunni Hazara communities in the provinces of Badghis, Ghur, Kunduz, Baghlan, Panjshir and other areas in the northeast of Afghanistan. Ismaili Hazaras live in the provinces of Parwan, Baghlan and Bamyan. In addition, Shi'a as well as Sunni Hazaras are based in substantial numbers in several urban centres of Afghanistan, including Kabul, Mazar-e Sharif and Herat.

Traditionally, the majority of the Hazara community were involved in subsistence farming or working as peasants and artisans. In Afghanistan's cities, Hazaras traditionally engaged in unskilled labour as they faced discrimination in education and public sector employment. This has contributed to their further stigmatization, reflected in the low rate of intermarriage between Hazaras and members of other groups. Systematic discrimination, as well as recurrent periods of targeted violence and enforced displacement, have led the Hazaras community to lose much of their population and standing in the social hierarchy of modern Afghanistan.

2.2.4 Uzbek Ethnicity

Uzbeks are one of the ethnic groups present in Afghanistan and live in the northern regions of the country. The mother tongue of Uzbeks is also a Turkish language. Both Uzbeks and Turkmen live in the northern part of Afghanistan. In origin, Turkmen, also called Turcoman, come from the Turkic-speaking tribes that emerged from Oghuz Khan, back in the seventh and eight centuries. Turkmen are Sunni Muslim of Hanafi tradition and are closely related to the people of modern Turkey to the west, and identical to the majority Muslim

population of their Central Asian kin state across the border to the north. Originally a purely tribal society, they have, in the more recent years adopted a semi-nomadic lifestyle.

Uzbeks are also a Turkic-speaking ethnic group. They are believed to have emerged in Central Asia in the third century BCE, and some claim to be possible descendants of Genghis Khan. They indicate Turkic ancestry and are, in the vast majority, Sunni Muslims of the Hanafi tradition, which reflects a primarily cultural rather than religious identity. Their language is Uzbek and although it is their own Turkish dialect, it is closely related to the one spoken by the Uyghur Muslim minority of Xinjiang, China.

Uzbeks and Turkmen have tribal identities that still largely define the structures within their respective societies, and this is reflected both in their social as well as political life. Both groups have had an influence on Afghan culture mainly through sport and music. The Turkmen of Afghanistan originate from amongst the Turkic tribes of Central Asia who arrived in Afghanistan as refugees in the 1920s and 1930s along with many thousands of Uzbeks, to escape repression by the Soviet Union because of their participation in the unsuccessful Basmachi Revolt. Generally, the population in the region is not a product of recent immigration but of the way borders were drawn between the Republics during the early Soviet period.

To quell Pashtun dominance, the Soviets, during their occupation of Afghanistan adopted a divide and rule policy, especially in the northern areas where Uzbeks had a significant presence. This was relatively effective in stemming the influence of Pashtuns, who were the main resistance against them in Kabul. In keeping with their policy, Uzbeks and to a lesser extent Turkmen were given a degree of autonomy and trained to fight against the Mujahidin in case of attack.

For the first time in the history of Afghanistan, except during periods of anarchy and rebellion, Uzbeks along with Tajiks and Hazaras exercised full administrative and political autonomy. After the Soviet withdrawal, during the civil war in Afghanistan, Uzbeks, along with Hazaras and Tajiks actively sought adequate political representation at the Center, whilst retaining the form of autonomy they had become accustomed to, in their respective areas. Uzbeks did not have their own political organization until General Abdul Rashid Dostum defected from the Najibullah regime and, with his control over the Northern provinces, became a self-appointed spokesman for the rights of Uzbeks in Afghanistan.

In contrast to Uzbeks, Turkmen sought to avoid confrontation by remaining neutral throughout the decades of conflict in Afghanistan. As a result, they had no powerful leaders or warlords to represent them politically during and in the aftermath of the civil war and the modern rebuilding process. Accordingly, they remained apart from the social and political

mainstream of Afghanistan. They have been historically excluded from decision-making processes and ignored by the ruling class. They have had no representation to uphold their rights and have never generally been properly represented in the overall administration structures. In addition, there are other ethnicities in Afghanistan such as Baloch, Nuristani, Brahui, etc. Regarding religion, most of the Afghanistan's population is Muslim, and most of them are Sunni.

2.3 Religious Groups

Islam is the official religion of Afghanistan, which was registered in the second article of the 2003 constitution. In the next article, it was stated that "in Afghanistan, no law can be against the beliefs and rulings of Islam." Before the advent of Islam, the religion of the Afghan people was Buddhism and Zoroastrianism. Now the followers of the Hanafi (Sunni) religion are in the majority and the followers of the Shia religion are in the minority. There are also followers of Sufi groups such as Naqshbandiyah and followers of Salafism in this country; but there are no accurate statistics about the number of followers of different religions and religions in Afghanistan.

Of these, nearly 75 percent are Sunnis, the majority of whom follow the Hanafi religion, and more than 20 percent are Shiites, and 5 percent are of other religions. Most Shiites are the Hazara people who live in the central regions of Afghanistan and their center is the historical city of Bamyan. Shiites also have followers among Qazalbash, Turkmen, Tajiks and even Pashtuns. Small minorities are also of the Ismaili religion. More than 20,000 Hindus and Uzbeks live in Kabul, Kandahar, Mazar-e-Sharif, Herat, and Khost. There were about 150 Kilimi families in Kabul, Kandahar and Herat, who gradually left Afghanistan. There are other minorities that are not so numerous.

In the mid-seventies, there were fifteen thousand mosques in Afghanistan. Afghan mosques have a simple architecture and inside the mosques, there are no images or icons or other signs that can destroy the presence of the heart and concentration of the worshipers. Among Sunnis, clergy are called (Mowlavi) and among Shiites, they are called (Ayatollah). Clergy have a lot of influence in society, both among Sunnis and Shiites. Clergymen have played an important role in Afghanistan's education since ancient times. People generally show up at the foot of their pulpit and listen carefully to their words.

2.4 Taliban and Background of their emergence

Politic agitation of recent two centuries of Afghanistan and undesirable action of four years long of Mujahidin government (1992-1996) that caused insecurity, corruption and extreme cultural and economic poverty, provided suitable background for Taliban to appearance in Afghanistan. In addition to these backgrounds, countries such as Pakistan, KSA and U.S. that anyone had special interests from the Taliban appearance, satisfied an important role as foreigner causes. Intellectual foundation of Taliban can assess in three pivots: theology, policy and pashtoonism.

Theological foundations should investigate in intellectual flow of Ahl-e-Hadith that with the relative puberty in Imam Ahmad-e-Hanbale's thought by means of Ibni-Taimiyyeh and particularly Mohammad-Ibni Abdolvahab in the next years turned into a distinguished school. These theological foundations impressed Taliban opinions under the effect of politic flows. Divbandism (manifestation of vahhabism in India) due to religious schools of Pakistan,

Islamic fundamental groups such as Algha'aedeh and Jam'aiyyat-ol-'ulama-el-Islam with the support of Pakistan, KSA and UAE were channel of proving Ahl-e-Hadith and Vahhabism instructions in Taliban. Also, globalization and globalism under the leadership of U.S. and the west countries and instructions and rites of Pashtoon nation should be considered as another theoretic and intellectual foundation of Taliban.

The war of Afghans against the Soviet Union in the 1980s brought nearly 20,000 Jihadists from all over the world to this country with financial and military aid (Chaliand and Arno, 2007). A hardline Islamist named Abdullah Azzam was one of the first to arrive in Pakistan and established the Al-Khaimat Al-Ujahin Ularab School, presumably to eliminate the Jihad in 1984. Azzam supported the school, and after crossing Azzam with a car bomb in 1989, he became a pioneerof the system and renamed it "Al-Qaeda" (Mojdeh, 2002).

Finally, the Jihad of the Afghan people against the Soviet Union ended, the Soviets were expelled from Afghanistan, and the Mujahideen captured Kabul in April 1992. As explained earlier, Mujahideen failed in establishing a strong government. In addition to the fact that Mujahideen could not form a successful government, the war between the groups was going on every day. Because of this, the people were deeply dissatisfied with this situation, and this situation caused the Taliban to emerge and occupy all of Afghanistan with the slogan of moderation, peace, and Islam from Kandahar (Mojdeh, 2002).

According to Vahid Mojdeh, who was one of the diplomats of the Taliban: “As mentioned earlier, the Taliban introduced goals for themselves in the beginning, which all the people of Afghanistan went towards with interest? Ensuring Islamic justice, preventing lawlessness, and establishing a government based on Islamic Sharia, etc., were among the goals and policies that the Taliban promoted in the early days” (Mojdeh,2002).

The Taliban ruled for five years in the previous round. During five years, they killed thousands of Hazaras. Women were completely denied the right to education. During their rule, the Taliban unleashed such violence and terror that the people of Afghanistan cried out. Likewise, in 2000, when the Taliban captured Bamyan, they massacred more than 170 Hazaras men in 4 days (Human Rights Watch, 2001).

The Taliban had turned Afghanistan into a secluded life and a haven for extremist Muslims and radical Islamists. One of the extreme extremist groups was al-Qaeda, the leader of which was present in Kabul at that time, and according to the activities of this group, following the invitation of Osama bin Laden, the American embassies in Kenya and Tanzania were blown up in August 1998. After the explosion of the U.S. embassies, the Al-Qaeda group attacked the Twin Towers of the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, central symbols of America, were struck by airplanes.

Osama Bin Laden, the main suspect in the murder of approximately 3,000 people from 93 countries, was demanded by the U.S. from the Taliban for immediate handover. Additionally, the United States demanded the blocking of all terrorist training camps throughout Afghanistan. This demand by America was rejected by the Taliban. As a result, on October 7th, 2001, the United States, with the permission of the United Nations and with the participation of 40 countries, started "Operation Enduring Freedom".

The Taliban regime fell on December 9th, 2001, and their leaders fled (Frontline, 2006). This aligns with United Nations Security Council Resolution 1994, which calls on all member states to prevent and suppress the financing of terrorism, criminalize the provision of funds to terrorist groups, and deny haven to those who plan, support, or commit terrorist acts (UNSC Resolution 1994 2001).

By intervention Afghanistan, the U.S. destroyed all the Taliban emirates within two months, and a transitional government was formed in Afghanistan headed by Karzai, NATO and the Afghan government was optimistic about ending the insurgents in the country, but the Taliban insurgents returned as an active group. After 2006, violence, especially from the

Taliban group, increased, and the increase in violence and attacks by the Taliban caused the optimism about the end of the war and violence in Afghanistan to be considered a false assessment of the optimistic view.

America's preoccupation with Iraq and the growth of corruption in the Afghan government caused the Taliban to grow continuously and systematically. Although serious and detailed operations were carried out under the leadership of NATO in various regions of Afghanistan to clean up the Taliban groups during the years 2006 to 2008 because the United States was in trouble with Iraq and the Afghan government was extremely unsuccessful, and they could not prevent from the infiltration of Taliban group.

After 2006, Taliban got stronger day by day at that time, Afghanistan's Honesty Watch reported that the Taliban has become extremely powerful compared to previous years and controlled many areas. According to the report of this institution, more than 79% of the respondents had expressed their lack of confidence in the Afghan government (Hamid, 2018). At that time, unfortunately, the security situation was very confused and disorganized. The Taliban, the Haqqani network, Al-Qaeda and the Islamic State (ISIS), and other guerilla factions were practically at war with the Afghan government, while the Afghan government under the presidency of Hamid Karzai did not have a regular plan to maintain security and provide people's livelihood.

Although the Taliban suffered heavy casualties in twenty years, this group never got tired of war, and they were constantly at war with foreign forces in the beginning and then with the Afghan army. In 2013, Mullah Muhammad Omar, the leader of the Taliban in Pakistan, died. Although the Taliban hid his death until 2015, practically the opponents of Mullah Omar gathered around the axis of Mullah Akhtar Mansour, which clearly showed that they are no longer the leader of the Taliban. On May 23, 2016, when he was returning from Iran, Mullah Akhtar Mansour was targeted by an American drone attack in Pakistan's Baluchistan and was killed. The Taliban wanted to hide the death of Mansour, but they could not, so they had to introduce Akhundzadeh as the leader of the Taliban.

Jalal Uddin Haqqani, who was one of the senior members of the Taliban, started the Haqqani network, and this terrible and barbaric network trained the most suicide bombers between 2004 and 2010, which at that time had about 3000 fighters and supporters. Al-Qaeda group was missing from Afghanistan until recently after the American attacks on Afghanistan,

until recently when the Taliban returned, it was revealed that Ayman al-Zawahiri was the leader of Al-Qaeda in Kabul and was killed by an American drone.

For twenty years, the Afghan government believed that the Taliban was an Afghan insurgent network. Because Karzai was a master and did not want the war between Afghans to continue, they entered Hari to make peace with the Taliban. In one of his speeches, he called the Taliban disaffected brothers and asked them to join the peace process. Karzai continued to say that the Taliban are our unhappy brothers, but Al-Qaeda and ISIS are our enemies (Kazemi, 2016).

2.5 Characteristics of Afghanistan Politics and Political System

In its history of one hundred and thirty-eight years, Afghanistan has witnessed the following systems: absolute monarchy (1880-1919), constitutional monarchy and the experience of the first constitution (1919-1928), absolute monarchy, the decade of democracy and parliamentary system (1930-1973). the republican system (1973-1978), the People's Democratic Republic/semi-presidential system (1978-1992), the Islamic State of Afghanistan/semi-presidential system (1992-2001), the Islamic Emirate of the Taliban (1996-2001) and the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan/semi-presidential system (2004-2021), and the Islamic Emirate (2021 till now).

Many of these systems are centralized, family and ethnic and have been led by a few. For this reason, they have not had the necessary capacity and legitimacy to meet the needs of the citizens and respond to their demands. Besides this, a considerable part of political-security crises has its roots in authoritarianism and excessive centralism in the structure of the country's political system.

Throughout the history of this country, only a few people belonging to a certain ethnic group have overseen the political, social, cultural and economic management of the country and ruled over the people as they wished. Due to their narrow and small tribal views, these people prevented the growth of democracy and the active participation of citizens in the system. The ethnic relationship in the country before the Soviet invasion was hierarchical, vertical and graded. But since 1979, the graded and vertical relationship has been changed to a horizontal or "ungraded" relationship.

2.5 New wave in 2001

In 2001, a new wave was formed in Afghanistan with the help of the international community. Political, administrative, etc. structures were created anew. For the first time, Afghanistan became the owner of a democratic constitution. A law that many consider as one of the best laws in the region. In the new constitution of Afghanistan, there has been a good integration between religious values and the components of the modern world. Anticipating a democratic system based on the will of the people, respecting human rights, supporting civil society, holding elections and supporting freedom of expression are among the benefits of the 2004 constitution.

But the constitution of Afghanistan suffered from a series of shortcomings and gaps. The biggest weakness of the Afghan constitution was giving too many powers and authority to the president. Based on the constitution, the president was both the head of the government and the head of the government. Carrying out these two big missions at the same time was a heavy task and beyond the power of one person. According to the constitution approved in 2004, the first and last decision-maker in Afghanistan was the president. In front of the president, the authority of ministers, governors, national council, provincial councils and other government officials were greatly reduced. The centralized presidential system had significantly increased the distance between the governed and the rulers.

2.5.2 Constitution and positions of two political spectrums

Over the past two decades, two different political spectrums have been formed, one of which wants the continuation of the current closed political system, and the other emphasizes on changing the political system and, as a result, decentralization and equal distribution of power in the country. A political group that we call "authoritarians" wanted to maintain the centralized presidential system. This group claimed that the presidential system maintains social unity and prevents the country from disintegrating. This political spectrum, groups and political activists who wanted to change the centralized presidential system, accused them of separatism and federalism.

They wanted to maintain a closed and exclusive system. At the same time, this group sought to present a single identity of descent from Afghanistan, and traces of this effort can be seen in the constitution. The authoritarians had the upper hand in the Loya Jirga of the Constitution and were able to include their goals in the articles of the Constitution. The second group, which we call the "populist front", wanted a parliamentary system and the creation of a

decentralized political system, and as a result, the election of governors and mayors. According to the narrative of the post-Taliban constitution, it was a rewriting of the 1964 constitution by removing the name of the king and adding the name of the president.

2.5.6 Loya Jirga, approval and approval of the Constitution

In Afghanistan, the Loya Jirga is known as the authority for approval of the constitution. But there were many questions about the composition of this body. Throughout history, Jirgas have always been a tool at the disposal of the kings and autocratic rulers of this land and have given legitimacy to the wishes of the rulers and colonists.

Besides this, the selection process of Loya Jirga members was not done based on population and other specific criteria that could represent the people. The 500 representatives who participated in the parliament were those whose majority had never heard anything about the constitution before. Based on this, the group on authority, through legitimate and illegitimate means, used all its efforts to establish a centralized presidential system in the country.

2.5.7 Two views about the structure of the system

In the Constitutional Loya Jirga, most of the non-Pashtun representatives wanted to change the system to a parliamentary one. But most Pashtun representatives supported the closed presidential system. Some heads of non-Pashtun tribes also supported the presidential system, but later they supported the decentralized system.

Those who advocated a centralized presidential system argued that the establishment of such a structure would prevent chaos and disorder and would bring stability. In this regard, Charles Santos, the former adviser of the United Nations in Afghanistan affairs, in an article criticizing the policy of the West, especially the United States of America, towards Afghanistan said: “The West, in its approach to solving the Iraq problem, recognizes the multiplicity, diversity and ethnic differences. Knows, but does not recognize this principle in Afghanistan” (Santos, 2021).

According to him, the problem of Afghanistan is not the lack of concentration of power, centralization and concentration of power has meant Pashtunization of the country, an action that seems impossible considering the country's diversity. The experience of the last decade also showed that such a thing is impossible. Global patterns have also shown that the open

structure ends up being ineffective in transition countries. The closed and unique structure in the citadel cannot meet the needs of a piecemeal country like Afghanistan.

The experience of the past two decades was a good opportunity to determine what kind of military can be effective in Afghanistan. Many the country's political leaders, using the experiences of this period, understood that the root of a large part of the problems, including election frauds, and because of that widespread political, social and economic crisis, was rooted in the closed and exclusive structure of the system. Proponents of system change believe that by decentralizing the system, the internal roots of the crisis will be contained to some extent, and entrusting authority and responsibility to local administrations and local councils will increase people's trust in the system and bring stability and peace.

This group emphasized that in pluralistic socio-political societies, the closed and exclusive structure causes citizens not to feel belonging and dependence towards the system and governance. Considering the difficult roads of Afghanistan, they did not consider the concentration of powers and competencies to benefit the people from the administrative and bureaucratic side of the issue.

The second group believed that now a Badakhshani, Helmandi and Ghori should come to Kabul to do a small administrative work and here he must wait for days for his work to be done. In addition, the transfer of power has always been problematic in Afghanistan. Because the power is contained in an address. If power is divided "horizontally", there will be no worries after holding elections and transferring power. In addition, decentralization of the system to provide direct participation of the people in governance and solving the major problems of the country can be of great help.

Therefore, the legitimacy and survival of the system directly belongs to the satisfaction of the people. In the administrative sector, the distribution of power and authority to local administrations and provinces reduces excessive paperwork in government institutions and increases accountability. Especially if, along with entrusting the authority, the discussion of responsibility and accountability to the central offices is taken seriously. In the political sector, politicians will not try to undermine the government and sabotage it. They will consider themselves part of the system.

2.6 Parties (Major Parties)

Although the emergence of political parties in Afghanistan has a long history, most of the parties in this country were created during the Jihad against the Soviet forces. These parties, which fought alongside each other and to drive out the Soviet army, after the victory over the Soviet Union, most of them had internal differences and faced each other.

After the formation of the new political system in Afghanistan and the “Bonn conference” various political parties shifted their focus to political activities and were registered with the Ministry of Justice of Afghanistan. Many parties that once operated as unified entities have splintered into smaller factions in recent years, diminishing their overall power and influence. However, a notable characteristic of political party formation in Afghanistan is their ethnic origins. Despite the presence of powerful and influential parties, none can be considered truly comprehensive, national, or nationwide.[5]

2.6.1 National Movement Party

National Islamic Movement of Afghanistan was established in 1992 under the leadership of "Abdul Rashid Dostum". The composition of this party is mostly Uzbek and Turkmen who live in the northern provinces of Afghanistan. In the first presidential election of Afghanistan, Dostum became a candidate for the presidency with the support of the movement party and came in fourth place. In the presidential election of 2013, this party also supported the team of "Mohammed Ashraf Ghani" who chose Dostum as his first deputy.

2.6.2 Islamic Movement party

This party was formed in 1979 under the leadership of Ayatollah Mohammad Asif Mohseni. This party was among the Shiite parties that were established in Afghanistan. With the change of the system in Afghanistan after the Taliban, Mr. Mohseni withdrew from the political activities of this party. After him, there was a split in the Islamic Movement Party, one was led by Seyed Muhammad Ali Javed and the other was led by Seyed Hossein Anuri. Even now, after the death of Mr.

[5] The crucial international gathering known as the Bonn Conference, which took place in Bonn, Germany, in December 2001, set the foundation for Afghanistan's political future following the Taliban's defeat. The establishment of the Afghan Interim Authority, headed by Hamid Karzai, and a political transition plan that included calling an Emergency Loya Jirga and creating a new constitution were among the main results. Human rights and the rule of law were highlighted in the Bonn Agreement, and the international community promised to assist with Afghanistan's reconstruction. The conference was criticized for excluding certain groups, which added to the ongoing instability even though it signaled the beginning of Afghanistan's reconstruction.

Anuri, differences have arisen among the members of this party over his succession, and it has been divided into different branches. Although Mr. Javed was the leader of the branch of Islamic Movement Party for some time, it was not long before Haji Abdul Ghani Kazemi became the leader of this party. Mr. Kazemi was one of the senior commanders of the Islamic movement, who was the secretary general of the Afghan Red Crescent for a long time until the end of Hamid Karzai's second term. He is one of the Hazaras of Helmand and is still the leader of this party. The Islamic Movement declared its support for Hamid Karzai twice in the last presidential election and supported Dr. Abdullah's team in the 2013 election.

2.6.3 National Salvation Front of Afghanistan party

National Salvation Front of Afghanistan is a movement that was formed in Pakistan in 1978 this political current is led by Sibghatullah Mujadadi. Hamid Karzai, the former president of Afghanistan, was also a member of this party led by Mujadadi. The leader of the National Salvation Front of Afghanistan supported Hamid Karzai in the presidential elections of 2008 and said that he had conclude that he should support him. In the elections of 2013, Mr. Mujadadi and his party announced their support to Mohammad Ashraf Ghani for the presidency.

2.6.4 Islamic invitation

This political trend was formed under the leadership of Abdul Rab Rasool Sayyaf. Most of the members of this party are Pashtuns. The organization of Da'wa-e-Islami was one of the main currents of the Mujahideen in the fight against the Soviet forces in Afghanistan. This party was officially registered in the Ministry of Justice of Afghanistan in 2014. Abdul Rab Rasool Sayyaf is the leader of Islamic Da'wat. Sayyaf, the leader of this organization, participated in the presidential elections of 2013, but did not win many votes.

2.6.5 National Front of Afghanistan

This party was formed in 1978 by Pir Syed Ahmad Gilani in Pakistan. Pir Seyyed Ahmad Gilani was one of the leaders of the Mujahideen who created this political movement during the Jihad years. This party and its supporters were considered supporters of Hamid Karzai and supported Mohammad Ashraf Ghani in the last presidential election. Mr. Gilani, who was the leader of this party, died 2017 at the age of 85. Pir Syed Ahmad Gilani, the leader of this party, who was also the head of the Supreme Peace Council of Afghanistan for one year (2015-2016).

2.6.7 Jamayat-E-Islami

Jamayat-E-Islami sometimes shortened to Jamiat, is a predominantly Tajik political party in Afghanistan. It was originally formed as a student political society at Kabul University. It has a communitarian ideology based on Islamic law. During the Soviet–Afghan War and the following Afghan Civil War against the communist government, Jamiat-e Islami was one of the most powerful of the Afghan mujahideen groups. Burhanuddin Rabbani led the party (including its predecessors) from 1968 to 2011 and served as President of the Islamic State of Afghanistan from 1992 to 2001, on exile from 1996.

2.6.8 Hezb-e Islami Gulbuddin

Hezb-i-Islami Afghanistan (HIA), is an Afghan political party and former militia, originally founded in 1976 as Hezb-e-Islami and led by Gulbuddin Hekmatyar. In 1979, Mulavi Younas Khalis split with Hekmatyar and established his own group, which became known as Hezb-i Islami Khalis; the remaining part of Hezb-e Islami, still headed by Hekmatyar, became known as Hezb-e Islami Gulbuddin. Hezbi Islami seeks to emulate the Muslim Brotherhood and to replace the various tribal factions of Afghanistan with one unified Islamic state. This puts them at odds with the more tribe-oriented Taliban (which is predominantly Pashtun).
During the Soviet–Afghan War (1979–1989), Hezb-e Islami Gulbuddin was well-financed by anti-Soviet forces through the Pakistani Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI).

In themid-1990s, the HIG was "sidelined from Afghan politics" by the rise of the Taliban. In the post-2001 war in Afghanistan, HIG "reemerged as an aggressive militant group, claiming responsibility for many bloody attacks against Coalition forces and the administration of President Hamid Karzai". Its fighting strength was "sometimes estimated to number in the thousands". The group signed a peace deal with the Ghani administration in 2016.

Following the collapse of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, on 17 August 2021, Hekmatyar met with both Karzai, former President of Afghanistan, and Abdullah Abdullah, Chairman of the High Council for National Reconciliation and former Chief Executive, in Doha seeking to form a government (though it was unclear whether either Karzai or Abdullah would be directly involved in any such government). President Ashraf Ghani, having fled the country to either Tajikistan or Uzbekistan, emerged in the UAE and said that he supported such negotiations and was in talks to return to Afghanistan.

2.7 Interest Groups (major groups)

In the field of Afghan politics, two groups have always ruled Afghanistan. Pashtuns and Tajiks. Pashtuns have been ruling Afghanistan for the last three hundred years due to their

high influence and being in the majority, and they have always benefited from this privilege. On the other hand, Tajiks have enjoyed a great position because they are the second largest tribe in Afghanistan.

Tajiks have held the presidency of Afghanistan twice throughout history and have always been the second most privileged among them after the Pashtuns. In the meantime, after the Pashtuns and Tajiks, it is the Uzbeks' turn and then the Hazaras. The efforts made by other nations are considered under the efforts of these four great nations, and each of them in turn solves many problems and challenges.

Although in 2001, with the establishment of the new government, the discussion of ethnicity, language, and race became less prominent and they mostly used elitism and skilled forces, but at that time, many issues were formed based on ethnicity and religion.

At the end of 2021, with the collapse of the Jamohit structure and the domination of the Islamic Emirate of the Taliban, all privileges have been reached for the Pashtuns, and of course, Tajiks are currently the second ethnic group and enjoy more privileges. To the extent that the Tajiks benefit from the situation, the Uzbeks are also in a better and better position, and the efforts of the Uzbeks have also been effective.

2.8 Political Culture

Political culture, defined as a system of experiential beliefs, symbols, values, and norms that underlie political action and behaviour among society members, parties, and statesmen, is a fundamental issue that has garnered significant attention from many political thinkers in the contemporary era. The consistency and stability of any political participation depend on the political culture of the society (Almond and Verba, 1963), as it influences the socio-political nature of the people and determines the society's attitudes, values, and norms about politics and power. In Afghan society,

Political participation is confronted with specific social backgrounds, threats, and theoretical obstacles. From a sociological perspective, a sustainable political system is achieved through the general and conscious participation of citizens as a comprehensive project. However, in the current society of Afghanistan, political participation is hindered by the lack of equal opportunities for all citizens in this regard (Almond and Verba, 1963).

The theoretical and cultural barriers to political participation in Afghanistan mainly arise from the traditional culture of the society. Traditional and cumbersome values, aristocracy and patriarchy, determination of social status based on ethnic attribution, authoritarian and

populist views have each had an effective contribution to the formation of a hostile participation culture and a serious obstacle to the collective participation of people in the country's politics, the lack of efficient institutions, elitism, mythology, and leadership, people's lack of awareness, communication inadequacies such as radio and television and comprehensive and national press, unwillingness of the country's political system to hand over roles and commitments to relevant institutions are other obstacles that were listed.

It seems that one of the most important solutions is to create a participatory culture in the society, which means that our point of reliance should be more on commonalities to spread a new culture in which there is political tolerance in the society. Political participation only crystallizes in a society that has a participatory culture, until the structure of the political system, shareholding on specific ethnicity, is not transformed, the creation of a democratic society will not be realized (Rahmani and Hosseini, 2011).

Political participation in the modern world is necessary and inevitable, such that even the most closed political systems in the world and the few totalitarian systems that continue to exist do not deny themselves the participation of their people, even if it is formal in various fields, especially political participation.

As Nohlen also states, today democracy as a way of governance has found global dimensions and political participation in democracies is vital and necessary. Political participation is the voluntary activity of society members in electing rulers and participating directly or indirectly in policymaking (Nasiri, 2019).

Democracy is still not institutionalized in Afghanistan, and it has a long way to go before democracy is institutionalized in this country. One of the major internal obstacles on the way to the realization and institutionalization of democracy in this country is the existence of tribal and ethnic political culture of some of its residents. In this country, styles, values, beliefs, feelings, beliefs, looking back, orientations, social traditions and some social structures are some of the inhabitants of this ethnic and tribal land.

Of course, this should not be denied and ignored that many young generations of Afghanistan have violated many beliefs, red lines and ethnic taboos. In the third presidential election in Afghanistan, it was seen that the political culture of some young people in this country is participatory. Since the Afghan society is a traditional and tribal society, its political culture is also a tribal political culture. Elections have the same situation as the country's

political culture. If the political culture is moving towards democratization, the elections in Afghanistan are also moving towards democratization.

CHAPTER THREE

UNITED STATES INTERNENTITOIN IN AFGHANISTAN

3.1 Factors and necessity of American intervention in Afghanistan

Two decades have passed since the collapse of the first round of Taliban rule. The atrocities committed by the Taliban during their five-year reign remain a horrific memory for many. The regime's actions included widespread human rights abuses and systemic violence against their countrymen. For example, between 1996 and 2001, it is estimated that the Taliban were responsible for the deaths of thousands of civilians, particularly targeting ethnic minorities like the Hazara community (Human Rights Watch, 2001).[6]

Moreover, their treatment of women was particularly egregious. Women were subjected to severe restrictions, including being banned from working, attending school, or leaving their homes without a male guardian. Reports from that period indicate that thousands of women suffered from public beatings, amputations, and executions (Amnesty International, 1999). [7]The Taliban's oppressive regime aimed to maintain power through fear and brutality, and the effects of their rule still invoke terror when remembered.

1The end of the Taliban regime left people full of memories and bitter experiences. Also, a failed nation whose majority claimed that it was not safe from the pressures of the Taliban. In the era after the Taliban regime in 2001, rebuilding Afghanistan from the ruins took all the available human strength. In those circumstances, the voices of the victims who survived

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[6] Human Rights Watch is an international non-governmental organization that conducts research and advocacy on human rights issues worldwide. In 2001, HRW documented and reported extensively on the human rights abuses and atrocities committed by the Taliban during their first period of rule in Afghanistan (1996-2001). For example: Massacre in Mazar-i-Sharif (1998) one of the most notorious incidents was the Taliban's capture of Mazar-i-Sharif in August 1998. After taking control of the city, the Taliban carried out a systematic massacre, particularly targeting the Hazara community, which they considered heretical. Reports from human rights organizations and survivors indicate that thousands of Hazara men, women, and children were killed in the span of a few days.

The Taliban went door-to-door, dragging people out of their homes and executing them on the streets. The bodies were left in the streets for days, and many were buried in mass graves. The massacre in Mazar-i-Sharif is often cited as one of the most egregious examples of ethnic cleansing during the Taliban's rule.

[7] Amnesty International is: It is a global human rights organization founded in 1961. It works to protect and promote human rights worldwide, focusing on issues like freedom of speech, protection from torture, and the abolition of the death penalty.

The Amnesty International Report 1999 is a comprehensive annual publication that reviews the state of human rights around the world for the year 1998. The report documents atrocities committed by various factions involved in the ongoing civil war, with a focus on the Taliban's actions. It details the widespread violence, including massacres, torture, and the targeting of ethnic minorities. The report also addresses the repression of women under Taliban rule, including restrictions on education, employment, and freedom of movement. Overall, it paints a grim picture of the human rights situation in Afghanistan during that period.

the Taliban rule were not heard by anyone, and the perpetrators of the crimes tried to forget their responsibilities and sins. But with Hamid Karzai taking office in 2001 as the president of Afghanistan, the discourse of "idealism" and the transition of the society from clan-descent to a single nation, and in other words, the "nation-state" debate, from the margin to the text, entered politics.

One of the remarkable characteristics of the new situation (after Karzai came to power) was the tying of the international will with the national will in Afghanistan, and Afghanistan continues to be marginalized in international relations after September 11, and almost due to various reasons, this country becomes the center of attention of the world.

In addition to the incident of September 11 and the organization of the Bonn Conference, it is considered a turning point for the new Afghanistan, but more fundamental reasons and factors such as Afghanistan's strategic position are also involved in the world's attention to Afghanistan. Because, in terms of strategic position, Afghanistan is surrounded by harmful, powerful, unstable neighbors with individual and authoritarian systems such as China, Central Asia, the Indian subcontinent and the Middle East.

As it was said, the outbreak of oppression and the decline of justice during the rule of the Taliban had brought the people of Afghanistan to cry. The emergence of Al-Qaeda in Afghanistan further undermined the Taliban government. The incident of September 11, 2001, not only led to the collapse of the Twin Towers of the World Trade Center but also partially destroyed the Pentagon in the United States. This attack prompted the President of the United States, George W. Bush, to call on the world and his allies to prepare for an all-out attack on Afghanistan.

Finally, with the intervention by the U.S. and its partners, the Taliban regime collapsed. The new government was established by the Bonn Conference (October 27-December 5, 2001, in Bonn, Germany) for a period of six months, with Hamid Karzai appointed as the interim president. With the establishment of the interim government in Afghanistan, the formation of the Loya Jirga and other developments also appeared in the country. During these six months, the Taliban was almost destroyed and the remnants of this group camped around Pakistan. At the end of the six-month period of the interim government, an emergency Loya Jirga was formed, and this time they elected the "Islamic Transitional Government" under the presidency of Hamid Karzai for a year and a half.

The transitional Islamic government of Afghanistan emerged with a modern mechanism and system, and contrary to the fixed and rough structure of Afghan society, most

representatives of groups, parties and ethnic groups were present in this government, and Afghanistan returned to the world.

In this period, the constitution of Afghanistan was approved and ratified, and on 18 May 2013, the first presidential election was held with 18 candidates and the participation of 8 million voters, and Hamid Karzai was elected as the president with 50.4% Afghanistan was determined. During this period, basic and fundamental discourses were institutionalized and numerous institutions and NGOs for the development and progress of Afghanistan came from all over the world and participated.

The presence of foreign forces in the war fronts, the presence of western cultural diplomats in the government, the presence and activity of human rights institutions and organizations in the Afghan society, caused the solid structure of the Afghan society to suffer a great shock and values such as democracy, human rights, women's rights, minority rights and other modern issues should be fundamentally institutionalized in the Afghan society. This situation continued until Hamid Karzai was able to win the presidential election in 2009 and oversaw affairs until 2014 as the president and first person of Afghanistan. (Rahmani and Hosseini, 2011)

3.2 The motives of the U. S's intervention in Afghanistan

U.S. interventions in regime change in other countries include overt and covert efforts to change, replace, or preserve foreign governments. In the second half of the 19th century, the United States government began its efforts to change the countries of Latin America and Southwest Pacific, which was the war between the United States and Mexico, the war between the United States and Spain, and the war between the Philippines and the United States. At the beginning of the 20th century, America was able to establish or form friendly and supportive governments in many countries such as Panama, Honduras, Nicaragua, Mexico, Haiti, and the Dominican Republic.

After World War II, the United States greatly expanded the geographic scope of its regime change efforts and entered competition with the Soviet Union for world leadership and victory in the Cold War. The most important operations of this period include the August 28 coup aimed at Iran, the Bay of Pigs operation aimed at Cuba, the anti-communist killings in the traditional areas of American operations (that is, the Caribbean and Central America).

In addition, the United States has interfered in the elections of many other countries. For example, they intervened in Japanese elections in the 1950s and 1960s to keep their desired party in power through secret financial contributions, in the Philippines to advance Ramon Magsaysay's presidential campaign in 1953, and in Lebanon to help Christian parties in 1957.

He mentioned the help of secret financial interventions (The Washington Post, 2016). Between the years 1946 and 2000, the United States has carried out at least 81 known covert or overt operations to interfere in the elections of other countries (Lindah, 2019).

After World War II, the United States signed the United Nations Charter in 1945 as the key law governing international relations, which legally obliged the country to comply with the provisions of the Charter. Especially, paragraph 2 (4) of this charter which limited the use of force or threats in international relations to very specific cases.

Therefore, this paragraph makes any legal attempt to justify regime change in a foreign country difficult. Since the collapse of the Soviet Union, the United States has led or supported wars to determine the government of several countries. The motive proposed by the U.S. for these interventions has been cases such as the war on terrorism (such as the war in Afghanistan) or the overthrow of dictatorial governments (such as the war in Iraq or the military intervention in Libya (2011) (Gregory, 2004).

The United State of America attack in Afghanistan following the September 11 attacks in late 2001 (October 2001) was also carried out in line with the American strategy aimed at regime change in the countries. This conflict is also known as the American war in Afghanistan. Its general objectives were to eliminate al-Qaeda as well as its safe base of operations in Afghanistan by removing the Taliban from power.

Britain was a major ally of the United States and supported American actions from the beginning of preparations for the invasion. The war followed the (1996-2001), Afghan civil war between the Taliban and Northern Alliance groups, although the Taliban controlled 90 percent of the country by 2001. The America's attack on Afghanistan became the first stage of the war in Afghanistan (2001-2021) (Hurst and Superville. 2014).

U.S. President George W. Bush demanded the handover of Osama bin Laden and the expulsion of al-Qaeda. Bin Laden was wanted by the FBI since 1998. The Taliban refused to extradite him unless they presented what they considered convincing evidence of his involvement in the 9/11 attacks and ignored requests to close terrorist bases and hand over other terrorist suspects besides bin Laden.

The request was rejected by the United States as a pointless delaying tactic, and it, along with the United Kingdom, launched Operation Enduring Freedom on October 7, 2001. The two were later joined on the ground by other forces, including those of the Northern Alliance. By December 17, 2001, the United States and its allies quickly pushed the Taliban out of power and established military bases near major cities in the country. Most al-Qaeda and Taliban

members were not captured or fled to neighboring Pakistan or retreated to rural or remote mountainous areas during the Tora Bora battle (Hurst and Superville. 2014).

In December 2001, the United Nations Security Council established the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) through Resolution 2007. This resolution mandated ISAF to monitor military operations and assist in training the Afghan National Security Forces. Additionally, at the Bonn Conference held in December 2001, Hamid Karzai was appointed as the head of the interim administration. This interim government transitioned into the transitional government of Afghanistan following a Loya Jirga (Grand Assembly) meeting in Kabul in 2002.

In the popular elections of 2004, Karzai was elected as the president of the country, which is now called the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan. In August 2003, NATO entered the conflict as an ally and took over ISAF. Part of the American forces in Afghanistan operated under the command of NATO, and others were under the direct command of the United States. Taliban leader Mullah Omar reorganized this movement and launched an insurgency against the government and ISAF in 2002 that lasted until the fall of Kabul in 2021(Hurst and Superville. 2014).

The United States of America stated the official reason for the war as the "meaningless delaying tactics" of the Afghan government at the time in response to American requests and launched an attack on Afghanistan in 2001. The demands of the U.S. government from the Afghan government at the time (Taliban) were handing over Osama bin Laden, dismantling al-Qaeda bases in Afghanistan and ending support for terrorists in Afghanistan. The Taliban government refused to comply with this request due to insufficient U.S. evidence.

After the death of Osama bin Laden (the founder and leader of al-Qaeda) in 2011 and the news of the death of Mullah Omar (the founder and leader of the Taliban) in 2013, the United States of America had achieved its goals in Afghanistan. Bin Laden was no longer in Afghanistan, al-Qaeda bases in Afghanistan had been dismantled, and there was a government in Afghanistan that did not support terrorists.

One of the most important goals of the war in Afghanistan and the subsequent war in Iraq was to export democracy to the Middle East to stop supporting terrorists. In September 2006, the then president of the United States of America promised to build an Afghanistan where extremists could not oppress people and where it would not be a haven for terrorists.

In this way, since 2014, the mission of the United States in Afghanistan has become changing the values of the people and promoting democracy. It took up to 10 years. After the withdrawal of NATO forces from Afghanistan in 2015, the Taliban started attacking

government positions again. This time Al-Qaeda gives way to the Islamic State (ISIS) and attacks on cultural centers such as universities begin.

At the end of the American military presence in Afghanistan, the corruption in the government system, the lack of value creation in remote areas, and the dependence of the central government of Afghanistan on foreign aid, practically made the American military presence in Afghanistan ineffective and endless.

The United States of America had two goals in Afghanistan. One is to eliminate the causes of the September 11 incident, and the other is to develop the civil society in Afghanistan and make Afghanistan an ally in Central Asia. Whether America has achieved all its goals from this 20-year offensive, the longest war in the history of the United States of America, is debatable. However, the results of civil development in Afghan society need time to show themselves. But the return of the Taliban to power in Afghanistan with an unpredictable speed showed that 1democracy is a time-consuming process and cannot be dictated from above (Rahmani and Hosseini, 2011).

3.2.1 Backgrounds and global factors of the U.S. intervention on Afghanistan

Afghanistan, as one of the most dynamic countries in the world, witnessed changes in its domestic and foreign political fields. In fact, it can be said that Afghanistan is one of the few countries that are still suffering from political, economic, social crises, and violence and insecurity. Ethnic-political complexities, the existence of numerous actors and forces, the competition of actors in Afghanistan, the occupation of Afghanistan by the United States under the pretext of fighting terrorism are among the things that have added to the complexity of Afghanistan's problems.

In other words, it can be said that Afghanistan is an international opportunity for America's foreign diplomacy. Since the American invasion of Afghanistan in 2001 until the American withdrawal from Afghanistan, we have witnessed the killing of civilians in this country during numerous operations by American forces.

Apart from the competition between the Soviet Union and the United States in Afghanistan in the Cold War, the re-appearance of the United States after September 11 imposed heavy costs on the United States and Europe. Also, the problem of insecurity has plagued the country of Afghanistan, and the attack of the United States of America on Afghanistan not only did not solve the problem but increased their severity during this period and led to the loss of capacities in the infrastructure of the country of Afghanistan.

Also, the study of the history of U.S. and Afghanistan relations shows that in all eras, the governments of Afghanistan have tried to establish relations with America, while they have been always mistrusted by the U.S. This neglect lasted until 1936, when an agreement was signed to establish political relations between the United States and Afghanistan. During these years and until the end of the Second World War, the assessment that America had about Afghanistan was made through the lens of British foreign policy. This approach continued until 1947. In fact, it can be said that America's view of Afghanistan was considered by the United States to be in the ranks of its rivals and opponents. And even after the collapse of the Soviet Union and after the Cold War, Afghanistan was not very important for America.

After the emergence of the Taliban and the September 11 incident and the U.S. military presence in Afghanistan, there were speculations that the U.S. approach to Afghanistan has changed, and that Afghanistan will have a key and important position in U.S. foreign policy. In fact, it can be said that the events of September 11, 2001, affect the relations between the United States and Afghanistan.

Since then, the world was set to enter a war against terrorism. George W. Bush, the president of the United States of America at the time, started plans to attack Afghanistan to overthrow the Taliban group, and the main purpose of the attack was the so-called fight against terrorism and from among the Al-Qaeda network, the Taliban and its supporters. But after Obama came to power, America's strategy was based on the premise that the issue of Afghanistan is an important issue and extended this concept to Afghanistan, and in December 2009, when they were giving him the Nobel Peace Prize, he decided to increase the force in Afghanistan.

But the question that arises in this topic is why Afghanistan is important for America? In response to this question, it can be stated that America had an economic view on security even before attacking Afghanistan. The U.S. military presence in Arab oil-rich countries has never been based on U.S. security priorities. The United States is present in the Middle East to exploit the oil interests of these countries, and for this purpose, the best excuse has been to secure the region's atmosphere and fuel false and baseless security fears. Based on this, America's approach in Afghanistan has been based on the economic view of security for a long time. Security has always served America's economic goals and interests.

In fact, it can be said that America's goal in entering Afghanistan is something other than fighting terrorism. To fight against the Taliban, the United States has brought the ISIS group into Afghanistan and this group has faced the Taliban on behalf of the United States. In other words, this policy gives America an opportunity to secure its economic interests with its

influential presence in Afghanistan. The president of the United States looks at everything economically. And Afghanistan's mines will be just as attractive to Trump as Saudi oil. The policies of the American government and President Trump indicated that by hiding behind the category of security, he has secured the economic goals and interests of the United States. For this reason, Trump announced his strategy regarding Afghanistan by emphasizing the increase of foreign troops in this country and the continued presence of these forces for an unknown period.

This American strategy in the Trump era was a continuation of the Obama era, the goal of which was to pressure the Taliban to return to the negotiating table. In fact, the developments in Afghanistan showed that the priorities and goals of this country and America are not very similar. For Afghanistan, there were 3 basic issues, which are: Taliban, Daesh and Pakistan, as the 3 main priorities, but for America, the priority of presence in South Asia, including Afghanistan, was based on military balance, and America tried to monopolize in this region. And prevent the presence of Iran in this region. And that America's strategy in Afghanistan was war-oriented, and this shows that America's goal and strategy was a regional strategy and even beyond that.

3.2.2 Retaliation and counter terrorism

Although the U.S. foreign policy towards Afghanistan is complex, multi-layered and multi-dimensional, in general, the country's policy after the events of September 11, 2001, can be divided into three levels, at the global level: the fight against al-Qaeda and Taliban terrorism. and the spread of liberal values and democracy (Gharavi, 2016), the regional level: dominating the Central Asian region to control the power of rival countries such as Russia, China and Iran (Akbarzadeh, 2014) and the national level: creating a powerful central government in Afghanistan, reviewed.

Therefore, some of the American policies in Afghanistan are helping the political and economic reconstruction of Afghanistan, increasing the military forces in Afghanistan, focusing the war against terrorism in this country, rebuilding the Afghan security forces, reconciling with the Taliban, continuing the military presence. In the form of security agreements, the development of regional cooperation to solve the Afghanistan crisis, taking into account the position of Russia and Iran (during Obama's presidency), focusing on the war against terrorism instead of nation-state building, giving more autonomy to American forces, reducing and The withdrawal of military forces from Afghanistan, and direct negotiations with the Taliban in order to lay the groundwork for negotiations between the Afghan government

and the Taliban and to limit foreign interference in Afghanistan during the various periods of the country's presidency.

In general, although America's declared and practical policies regarding Afghanistan have been aimed at solving the crisis and rebuilding this country, the country's presence and goals in Afghanistan should be seen in a larger security, political, and economic context in the Middle East, Central Asia, South Asia, and in a sense, America's national interests are recognized globally (Bagheri, 2023). The September 11th attacks from Afghanistan had shaken the global position of the United States, and the United States sought to expand its military dominance in the world under various pretexts. Because they were trying to take their retaliation.

3.3 The process and nature of United States intervention in Afghanistan

The September 11th incident, along with all the effects and consequences it brought to the American security strategy, tested the scope of this government's commitments towards South Asia and especially Afghanistan. The military invasion of this land in the first weeks after the event, gradually outlined a broad agenda based on the mobilization of hard and soft resources, in front of the leaders of this government; And each of these leaders adopted a certain pattern of behavior based on the perception of the surrounding and internal conditions of Afghanistan, how to be influenced by the internal conditions of America and individual beliefs.

The emerging conditions after the September incident turned Afghanistan into the center of the conflict with international terrorism (Keivan, 2019). It is a change in the world, and the change of America's attitude towards South Asia, which was on the agenda of the decision makers of the United States since the beginning of this century, it can be said that the orientation based on the suppression of Al-Qaeda (as a definite symbol of terrorism) also motivates the military invasion. It was influential to Afghanistan.

3.3.1 The process of American intervention in Afghanistan from Bush to Joe Biden

The U.S. Army was involved in the war in Afghanistan for 20 years. The United States military presence in the Afghanistan war began during the time of George W. Bush in 2001 and ended with the departure of the last American soldier in 2021 in the administration of Joe Biden. Meanwhile, the administrations of Barack Obama and Donald Trump were involved in the war in Afghanistan.

Each of the American presidents dealt with the Afghanistan problem in their own way, but none of them managed to find a peaceful solution to the longest war that America has been

involved in. The war in Afghanistan, which was aimed at eradicating terrorists from Afghanistan, cost the United States more than one trillion dollars, according to the Pentagon. This is apart from the lives of tens of thousands of Americans and Afghans who died in this long and fruitless war.

George Bush sent U.S. troops to Afghanistan after the 9/11 terrorist attacks in 2001, which targeted the Pentagon and the World Trade Center President George W. Bush and his administration launched Operation Enduring Freedom. This military campaign began in October 2001 with the primary goal of dismantling al-Qaeda and removing the Taliban regime in Afghanistan, which had provided a haven for al-Qaeda. The intervention aimed to prevent further terrorist attacks and promote stability in the region. This marked the beginning of a prolonged U.S. military presence in Afghanistan, which lasted nearly two decades.

On September 18, 2001, the U.S. Congress authorized the deployment of U.S. troops to Afghanistan to find Al-Qaeda militants and their Taliban accomplices who planned the September 11 attacks. Although the Congress representatives never specifically voted to declare war in Afghanistan. In the first 10 days of the war, according to the U.S. State Department, the Bush administration was able to "build a global coalition against terrorism."

Bush's policies targeted terrorist financing allocated substantial funds to the Homeland Security Agency, advanced humanitarian efforts in Afghanistan, and persisted in efforts to expel the Taliban from the country. During the initial phase of the war in Afghanistan, the operations were predominantly characterized by air strikes against Taliban and Al-Qaeda positions. However, the nature of the conflict evolved over time. By November 2001, just two months after the conflict began, the number of American soldiers stationed in Afghanistan had increased to approximately 1,300 (Department of Defense, 2021).

The Taliban was overthrown, but the American forces were still looking for Osama Bin Laden, and Bush was sending more troops to Afghanistan. In 2002, after ousting al-Qaeda and the Taliban, Bush announced the Marshall Plan to rebuild Afghanistan. But a year later, to continue a bigger war against terrorism - as Bush and his government claimed - the U.S. army went to Iraq and turned its attention and resources from Afghanistan to Iraq. In May 2003, the Pentagon announced that the main combat operations in Afghanistan had ended.

Following the initial phase of combat, the focus of the United States and its international partners shifted toward rebuilding Afghanistan and establishing a Western-style political system. Despite these efforts, the conflict persisted, prompting a continual increase in the number of American soldiers deployed. By 2004, at the outset of President Bush's second term, the number of American troops in Afghanistan had reached 20,000. By 2009, the end of Bush's

presidency, this number had risen to approximately 30,000, reflecting a significant escalation from the 1,000 troops stationed at the start of his administration (Department of Defense, 2022). The nature of the conflict also evolved, continuing in a new form.

In 2009, President Barack Obama initiated a new deployment of American troops to Afghanistan, aimed at countering the resurgence of Taliban forces. This strategy also sought increased cooperation with Pakistan, following the revelation of connections between Taliban factions in Pakistan and Afghanistan. In December 2009, approximately 30,000 additional soldiers were sent to Afghanistan, supplementing the 68,000 troops already stationed there. By August 2010, the number of American troops in Afghanistan had escalated to around 100,000 (Department of Defense, 2022).

This was the largest number of troops that America had in the 2 decades of war in Afghanistan. In 2011, Obama announced that the U.S. military and the agents of the U.S Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) managed to find and kill Osama bin Laden - the mastermind of the September 11 attacks. Bin Laden was found and killed not in Afghanistan, but in Pakistan. After killing Osama bin Laden, America turned to diplomacy and reduced the number of American troops stationed in Afghanistan. The Obama administration withdrew 33,000 troops from Afghanistan in 2012 with the hope of handing over security responsibilities to the Afghans and by 2016, all American troops would leave the country, a wish that was not fulfilled even by 2017 and the end of Obama's presidency.

One of the most contentious policies of the Obama administration was the use of drones to target Al-Qaeda and Taliban positions. While Obama was neither the first nor the last president to deploy drones, the extensive use during his tenure, coupled with a significant number of civilian casualties, sparked considerable criticism. In the first year of Obama's administration alone, drone strikes surpassed the total number conducted during President Bush's entire eight-year term.

Between 2009 and 2015, there were 563 drone attacks in countries such as Pakistan, Somalia, and Yemen, resulting in the deaths of between 384 and 807 civilians (New America Foundation, 2015). Detailed public records on drone operations in Afghanistan prior to 2015 are limited. However, in the final two years of the Obama administration, hundreds of airstrikes were carried out against suspected militant positions in Afghanistan, leading to approximately 1,500 fatalities, with an estimated 60 to 100 of those being civilians (Bureau of Investigative Journalism, 2017).

Like Bush, Obama announced the end of combat operations in Afghanistan. This time, the end of combat operations was declared for late December 2014, eleven years after the first

declaration. Once again, the U.S. government focused its efforts on training and assisting Afghan security forces. When Obama left the White House, approximately 10,000 American troops remained in Afghanistan (Barzegar and Tavakoli, 2011).

Although Donald Trump wanted to end the war in Afghanistan, he acted cautiously in 2017 after entering the White House. In 2019, Trump canceled peace talks between the U.S. the Taliban leaders, and President Ashraf Ghani after a Taliban terrorist attack that killed 12 people, including an American. The following year, negotiations resumed, and Trump reached an agreement with the Taliban that in exchange for cutting ties with al-Qaeda and stopping attacks on American forces, he would withdraw the remaining 13,000 troops in Afghanistan by May 1, 2021.During the election campaign, Trump promised to bring home American soldiers stationed in Afghanistan. But the resurgence of the Taliban, which was close to ISIS, made it difficult to fulfill this promise.

Trump's first major decision regarding Afghanistan was to assign the number of troops to the Pentagon. There were two factions in Trump's team in this regard, one group was in favor of continuing the military presence in Afghanistan and the others had nationalistic considerations based on which they opposed interference outside the borders. Finally, in August 2017, Trump said in a speech that although his instinct dictates the withdrawal of all American soldiers from Afghanistan, "the conditions have made this impossible."

The following year, Trump assigned Zalmay Khalilzad (Afghan American seasonal diplomat) to lead negotiations with the Taliban with the aim of ending the war. The officials of the Afghan government were not present in these negotiations, and this created a distance between America and Ashraf Ghani. At the same time, the Taliban started a series of deadly attacks in Afghanistan and Kabul. In 2019, Trump invited the Taliban to Camp David for peace talks, but immediately canceled the invitation. Nevertheless, negotiations with Khalilzad continued.

In February 2020, an agreement was reached with the Taliban, which required the complete withdrawal of American forces in return for a reduction in violence by the Taliban and severing ties with terrorist groups. The manner of implementation of this agreement was not clear, and of course, according to the Pentagon, it was never implemented. May 2021 came, and American troops were still in Afghanistan and the withdrawal was assigned to Trump's successor.

In April 2020, Joe Biden announced a plan to withdraw the remaining 2,500 U.S. troops in Afghanistan by September 11 - the 20th anniversary of the September 11 attacks. The process of leaving the soldiers started on the first day of May. In June, Biden announced plans to evacuate and relocate thousands of Afghans who had helped U.S. forces. America first evacuated the Bagram Air Base - the largest military facility built in the country since 2001. A few days later, Biden changed the departure date to August 31.

Simultaneously with the withdrawal of American soldiers, the Taliban rapidly expanded its control over more territory. Despite this, President Biden expressed confidence in the capabilities of the Afghan security forces and the Afghan army. Contrary to expectations, the Afghan army's collapse occurred much more swiftly than anticipated. On August 15, 2021, as the American embassy in Kabul was evacuated, Afghan President Ashraf Ghani fled the country. In response, Biden deployed 6,000 American soldiers to secure Hamid Karzai International Airport and facilitate evacuation efforts.

3.3.2 Bush era; Insisting on the liberal realism approach on the Iraq-Afghanistan axis (minimum battle approach)

According to the policies of Bush Jr., Afghanistan was the first country that was placed in the cradle of the Bush doctrine. The operation under the title "Operation Enduring Freedom" began on October 7, 2001, four weeks after the September 11 incident. Regarding the evaluation of the reasons and motivations of the American military intervention in Afghanistan (and Iraq), two components can be mentioned:

on the one hand, theoretical indicators such as "achieving a hegemonic position in the international system" and "the inherent suitability of great powers as actors" A rationale of "offensive military capability" is significant; And on the other hand, variables such as fighting terrorism, dealing with "rebel" countries, the existence of weapons of mass destruction, humanitarian aid, strengthening regional stability and unilateral implementation of international resolutions, establishing democracy and security have been mentioned.
"Fight against terrorism".

As a security component, among the effective motivations for the invasion of Afghanistan (and Iraq), it has had a very influential role; At the same time, a lesser role has been considered for the democracy variable, although due to its inherent characteristics, i.e. transparency and accountability; It does not provide a safe haven for terrorists and it can also prevent them from accessing weapons of mass destruction. (Farji, 2011)

It goes without saying that according to some others, America's goals should be considered a kind of "opportunity creation in the post-Cold War era"; So that the ground for "fulfilling the dream of a unipolar world" is provided and this government can display its superior power within the framework of a series of movements.

It seems that any kind of analysis in this regard should be based on the relationship between Afghanistan, al-Qaeda, terrorist behavior and the threat from America and other allies; An interwoven series, which was considered one of the pillars of the Bush Doctrine. On this basis, Afghanistan was considered the main target in the war against al-Qaeda; A geographical base that generates terrorism and is safe for terrorists.

It goes without saying that on December 20, according to the Security Council's resolution of 2007, "ISAF" was established, and whose mission in the first six months was to help the structural development and national security forces of Afghanistan. NATO assumed command of the ISAF mission in August 2003 and expanded its geographic scope beyond its initial focus in Kabul Gostar. In this regard, in October 2006, NATO assumed the responsibility of providing security throughout this land.

According to what is taken from the policy of the Bush Doctrine, it can be said that the American policy of destruction in Afghanistan was accompanied by a kind of cautious foresight, a foresight that evokes some theoretical indicators considered by Mearsheimer, especially the "characteristic of the wisdom of great powers" (Badshah, Rehman, Khan and Faiz, 2012).

In this connection, some have considered the practical criterion of "major and fundamental efforts of the United States on the axis of providing civil aid" as a symbol of the mentioned approach. Many have spoken of this type of behavior in the form of "minimum impact" policy, which, at the same time, could remove the accusation of occupation from the U.S. military forces (Bruno, 2011). In other words, Bush, despite focusing on Afghanistan as the front line of countering terrorism and the first field of testing his doctrine, the geographical base of terrorist threats it depicted not Afghanistan but Iraq. Regarding the reasons for this type of orientation.

3.3.3 Obama, pragmatism based on Af-Pak (pak-Af)

The last months of Bush's second term coincided with the emergence of a tense situation in the relations between the two governments of the United States and Afghanistan. During the presidential election campaign in 2008, Obama, as the prominent candidate of the Democratic

Party, expressed many criticisms of Hamid Karzai, the president of Afghanistan at the time, and at the same time supported the approach of increasing the forces in this country.

He referred to this country as the main security threat and the focal point of the global fight against terrorism and extremist networks; and besides, besides criticizing the war in Iraq in the form of "Selective war" called the war in Afghanistan as "necessary war". An attitude that is reminiscent of the theoretical criterion of "the effort of great powers to maximize the position and subsequently, maximize security" in the framework of the theory of offensive realism.

After winning the elections, Obama, while emphasizing the need for a new beginning between the United States and the Muslims of the world based on mutual respect and interests, openly spoke about the inability of mere military power to solve the problem of terrorism in Afghanistan and Pakistan (Waazi, 2017). A position that was affected by facing the continued challenges in Afghanistan, especially the unresolved issue of the Taliban and Al-Qaeda, the continuation of drug cultivation, and especially the existence of terrorist attacks against American and European forces.

As mentioned, in the opinion of Obama as an internationalist politician and affiliated with the left spectrum of the Democratic Party, the Iraq war is considered to have no operational and theoretical connection with the fight against terrorism, and on the other hand, the war in Afghanistan is a direct confrontation with Al-Qaeda. It was considered "good and inevitable"; an impression that did not contradict the central policy of "war".

The important point is that the attitude became an introduction to a different "strategic and operational understanding" of the world against terrorism, which goes beyond giving priority to the tactics of conventional wars; He emphasized the work of innovators called "secret leadership". On this basis, in addition to abandoning the policy of democratization, the policy of "regime change through nationals"

The target countries and handing over the responsibility of establishing security and stability to the said government were insisted on. In this way, to justify the motivations of military intervention, instead of linking between democracy and security, the necessary connection between currencies (liberal democracy), interests and security was emphasized. Based on this, the motives of military intervention in a country like Afghanistan were summed up in humanitarian aid, support and promotion of liberal democratic institutions and establishment of rule of law and security.

3.3.4 Trump; Basic realism

As mentioned in the theoretical topic, due to the international anarchic environment, countries, especially powerful actors, have turned to maximizing power to ensure their survival; And on this basis, reaching the hegemonic position in the international system is the goal of all governments.

In this connection, Lin also believes that this maximization of relative power will continue until the state achieves its global domination. Based on this, it seems that to understand the subtleties of American foreign policy in the period after 2016, the term "Trump Doctrine" or "America First" strategy is necessary; The direction that was presented in response to various foreign threats with economic and security considerations of the United States.

On this basis, Trump was seen as a leader very concerned about the world order, which mainly emphasized how to restore America to its rightful position; the challenge was to correct the deviated path of world history.

According to him, due to the weak performance of the cosmopolitan elites, the constant stream of abuse of America and its resources and capabilities continues. Based on this, his criticism of America's global participation, immigration control policy, questioning the usefulness and main mission of NATO, supporting closer relations with Russia, denying climate change and canceling environmental regulations (imposed during Obama's tenure), increasing the budget Defense led to a revision in the direction of American foreign policy.

In the meantime, some stated that Trump considered the geographical expansion of the military capabilities of the United States of America to be the cause of many problems in terms of maintaining the capacity and defense capability; What will lead to the prescription of "diplomacy" as a tool for interaction due to the "multi-faceted ness of the conditions of using military force and the dispersion of forces".

Of course, the orientation does not mean neglecting the new manifestations of "obvious threat"; because the intentions of the enemies cannot be predicted regarding Afghanistan, it should be added that in the first months of Trump's rise to power, there were worrying analyzes and reports regarding the growing insecurity situation in this land, lack of trust in the role of regionals actors, especially Pakistan, and other limitations of America's progress in the path of creating stability in Afghanistan presented. (Cordesman, 2012).

On August 21, 2017, Trump, with his nascent government's visionary plan regarding South Asia, especially Afghanistan, tried to gain the opinions of those who consider his approach to Afghanistan (even sending 3000 to 5000 military forces to this country) as non-

revolutionary (Khan, 2017) or considered signs of the relative longevity of the policies of the Obama era (Dombrowski, 2009).

The most important axes of the mentioned approach are:

- Necessity to prevent the repetition of the negative consequences of an early and hasty withdrawal from Afghanistan; like what happened in Iraq in 2011 and became the basis for ISIS gaining power in this country. It goes without saying that during the 2016 election campaigns, Trump expressed his hope for the withdrawal of the US military from this country. The change is due to the position of the Pentagon officials, especially General John Nicholson, in the hearing of the Senate Armed Forces Committee, who defended the necessity of increasing the troops present in Afghanistan with the aim of "breaking the stalemate with the Taliban". Of course, there are signs of opposition. With this view, it was seen among others who were against the increase of military forces in Afghanistan. Finally, while strengthening the military presence, Trump decided to remove the obstacles and restrictions (by previous governments) against the military forces that were previously in Afghanistan. Training, or participation in military operations was summarized; eliminate. On this basis, the scope of role-playing of the military, especially the commanders in the scene, was strengthened in the relevant decision-making process.
- Changing direction from a time-based approach to a conditions-based orientation. The approach increased the scope of selection and maneuvering power of American decision-makers regarding Afghanistan, and at the same time, the probability of unpredictable actions increased (partisan decision-making model). In this context, it is stated that the scope of American interests in Afghanistan should be considered beyond the category of "fighting terrorism", preventing the expansion and spread of instability in Afghanistan to other regions such as Pakistan and Central and South Asia.

3.3.5 Joe Biden's immorality and the shock of Afghanistan and partners

President Biden announced in one of his speeches that if anyone thinks that he can form a united government in Afghanistan, raise his hand (Khan, 2021). According to this view and this information and American intelligence agencies had announced an imminent Russian attack on Ukraine, the United States decided to withdraw from Afghanistan under the presidency of Joe Biden. In this situation, when Biden decided to leave America, the following reasons forced him to do so:

The pressure of American public opinion should be considered the most important reason for the decision to withdraw American troops from Afghanistan. Surveys and polls in the U.S. show that the American public believes that the U.S. military has been inexplicably at war for two decades. In addition, the cost of sending these forces, which is collected from the American people as a tax, has led to the dissatisfaction of the Americans (Shahbazi and Hashemi 2018).

According to the RAND Institute, American citizens pay 10 to 40 thousand dollars annually in taxes for this purpose. The physical and psychological consequences of this war for other American soldiers is the reason that made America decide to withdraw from Afghanistan. The foreignness of these soldiers in Afghanistan and among the people of this country also caused major challenges for them (Shahbazi and Hashemi 2018).

In fact, the dissatisfaction of the public opinion, along with the proof that the 20-year war against Afghanistan has not and will not achieve any results, caused the withdrawal from Afghanistan to become an election promise. The withdrawal of American soldiers from foreign wars was not limited to Afghanistan, and American soldiers were gradually returning from Iraq and Somalia.

The withdrawal of American troops from Afghanistan took place in a situation that showed the height of the immorality of American politicians. Because Afghanistan suddenly fell back to two decades ago, and the Taliban returned with the same ideas and thoughts as before, and America's allies in Afghanistan were shocked.

CHAPTER FOUR

INVESTIGATING THE SOCIO-POLITCAL CONSEQUENCE OF UNITED STATES INTERVENTION IN AFGHANISTAN

4.1 Social consequences of U. S's intervention in Afghanistan

The invasion and occupation of Afghanistan by America in 2001. It had both positive and negative consequences for Afghanistan. For this reason, in this section, we try to examine and evaluate the positive and negative consequences of the American intervention in Afghanistan.

4.1.1 Positive social consequences of the U.S. intervention in Afghanistan

The presence of the United States of America and the international community, with the cooperation of Afghanistan's neighboring countries, caused institution building to take place in this country. The strengthening and continuation of this institution building in Afghanistan required the cooperation of the international community, especially the United States.

Therefore, the absence of the presence of the United States of America and the international community in Afghanistan could have a negative effect on the process of system building and economic development, unless another supporter was considered as an alternative to the United States (Ahamadi, 2016).

Considering that the American presence in Afghanistan has had significant effects in various sectors and fields, including media, civil society, culture and human rights, we will now review Afghanistan's achievements in cooperation with the United States below:

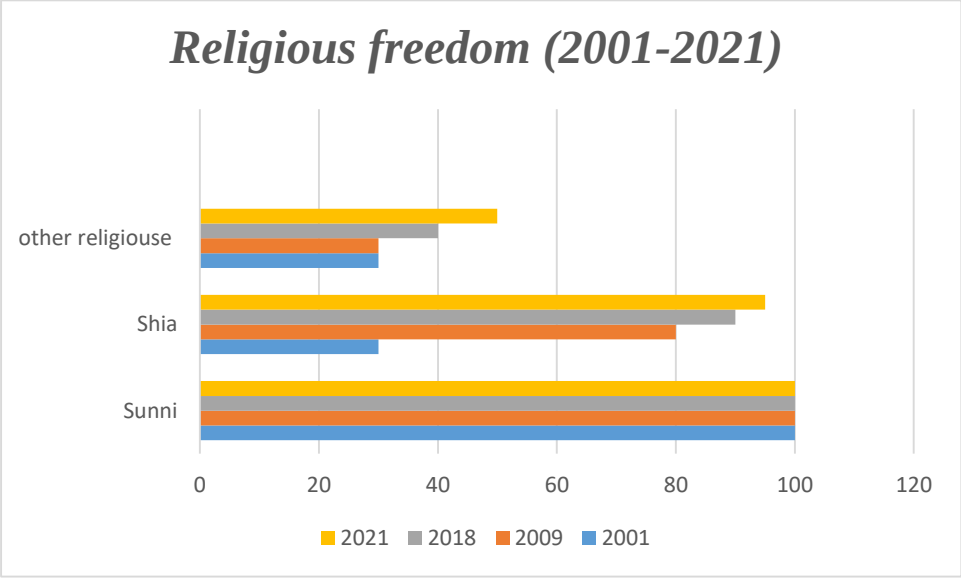
4.1.2 Religious freedom and recognition of all ethnic groups in the constitution

The post-Taliban political system provided a suitable opportunity for the ethnic groups, especially the Shiites of Afghanistan, because for the first time in the country's history, the Jafari religion was recognized in the country's constitution and any kind of religious, ethnic and linguistic discrimination was rejected by the country's constitution.

The names of all the ethnic groups of the country, as the ethnic groups that make up the nation of Afghanistan, were included in the constitution and the national anthem of the country. Every person of the country can be a candidate for the presidency, deputy and representative of the country's parliament, regardless of ethnic, linguistic and religious affiliations, and there is no legal prohibition in this matter (Ahamadi, 2016).

The participation of women and all members of the country's people, regardless of ethnic, linguistic and religious affiliations, in the pillars of power and participation in various political, cultural, social, military and other fields has been recognized. Freedom of expression, presidential and parliamentary elections are considered the most important development and progress in the years of Karzai's rule.

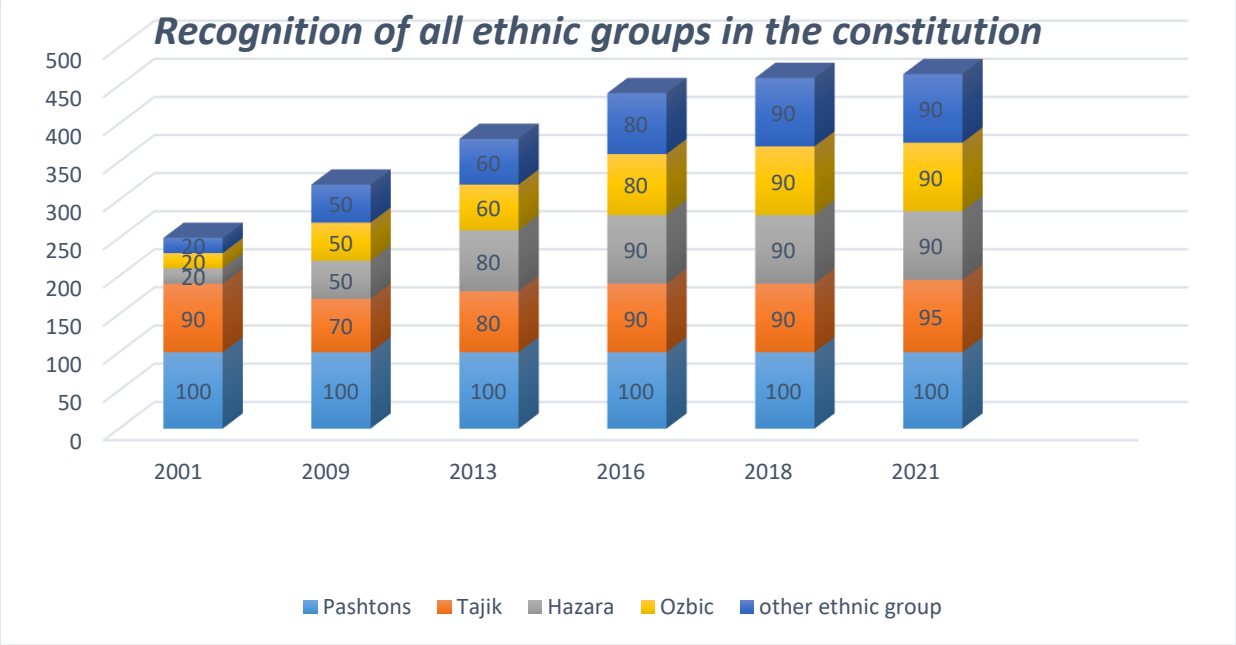
Although elections were associated with fraud, in the contemporary history of Afghanistan, especially in more than three decades of recent war and instability, elections were established as a principle in access to political power and participation in power. Although this situation cannot be considered an ideal situation, it can be said that the achievements achieved during the years after the fall of the Taliban have been historic and rare for the people of Afghanistan, especially the disadvantaged minorities of the country (Andishmand, 2013).



Graph 4: religious freedom in AFG 2001-2021(Rashid, ,2019)

Graph (1) shows the state of religious freedom in Afghanistan. As it can be seen, until 2001, the Jafari religion and other religions (Judaism and Ismaili) were not recognized at all from the point of view of the law and society of Afghanistan, and even in the past many Shiites were excluded because of their religion.

The rulers of Afghanistan severely suppressed and massacred. But after the American attack and the conquest of Afghanistan, due to democracy and freedom, the Jafari religion was established as one of the official religions in Afghanistan. After 2016, Jafari's religion and jurisprudence were taught in some universities, which were successful examples of religious freedom in Afghanistan.



Ghraph 5: The legal status of Afghan peoples in the constitution (Afghanistan Constitution,2003).

Graph (2) shows that the ethnic groups who lived in isolation and under discrimination and oppression until 2001, were able to enjoy the freedoms that can be achieved after 2001 to 2021 during two decades of democracy.

4.1.3 Expanding the role of ethnic groups and social movements

Since the fall of the Taliban (in 2001) until their return to power (in 2021), the political participation of ethnic groups in the power structure was based on the rule of ethnic representation. Ethnic and tribal leaders who mostly during the ethnic-ideological coups and rebellions (from Dawood Khan's coup in 1973 to the fall of the Taliban in 2001) among different ethnic groups by creating ethnic and ideological parties, organizations and organizations of social and political authority and influence.

Had been privileged, the government's main supports in the process of political participation were through ethnic representation. In the last two decades, ethnic representatives have played a role as centers of ethnic power in the government and society. Although there were many challenges during this period, the emergence of civil-social movements by analyzing the status and ethnic influence of some ethnic-organizational leaders challenged this process and changed the social and political function of the nation.

The two movements of illumination and Tabasum are the most effective socio-civil movements in the contemporary history of Afghanistan. These movements challenged the

ethnic politics and made the perspective of the failure of the ethnic politics in the power quota method in Afghanistan clearer based on the intra-ethnic capacity in Afghanistan.

In the demonstrations of the Enlightenment movement on 27th Thor 2016 and also in the demonstrations of the Tabasum movement on 20th Scorpio 2015, the spontaneous social mobilization, the large presence of people with special attention to the millennial identity of the overwhelming majority of the protesters and following the pattern of civil and legal behavior by the protesters in order to express their demands and protests, It showed that the transition from ethnic politics to national politics based on the theory of "parable" and the tradition of allegorizing political participation by relying on the rule of ethnic representation, is no longer effective in the way of political leadership and management of the country (Baqiri, 2009).

The people - especially the millennials - were the main origin of the light and smile movements. Three factors led to the formation of civil movements during the millennia. First, millennials have a bitter experience of discrimination, deprivation and oppression to the extent of genocide and slavery.

It remains as a collective memory in the collective memory of millennia of history. Second, the growth of the middle class, the young, educated and urban population of Hazaras, especially in big cities such as Kabul, Balkh and Herat, is one of the unprecedented social, political and cultural development events of Hazaras. Third, the government's failure to eliminate discrimination and eliminate deprivation, especially in the deprived areas of the country, through reliance on ethnic representation and failed ethnic policies (Javadi, 2013).

Ethnicity of light and smile movements is defensible and important from two points of view. First, because of the civil and democratic approach and the use of civil and non-violent methods and tools, he deeply challenged the long-standing historical tradition of ethnic politics based on ethnic and tribal representatives and the failure of ethnic politics and reliance on ethnic-organizational leaders. Coined and directed the issue of power at the level of intra-ethnic relations in a popular direction.

Secondly, by not following the elitist model of civil activities, he expressed the deeply democratic and humane demands and wishes of the people within the framework of the national laws of the country in a completely civil manner and with the wide participation of the people and opened an opening to revive and strengthen the true position of the people in the political mechanisms of power (Andishmand, 2013).

In the past 20 years, the most extensive street protests were carried out following the ethnic elite model. The ethnic elitist model follows two rules. One is that ethnic mobilization

is created by ethnic leaders; the labels that the opponents of the light and smile movements put on it and related the said movements to the ethnic leaders of the millennials. Second, in the ethnic elitist model, the interests and demands of the people are subordinated to the interests and demands of the class. In other words, a powerful ethnic stratum uses people by ethnicity to advance their political and economic goals, and in this way, they strengthen the position of ethnic representation in political mechanisms (Andishmand, 2013).

4.1.4 Civil society institutions

During the presence of the United States of America, the people of Afghanistan, under the shadow of the presence of the international community and the freedoms guaranteed in the Afghan constitution, thousands of civil organizations were registered in Afghanistan, and the activities of many of them were described in the social, cultural, political and environmental fields. Abdullah Ahmadi, the head of the working group of the Afghan civil society and one of the prominent human rights and civil society activists, has provided this pen with a list that shows that in the last two decades, more than five thousand institutions in the social field and civil activities in Ministry of Justice of Afghanistan were registered (Kuper, 2011).

The latest data of the Registry of Civil Institutions and Populations of the Ministry of Justice, which is listed in a table and updated in the last months of 2013, shows that 3935 active civil organizations were operating regularly in Afghanistan. This list was provided by Abdullah Ahmadi, the head of the joint working group of civil society (Andishmand, 2013).

In the same way, the activity licenses of approximately 1,600 organizations were removed from the Ministry of Justice's registry until April 30, 2013 (Ministry of Justice, 2013). Additionally, a list from the Department of Coordination of Non-Governmental Institutions of the Ministry of Economy indicates that 5,145 institutions and organizations were active, providing relief, services, advisory, and educational support across various social and economic fields (Ministry of Economy, 2013).

According to (Arazgani, 2007) out of the total number, 259 institutes and institutions are listed as foreign entities managed by foreign individuals. These organizations, registered with the Department of Integration of Non-Governmental Institutions of the Ministry of Economy since 2004, were last updated in mid-2019.

4.1.5 Media

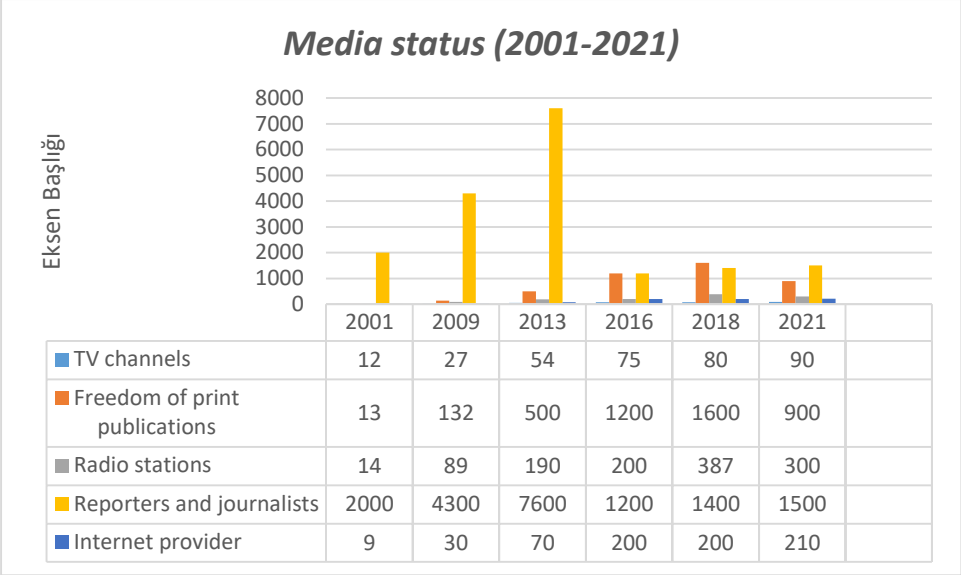
Article 34 of the Constitution of Afghanistan 2002 states: Freedom of expression is immune from interference. Every Afghan has the right to express his thoughts through speech, writing, images or other means, in compliance with the provisions of this constitution. Every

Afghan has the right to print and publish content in accordance with the law, without first presenting it to the government authorities. The rulings related to printing presses, radio and television, press release and other means of mass communication are regulated by law (Javadi 2015).

Accordingly, during the decade of Karzai's presidency, a completely free and favorable environment was provided for the activity and plurality of mass media. According to the statistics of the Ministry of Information and Culture of the previous government, about 2,123 media outlets in Afghanistan were licensed only once and never renewed their licenses. The ministry said that 220 media outlets were operating legally from this number only until 2017, when this report was published. In 2017, 96 television channels, 190 radio channels, 14 news agencies and 183 print media were operating all over Afghanistan (Ahmadi, 2019).

In 2016, Ashraf Ghani, the president of Afghanistan at the time, said in a meeting with mass media officials that he had forgiven about 280 million Afghanis of media tax crimes. At that time, the media were given two months to pay their taxes and were only exempted from tax crimes (Baqiri, 2009).

Fahim Dashti, the then head of the Afghanistan Journalists' Union, who was killed in Punisher in the spring of 2021, told "Did" news agency that the media should have paid about 600 million Afghanis in taxes over the past years. According to him, tax crimes amount to 280 million Afghanis, which have been waived by the president. According to this report, an official of Breshna Company (Afghanistan National Electricity Company) said that the media owe 283 million Afghanis for electricity consumption, of which 34 million are related to private media (Brookings, 2020).



	2001	2009	2013	2016	2018	2021
TV channels	12	27	54	75	80	90
Freedom of print publications	13	132	500	1200	1600	900
Radio stations	14	89	190	200	387	300
Reporters and journalists	2000	4300	7600	1200	1400	1500
Internet provider	9	30	70	200	200	210

Ghraph 6: The increase of the media and the field of the press (2001-2021) (Bourgoin. 2022).

Graph (3), the media (television broadcasts, radio stations, the number of journalists, etc.) increased widely during the years 2001 to 2021, and the media were able to freely achieve complete. In addition, the laws also supported them and several laws were drafted and promulgated to emphasize the freedom of the media (Brookings, 2020).

4.1.6 Human rights institutions

Another positive and significant result of the presence of America and the West in Afghanistan was the expansion and development of the defense of human rights in Afghanistan. If before the presence of the West in Afghanistan, we did not have active human rights institutions in this country.

But with the presence of the West and the United States, the United Nations was also present here and arranged its aid to organize the situation of the poor. Therefore, one of the great achievements or consequences of the American-Western presence in Afghanistan has been the activation of human rights institutions in our society (Brookings, 2020).

For example, there were good opportunities for girls from 2001 to 2021. We can see the number of female students in the graph below (4).

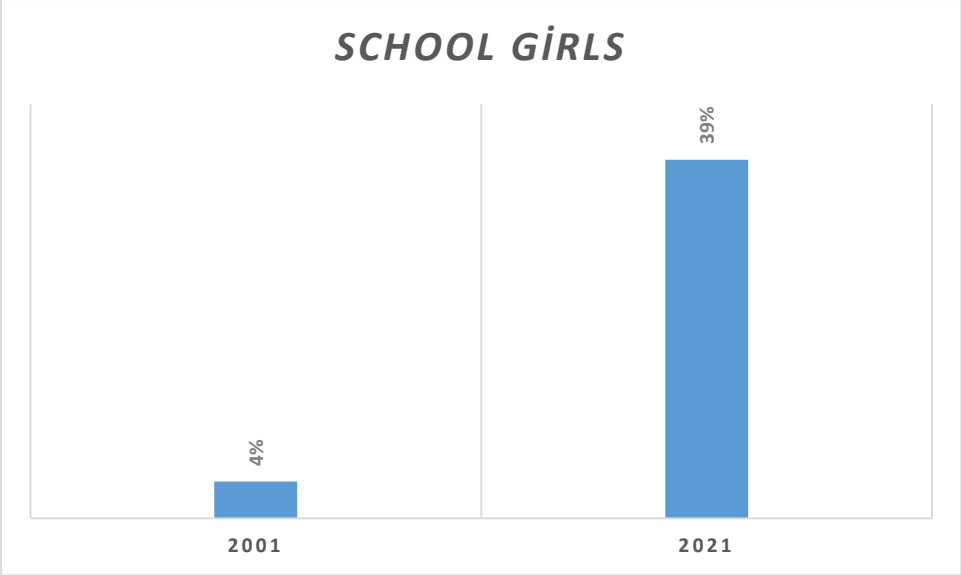


Figure 7: Chart of increase of school girls (2001-2021).

4.1.7 Expansion of educational institutions

Before the American intervention and attack on Afghanistan, there were no private universities in this country. Although Kabul universities and other universities were operating in Kabul and other provinces for several years, but all universities were under the control of government programs.

But after the presence of NATO and American forces in Afghanistan, the breathing space became easier and it made educational institutions, such as educational centers, private universities, and also in the field of education, to be present in useful schools and high schools. In any case, these issues were and are part of the positive consequences of the presence of America and the West in Afghanistan.

This issue is not only from the point of view of the owner of this pen, but also from the point of view of all those who have felt the existence of human rights institutions and organizations in Afghanistan (Lindh, 2019).

4.1.8 Economic Growth

Afghanistan's economic growth indicators showed a significant increase after 2001. The gross domestic product of the country in 2002 was about five billion dollars; while in 2018, it reached more than 20 billion dollars and in 2019, including the income from opium production, it reached 20.10 billion dollars. Therefore, the country's GDP showed an upward trend after the new government took office in 2001.

The economic growth of the country between 2002 and 2013 has been recorded at an average of 9%. But with the gradual reduction of international forces in 2014, foreign financial

aid also decreased. For example, foreign aid fell from $12.5 billion in 2009 to about $8.8 billion in 2015. The decrease in foreign aid, the decrease in investment with the increase in instability inside the country, the increase in drought and the return of refugees had negative effects on the macroeconomic indicators of the country after 2012.

Therefore, the country's economic growth decreased to 2.72% in 2014, 2.66% in 2017, and 2.4% in 2018. But in 2019, the country's economy grew by 2.9%. In Table 1, the per capita income has increased from 184 dollars in 2002 to 625 dollars in 2014. But in the following years, the per capita income has decreased (Andishmand, 2019).

Table 2-1: Afghanistan's growth indicators

افغانستان	2002	2014	2017	2018	2019
تولید ناخالص داخلی (2010 با قیمت ثابت) (میلیارد دالر)	4,3	20,6	20,8	20,9	20,10
رشد اقتصادی(٪)	28,6	2,7	2,6	2,4	2,9
درآمد سرانه($)	184	625	550	548	550

Source: World Bank Database

4.2 Negative social consequences of the U.S. intervention in Afghanistan

Although the United States of America intervention on Afghanistan had positive consequences, it also left negative results and effects on the society and people of Afghanistan.

The negative consequences of this American military intervention in Afghanistan included human costs, financial costs, the collapse of the agricultural and economic system, which caused the destruction of the Afghan economic system, and the collapse of Afghan culture and traditions and the secularization of Afghan society. The effect of American military intervention in Afghanistan happened, and now we will study one of them in detail (Lindh, 2019).

4.2.1 Human Cost: Death, Causalities

From 2001 to mid-April 2021, more than 241,000 people have died as a direct result of the U.S. war in Afghanistan, including at least 71,000 civilians, according to data from the Costs of War Project at Brown University, which documents the hidden costs of post-9/11 wars (Costs of War Project, Brown University, 2021). This statistic does not encompass deaths from disease, lack of access to food, water, infrastructure, or other indirect consequences of war.

According to United Nations statistics, this war also forced two million and 700 Afghans to flee abroad, most of them went to Iran, Pakistan and Europe. Another four million people have been displaced inside Afghanistan (Brookings, 2020).

The war casualties among Afghan army and police forces are estimated at 78,314. Also, 84 thousand 191 Taliban forces and other opposition militias have been killed.

According to United Nations observers, a total of 72 journalists and 444 aid workers lost their lives in the conflicts in Afghanistan. Meanwhile, according to the U.S. Department of Defense, from 2001 to 2021, 2,442 American soldiers were killed in the war and 20,666 were wounded.

It is estimated that more than 3,800 American private security contractors are among the dead of this war. According to the I Casualties website, the war and conflicts in Afghanistan have also killed 1,144 NATO forces (Neshat, 2021).

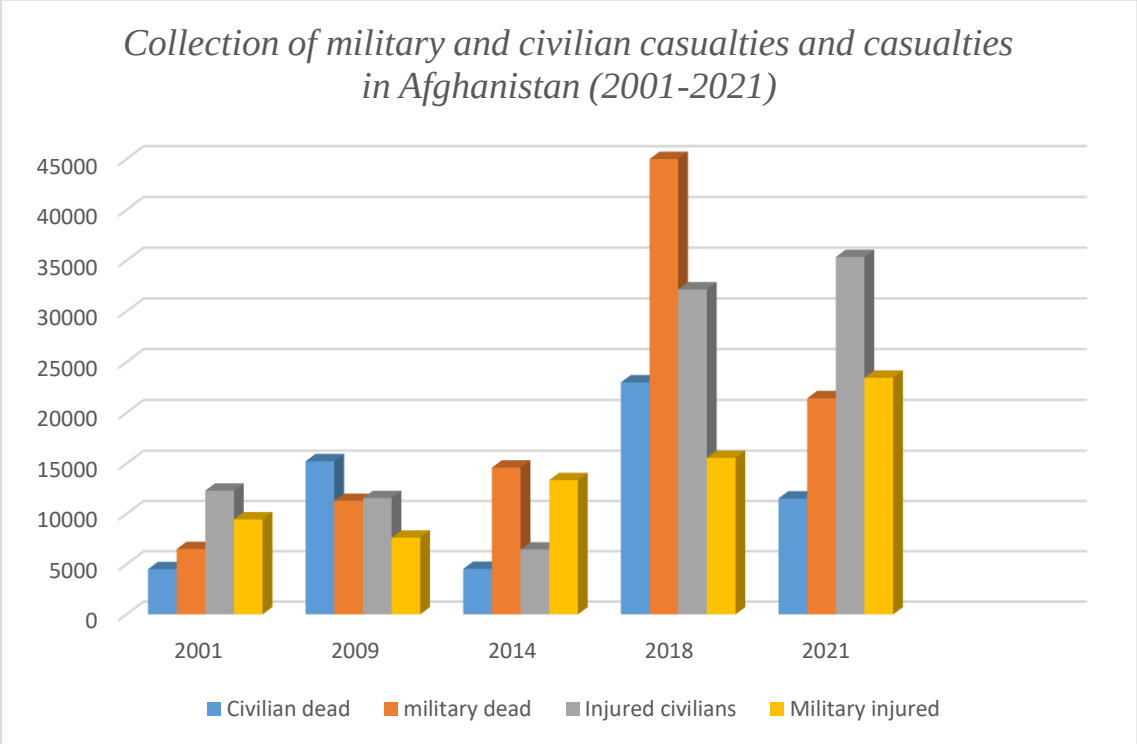


Figure 8: Collection of military civilian and casualties in Afghanistan in the 20years(BBC. 2021).

Since the beginning of the war against the Taliban in 2001, more than 2,300 American soldiers have been killed and nearly 20,660 American soldiers have been injured. But the number of casualties of American soldiers is overshadowed by the number of casualties of Afghan security and military forces.

Ashraf Ghani, the president of Afghanistan, announced in 2019 that more than 45,000 Afghan security forces have been killed for five years ago when he became president. According to figure (5), the total human casualties of the war in Afghanistan have been more than 114,000.

4.2.2 Economic consequences of U. S's intervention in Afghanistan

The 20-year presence of America in Afghanistan, although it was able to help the economic growth of this country for a short time, but due to the existence of corruption, the situation worsened. The existence of corruption in the economic sector soon caused the economic system of Afghanistan to fail. A very few classes started to get rich and other social classes were struggling with economic problems.

From 2001 to 2014, people's economic conditions were improving. But with the reduction of foreign forces and with the reduction of foreign aid, due to widespread corruption in economic institutions, Afghanistan faced many problems and economic growth in this country stopped ((Farzam, 2020).

After the overthrow of the Taliban by the United States in 2001, the corruption that was prevalent in pre-Taliban Afghanistan once again became a major feature of Afghan life and spread to all branches of government and even local government. On the one hand, a network of political elites close to Hamid Karzai were appointed in coordinating positions between Western officials and financial sponsors, and on the other hand, ordinary Afghan citizens abused their positions to transfer billions of dollars of foreign aid and investments to their personal accounts and those of their colleagues.

This resulted in several big scandals, including the Kabul Bank crisis, which, based on the revelations made, this major financial institution of the country has acted as a Ponzi scheme for the benefit of several elites close to Karzai. (Centres for American Progress. Mar 17, 2015)

A February 2014 Pentagon report accused the U.S. government of supporting a government deep in corruption after the 2011 invasion of Afghanistan by supporting warlords, relying on private contracts and providing billions of dollars in aid. The United States initially supported existing networks and gave government positions to several warlords. This legitimization gave warlords the opportunity to use their official positions to pocket public resources.

At the same time, because a large number of official resources had been diverted to post-war reconstruction efforts, most government employees had meagre salaries and had to accept bribes to survive.

The Asia Foundation said in a report in 2012 that corruption in Afghanistan is not culturally ingrained among the Afghan people. This report also stated that the average Afghans think the current level of corruption is much higher than the corruption in the last decade and believe that corruption during the rule of Karzai, the interim president and then the president from 2001 to 2010, it was far worse than the previous five regimes.

One of the reasons why some Afghans liked the Taliban and still like it was that the Taliban, despite their cruelty and violence, promised the people freedom from the embezzlement and injustice that existed during the warlord Mujahideen era. Asia Foundation also added that in the eyes of the Afghan people, the nature of the roots of corruption has changed compared to the past five years, which means that in the past, Afghans believed that corruption was caused by the lack of salaries for civil service employees, while now they think that corruption is caused by the lack of Punishment and absence of law enforcement forces are carried out.

4.2.3 Administrative Problems

Administrative problems and corruption in Afghanistan had created the grounds for violence, nervousness, ethnic cleansing and thousands of other bone-burning crises. In Afghanistan, corruption in the administrative hierarchy had a direct relationship with security instability in the country.

Saraiki's, as a result of years of research in Afghanistan, shows in his book (Thieves of Government) that corruption has caused the continuation of the war in Afghanistan, because the government has acted as a wide and long mafia system. Problems and administrative corruption in Afghanistan had different factors and roots, the following factors can be mentioned as the factors and roots of corruption in Afghanistan: Traditional leadership and ethnic and tribal thinking are among the issues that cause administrative corruption in public and private offices. It has been different in Afghanistan.

The process of recruiting and attracting human resources in most departments is done against the principles of meritocracy and based on ethnic, positional, linguistic and regional relations. Weak management and non-implementation of laws is another factor of corruption in Afghanistan's government offices; the monopoly of the powerful, the lack of a culture of meritocracy and lawlessness are other factors that play an essential role in the creation of administrative corruption.

Administrative corruption, bribery, embezzlement and looting of public assets, both public and private, by the powerful in Afghanistan, have existed since the distant past; But

during the American-backed government, various types of corruption grew rapidly, which led to the division of the society into two classes, the rich and the poor. In a global survey, in 2019, Afghanistan was among the three most corrupt countries in the world (Andishmand, 2019).

4.2.4 Social Costs

A group of Afghan American technocrats advance America's goals and policies in Afghanistan. Although they were educated in the West and America and had lived there for many years, they still acted with nationalist and fascist thoughts in the affairs of Afghanistan. For this reason, during the twenty years of America's presence, ethnic enmities and clan and tribal dissensions grew like a fire under the ashes in the context of the Afghan society.

Unfortunately, the results and consequences of the growth of ethnic enmity were very expensive for Afghanistan, and the consequences of these betrayals will leave their destructive effects for years and even decades to come.

In addition to intensifying ethnic hostility, American policies in Afghanistan, because they were unbridled and corrupt, created class differences very quickly. The class gap in Afghan society grew with the presence of America in this country and it progressed to the point that it even created great hostility and skepticism among the poor and rich in the society (Andishmand, 2019).

In addition to the fact that American strategists used the famous saying: "Divide and rule" and by creating hostility and ethnic enmity in the context of the society, as well as through the development and expansion of the class gap between the social classes. They were doing Afghani, in the public sphere, by bringing the young generation to the field against the previous generation, they created a huge competition between these two generations. He used the youth as a tool to suppress the previous generations and, as the famous saying goes, killed them.

The betrayals and crimes of the Americans did not end with the above issues, they also destroyed the culture and traditions of Afghans with an insidious strategy. If they fueled corruption and lawlessness. They deceived the youth and tried to inject secular and non-Islamic values. On the one hand, they put the old and young generations in opposition to each other, and on the other hand, they made the young people without identity and rootless, and in the true sense of the word, lacking any attachment to their religion, homeland, and culture (Andishmand, 2019).

The results of America's betrayals in the economic field caused that as soon as the foreign forces left, all private sectors and private banks collapsed completely, and even private banks were unable to pay their customers' loans. The consequences of this betrayal in the field

of economy were so cruel that instead of helping the people of Afghanistan, the West and America directly stole the bread from their tables.

4.3 Political consequences of U. S's intervention in Afghanistan

4.3.1 Positive political and structural consequences of U.S. intervention in Afghanistan

Even though the efforts to modernize Afghanistan started from the time of Shah Habibullah Khan and especially the period of Amanullah Khan; The experience of democracy in Afghanistan is attributed to two specific periods, which are known as the decade of democracy (1950s - Zahir Shah era) and the post-decade of democracy (2001 - the beginning of Hamid Karzai's government).

Historically, after the death of Abdul Rahman Khan, the power passed to his son Habibullah Khan; the political suffocation ended and the political space opened up. Habibullah Khan released the prisoners of his father's era and said in the general assembly: I am divorcing my fifth wife so that the Islamic law is implemented. He started implementing Sharia law himself. During his trip to India, he realized that his country was far behind in civilization and development. He became interested in civilization and progress.

The establishment of the Habibiya School and the publication of the "Seraj Al-Akhbar" newspaper are among the most important cultural activities of his time. Habibieya School became the main center of enlightenment, where Indian, Turkish and Afghani teachers promoted the idea of independence and constitutionalism by translating the ideas of Western writers. Independence-seeking and constitutionalist intellectuals formed the national secret society.

The members of the first constitutionalists were arrested and massacred by the king. Mullah Mohammad Wasif, who has been mentioned as the leader of constitutionalists, asked for a pen and paper to calmly write his will before he was tied up in a ball and said in it that he would leave his life, wealth and head for constitutionalism.

Although the first constitutionalists were suppressed; But in 1911, the newspaper "Siraj Al-Akhbar" was started under the editorship of Mahmoud Tarzi, and modernism got a new life. Siraj Al-Akhbar took a stand against the internal tyranny, British colonialism, published materials in the field of literature and new European literature, and raised the call of the second constitutionalists.

With the fall of Amanullah, constitutionalism and modernization were closed. After many years of closure, the most important wave of democratization started again during Zahir

Shah's rule, which is referred to as the "decade of democracy". The ideas of the constitutionalists were the main background of the decade of democracy. The political experience of the decade of democracy is important and can be summarized in the following cases. The following democratic institutions and values, which represent pluralistic institutions and ideas, have been experienced in the decade of democracy.

- Emergence of political parties
- Compilation of the constitutional constitution
- Expansion of newspapers and magazines
- Growth of secular and especially communist intellectuals and educated people
- Freedom of gatherings and demonstrations

The second experience of democracy begins at the beginning of the 21st century with the presidency of Hamed Karzai. The international forces led by the United States of America and the presence of foreign institutions have been the main factor in the emergence of democracy and continue to support and strengthen the democratic values of this period. Two decades have passed since the last experience of democracy in Afghanistan, important successes and achievements were achieved in various fields, which are mentioned below one by one.

In 2001, when the United States of America intervention to Afghanistan, at the head of the international coalition and following the September 11th attacks, Afghanistan was extremely isolated under the extremist rule of the Taliban. (Lindh, 2019).

After the U.S. entered to the Afghanistan and with the fall of the Taliban regime, many hopes sprouted that the most advanced countries of the world under the leadership of the US will fundamentally change Afghanistan in the next few years and that under the support of the US and NATO, Afghanistan will be able to provide security and Permanent stability will be achieved (Andishmand, 2019).

In 2001, the ordinary citizens of Afghanistan were extremely tired after two decades of foreign aggression and civil war; but the developments of that year had rekindled the desire in them (Ahmadi, 2019).

4.3.2 Participation of all ethnic groups in the government

The Bonn conference (2001) on Afghanistan's new political trend came about after the destruction of the World Trade Towers in New York and attack on the Pentagon. The U.S. military attacks on Afghanistan. The historical and international meetings of Bonn Conference

under the auspices of the United Nations (December 5, 2001) was held at the Petersburg Hotel in Germany (Bagheri, 2009).

This meeting finally led to the Bonn Agreement, which is like the principle of holding the meeting by international organizations of powerful countries. Was supported and approved by the world and neighboring countries. In this treaty, all the effective political actors of Afghanistan pledged to carry out the new process of the political system of this country under the supervision of the United Nations and to ensure the comprehensive participation of all ethnic groups and political groups, and each of them would provide the necessary cooperation.

In this context, implement the agreement on all the stages of the formation of institutions and the stages of the establishment of the new political system of Afghanistan based on the principles of democracy, free and general elections and the proportional participation of all ethnic groups and political groups in Afghanistan.

After the Bonn Conference, a new and different chapter has begun in the history of this country. Therefore, in terms of popular governance and attention to democratic values, this period has become a distinct period in the history of Afghanistan. In other words, the agreement based on the period It was considered as a political innovation and the starting point of the formation of Afghanistan's political system.

With the establishment of the Bonn Conference in 2001, the international community and the internal forces of Afghanistan accepted the fact that Afghanistan is a multi-ethnic, multi-lingual and multi-ethnic country, therefore, without a fair distribution of power, the country will not achieve stability, and a national government will not be established. Such an attitude was the drafting of the new constitution on January 29, 2006, which resulted in the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan system based on the idea of presidential democracy (Bagheri, 2009).

In the Ben conference, the four main anti-Taliban groups had gathered to discuss issues related to the interim government and agree on the future of Afghanistan. The first Northern Alliance group was a fragile coalition of jihadist parties that had fought against each other during the civil war but now formed a coalition against the Taliban. The second group was the Rom group, which was chosen to represent the demands of the Westerners from among the supporters of the former Shah, Zahir Shah. The fourth group was known as the Cyprus group, headed by Homayun Jarir, who was based in Iran (Sharan, 2023).

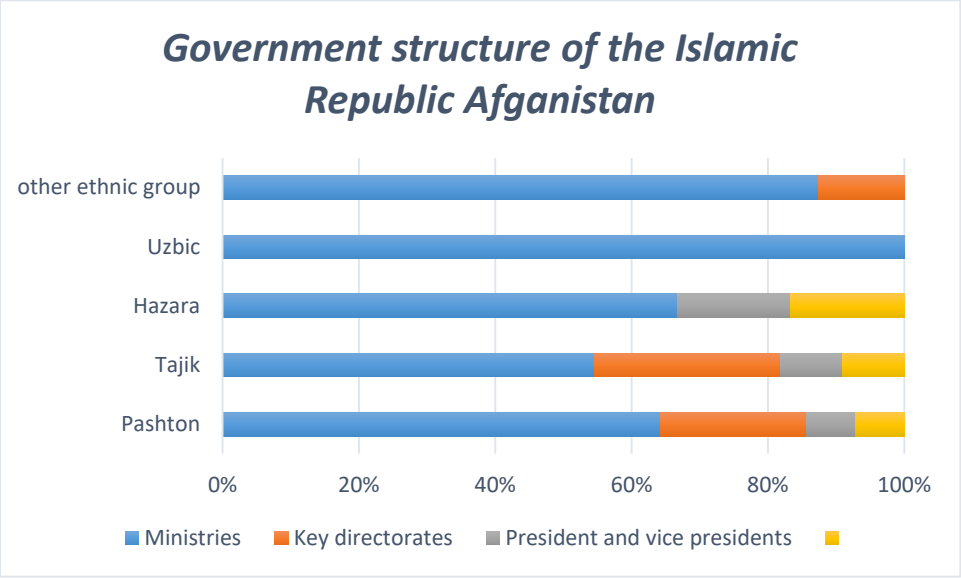
During the Bonn negotiations, the participants optimistically predicted the achievement of lofty goals, including the creation of an inclusive national government in which women and Ethnic minorities also had their desired representative (Kissinger, 2015).

The Bonn Conference has had three major consequences for Afghanistan's post-2001 state building:

First: the process of power sharing was carried out in a completely horizontal manner with the participation of all ethnic groups and political groups.

Second: all rival political groups and small communities that these networks claimed to represent participated in the Bonn conference. (The only group that was not considered in this conference was the Taliban group, which eventually managed to gain power in Afghanistan after 2021).

Third: The formation of the new government after the Bonn conference made all ethnic groups or their representatives feel in a government body with the formation of an inclusive government, and for this reason they were satisfied (Sharan, 2017).



Ghraph 9: Government structure of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan (Islamic Republic of Afghanistan. 2018).

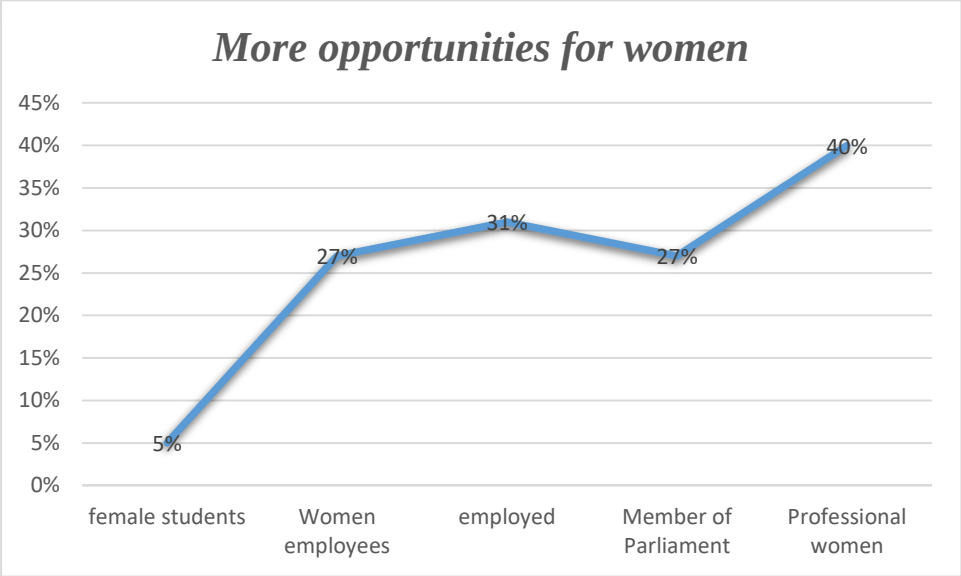
4.3.3. Presence of women in the government and power structure

Graph (6) shows the role of women in the structure of government and political power with the arrival of NATO forces in Afghanistan and the overthrow of the Taliban government a new chapter of political-social participation of women in this country began. After the fall of the Taliban regime and the formation of a new political system, Afghanistan entered the path of democratization.

One of the first actions was to draft the country's constitution to solve many problems of women, including the issue of their political participation, at the legal and executive levels. The discussion of women's rights in all fields, including political participation, received

attention from the Bonn Summit, and after that, it was also raised in the Emergency Loya Jirga and the Constitutional Loya Jirga.

Also, by attending these meetings, women were able to change the situation to some extent in their favor. After the Taliban era and on the effectiveness of the new government, the new constitution was approved in 2002. In the new constitution, with a positive approach to women's rights, several articles were allocated to improve the socio-political participation of women, some of which are stated. The protection of women can be seen in the constitution of Afghanistan. The legislator had tried to improve the field of political participation of women in the National Assembly, (Meshrano Jirga-Wolsi Jirga). Therefore, it was decided that fifty percent of the representatives of the Senate or the (Meshrano Jirga), who are nominated by the president, must be women (Sharan, 2017).



Ghraph 10: more opportunities for women (2001-2021) (UN Women. 2023.

4.3.4 Rule of law

Graph (11) the constitution refers to all the rules and regulations related to its power, transmission and implementation. The constitution is the mother of laws based on which the framework of the political system is defined, political power is limited, and the boundaries of individual freedoms are determined. Other laws also derive from it.

Afghanistan also had its eighth constitution approved during the presidency of Hamid Karzai, during 12 chapters and 162 articles. The Constitution of Afghanistan was one of the best laws in the region and is considered an important achievement for Afghanistan.

Separation of powers, freedom of speech, individual freedoms, rights and duties of citizens, prohibition of ethnic, linguistic, logical and gender discrimination and respect for

different beliefs and religions were included in it. In the light of the constitution, many laws were approved, amended and modified in more than 20 years. Afghanistan was enriched by having modern, democratic and advanced laws. But there were serious challenges in the rule of law.

4.3.5 Political parties

Political parties are considered as the engine of democracy. Democracy does not gain strength without political parties. A political system without parties leads to one-party and totalitarianism. Democracy is strengthened in the existence of powerful and numerous political parties. According to Article 35 of the Constitution, the activity of political parties in Afghanistan was considered free and it was noted that Afghan citizens have the right to form a political party.

According to the statistics published by the Ministry of Justice of Afghanistan at that time, more than a hundred political parties were active in Afghanistan, but most of these political parties did not have significant activity and were considered important in approximately four to seven political parties, the majority of which had an Islamic orientation.

These political parties had also lost their past popular base and status due to profit seeking, inheritance and family, lack of planning, lack of structure, lack of coherent organization, and lack of holding a party congress, and the ground was created for young, inclusive and national political parties. Have been. It seemed that Afghanistan is on the verge of transitioning from ethnic parties to inclusive and national parties (Baqiri, 2009).

4.3.6 Separation of powers and political system

To control political power, the French theorist Montesquieu proposed the theory of separation of powers, according to which, to prevent the monopoly and tyranny of political power, power is controlled by power.

Montesquieu expresses his opinion that the three branches of the legislature, executive and judiciary should be separated from each other to monitor each other and prevent the formation of tyrannical power.

This theory forms the foundation of most democratic systems. According to the constitution, parliament, executive and judiciary were separated in Afghanistan. The pillars and foundations of the political system of the Republic of Afghanistan were also democratic and based on the principle of separation of powers (Sharan, 2017).

4.3.7 Election

Elections are a series of operations aimed at choosing the command of the narrators or a tool by which the will of the citizens can be used in the formation of political institutions and the determination of those in charge of political authority. Elections are one of the main pillars and components of democracy. Some have even reduced democracy to elections.

To the extent that officials and positions in a country are elected, the level of democratization is higher. Afghanistan also had eight elections during two decades of democracy supported by America. They passed four parliamentary elections and four presidential elections. In addition, elections were held in some other institutions. Among them, the provincial council and local council elections were also important, the first of which had been held several times (Sharan, 2017).

4.3.8 Demonstrations and gatherings

In repressive regimes, gatherings and protests of opponents of the government are prohibited. The protestors are destroyed, suppressed and imprisoned in the hardest possible way, but democracy recognizes the opposition's voice of protest. Protest is respected as a fundamental right in democracies.

According to Article 36 of the Constitution of Afghanistan, the freedom of assembly and protest in Afghanistan was also recognized. In the last two decades, the largest and most extensive peaceful protests and demonstrations were experienced in Afghanistan (Ahmadi. 2019)

4.4 Security consequences of U. S's intervention in Afghanistan

From the security point of view, experts believe that the purpose of the United States invasion of Afghanistan was not the fight against terrorism, but the Americans sought to establish a military base near the countries of China and Russia, in this way, while being in the strategic region of Afghanistan, the countries of China, Russia and Iran also have under their control. For this reason, the looting of Afghanistan's assets and natural resources and drug trafficking can be counted among the other effects of the twenty-year presence of the American occupation in this country. But the 20 years of American occupation in Afghanistan has left heavy human and economic consequences for both the Afghan people and the American people, which are very heavy and even impossible to compensate for (Brooking, 2020).

After the American attack on Afghanistan, a wave of aerial bombardment began in Afghanistan, in which tens of thousands of Afghan people lost their lives, weddings, mourning and parties, schools and mosques of the people of this country were targeted by the American military. These attacks doubled the suffering of the helpless people of Afghanistan. According to reliable international estimates, in the 20 years of the American war in Afghanistan, more than 240,000 people were directly killed in this war and hundreds of thousands more were injured.

From these statistics, the number of Afghan civilian casualties in the 20-year American war is more than 70,000, and tens of thousands of other civilians were injured. The number of Afghan military casualties during this period is 66,000 to 69,000. Armed opposition groups have been reported to be around 85,000 people during this period (Nouri, 2022).

But during the 20 years of American occupation in Afghanistan, more than 3,500 foreign soldiers, including about 2,500 American soldiers, were killed and more than 20,000 American soldiers were wounded (Ahmadi, 2019).

Afghanistan is still the deadliest place for children. According to the statistics recorded by the United Nations Office in Afghanistan (UNAMA), at least 8,000 children have died, and 20,000 others have been injured in the past decade alone. Most of these children were injured and lost their body parts by roadside mines and airstrikes, and in the last decade, about ten thousand Afghan women were also killed or injured due to war and explosions.

One of America's main slogans for attacking Afghanistan was the fight against terrorism, but in the last 20 years, not only did the dangers of terrorism and terrorist attacks not decrease, but according to the officials of the former government of Afghanistan, the number of terrorist groups in this country increased to 20 groups, one of the groups that emerged in Afghanistan with the overt and covert support of America was ISIS. This group carried out dozens of bloody terrorist attacks in Afghanistan, especially in the city of Kabul, and most of the Shia gatherings in this country were targeted by ISIS attacks (Andishmand, 2019).

ISIS has carried out bloody suicide attacks on the Enlightenment movement, Imam Zaman (AS) mosque in the west of Kabul city, Baghral Uloom School, Tebayan Cultural Center and dozens of other attacks in other Afghan cities, including Herat and Gardiz, because of which hundreds of Afghan civilians were martyred or injured.

Became the heavy costs of the American war on the economy, security and other social fields are now weighing heavily on the shoulders of the Afghan people, currently the economic infrastructure of Afghanistan is in ruins and the people of this country enjoy the least citizen

services, the factories and industrial wheels in Afghanistan are stagnant and about ninety percent of the needs People come from outside this country (Andishmand, 2019).

According to the official statistics of the former government of Afghanistan, about 55 percent of the people of this country are below the poverty line, and on the other hand, nearly 40 percent of Afghans suffer from unemployment. Electricity, which is considered one of the most basic services in any country, most Afghans are deprived of this blessing, currently about 60% of the people of this country do not have electricity; despite having gas resources, Afghanistan still does not have gas pipes in any house in this country, and liquid gas is available from It is imported from outside Afghanistan. The pain and suffering of 20 years of American occupation will continue to plague Afghans for many years (Brooking, 2020).

4.4.1 Negative political consequences of the United States of America intervention in Afghanistan

This 20-year journey in Afghanistan was full of difficulties, mistakes, inexperience, widespread corruption, deep divisions of the political class in Kabul, the inability and indifference of America and its allies, the interference of neighboring countries, and finally the resurgence of the Taliban insurgency.

From the political point of view, the United States created a half-closed and fragile democratic system based on components such as elections, freedom of speech, and human rights values in Afghanistan. The excessive expansion of administrative corruption and the strengthening of warlords in the past twenty years were one of America's biggest mistakes. In other words, in the political arena, the attempt to establish a democracy in Afghanistan mostly resulted in failure due to internal reasons.

The United States of America could not help to establish a fundamental democracy in Afghanistan, although the establishment of democracy in a country depends on the needs of that society and the efforts of the political elite and the people of that society to achieve democracy. However, America, as the high position it had created for itself in Afghanistan, could have contributed more effectively to the establishment of sustainable democracy in Afghanistan (Sadat, 2024).

Although from a political point of view, parties, civil movements, freedom of expression, democracy, leadership of the country based on the people's vote, parliament and women's freedom, these were all the results and consequences of America's presence in Afghanistan, but these were unstable and without support.

As a conclusion, it is believed that in every political field, although the United States provided the greatest services in the field of governance and social issues for Afghanistan, it was unstable, and for this reason, all the results and legacy of the United States were summarized in a short and limited period (Kuper, 2018).

4.4.2 Changing the structural political in Afghanistan

In its history of one hundred and thirty-eight years, Afghanistan has witnessed the following systems: absolute monarchy (1880-1919), constitutional monarchy and the experience of the first constitution (1919-1928), absolute monarchy, the decade of democracy and parliamentary system (1930-1973). the republican system (1973-1978), the People's Democratic Republic/semi-presidential system (1978-1992), the Islamic State of Afghanistan/semi-presidential system (1992-2001), the Islamic Emirate of the Taliban (1996-2001) and the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan/semi-presidential system (2004-2021) (Ahmadi, 2019).

Most of these systems are centralized, family and ethnic and have been led by a few. For this reason, they have not had the necessary capacity and legitimacy to meet the needs of the citizens and respond to their demands.

Besides this, a significant part of the political-security crises is rooted in authoritarianism and excessive centralism in the structure of the country's political system. Throughout the history of this country, only a few people belonging to a certain ethnic group have overseen the political, social, cultural and economic management of the country and ruled over the people as they wished. Due to their narrow and small tribal views, these people prevented the growth of democracy and the active participation of citizens in the system (Sadat, 2024).

The ethnic relationship in the country before the Soviet invasion was hierarchical, vertical and graded. But since 1979, the graded and vertical relationship has been changed to a horizontal or "ungraded" relationship.

In 2001, after the U.S. military intervention in Afghanistan, a new wave of assistance from the international community was formed in Afghanistan. Political, administrative, etc. structures were created anew. For the first time, Afghanistan became the owner of a democratic constitution. A law that many consider as one of the best laws in the region. In the new constitution of Afghanistan, there was a good Integration between religious values and the components of the modern world. Anticipating a democratic system based on the will of the people, respecting human rights, supporting civil society, holding elections and supporting

freedom of expression were among the benefits of the 2004 constitution. But the constitution of Afghanistan also suffers from a series of shortcomings and gaps.

The biggest weakness of the constitution was entrusting too much authority and authority to the president. Based on the constitution, the president is both the head of the government and the head of the government. Carrying out these two big missions at the same time is a heavy task and beyond the power of one person. According to the constitution approved in 2004, the first and last decision-maker in Afghanistan was the president. In front of the president, the authority of ministers, governors, national council, provincial councils and other government officials was greatly reduced (Brooking, 2020).

The centralized presidential system had significantly increased the distance between the governed and the rulers. In Afghanistan, the Loya Jirga was known as the authority for approval of the constitution. But there were many questions about the composition of this body. Throughout history, Jirgas have always been a tool at the disposal of the kings and autocratic rulers of this land and have given legitimacy to the wishes of the rulers and colonists. Besides this, the selection process of Loya Jirga members was not done based on population and other specific criteria that could represent the people.

The 500 representatives who participated in the parliament were those whose majority had never heard anything about the constitution before. Based on this, the group on authority, through legitimate and illegitimate means, used all its efforts to establish a centralized presidential system in the country (Andishmand, 2019).

4.4.3 Afghanistan's global position after the U. S's intervention in Afghanistan

There is no doubt that the painful incident of September 11th in United States of America and sympathy for the victims of terrorism in Afghanistan, as well as the unity and concerted efforts of Afghan politicians, played a key role in creating such an atmosphere. An atmosphere that once again revived the spirit of Afghanistan's policy of neutrality and non-secession with an active diplomacy (Sadat, 2021).

The Kabul Declaration on Good Neighborly Relations in December 2002 and the creation of the processes of "RICA" in 2005 and "Heart of Asia" in 2010 under the leadership of Afghanistan strengthened this spirit. Several large regional development projects were achieved in different sectors and a variety of trade and transit routes were formed (Javadi, 2018).

Despite these developments in 2006, the effects of the disruption of this space due to regional and global mistrust and competition were evident, and it challenged the security and

political stability of Afghanistan day by day. In those days, there was a serious need for an active and innovative diplomatic system to build trust in coordination with international allies in the region and to ensure that the presence of foreign forces is for Afghanistan's ability to fight terrorism and beyond that there is nothing else on the agenda. But unfortunately corruption, ethnocentrism and personal preferences did not allow the necessary reform and refinement in the diplomatic system.

On the other hand, in the 2010s, with the new construction of the Russian Federation, the emergence of China as a major economic power in the world, and the continued presence of American and NATO forces in Afghanistan, the Cold War returned to the region and Afghanistan with new alignments and challenges (Rahimi, 2021).

The establishment of the "Taliban Political Commission" office in Doha in 2013 was the beginning of the return of Taliban diplomacy, which later took the initiative of the peace process due to neglect and ambivalence in the reactionary diplomacy of the "National Unity Government" and in clear contradiction with the Vienna Pact on diplomatic relations. He challenged the national sovereignty of Afghanistan (Sadat, 2021).

In response to these challenges, in December of last year, Afghanistan presented the plan of becoming a permanent platform of friendship and cooperation between regional and extra-regional countries to the United Nations General Assembly, the spirit of which in a new paragraph in Resolution A/73/L.44 about Afghanistan was reflected (Lindh, 2019).

From a political point of view, Afghanistan is located at the intersection of Central Asia, South Asia, Far East Asia and the Middle East. From the security point of view, Afghanistan is among the security structures of Central Asia, South Asia and the Persian Gulf, but it is not actively involved in any of them, and none of them alone can cover the security of Afghanistan (Sadat, 2024).

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSIONS, EVALUATION AND RECOMMENDATION

5.1 Discussion

As outlined in the first chapter, the primary questions of this research were:

- What have been the political consequences of the U.S. intervention in Afghanistan?
- What are the socio political consequences of U.S. intervention in Afghanistan?

To answer these questions, the research first analyzed and reviewed existing studies and literature, as detailed in the previous chapter (Chapter Four). The current chapter aims to further explore these issues by incorporating the perspectives of experts and individuals from Afghanistan. We posed the following questions to various stakeholders, including university professors, experts, members of the Taliban, and the public:

- In your opinion, did America succeed in positively changing people's lives in Afghanistan?
- What was the legacy of America's intervention in Afghanistan in economic, political, social, and security matters?
- Do you think the current situation in Afghanistan is a result of U.S. policies and interventions?

Expert Opinions

The responses from experts reveal a spectrum of views regarding the impact of America's two-decade presence in Afghanistan. Some experts argue that the intervention had positive outcomes. For instance, U.S. efforts led to significant improvements in infrastructure and public services. The establishment of new schools and health facilities increased access to education and healthcare, which were previously limited (UNESCO, 2020; World Bank, 2020). The introduction of democratic processes and a new political framework also represented progress in governance. However, these achievements were often overshadowed by persistent issues of corruption and inefficiency.

Conversely, other experts contend that the overall legacy of the U.S. intervention was negative. They argue that despite substantial investments, the long-term stability and development were undermined by continuous conflict and the eventual resurgence of the Taliban. The Special Inspector General for Afghanistan Reconstruction (SIGAR) reported significant wastage of resources and corruption, which hindered effective reconstruction (SIGAR, 2021). Moreover, the rapid collapse of the Afghan government in 2021 highlighted the fragility of the institutions built during the intervention (BBC, 2021).

Discussion on the Current Situation

In this section, I conducted face to face interview with university professors and political experts focusing on insight the positive and negative effects of U.S. intervention in Afghanistan. Regarding the current situation in Afghanistan, many experts believe it is a direct result of U.S. policies and interventions. The immediate aftermath of the U.S. withdrawal and the Taliban's swift takeover underscore the limitations of external intervention in creating lasting stability.

The International Crisis Group (2021) notes that the failure to build a robust, self-sustaining Afghan state contributed significantly to the Taliban's resurgence. While U.S. policies aimed to address terrorism and support democratic development, the lack of a comprehensive strategy to manage local political dynamics and ethnic tensions played a critical role in the ongoing instability.

In summary, the discussions reveal a complex legacy of the U.S. intervention, characterized by both achievements and significant shortcomings. The impact of these interventions on Afghanistan's political, economic, social, and security landscape demonstrates the challenges of external intervention in achieving long-term stability and development.

5.1.1 Positive opinions about the consequences of the U.S. intervention in Afghanistan

Ahmed Ali Filtrate, Professor at Kabul University: "Ahmed Ali Filtrate, Professor at Kabul University, recognizes several positive outcomes of the U.S. intervention in Afghanistan, particularly from a political perspective. He notes that the intervention facilitated the establishment of a democratic framework, introducing crucial elements such as elections, freedom of speech, and human rights values (Filtrate, 2023). These advancements represented significant progress from the pre-intervention era.

While acknowledging the progress, Filtrate also points out that the intervention faced substantial challenges, including widespread administrative corruption and the enduring influence of warlords. These issues complicated the stability and effectiveness of the democratic institutions created, ultimately impacting the long-term resilience of the political system. Despite these difficulties, the initial efforts to promote democratic values and human rights were significant achievements (Filtrate, 2023)."

The economic growth of Afghanistan in the last two decades, the free-market economy that led to the accumulation of wealth by the rich class and the widening of the economic gap between the rich and the poor in the society, and Afghanistan's dependence on international aid

and efforts to extract mines, which had little benefit for the Afghan people, are the legacy American economy was in Afghanistan. Raising the level of literacy, universal access to health services and education, raising the level of public awareness, freedom of the media and freedom of expression are the social achievements left over from America's involvement in Afghanistan.

In terms of security, the formation of the Afghan National Army and Police was a huge achievement, but it is a source of disappointment that despite billions of dollars of investment and twenty years of war experience and combat training, the Afghan army soon handed over the country to the Taliban without resistance. In the end, America's legacy in Afghanistan was fleeting, fragile, and impermanent in all areas, and eventually fell apart".

Javad Soltani, University professor[8]: "After the September 11 incident, every development we see in Afghanistan today is the legacy of America and its allies. From a political point of view, parties, civil movements, freedom of speech, democracy and leadership of the country based on the people's vote, parliament and women's freedom, these were all the legacies that the Americans and their allies left behind in Afghanistan. But none of these remained, because the Afghans, especially the Afghan leaders, were traitors and could not protect and preserve the American heritage".

Jamila Azimi Cultural activist[9]: "America's legacy in Afghanistan was the legacy of an unstable transformation. Elements of this heritage deeply transformed Afghanistan from a political, social and economic point of view. Such transformations would not be possible without America. The internal contradiction of America's legacy in Afghanistan was that it simultaneously nurtured elements that could jeopardize the stability and continuity of what was achieved and lead to a strategic setback in the economic, political and military dimensions, which happened.

While, for example, Afghanistan was pulled out of absolute global isolation as a result of America's support and intervention; the government and governance became semi-democratic, and a generation of Afghans became literate and claimed democratic citizenship. With the departure of America, these achievements weakened and collapsed".

[8]. Soltani, is one of the founders and a professor at Ibn Sina University in Kabul. Professor Soltani has a master's degree in sociology and is one of the experts on Afghanistan issues. Soltani has written 3 volumes of books related to history and politics in Afghanistan. Because Mr. Soltani was outside of Afghanistan at the time of the interview (08/03/2023), the interview was conducted online.

[9]. Azimi is one of the activists in the field of women and human rights. Azimi has a PhD in political science. Azimi has worked with foreign (American) organizations and institutions for more than 13 years. Azimi was the manager in charge of Vahdat month in Kabul. Ms. Azimi was also present in America at the time of this interview, and we interviewed him online on 08/08/2023.

5.1.2 Negative opinions about the consequences of the U.S. intervention in Afghanistan

Maulavi Musafir, the police commander of the 13th District of Kabul[10]: "America invaded Afghanistan in 2001 and withdrew in 2021, resulting in significant costs in terms of time, lives, and money after two decades of involvement. This extensive presence and the eventual withdrawal on August 31, 2021, not only failed to achieve its strategic objectives but also imposed severe consequences on Afghan society.

The conflict led to substantial disruptions in regional security and left an enduring legacy of political, economic, environmental, and cultural losses that will be difficult to address in the short term. Although the initial goal was to locate and punish Osama bin Laden, the war continued for a decade after his death, reflecting a prolonged and unresolved engagement that impacted both the U.S. and Afghanistan profoundly".

Omar Mujahid, one of the Taliban soldiers[11]: "In Afghanistan, no power has been able to last. The world and all the countries that want to attack Afghanistan, must remember what day the Soviet Union fell into, in the end America and its allies were also destroyed and it caused them to flee. No one can confront us. The world should know that Afghanistan is the graveyard of empires".

Azizullah Osmani, one of the students of Taliban[12]: "American crimes were committed in Afghanistan, we will not forget under any circumstances. They looted all the belongings of the Afghans. No one will forgive America. We (Taliban) should not have given amnesty. All those who helped the Americans should have been killed. Because they are among the foreign mercenaries who made prostitution and dishonor common in Afghanistan with the help of America. The Taliban should stop the hands of those who want to interfere in the affairs of Afghanistan. All the women were prostitutes, all drank wine, all did not pray, all were thieves and mafia. These were America's legacy for Afghans. Alhamdulillah, now the Taliban has gradually stopped some of the corruption".

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[10]. Molavi Masafir is the commander of the 13th police station. He has no academic education. Maulvi Musafir was educated in religious schools. Maulvi Musafir has fought against America and the republican government in Afghanistan for more than 17 years. Right now, he has 25 soldiers and district commanders. After making the necessary arrangements, on 08/12/2023, the writer came to the office of the security command of the 13th district of Kabul to talk with Maulvi Musafir and his opinions were shared with us.

[11]. Omar Mujahid is one of the Taliban soldiers. He has a religious education. Omar Mujahid is now one of the regular soldiers of the Taliban. He is hopeful that he will progress in this direction in the coming years and reach the position of commander and above. This interview was conducted on 15/08/2023 with Mr. Mujahid in Gulai Dovakhaneh - Kabul. He talked with the author for 40 minutes while performing his duties and shared his opinions regarding the research questions.

[12]. Osmani, A. is one of the Taliban students. He speaks from his teacher's language regarding America's heritage in Afghanistan. According to Azizullah, the defeat of America and the withdrawal of this country from Afghanistan has been a great success for the Taliban. Osmani is a student of Imam Abu Hanifah religious school in Khushal Khan Village of Kabul Province. This interview took place on 08/18/2023 at his school.

Azim Basharmal, graduated with a Ph.D. in Political Science from Tehran University[13]: "Although the presence of America in Afghanistan brought advantages, it was seen that it caused the ruin and destruction of Afghanistan. Politically, America has not allowed the government to be determined by the votes of the people for two decades. The 5 presidential elections in Afghanistan were full of fraud, which was engineered by America.

From the economic point of view, America never let Afghanistan do anything in the infrastructure and construction sector. All these aids were in the hands of American contractors who were full of corruption. For this reason, all the foreign and humanitarian aid for twenty years was wasted without any results and Afghanistan's economy faced collapse more than ever.

From the social and cultural point of view, America tried to develop and expand only prostitution and vices in Afghanistan. For twenty years, there was no cultural and humanitarian work in Afghanistan. Rather, only prostitution and licentiousness were promoted in Afghanistan".

Ahmad Ghorian, professor at Kabul University of Education and Training:[14] "America did not come to rebuild and ensure peace and stability in Afghanistan. America came to Afghanistan to limit and hit Russia, China and Iran. For this reason, we did not witness peace and stability during the twenty years (of American presence) in Afghanistan.

From the political point of view, they created different factions and groups every day under different pretexts and symbolically brought women and youth into the scene, but no one was a partner in the decision-making center of power. The government was not elected based on the votes of the people. Why, apart from the Pashtuns, other ethnic groups could not get the presidency in twenty years. Because America didn't want it. When the corrupt political system was formed, we saw that all the humanitarian aid was wasted and not a single bridge or cemetery was built in Afghanistan for 20 years. When there was an electricity problem in Kandahar, instead of paying attention to the infrastructure, America looked for generators and used ready-made generators.

[13]Bishram A. has a PhD in political science from Tehran University. He has many articles related to Afghanistan and the structure of the political system in this country. He has published the great and precious book "America's Legacy for Afghanistan" in 2018 in Tehran. Because people fled to Iran after the 2021 developments in Afghanistan, the present interview was conducted online on 08/17/2023.

[14]Ghorian, A. is a master's in political science from Islamic University. He has taught at Kabul University of Education for more than 13 years. Although Professor Ghorian has not yet written a book or article, he has had numerous interviews and discussions regarding Afghanistan and the political structure in this country. Ghorian considers the best structure of the political system in this country to be a federal structure that can help ensure social justice. This interview took place on 10/08/2023 at the University of Education and Tarbiat.

In the field of economy, the roads of Kandahar-Herat, Kabul-Ghazni, etc. were lost for twenty years. Agriculture and livestock, which was the basis of Afghanistan's economy, was lost. Private banks only came after thieves and robbers. Agriculture in Afghanistan completely collapsed. A clear example was the "soy project"[15] that was launched by America in Afghanistan, the results of the soy project caused a disaster in Afghanistan's agriculture.

In the field of security, as I said, for twenty years, there was no day without war in Afghanistan. There was conflict and war every day in Afghanistan. Every day we faced insecurity problems. There are many reports that the US supported the Taliban on one side and the Afghan government on the other".

5.1.3 Analysis of experts' opinions (positive and negative)

U.S. intervention in Afghanistan has had positive and negative results in economic, political, social and cultural fields. As experts and people of Afghanistan also believe in it. When the United States of America invaded Afghanistan in 2001, Afghanistan was marginalized from the world's perspective under the control of the Taliban. Almost no one knew Afghanistan. The people of Afghanistan under the rule of the Taliban were facing severe problems. No one was helping Afghanistan. Minorities and women were slaughtered every day under the rule of the Taliban.

Women were deprived of all their human rights. Girls were not allowed to go to school. Hazaras were massacred in Mazar. All kinds of taxes were imposed on the people of Afghanistan. The situation was very serious. But the American intervention made the hopes of the Afghan people return, and the presence of more than forty countries in Afghanistan created numerous economic and political opportunities in this country.

With the United States of America intervention in Afghanistan, various institutions and organizations started working. Many regions of Afghanistan came out of deprivation and electronic systems prevailed in government offices. Women returned to work freely. Girls went to university and school. Ethnic and religious minorities were allowed to participate in government bodies.

Elections, human rights, democracy and dozens of other human values were introduced in this country. Afghanistan benefited from the presence of modern technology. Afghanistan

[15] Aiming to improve nutrition, increase local agriculture, and increase food security, the U.S. soy project in Afghanistan was started by organizations such as USAID. Developing a supply chain for required inputs, modifying methods to suit regional conditions, and teaching Afghan farmers about soy farming were all part of the project. Notwithstanding obstacles including technical problems and ecological worries, the project enhanced dietary nutrition and health outcomes in the area while generating revenue and job opportunities. Although continued efforts center on assuring sustainability and extending the advantages of soy cultivation in Afghanistan, success stories from regional farmers and communities demonstrate the project's beneficial effects.

became the owner of the army and the legal and economic system. The education and training system flourished in this country. Thousands of students (boys and girls) went to university.

In addition to many economic, political, cultural, etc. advantages entering Afghanistan, unfortunately, because America was not familiar with the culture and traditions of Afghanistan, it also suffered big mistakes. America's first big mistake in Afghanistan was their trust and reliance on a small group like "Zalmy Khalilzad"[16], Ashraf Ghani and others who were of Afghan origin but grew up in the United States of America.

The second mistake of U.S. in Afghanistan was not paying attention to infrastructures and buildings in Afghanistan. The United States of America never developed the infrastructure and buildings of Afghanistan. The lack of attention to permanent infrastructures and reconstructions in Afghanistan led to negative views of the American policy in Afghanistan.

In the field of security, because the U.S. had global conflicts, they could not eradicate the important centers of the Taliban. The lack of airstrikes and the lack of support from the Afghan army since 2014 caused the Taliban and opposition groups to gain power in important areas of Afghanistan. With the Taliban gaining power, the security situation in Afghanistan became extremely critical, and because the U.S. had predicted the Ukraine wars and the conflicts between China and Taiwan, it made them try to reconcile with the Taliban.

Reconciliation between the Taliban and the United States of America was unfortunately the biggest technical blow to all the achievements of Afghanistan. Because after that U.S. left Afghanistan alone following the withdrawal of its troops. This was even though the Afghan army did not have the ability to support the government of Kabul to a significant extent, and with the escape of Ashraf Ghani, all the achievements that Afghanistan had achieved in the past two decades with the help of the U.S. and the Western world were lost.

The collapse of Afghanistan and the loss of all modern values and human rights in Afghanistan made all the efforts and aid of the U.S. multiplied by zero and Afghanistan returned to 1996. Therefore, now it can be said that the result of America's presence in Afghanistan may negative, and they could not establish and stabilize democratic values in this country.

[16] American diplomat and foreign policy specialist Zalmay Khalilzad has held a number of positions, including that of U.S. Ambassador to Afghanistan, Iraq, and the United Nations. He was influential in determining American policy in the Middle East and South Asia and was born in Afghanistan. Notably, he oversaw talks for a peace deal with the Taliban while serving as the United States Special Representative for Afghanistan Reconciliation.

CONCLUSION

According to the offensive realism theory, after U.S. was attacked by al-Qaeda (September 11th attacks), the hegemonic position of United States of America was shaken. For this reason, U.S. was trying to maintain its hegemonic position by intervening in Afghanistan. On the other hand, from Mearsheimer's point of view, U.S. was not a hegemonic power in the Asia (East) region until September 11.

Aggressive neorealism, on the one hand, seeks to establish the global hegemonic power, on the other hand, they also have the style of deterrence. Considering these issues from the perspective of aggressive neorealism; America's foreign policy in Afghanistan was complex, multi-layered, and multi-dimensional, but in general, the country's policy in U.S. was on three levels. Global level: the fight against Al-Qaeda and Taliban terrorism and spreading the values of liberal democracy, regional level: domination over the Central Asian region to control rival powers such as China, Russia and Iran, and at the national level, establishing a powerful central government in Afghanistan. They were somewhat successful in the first two levels, i.e. at the global, regional level, but the consequences of U.S's intervention at the national level (for Afghanistan) were positive and negative.

Examining research questions and hypotheses: the consequences of U.S's presence and intervention in Afghanistan from an economic point of view, due to the lack of suitable platforms, they could not transform the country's economy into a productive economy. But basically, because Afghanistan's economy was a war economy and there were issues such as drug production, insecurity, unequal distribution of wealth and corruption, so these aids did not lead to a productive economy.

However, in the last 20 years, we have seen high economic growth in Afghanistan. Some elements of welfare were created in the society and the standard of living of many people changed. All these changes and transformations were the product of America's presence and intervention.

The consequences of U.S's presence in Afghanistan on the axis of security and war in Afghanistan caused the army of this country to be upgraded to a sufficient extent. But the main point is that the continuation of these security relations with the Afghan security forces changed during the years after 2014, and on the other hand, the Afghan men were immature and raw enough that they could not imagine the end of the American presence in Afghanistan. For this reason, the United States of America presence in Afghanistan was disastrous at the security level. Because more than 241 thousand people were killed, and more than 6 million people

were displaced. The consequences of U.S's intervention in Afghanistan, in the political arena, the attempt to establish a democracy in Afghanistan mostly led to failure due to internal reasons.

The United States of America could not help to establish a fundamental democracy in Afghanistan, although the establishment of democracy in a country depends on the needs of that society and the efforts of the political elite and the people of that society to achieve democracy. However, U.S. as the high position it had created for itself in Afghanistan, could have contributed more effectively to the establishment of sustainable democracy in Afghanistan.

The consequences of U.S's intervention in Afghanistan from the social aspect, especially the country's economic assistance, led to the creation of a relatively strong middle class in Afghanistan, which could be the main driving force for the country's development. Besides that, U.S. macro-economic aid led to the formation of a prosperous class from a social point of view, which in many parts is related to the mafia economy in Afghanistan. Another point in the social dimension is to raise the role of women in Afghanistan, in some cases fundamental work was done and women were given good knowledge and in other cases it played a more symbolic role. The growth of social media and visual media is one of the consequences of the United States of America in Afghanistan.

In conclusion, the U.S. intervention in Afghanistan from 2001 to 2021 had mixed results. Positively, it introduced democratic processes and improved infrastructure, enhancing access to education and healthcare. However, these gains were undermined by persistent corruption, ineffective governance, and the eventual resurgence of the Taliban. The intervention's high costs and the rapid collapse of Afghan institutions reveal the complexities and limitations of external efforts to achieve lasting stability and development.

RECOMMENDATIONS

According to the studies that were done in relation to the consequences of the U.S presence for two decades, the following recommendations and suggestions can be made:

1. Because the Bonn Conference ignored the Taliban and on the other hand, the political system of Afghanistan was formed in the absence of the Taliban, it caused Afghanistan to be involved in civil wars for more than two decades and extraordinary economic aid was wasted. Therefore, in the first step, the Taliban must create a structure in Afghanistan in which all ethnic groups and political and religious groups participate.
2. By intervening in Afghanistan and destroying the Taliban group, America and its allies thought that the Taliban no longer can confront them. Now the Taliban also ignore the resistance front and try to eliminate and destroy them, this elimination policy has never been successful in Afghanistan. Therefore, the Taliban must compromise with their opposing groups in whatever situation they are in. Because otherwise, the current situation that happened to the previous regime will eventually happen to the Taliban.
3. In the social and cultural dimensions, the Taliban has been involved in corruption until now. Considering the devastating consequences of corruption during America's presence, if the Taliban follow the same path, their system will surely rot from the inside and soon they will be left with only an empty shell of the Taliban emirate. Therefore, in any case, the Taliban should start a serious fight against corruption and not let corruption take root in their offices.

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RESUME

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Education:

Degree	Education Unit	Graduation Date
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Bachelor	B.A in Arts at Kabul University/Afghanistan.	2015
High School	Naswan Wahdat High School, Kabul/Afghanistan.	2008

Work Experience:

Year	Place	Title
2013-2021	FEFA, Kabul Afghanistan	Parliamentary Reporter
2010-2011	Ministry of Women Affairs	Social Worker
2009-2010	Good Morning Afghanistan	Reporter and Announcer

Foreign Language: Persian, English and little German and Turkish.

Publications:

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