

Research article

# The Factors of the Fall of the Republic Government and Political Crisis in Afghanistan: A Survey of Public Attitudes

Ramazan Ahmadi <sup>1\*</sup> , Chaman Ali Hikmat <sup>2</sup> 

<sup>1</sup> Faculty of Letters, Akdeniz University, Turkey

<sup>2</sup> Dibrugarh University, India

\* Correspondence: [ramazan.ahmadi230@gmail.com](mailto:ramazan.ahmadi230@gmail.com)

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**Abstract:** Afghanistan, a nation marked by longitudinal internal conflict and a field of rivalry among global and regional powers for many decades, grapples with a deeply intricate and multifaceted political predicament. This complexity arises from a duality of issues: the pervasive intra-ethnic and intra-group tensions within Afghanistan and the intricate interplay of neighbouring states, regional dynamics, and global interests that have transformed the country into a quagmire of conflict and terrorism. This research adopts a quantitative, applied research approach utilizing questionnaires as its primary data collection method. Its core objective is to systematically investigate and unearth the underlying causes contributing to the collapse of the Afghan republic. The research reveals that ethnic politics have dominated Afghanistan, exerting substantial, irreparable damage upon the democratic framework. This dominance manifests through ethnic-centric political manoeuvres that undermine the democratic system's foundations. The downfall of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan can be attributed to a multitude of factors, including widespread administrative and financial corruption, the managerial inadequacies of top-tier officials, the monopolization of power, ethnocentrism and discriminatory practices, political dependency on foreign nations, the self-interest and ambitions of political leaders, the dearth of rule of law, economic reliance on foreign entities, a conspicuous absence of merit-based governance, a crisis of political legitimacy, and the inefficacy of the judiciary. Ultimately, the republic's governance disintegrated when President Ashraf Ghani fled Afghanistan, facilitating the scaling of the Taliban to power.

**Keywords:** democracy; republic; ethnic politics; crisis of political legitimacy; administrative corruption; ethnicism and discrimination; exclusivism and ethnic Domination.

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## 1. Introduction

Since 1880, that is, since the establishment of Afghanistan until now, the governments and rulers of Afghanistan, like Mohammad Ashraf Ghani, have faced rebellion. Among the kings and rulers of Afghanistan, Habibullah son of Amir Abdul Rahman Khan, Habibullah Kalkani, Nader Khan, Sardar Mohammad Dawood, Noor Mohammad Taraki, Hafizullah Amin, Dr. Najibullah and Burhanuddin Rabbani had a bloody end. Amanullah Khan and Ashraf Ghani managed to escape from the country. Mohammad Zaher Shah was out of the country when the regime change took place, and that is why his fate was not the same as his past and future ones. In the meantime, only Babrak Karmel and Sebghatullah Mujadadi died of natural causes. From this point of view, the geography of Afghanistan has been a bad political state for its rulers. Afghanistan has always been rebellious and insurgent. The history of Afghanistan is the history of tribal wars and rebellions.

## 2. Review of the Republican System in Afghanistan

The republican system is a system in which the president of the country is elected by direct or indirect vote of the people and the term of the presidency is limited. In the general definition, a republic is a form of government that, based on democracy or non-democracy, its people determine the right to rule over their own destiny directly or indirectly in such a way that inheritance does not interfere with it. They also exercise their legal powers within a

limited period and under their supervision. The discussion here is more about the republican system based on democracy. Politically, democracy means the establishment of an electoral and responsible government through free and fair competition among all existing political forces. On the other hand, socially, it means the enjoyment of civil and political freedoms and rights by public and the emergence of associations and institutions (Amiri, 2010).

Dacey defined democracy as follows: “In a democracy, a large part of the whole nation is the governing body”. According to Abraham Lincoln, democracy is: “Government of the people, by the people, for the people, by all, for all”. Brace definition of democracy states: “That form of government in which the power of governing the government is legally delegated, not only to a class or to certain classes, but to all members of society as a whole. That is, in a society where elections. There is rule belongs to the majority” (Alam, 2012). Jean-Jacques Rousseau in the book ‘The Social Contract’ stated that the general will or common good can be fulfilled through direct participatory and the laws that express the general will must be obeyed (Rush, 2014). The principles and foundations of democracy are: the principle of popular consent and acceptance, the principle of participation in political decision-making, the principle of freedom, the principle of humanism or the originality of man, the principle of equality, the principle of civil society, the principle of human rights, the principle of citizenship, the principle of the rule of law, The principle of separation of powers, the principle of pluralism, the principle of secularism, the principle of elections and the principle of individualism (Amiri, 2010).

There is no doubt that constitution is the backbone of a republican system. The government of the republic is constitutional, which means that everything that happens inside the country is done according to the principles of the constitution. On the other hand, when citizens delegate their powers through representatives, they are sure of how their government is run. The republican style of government is a democratic style. Because political power is granted to rulers and officials through elections, and representatives are accountable to the people. The republican system ensures that the rights and freedoms of citizens are protected by law and order. The republican form of government is more than a democratic government. In contrast to democratic government, which is the rule of the majority, the republican model is the rule of the majority, but the majority that rules based on laws.

In relation to Afghanistan, it can be said that the Constitution of Afghanistan in 2004 created a form of republican government which is “belongs to the nation, which is manifested through their elected representatives. The nation of Afghanistan consists of all people who have the citizenship of Afghanistan” (Constitution of Afghanistan, 2003). This means that all the citizens of Afghanistan have been given the power and responsibility to choose their representatives to govern and these representatives are accountable to the people. The key features of the “Republic” in the 2004 Constitution are: (1) Sovereignty is manifested through the people and citizens of the country. (2) Citizens choose their leaders through universal suffrage. (3) No one is above the law that is passed through an elected parliament. (4) The three independent branches of the government check and monitor each other’s power. And finally, (5) all citizens have basic rights that cannot be violated (Thier, 2020). According to Duverger (2012), democracy in Afghanistan was a type of direct democracy where the voters themselves actually choose the head of government.

The constitution of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan was one of the best constitutions in the region, which protected the rights of all citizens in the Afghan society equally. Unfortunately, this constitution was not implemented by the rulers and most of the articles of the law were violated. And the non-compliance of the citizen’s rights caused the republican system to be shaken and the distance between the nation and the government increased and eventually the government collapsed.

### **3. Factors of the Collapse of the Democratic System in Afghanistan**

During the first half of August 2021, the Taliban stunned the world with its impressive advances in Afghanistan, as it took almost all of Afghanistan out of the control of the Afghan National Defense Security Forces which caused President Mohammad Ashraf Ghani flee the country.

Experts believe that for this incident in Afghanistan, there were two main reasons: internal and external. Regardless of whether these reasons are internal or external and their dimensions, certainly none of them alone could have caused this incident with its wide-ranging effects.

### *3.1 Ethnic and Tribal Structure in Afghanistan*

Ethnocentrism shows a kind of tendency towards the nation. Considering one's nation as the center of the world or considering the cultural norms of one's society as absolute and unquestionable and looking down on other societies that have different norms (Yazdan Panah & Ahmadi, 2021). Ethnocentrism is considered as the most important component of political culture in Afghanistan and can be prominently displayed in all social, cultural and political relations of Afghanistan (Irfan, 2020).

One of the characteristics of the Afghan society is its ethnic and tribal structure, which are very scattered and incompatible with each other. As a result, one factor of the failure of the Afghan government was its weakness in managing this ethnic and tribal structure of the country. Because each tribe demand its share of power, and each of them has had and still has its own warlords. On the other hand, the same ethnic and tribal differences have and still have external incentives and stimuli. That is, the regional and extra-regional powers tried to encourage one of these ethnics with specific goals. For example, the government of Pakistan has been supporting the Pashtuns for years and has kept them at the head of the political developments so that can seek its own interests. Taliban group also emerged from the hearts of Pashtuns, and they mainly received political and ideological education from the Haqqani school in Islamabad and religious schools in Peshawar, Pakistan (Nasiri, 2021).

### *3.2 Centralized System*

In the administrative structure of the centralized system, the decision-making power and planning of programs are practically in the hands of the central administration, which is finalized by one person in the hierarchy. In this administrative structure, other than the central administration, the rest of the institutions, especially the local administrations, are completely deprived of the decision-making power and initiative authority (Rezai Zadeh, 2006). The political system that came into being in Afghanistan after 2001 was established in a hurry and without considering all aspects and internal-national needs of Afghanistan. In the presidential system, the political crisis leads to the crisis of the system due to the inflexibility of the system and the lack of democratic solutions such as parliamentary systems (Rahimi, 2019).

Afghanistan has followed previous regimes and adopted a highly centralized governance model. Under this system, the president had more authority than a king, and the constitution – through some vague provision – allowed the president to act unilaterally and override all existing checks and balances mechanisms. The system of centralized governance monopolizes power (politically, financially and administratively) in an executive branch – or simply the president himself. The executive branch has full powers in such a way that they can have a great influence on the legislature and the judiciary. At the same time, the executive branch was not accountable to the legislature and the people of Afghanistan. Thus, due to the multiplicity of ethnicities, religions and languages in Afghanistan, the central presidential system intensified ethnic divisions. As a result, all these things went hand in hand, and in total, the system after 2001 could not create an inclusive, peaceful, democratic, development-supporting and stable Afghanistan (Qadam Shah, 2021).

### *3.3 Immense Violation of the Constitution*

Indisputably, the basic foundations of a democracy-based system are formed by the constitution. In a society where the law does not exist, and if it does not apply, in such a society we cannot talk about democracy (Amiri, 2010). The new constitution of Afghanistan, which was formed after the Bonn conference, was recognized as the new road map of the new political structure of Afghanistan. According to the new constitution and the aid of the international community for the reconstruction of Afghanistan, this country was expected to see a different chapter of security, prosperity and development. According to the report of Afghanistan Freedom House, the constitution of Afghanistan has been violated in various cases. The widespread violation of the constitution by certain government institutions is reflected in this report and it shows that the government institutions themselves are pioneers in violating the constitution (Mazidi & Raja, 2016). The findings of the Afghanistan Freedom House show that over the past few years, more than 92 cases of the constitution have been violated by three government institutions, the executive branch, the legislature and the judiciary. The most violations were committed by the executive branch (Mazidi & Raja, 2016). The widespread violation of the constitution by government institutions and officials led to the marginalization of the constitution in Afghanistan. For example, family and ethnic and tribal relations replaced the principles established by the constitution, many laws were ignored

and the power of the president was beyond the law. As a result, this issue led to the delegitimization of the government, which weakened its foundations and eventually collapsed.

#### *3.4 Doha Agreement*

Another major cause of the collapse of the Afghan government was the Doha agreement between the United States of America and the Taliban group. On Saturday, February 29, 2020, the world witnessed one of the strangest and at the same time the most historic peace agreements between a non-state actor called the Taliban and a state actor, the United States of America (The Institute for Islamic World Futures Studies, 2020). Although intellectuals, journalists and political analysts had warned of the bad outcome for the United States of America. But the United States ignored the Afghan government, it negotiated and reached an agreement with the Taliban and granted internal, regional and global legitimacy to the Taliban group. After the start of US negotiations with the Taliban, Iran, Russia, China, Uzbekistan and other countries hosted the Taliban. The United States placed the Taliban on the same level as the government. On the other hand, Ashraf Ghani and his small circle started secret meetings and negotiations with a part of the Taliban and Pakistan against the wishes of the United States of America. Because the Taliban leaders, who were in Doha to negotiate with the representatives of the Afghan government, did not expect the collapse. According to their statements, the transformation was not supposed to be in the form of complete collapse. President Ghani and his small circle coordinated and surrendered Kabul to the Haqqani group, and this was what stunned the United States of America and all the progressive forces of Afghanistan (Hamid Zadeh, 2021).

#### *3.5 Weak Army*

One of the main reasons for the collapse of the republican system can be considered the weakness of the army. The sudden fall of the central government of Afghanistan and the defense and security forces for the army that was claimed to have reached a good quality with the support of the international community, especially the United States, showed that despite years of investment, the Afghan army is weak and corrupted. In fact, after twenty years and more than 80 billion dollars of training and support from the United States, the well-equipped security forces of Afghanistan could not prevent the rapid takeover of this country by the Taliban (BBC, 2021). The collapse was so rapid that even President Biden had to admit during a speech at the White House that he and his administration were caught by surprise. This is despite the fact that the United States always talked about the ability of the security forces after the withdrawal.

#### *3.6 Ethnic Discrimination*

Ethnic differences are one of the reasons for the continuation of war and violence in the country. Major part of the country's wars and subversive conflicts took place and continued on the basis of ethnic interests. Ethnic differences have caused the country's citizens to be divided into different populations on the ethnic axis and participate in political interactions based on this affiliation. Ethnic discrimination was one of the factors that distanced people from the government. According to the research report of the Independent Human Rights Commission of Afghanistan, 52% of government officials, 10% of non-governmental administration officials, and 38% of ordinary people were called the cause of ethnic discrimination by the respondents (Afghanistan Independent Human Rights Commission, 2018).

This discrimination reached its peak during Ashraf Ghani's era and became official. Ashraf Ghani destroyed the national trust between the government and the nation. Ethnic discrimination was rampant in the system and most of the political institutions. Officials of all political institutions, ministries and even scientific places were appointed based on ethnicity, position and language. No attention was paid to expertise and competence. The ministries were divided among the heads of the tribes without considering the background and expertise of the officials, and the institutions that operated under the ministries and other big institutions were also occupied by the relatives of the ministers, army officials and people in power in general, and in this way, This situation allowed for corruption and the execution of illegal activities with impunity (Hamid Zadeh, 2021).

#### *3.7 Corruption*

Afghanistan's highly centralized governance system, which was approved in 2001, gave the president unlimited political, financial and administrative power, and the people had virtually no role in decision-making, and this led to the corruption of the system. On the other hand,

a huge stream of international aid to Afghanistan without a transparent monitoring system has broadened the scope of corruption in Afghanistan. According to the United Nations report, Afghans usually have to pay bribes when approaching government officials to go through administrative procedures. In the past 12 months, 52% of Afghans, at least once, have had to pay a bribe to a government employee. The average amount of bribe victims who have been forced to pay is reported almost five times per year (UNODC, 2010).

The United States of America, which experienced the longest war in Afghanistan, spent one trillion dollars and killed and wounded thousands of soldiers (Dawlatyar, 2021), never seriously pressured the Afghan governments and officials and did not hold them accountable. The United States of America was either a spectator or a sponsor of fraudulent elections. The United States of America did not seek to build or support a democratic government and system from the beginning. For this reason, in the last twenty years, corrupt and unbelieving forces occupied Afghanistan's political institutions. In the last twenty years, these forces were only thinking about their livelihood and increasing their capital. Kabul and the big cities of Afghanistan were fed up under the pressure of corruption, oppression, cruelty and discrimination of the rulers who fed on US dollars (Hamid Zadeh, 2021). As a result, corruption led to the unstable foundations of the republic in Afghanistan, which collapsed after two decades.

### *3.8 Poverty and Unequal Distribution of Resources*

Afghanistan is a land-locked country and has a lot of underground resources. The weakness of the industrial structure caused by flawed political and economic system has caused these natural resources be kept unused. The corrupted system of distribution of wealth and social services did not allow people to equally benefit from these natural resources. In fact, one of the reasons for the victory of the Taliban in Afghanistan was the extreme widespread poverty (Nasiri, 2021).

### *3.9 Legitimacy Crisis*

Legitimacy is one of the important and fundamental issues in political philosophy and the biggest factor that justifies citizens' obedience to the ruling power. It is the factor that the right to exercise the sovereignty of the political system in legislative, executive and judicial dimensions can be evaluated as justified or unjustified (Mohammadi, 2015). In this era, for the first time, Max Weber expressed the concept of legitimacy as a general concept. According to him, legitimacy is based on "belief" and demands obedience from people. Power is effective only when it is legitimate (Alam, 2012). Legitimacy means being legal or accordance with the law (Ibid). Legitimacy is directly related to the satisfaction of the citizens and the provision of justice by the citizens. If the satisfaction and justice are not implemented, the legitimacy of the government will decrease and if it lasts, the legitimacy of the government will be questioned (Effrat, 2011). The legitimacy crisis is caused by citizens' dissatisfaction with the government, which has a political, social and economic dimension (Heywood, 2011). The crisis of legitimacy was an effective factor in the collapse of republic government of Afghanistan in the long term. In short, it can be said that the foundations of the collapse of the republic structure started from the first term of Ashraf Ghani's presidency and it took an upward trend in the second term of his presidency (Rahimi, 2021). As a result, the accumulation of these challenges during the last two decades led to the broadening and deepening of the fragility of the foundations of the republic government.

### *3.10 Interventions of United States' Regional Opponents*

The main supporter of the collapsed system was the United States of America. It has been providing money, weapons, all the necessities for Afghanistan in the past twenty years. According to President Biden's statements, over the past twenty years, the United States spent one trillion dollars on equipping and training hundreds of thousands of Afghan security and military forces. By the time of the evacuation of Kabul, about 2,300 Americans were killed in the war in Afghanistan and about 20,660 others were wounded (BBC, 2021). Supporting the Taliban by the US opponents played a major role in prostrating the US army in Afghanistan. The Taliban did not only had Pakistan with them in the last twenty years, besides, China, Russia and Iran were also regional rivals of the United States and were supporting the Taliban group.

### *3.11 The Absence of Real Intellectuals in the Government*

Afghanistan has been suffering from having no committed intellectuals or think tanks. The number of real intellectuals to monitor the system in the last twenty years has been very

limited. Most of the appellants sought to get closer to the power system. Upon reaching the position in the government, tried to acknowledge the government actions and benefit from corruption.

## 4. Methodology

### 4.1 Research Type

Generally, research in the field of social sciences is of two types, quantitative or qualitative. This research includes quantitative research and was selected based on the relevance of the topic of descriptive analytical research.

### 4.2 The Importance and Rationale of Research

The rapid fall and collapse of the government of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan created many questions in the minds of researchers, intellectuals and politicians, and the people of Afghanistan. they did not believe that the government of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan would fall so easily. Therefore, the research on the factors of the failure of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan is considered one of the crucial needs of the Afghan citizens especially new generation of Afghanistan. For establishing a democratic government and pillars of political stability, the cause and effect of collapse of the republic government needs to be unpacked.

### 4.3 Research Objectives

Main objective is to clarify the factors of the fall of the Republic in Afghanistan.

Sub objectives focus on the following:

- To examine the relationship and the level of trust between Afghanistan republic government and people;
- To examine the relationship between administrative corruption and the fall of the Republic in Afghanistan;
- To investigate the relationship between the centralized system and the fall of the Republic in Afghanistan;
- To investigate the relationship between ethnic domination and the collapse of the Republic in Afghanistan;
- To investigate the relationship between the Doha Agreement and the fall of the Republic in Afghanistan;
- To examine the relationship between social justice and the fall of the Republic in Afghanistan;
- To examine the relationship between political participation and the fall of the Republic in Afghanistan.

### 4.4 Data Collection

The data collection is based on an online questionnaire sent through Google form from May 1, 2022, to June 30, 2022, to the contacts of social media users such as Facebook, WhatsApp, Telegram and personal communications. The respondents have answered the questionnaire according to their desire and satisfaction. During the data collection, efforts have been made to observe the ethnic representation from different ethnic groups. Also, quantitative data analysis was done based on the SPSS program.

## 5. Results and Discussion

The current research is one of the new research projects related to the fall of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, which is considered to be applied research in terms of purpose, descriptive in terms of method, and quantitative in terms of nature and of the data. The sample is consisting of 225 people. 20% of the respondents are women and 80% are men, and they are between the ages of 18 to 66 (Figure 1).

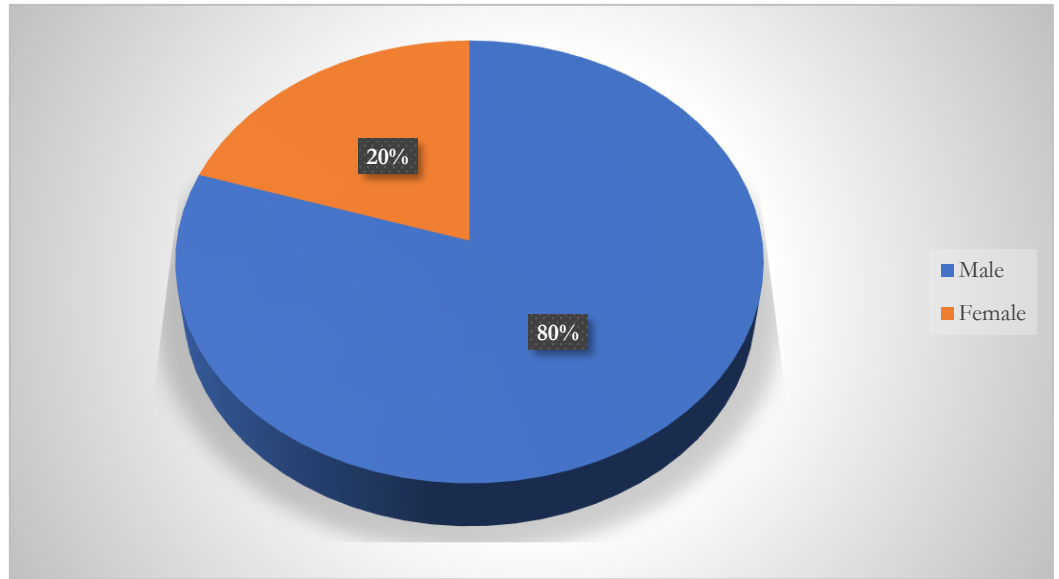


Figure 1. Gender of participants.

Afghanistan’s politics mostly revolves around ethnic policies, and in this research efforts has been made to observe ethnic balance in data collection and analyze the variables from different ethnic groups with equal percentages, and Figure 2 shows the percentage of ethnic groups.

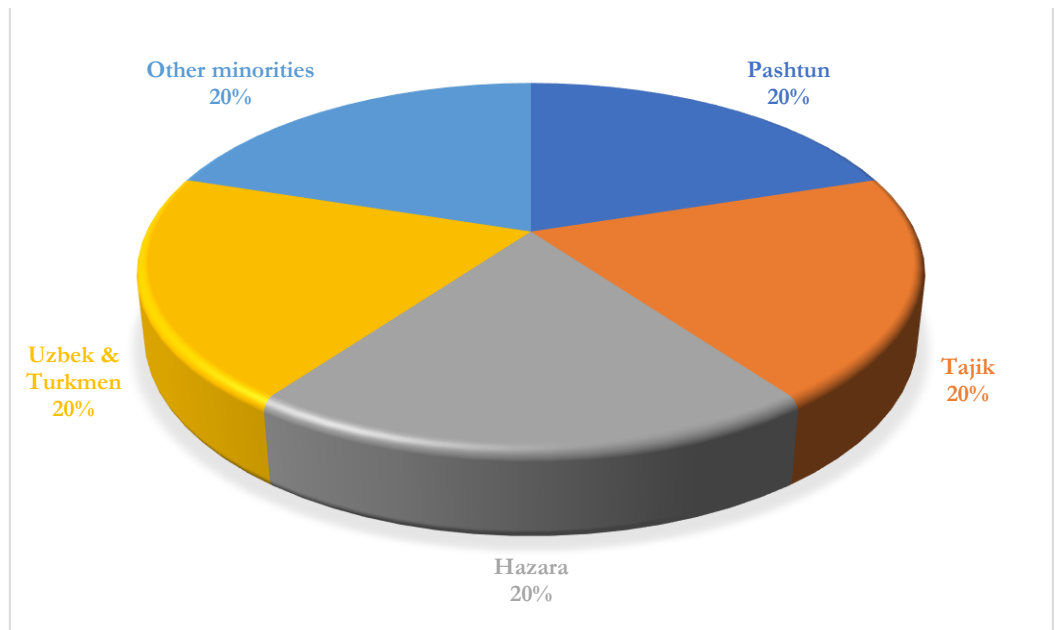


Figure 2. Ethnicity of respondents

The respondents of this study were selected from the literate people and those who have access to the internet and social networks. According to Figure 3, 53% of the respondents hold bachelor degree, 30% master’s degree, 11% Ph.D., and 6% have graduated from grade 12.

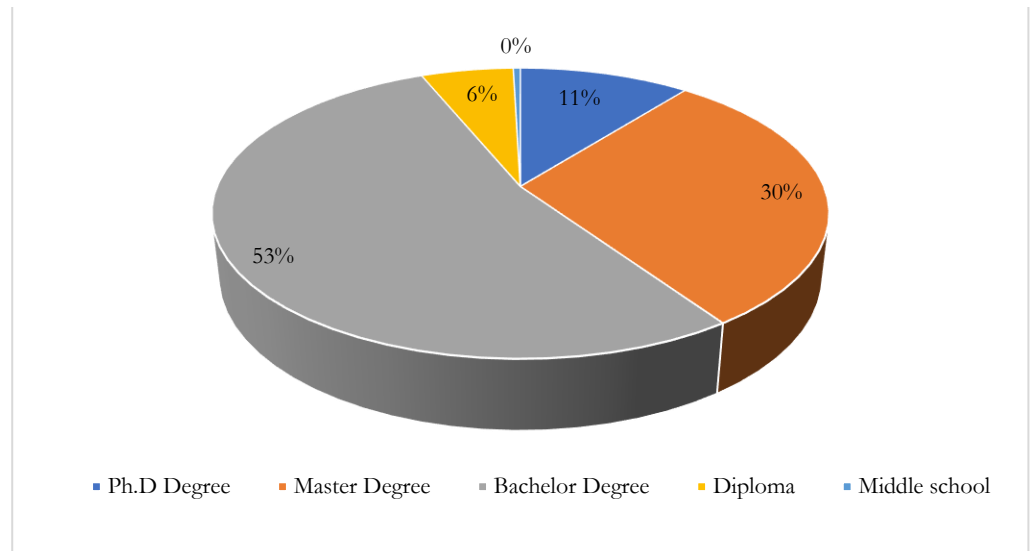


Figure 3. Education level of participants.

Figure 4 shows the level of studies and field of study of the respondents.

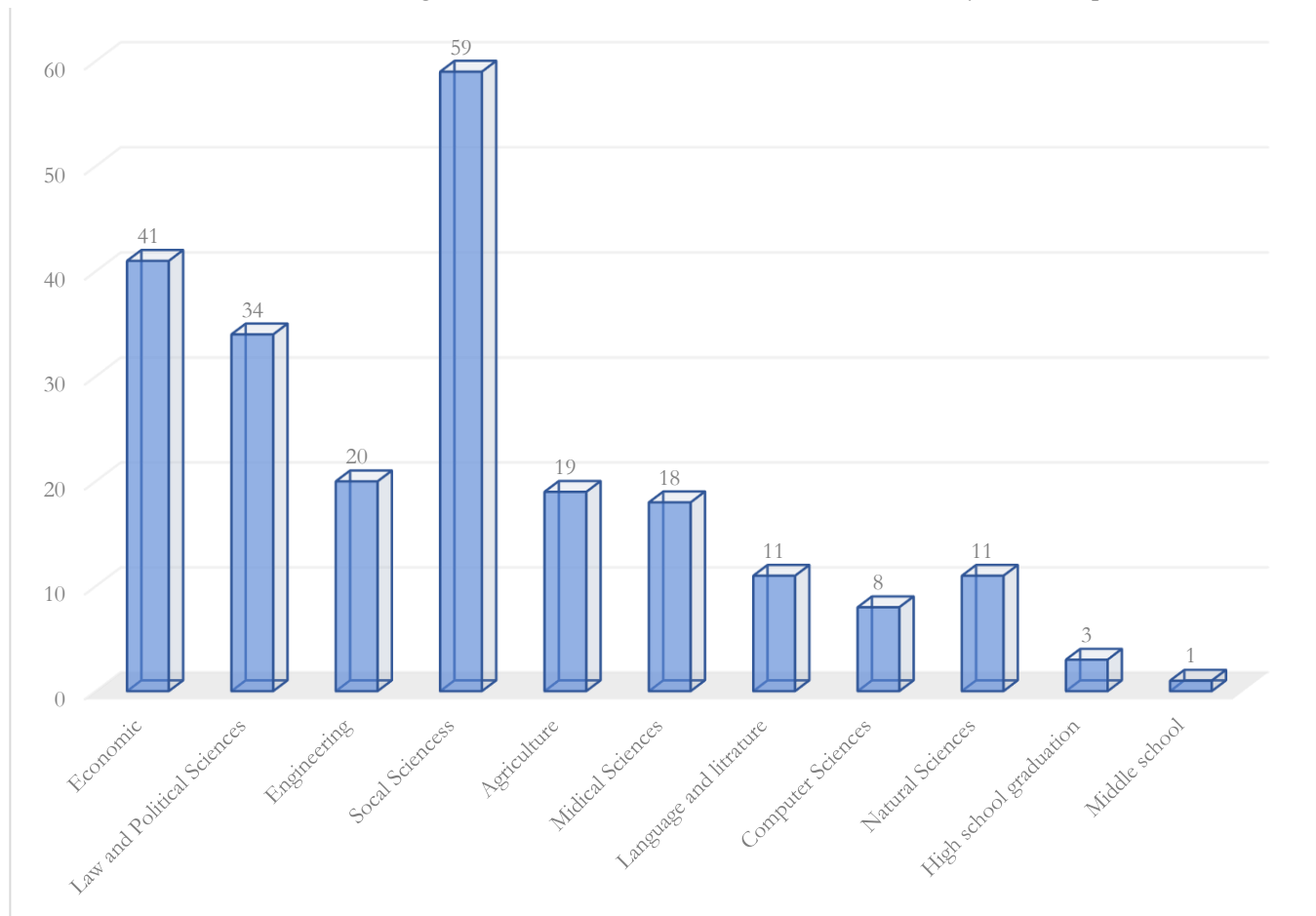


Figure 4. Field of study of participants.

Respondents with different levels of education and different fields are engaged in various jobs. Figure 5 shows that most of the respondents are elites of the Afghan society and this increase the validation of the data and information about the fall of the republic government of Afghanistan.



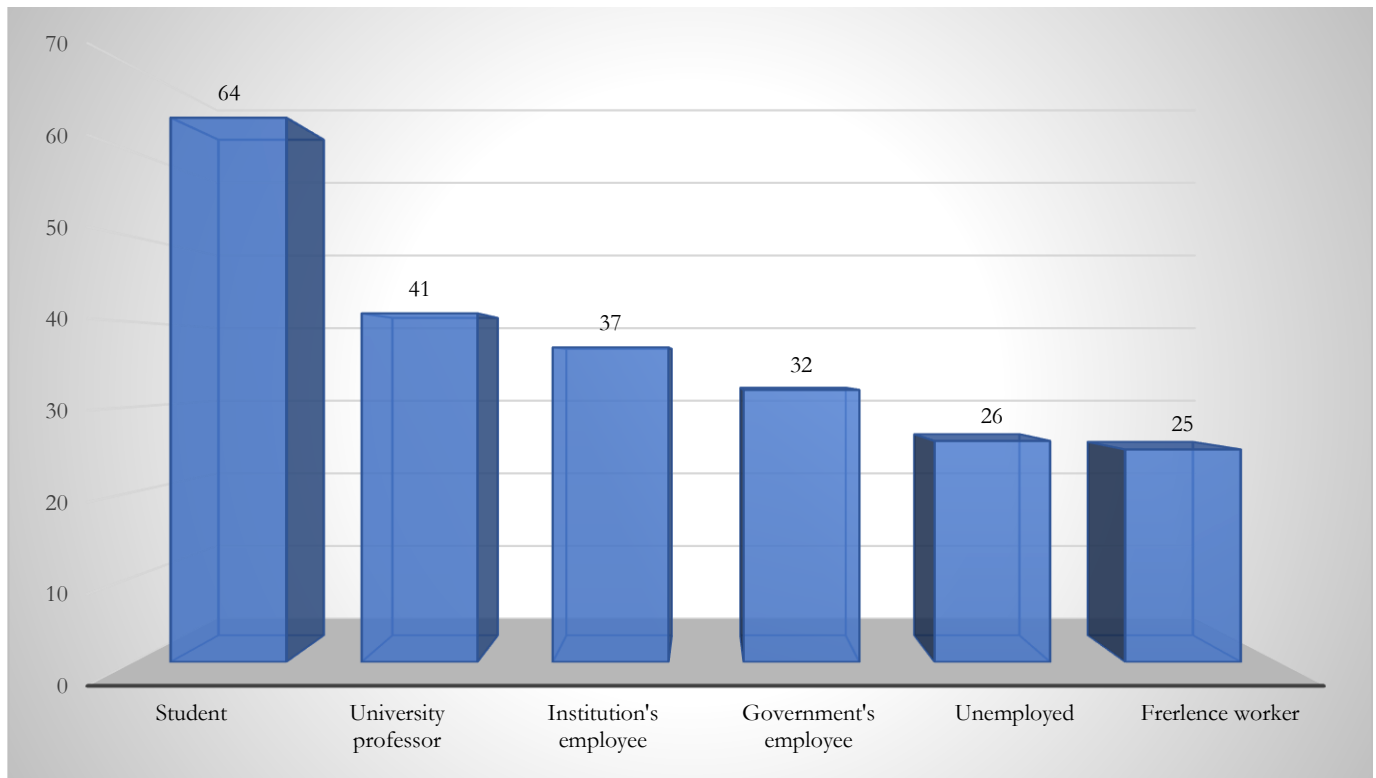


Figure 5. Job of respondents

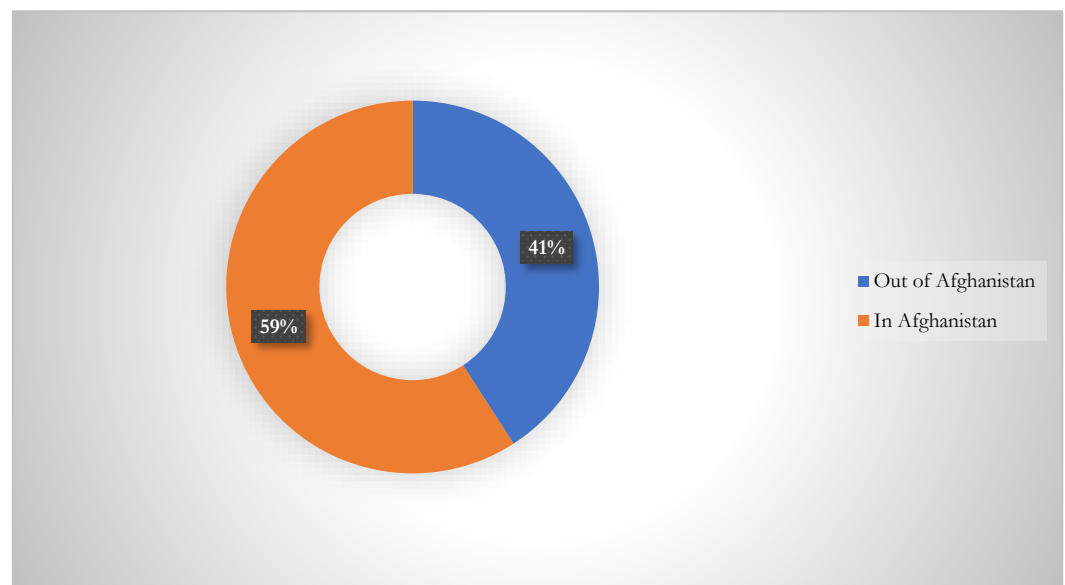
In this study effort has been made to involve participation from different provinces, and fortunately, out of 34 provinces of Afghanistan, residents of 31 provinces participated in this research. Table No. 1 shows the percentage and frequency of people from different provinces.

Table 1. Respondents' matrix based on provinces

Name of Provinces	Frequency of Participants	Percent
Uruzgan	2	0.9
Badghis	1	0.4
Bamyan	27	12.0
Badakhshan	9	4.0
Baghlan	6	2.7
Balkh	16	7.1
Parwan	1	0.4
Paktia	5	2.2
Panjshir	8	3.6
Takhar	4	1.8
Jawzjan	9	4.0
Khost	2	0.9
Daikundi	5	2.2
Zabul	1	0.4
Sarpol	9	4.0
Samangan	7	3.1

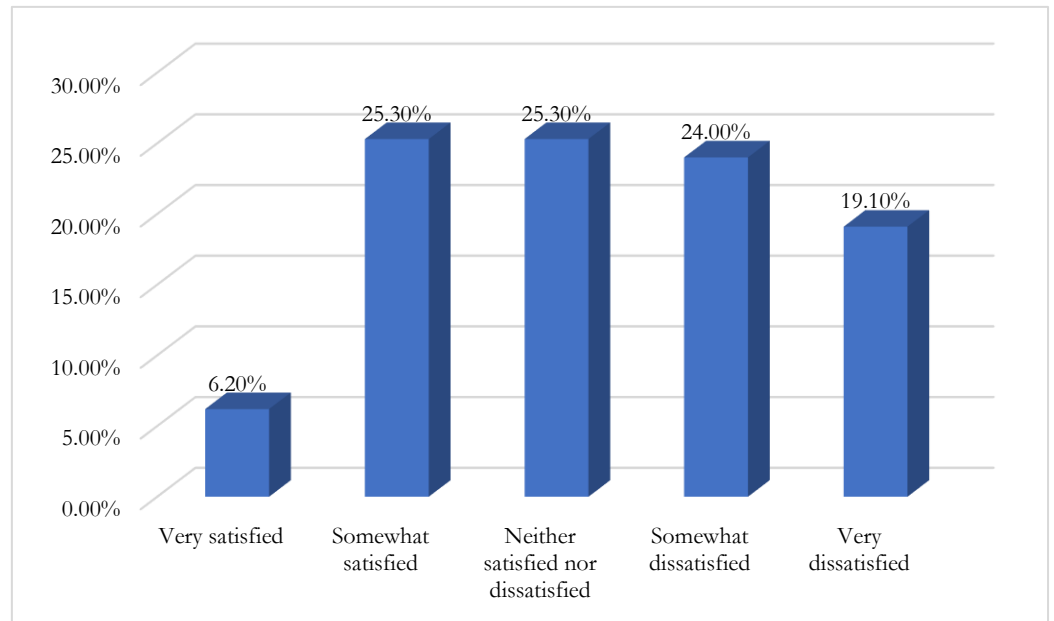
Farah	3	1.3
Kandahar	6	2.7
Kabul	31	13.8
Kapisa	5	2.2
Kunduz	5	2.2
Kunar	3	1.3
Laghman	5	2.2
Maydan Wardak	8	3.6
Nangarhar	7	3.1
Nuristan	1	0.4
Harat	3	1.3
Hilmand	2	0.9
Ghazni	15	6.7
Ghor	6	2.7
Faryab	13	5.8
<b>31</b>	<b>225</b>	<b>100%</b>

Since the data was collected online through social networks. A number of respondents resided outside of Afghanistan who escaped abroad during the power transition. Most of the respondents reside in Afghanistan. Figure 6 shows the percentage of the participants live abroad and in the country.



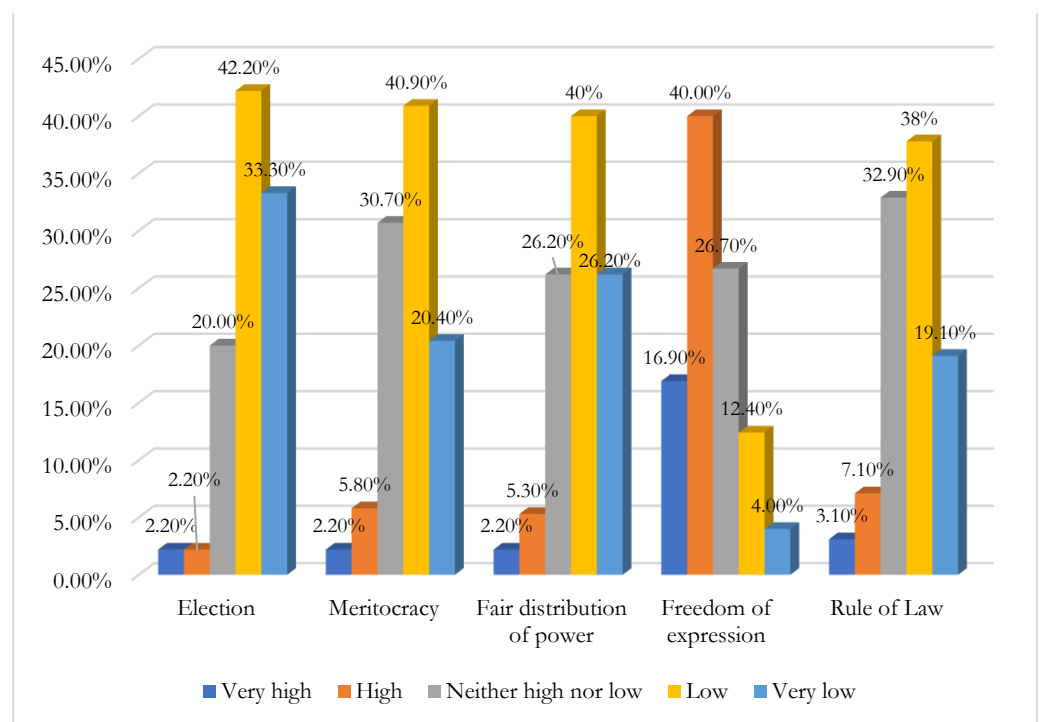
**Figure 6.** Current residence of the respondents.

Based on the review of the research literature, the distance between the people and the government had increased. Figure 7 shows that the respondents are not very satisfied with the government of the Republic and the level of dissatisfaction is higher than the level of satisfaction. 6.2% of the respondents are very satisfied, 25.30% of the respondents are somewhat satisfied, 25.30% of the respondents are neither satisfied nor dissatisfied, 24% of the respondents are sometimes dissatisfied and 19.10% of the respondents are very dissatisfied.



**Figure 7.** The level of people’s satisfaction with the government of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan.

In this research, the following indicators, based on the opinion of the respondents, have been analyzed and evaluated. Figure 8 shows how much the government has tried to consolidate the democratic system and how satisfied the people are.



**Figure 8.** The level of observance of the republican system is one of the components of democracy.

Figure 8 and 9, indicate that the majority of the participants are not satisfied with elections, meritocracy, fair distribution of power, rule of law, observance of citizen's rights, balanced development, political participation, equality and political legitimacy.

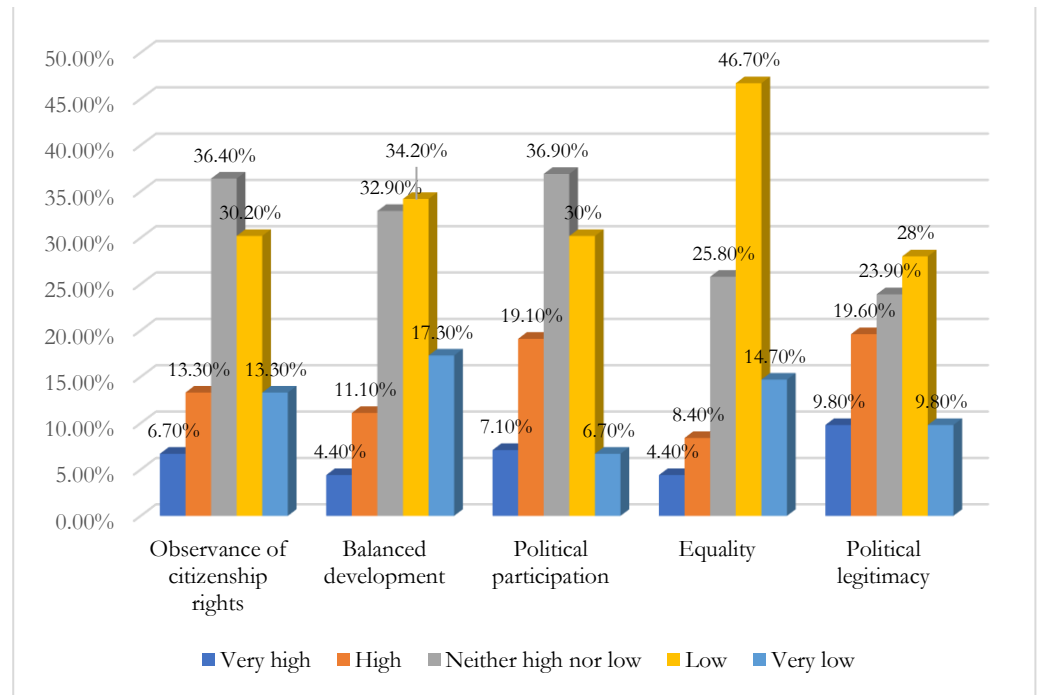


Figure 9. The level of compliance of the government with the components of democracy

Politics in Afghanistan is directly related to ethnic politics, and one of the most crucial problems in Afghanistan is ethnic conflicts. It has long roots in the history of Afghanistan. Figure 10 evaluates ethnic characteristics, and focus on attitudes of different ethnic groups towards the rule of republic government. The level of compliance with political participation and equality by the government and the political legitimacy of the system was measured based on the ethnic indicators, and the four politically influential ethnic groups in Afghanistan, namely Pashtun, Tajik, Hazara, Uzbek and Turkmen, and other ethnic minorities.

Concerning political participation by the government, Pashtuns have the highest satisfaction and positive opinion, and Hazaras have the lowest satisfaction and negative opinion, followed by Uzbeks, Tajiks and other minorities.

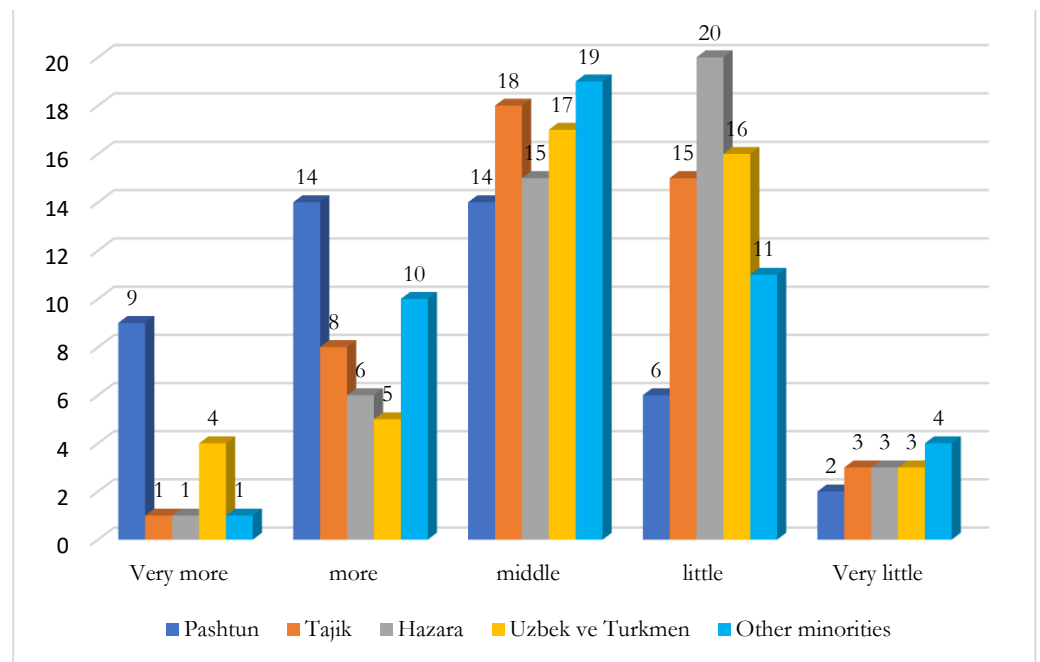


Figure 10. The extent of political participation by the government

With respect to equality between citizens by the government, Pashtuns have the highest satisfaction and positive opinions, and Hazaras have the lowest satisfaction and negative opinion, followed by Uzbeks, Tajiks and other minorities, and Figure 11 clearly shows the frequency of respondents' opinions. is showing.

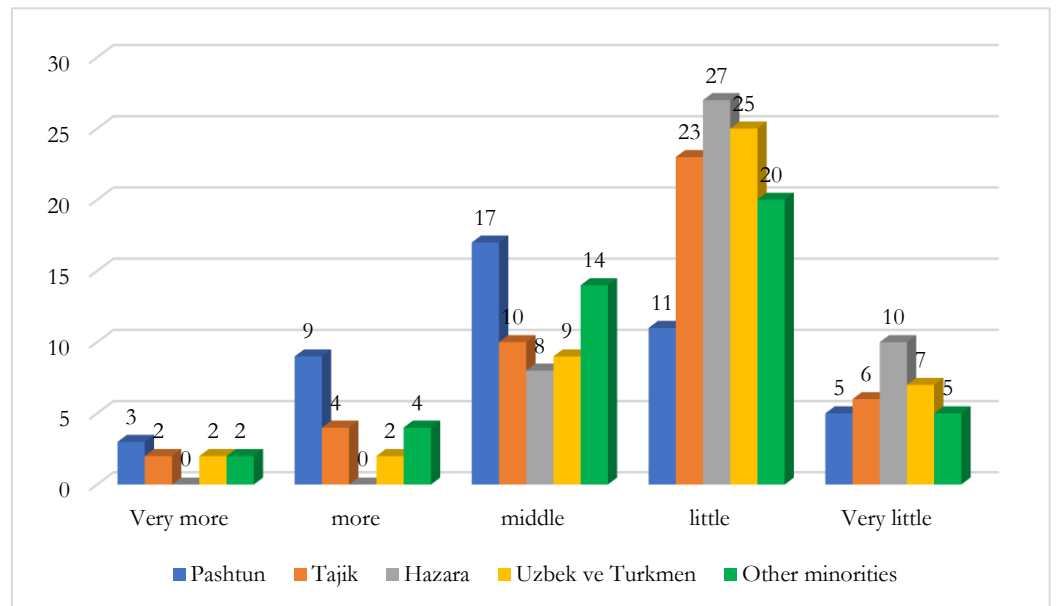


Figure 11. The extent to which the government respects equality.

Regarding the political legitimacy of the government, the Pashtuns have the highest satisfaction and positive opinion, and the Hazaras have the lowest satisfaction and negative opinion, followed by Uzbeks, Tajiks and other minorities. Lack of satisfaction of the Hazaras, Tajiks, Uzbeks, Turkmen and other ethnic minorities indicates the crisis of political legitimacy in the republic system.

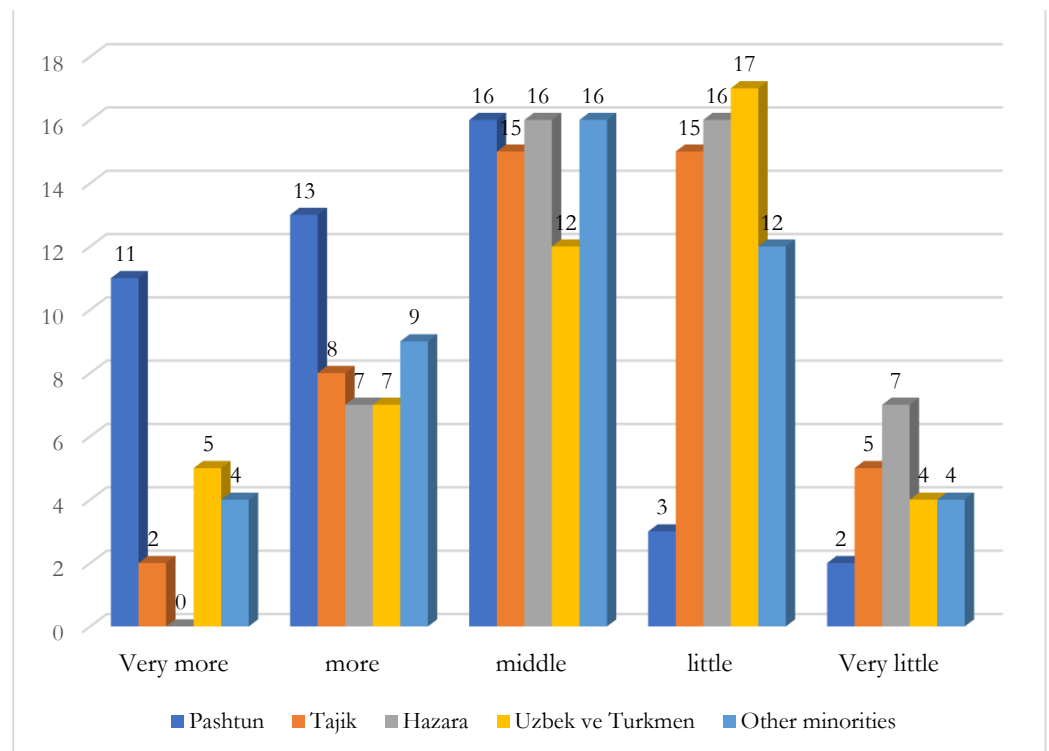
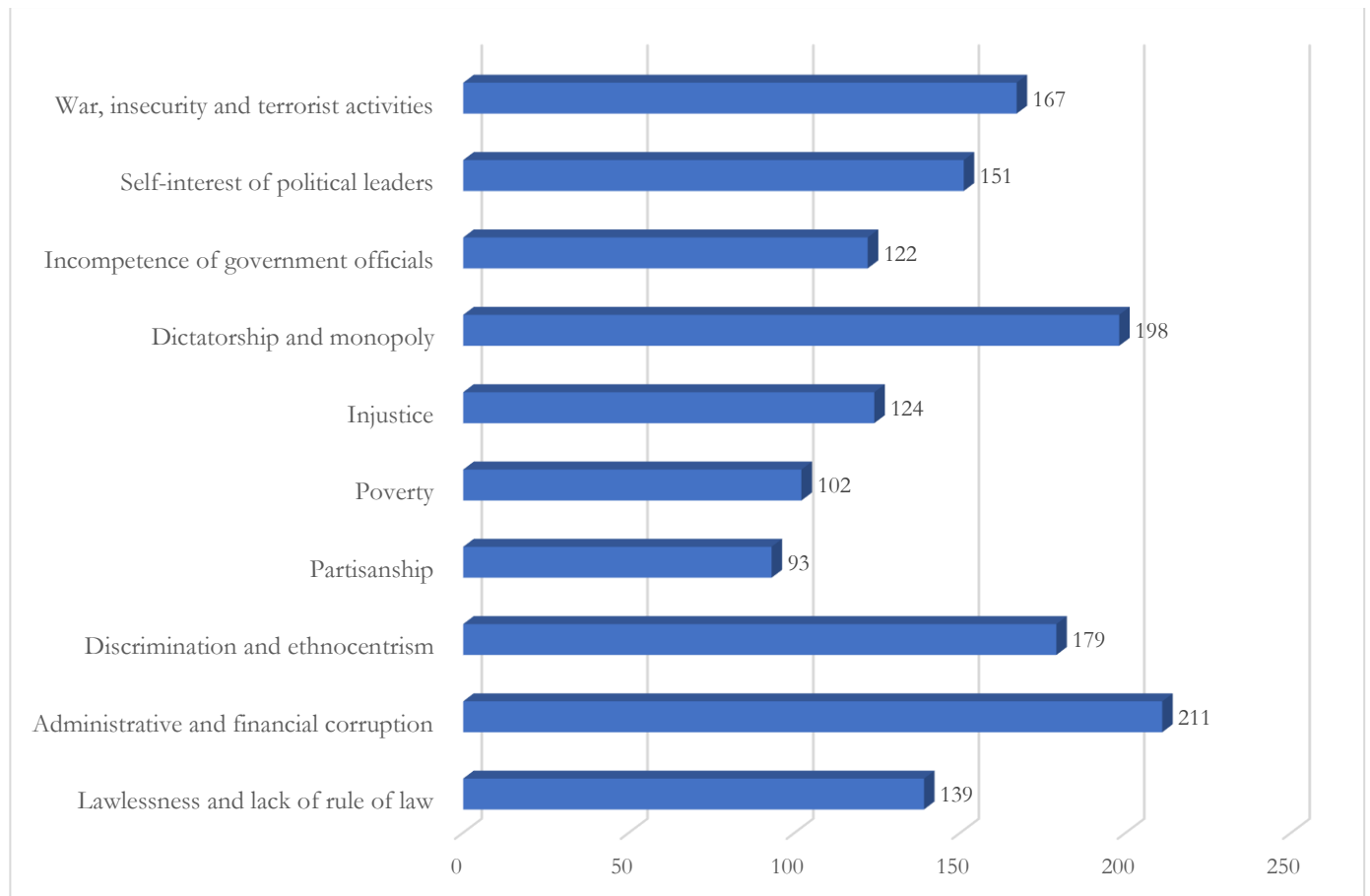


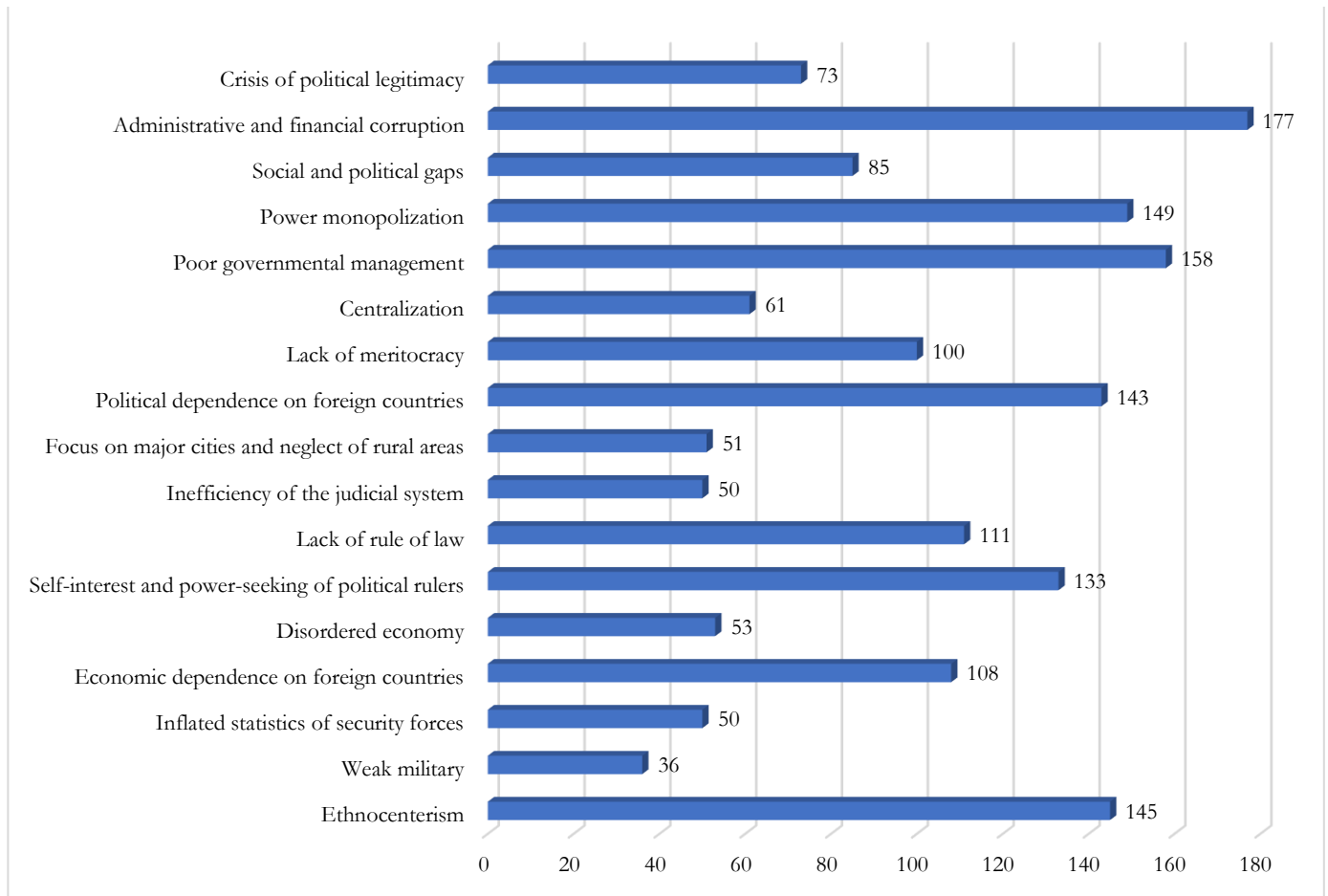
Figure 12. The degree of political legitimacy of the government

The failure of the system of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan did not happen all at once, but there were various factors and many problems that over time weakened the system of the republic and created a political crisis. The most crucial problems that existed during the republic state are analyzed based on the respondents' attitudes. Figure 13. Indicates the most decisive problem during the republic was administrative and financial corruption, which 211 out of 225 respondents mentioned this problem. The second problem that his highlighted by the participants is dictatorship which has chosen by 198 out of 225 people. The third problem was discrimination and ethnocentrism 179 out of 225 people mentioned discrimination and ethnocentrism as the most acute problems in the republic period.



**Figure 13.** The most important problems in the period of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan.

The republican system in Afghanistan could not strengthen its foundations during two decades. Various factors caused the democratic system to fall apart and collapse after two decades. The vital factors that caused the downfall of the system, based on participants views are as follows. Financial and administrative corruption, which 177 out of 225 respondents mentioned this problem. The second factor that caused the downfall of the republic state was the managerial weakness of the top-level officials that 158 participants from 225 respondents mentioned it. The third factor that resulted in downfall of the government was the monopolization of the power in the top-level officials, especially the president himself, which was answered by 149 participants among the respondents. The fourth major factor that caused the collapse of the system was ethnocentrism and discrimination, which was mentioned by 145 respondents out of 225. The fifth factor is political dependence on foreign countries, which weakened and collapsed the Afghan government on the eve of the withdrawal of NATO forces and the reduction of financial aid. Following that, there are many other factors such as lack of rule of law, economic dependence on foreign countries, lack of meritocracy, imaginary statistics and figures of security forces, crisis of political legitimacy.



**Figure 14.** The most important factors of the downfall of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan

The fall Republic state of Afghanistan has created many problems in the Afghan society, and according to the opinion of the respondents, which is reflected in Figure 15, the most significant problem that the people are currently facing is poverty. Out of 225 respondents, 215 said that poverty is the most acute problem.

The second problem is the restriction of women from education, work and clothing, which 176 out of 225 people mentioned this issue. The third problem is closing schools and educational challenges, which 168 respondents considered as the most significant problem in the current situation. Other problems such as ethnic domination, political legitimacy, and ethnic exclusion also deteriorated and fostered the fall of the republic state.

The respondents have been asked to share their experience and opinion about how the fall of the republic of Afghanistan could have been prevented. Figure 16, shows that fight against ethnicism and the unity of the ethnic groups who live in Afghanistan are the answer of the majority of the respondents. 71 out of the 225 said to fight against ethnicism and discrimination. In the second step, to prevent the fall of the Republic, they stated fighting against corruption. In the third step, the political participation of ethnic groups and the provision of social justice are mentioned by the research participants.

In the fourth step, the correct management of the armed forces and the military struggle against the Taliban have been mentioned, and 47 people have responded, and in the fifth step, honesty in the peace talks has been read, which has been raised by 45 people. Pursuing meritocracy, preventing the monopoly of power, implementing laws, not depending on foreigners, transparent elections, poverty alleviation and giving a role to parties have been mentioned among the issues that by implementing these things, the government could have prevented the collapse of the system.

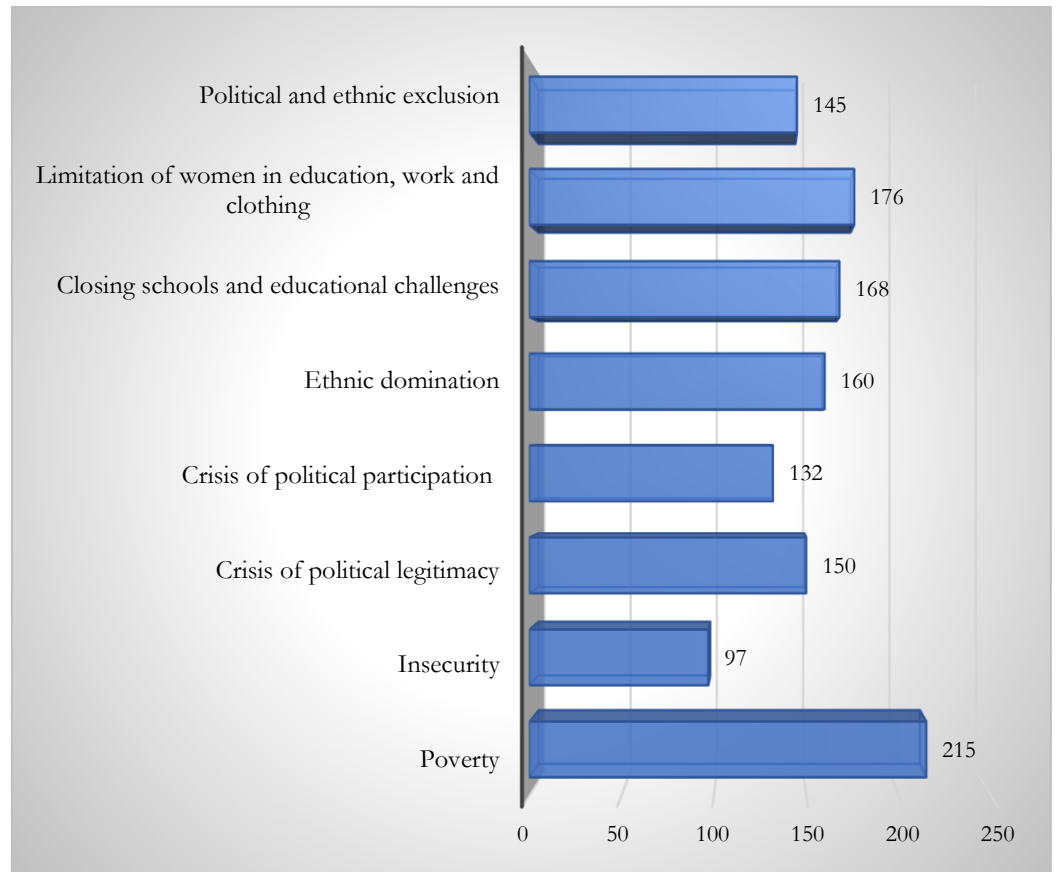


Figure 15. The most important problem after the fall of the republic.

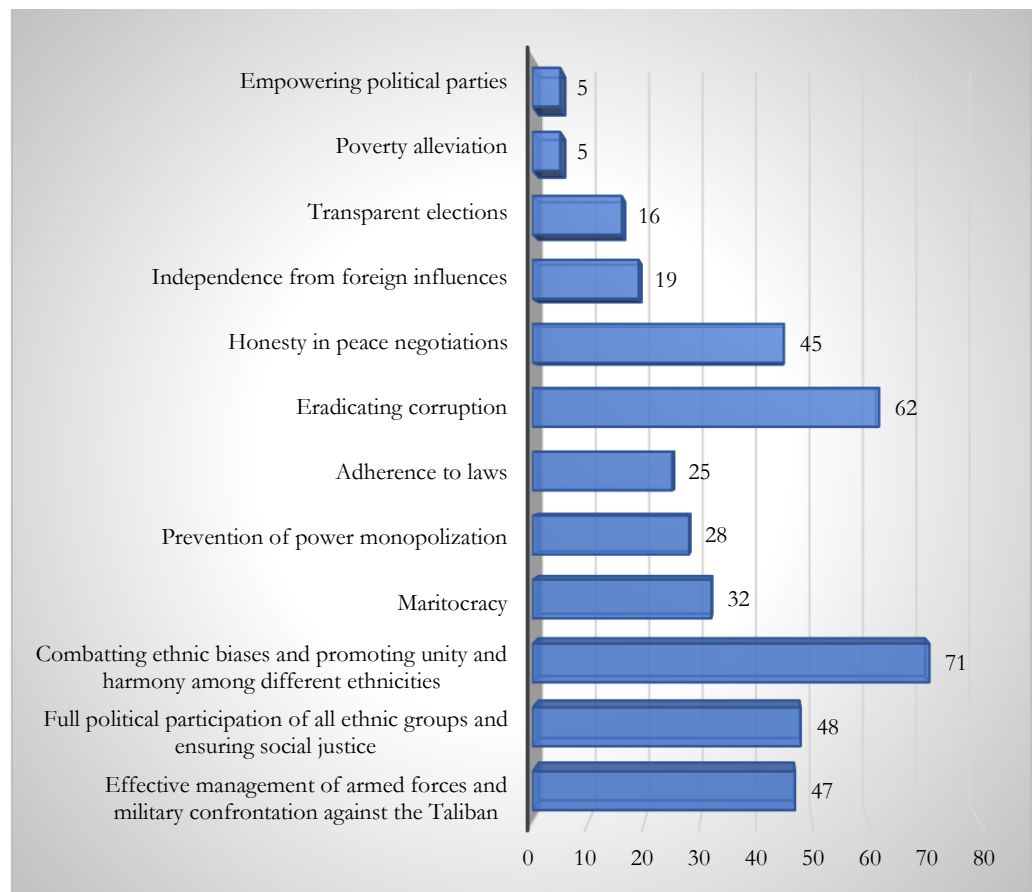


Figure 16. The solution to prevent the fall of the republic based on the views of the participants.



In the current situation, Afghanistan is in a political crisis – the republican system fell apart, the legislature was abolished, the economic and business foundations destroyed, and people are struggling with poverty. Meanwhile; In this respect, the respondents have been asked about the type of system that can be effective solution for political stability and overcoming the existing political challenges. Figure 17 shows that 37% of respondents suggested the political participation of all ethnic groups in an elected government. 28% of the respondents suggested federal system, 19% of the respondents were pro an inclusive Islamic government, 10% of the respondents showed interest for the division of Afghanistan based on ethnicity, 3% of the respondents were pro parliamentary system and 3% of the respondents preferred the monarchic system.

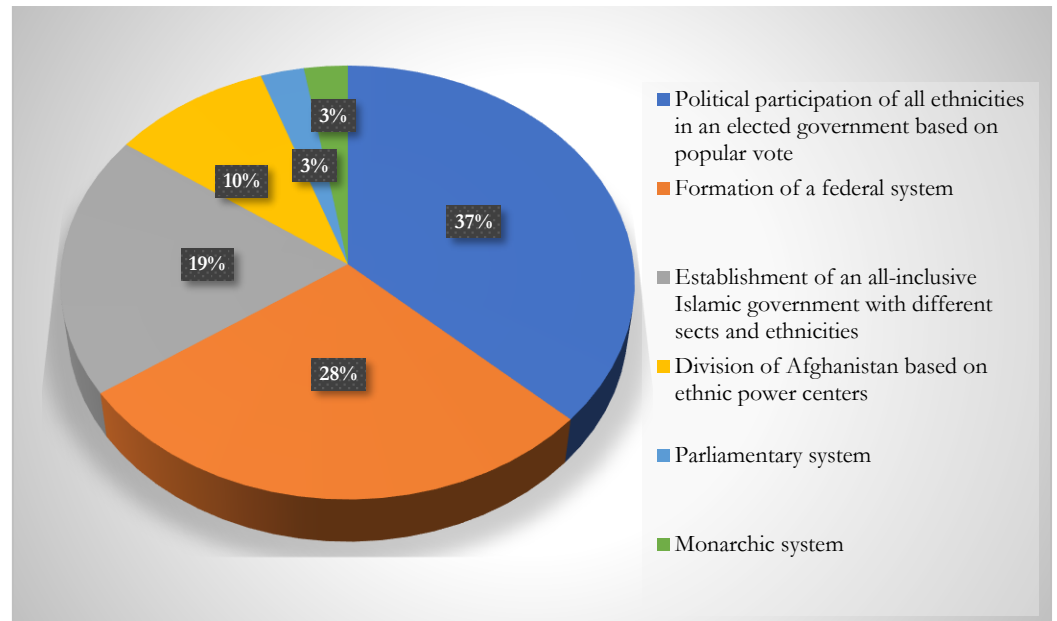


Figure 17. A political solution to the current situation in Afghanistan

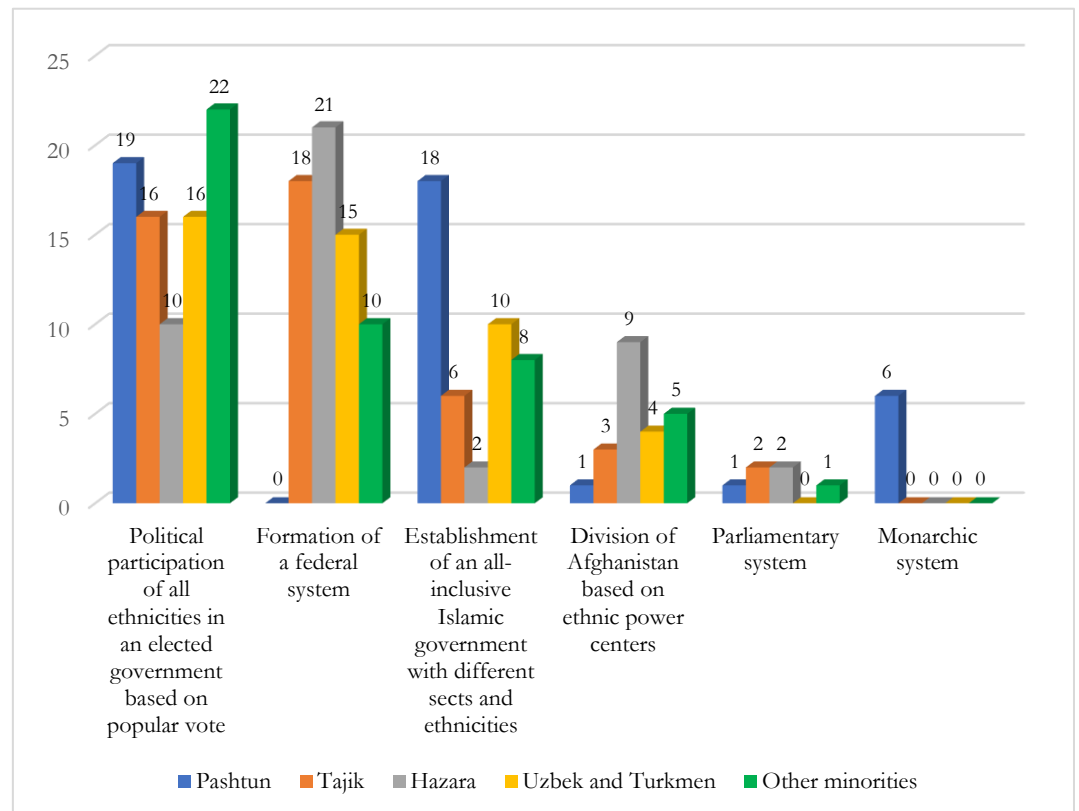


Figure 18. The political solution of the current situation in Afghanistan with the analysis of ethnicity.



There is a debate between Afghanistan's intellectuals and politicians on the type of Afghanistan's political system, and each group and stratum will reveal their political views according to their wishes. Since ethnic politics has been ruling in Afghanistan, even now, the type of future political system of Afghanistan is being analyzed from the ethnic dimension in social media. Therefore, the type of political system that can be the future political solution of Afghanistan analyzed based on the ethnic fact by the answers of the respondents in Figure 18.

Afghanistan's history has always been marked by political turmoil, experiencing over forty years of war and insecurity. A stable and resilient system has never taken root in Afghanistan; instead, most governments have collapsed due to insurgency, coups, and internal conflicts. The collapse of the republic in Afghanistan also had various internal and external factors, reaching its peak with the intensity of war, insecurity, and the withdrawal of the United States from Afghanistan, leading to a political and military crisis, resulting in the downfall of the republic.

The data from this research indicates that administrative corruption, ethnic politics, a centralized and individual-centric system, ethnic discrimination, war and insecurity, injustice, electoral fraud, and political conflicts among leaders, citizens' dissatisfaction with the government, multi-dimensional games played by powerful global nations regarding Afghanistan, interventions by neighboring countries in Afghan political affairs, the failure of government authorities and politicians to adhere to democratic principles, and the personal abuse of government resources by the powerful and governmental officials all paved the way for the collapse of the republican system. With the fall of the republic, Afghan citizens are grappling with hunger and poverty.

The change of the republican system, the exacerbation of the political crisis, and the absence of a government based on the will of the people, coupled with the lack of recognition by the United Nations and other countries, have multiplied the problems of the Afghan people. The future of Afghanistan appears uncertain and dark.

## 6. Conclusions

Afghanistan is a country with a long bloody and tensions history and always has been the center of political conflicts between domestic, regional and global powers. The political problem of Afghanistan is very complex and multifaceted. The intra-ethnic tensions inside and the involvement of neighboring countries, regional and world powers have turned Afghanistan into a swamp of war and terrorism. Afghanistan has never tasted the sweet flavor of political stability and a system based on political independence, especially in the last four decades, and the people of Afghanistan have never become a real nation, but ethnic politics has always been dominant in the country. Therefore, the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan could not keep its foundations strong and stable during two decades as the result of internal and external factors caused to collapse. It has been found that the government of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan has not been able to strengthen and implement the foundations and principles of democracy like transparency, free and fair elections, meritocracy, fair distribution of power, rule of law, observance of citizen's rights, balanced development, political participation and equality.

It has been found that Administrative and financial corruption, dictatorship and monopoly, discrimination and ethnicism, war and insecurity and terrorist activities, personal gain, lawlessness and lack of rule of law, injustice, incompetence of officials, poverty and partisanship were the most acute problem in the republican period that are caused the fall of republic government in Afghanistan. In addition, lack of rule of law, economic dependence on foreign countries, lack of meritocracy, social gaps and political, imaginary fake statistics and figures of security forces, crisis of political legitimacy, centralism, disordered economy, and ignoring rural areas, inefficiency of judicial system and weak army were the root for the republic collapse.

With the escape of President Ashraf Ghani and the Taliban's takeover, Afghanistan has been confronted with major political, economic, and social problems. The most pressing problems, prioritized by respondents, include poverty, restrictions on women in areas such as education, employment and clothing, closure of schools, educational challenges, ethnic dominance, political legitimacy crisis, political and ethnic exclusion, political participation crisis, and insecurity. Since the Taliban came to power and established the Islamic Emirate,

no country has officially recognized their government, and a political crisis prevails in Afghanistan.

Respondents in this study propose the following political systems to overcome the existing political crisis and institutionalize political stability in the country: 37% advocate for the political participation of all ethnic groups in a republican elected government based on people's votes, 28% suggest the formation of a federal system, 19% propose the establishment of an all-encompassing Islamic government representing various religions and ethnicities, 10% support the division of Afghanistan based on ethnic power centers, 3% favor a parliamentary system, and another 3% prefer a monarchy. The findings presented in Figure 18 indicate that Pashtuns lean more towards a centralized system and an Islamic government, while Hazaras, Tajiks, Uzbeks, and Turkmen lean more towards a decentralized system and the ethnic minorities express a preference for the establishment of an inclusive republic based on the people's votes.

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