"The Nation Building in Afghanistan: Perspectives and Challenges"

Faridullah Zazai[1]

[1] PhD Scholar in the Department of International Relation at International Islamic University, Islamabad faridzazai7@gmail.com

Abstract

The process of nation-building in Afghanistan has been a challenging and complex endeavor, marked by historical, cultural, and ethnic intricacies. The top-down approach employed by foreign powers, such as the United States and NATO, focused on establishing state institutions from the outside, often neglecting the diverse and dispersed nature of Afghan society. The country's geography, with its isolated villages and rugged terrain, further complicated nation-building efforts. The coexistence of various ethnic groups, tribes, and cultural customs presented a significant hurdle in forging a cohesive national identity, as these identities were deeply rooted and resistant to centralized authority. The fusion of Islamic fundamentalism and tribal mentality, coupled with a lack of a unifying national identity, hindered the rule of law and effective governance. Moreover, religious differences exacerbated social tensions and conflicts, impeding the development of a unified nation. The failures of previous nation-building attempts underscore the need for a collaborative and bottom-up approach that values local participation and traditions. To overcome these challenges and achieve stability, Afghanistan must recognize and protect its rich cultural heritage while fostering a sense of shared national goals and principles. Creating a united Afghanistan will require ongoing efforts to navigate the complexities of its history, geography, diverse ethnic composition, and cultural dynamics.

Keywords: Nation Building, Challenges, Ethnic diversity, Future Prospect

Introduction

Political scientists that used a historical perspective popularized the idea of nation-building between 1329 and 1339. The creation and growth of a shared identity, as well as the general convergence and coherence between the state and society, are referred to as nation-building. Building a nation is a lengthy process that requires a lot of time. Understand the true meaning of "building a nation." Therefore, it's essential to obtain in order to comprehend the process of nation-building. Knowledgeable about the ideas covered in this thesis chapter. It might be beneficial to comprehend the ideas discussed in this chapter. The reader to learn more about the process of becoming a nation. Building a nation is one of the methods for fostering unity and Building national unity takes a lot of effort and time true's itself. The fiasco in Afghanistan started in 2001 when the US and its allies in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) invaded the country and overthrew the Taliban's Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan. The primary goal, though, was to combat international terrorism such as that of Al Qaeda that was coming from Afghanistan. (Khalilzad, 2005) This goal may seem straightforward, but for the US-led NATO operations in the nation, it ended up being one of the trickiest and most difficult assignments. Nation-building initiatives centered on socio-political reforms and multi-sectoral reconstruction was required to drive out international terrorism from Afghanistan. The development or reconstruction of political entities capable of satisfying international responsibilities and provide basic services to their population is referred to as nation-building. Nonetheless, there are two main methods for nation-

building, as described by James Robinson and Daron Acemoglu in The Narrow Corridor: top-down and bottom-up. (Rubin, 2013) Theoretically, nation-building with a bottom-up strategy depends on local engagement, whereas a top-down approach concentrates on the establishment and rebuilding of state institutions, mostly by an outsider. Stated differently, the implementation of fake institutions is the means through which the top-down strategy depends on the consolidation of power. The subject nation's people's collaboration and will, on the other hand, are the foundation of the bottom-up strategy. The top-down nation-building strategy used by NATO forces in Afghanistan was characterized by a strong preference for military control over local cooperation. (Dodge, 2021) Afghanistan is a diverse country with many different ethnic groups, faiths, tribes, and cultural traditions. In Afghanistan, a complex web of tribal ties, traditions, and conflicts govern daily life. The success of any nation-building Endeavour in Afghanistan is contingent upon the consideration of local customs, traditions, and history. (Breede, 2007) Therefore, beyond infrastructure, law enforcement agencies modeled after the West, and fake governments, investments ought to have been made in developing a sustainable model of collaboration and peace with various local communities. However, following 2002, the US spent more than half of the rebuilding money given to Afghanistan on establishing and equipping the country's security forces, which include the Afghan National Army and police force. However, about US$36 billion was set up for development and governance, and far less was spent on the fight against drugs and humanitarian aid purposes. One of the main priorities for the international community as soon as they took over the nation was to invest in rebuilding in order to restore the infrastructure damage. An official estimate states that from October 2001 to December 2020, US taxpayers spent around US$130 billion (S$171.8 billion) on rehabilitation projects in Afghanistan. During the same era, however, US military expenditures in the nation were around US$825 billion (S$1,090 billion). Even while the US accounted for a large portion of the funding in Afghanistan, other NATO and non-NATO partners also made sizable contributions to the nation. Germany is reported to have spent US$19 billion (S$25.1 billion) on Afghanistan throughout the conflict, compared to the UK's around US$30 billion (S$39.7 billion). Nevertheless, NATO forces were forced to quickly leave the nation after over 100,000 lives and US$2 trillion (S$2.64 trillion) were lost. This cleared the way for the Taliban to seize control of Afghanistan without opposition in August 2021. This brought up several concerns over the ways in which foreign parties—like NATO members, for instance—engaged in nation- and state-building in Afghanistan between 2001 and 2021. Understanding the theoretical foundations and methods of nation-building may hold the key to the solution. (Dobbins, 2008) In this summary, our goal is to comprehend how the foreign players prioritized nation- and state-building in Afghanistan, which was important for the intra-Afghan peace process and an essential part of the US-Taliban peace agreement. Two important lessons may be learned from the situation of foreign involvement in Afghanistan: first, there is a lack of funding and poor financial management for two essential elements of state-building, namely development and governance. Between 2011 and 2018, foreign funding to Afghanistan fell dramatically, from US$15.5 billion (S$20.5 billion) to US$6 billion (S$7.9 billion). Foreign donors raised economic help by US$226.4 million (S$299 million) in 2019 while decreasing military funding by US$1.4 billion (S$1.85 billion) in 2018, but boosting overall aid in 2018. As previously shown, from 2007 to 2015, more money was allotted for security than for civilian purposes in aid to Afghanistan, indicating a preference for security. The establishment of local government structures by the donors was mostly dependent on the ministries and bureaucracies of the central government in Kabul. For instance, the Independent Directorate of Local Governance (IDLG) was founded by the Hamid Karzai administration in 2007 in response to several requests for the establishment of a central bureaucratic hub. Nonetheless, the IDLG demonstrated inefficiency in organizing and executing policies for efficient local governance. (Zhuoma). The important policy papers, such as the 2012 Subnational Governance Implementation Framework and the 2018 Roadmap for Subnational Reform, lacked definitions and clarity about the duties, responsibilities, and relationships of local government administrations. This was another related problem. To establish

district-level governments, district development assemblies were also financially supported by the Afghan Social Outreach Program. These initiatives, however, simply produced terribly ineffective and mismanaged organizations and failed to establish strong accountability frameworks. The authorities and bureaucracy further exposed the development monies to corruption, incompetence, and misuse. An estimated US$19 billion (S$25.1 billion) was lost or unaccounted for in Afghanistan between May 2009 and December 2019, according to a report submitted to the US Congress in October 2020 by the watchdog overseeing reconstruction work there. (Cartwright , 2014) These numbers unequivocally demonstrate that the people living in rural areas benefited the least from Afghanistan's attempts to rebuild their country. Losing popular and local support is the primary drawback of such a top-down strategy. The Taliban propagated a story about NATO soldiers as alien invaders in the context of Afghanistan. These grievances intensified over time, and eventually, when their NATO advisers departed the country, the well-trained and well-funded Afghan security forces crumbled like a house of cards. The US departed Afghanistan without establishing a strong system of peace and government, as history has repeatedly shown. Appropriating development aid money in the appropriate ways may have promoted a long-lasting foundation for nation-building in Afghanistan spite of the fact that the withdrawal was probably approaching. (Congressional Research Service. (2021, September 17).

Perspectives Nation Building in Afghanistan:
Establishing a national identity
Every nation's name helps to build an identity and an appropriate framework for fostering national cohesion and integration. Given the political and emotional weight of the choice, the nation's name choosing has particular significance and sensitivity. It also aids in determining the origins of the nation and its administration. A fundamental issue that should receive the attention of the nation's government is choosing a meaningful name that will create a comprehensive umbrella and coverage for the people of the nation, making the vast majority of those who live there feel as though they belong there. Selecting names that represent distinct regions of the country, or that represent the features of a portion of the country rather than the majority is the first significant obstacle to national cohesiveness and togetherness. Since the minority does not see itself as a part of the nation and does not feel dependent on it, this belief gradually becomes institutionalized in them. In the right circumstances, this belief can take the form of a unique political ideal, which presents challenges for both the government and the government (Jan Peror, 2019: 39). As a result, Afghanistan as it exists now is made up of several ethnic groups, of which the Afghan people (Pashtuns) are the only inhabitants. The initial step of referring to the entire nation by its name, Afghanistan, alludes to a form of power monopoly that denies the reality of other people living in this region and forces Afghan identity upon non-Afghans. This is why other ethnic groups have never approved of this moniker. Something that is more widely acknowledged within Afghanistan than outside of it. Within the ethnic groups residing in this nation, this issue has given rise to division, divergence, and non-dependence. The right to leadership in Afghanistan is an inalienable right of Pashtuns, as stated by Anwar Haq Ahadi, the former leader of the ethnic party "Afghan Mellat," who emphatically states that Pashtuns are "big brother" in the country and will not accept anything less. The premise that "everyone who lives in Afghanistan is an Afghan" is what the Afghan constitution is built upon. Other ethnic groups' identities are disregarded under this clause of the constitution. The goal of all these initiatives has been to realize the establishment of the Afghan nation—an appealing and seemingly rational phrase. Creating a single, undivided nation is perfectly acceptable. But the crux of the matter is whether or not imposing the identity of the portion on the whole can lead to national accord and togetherness. (Barfield, 2008) Regarding identity, the key point to remember is that our understanding of our national identity influences our perspectives on the nation and its destiny. In terms of a calm existence and, eventually, a flourishing society, taking one hand—or, more accurately, comparatively, one hand—from the national identity will align attitudes. Thoughts and behaviors towards the land, people, government are varied and varied due to differing notions of national identity

or heterogeneous identities. Writing this is not meant to exacerbate this problem; rather, it is meant to further examine and reinterpret the meaning of "Afghan" as the national identity of the Afghan people. This talk should make clear how the people of Afghanistan may identify as Afghan. The facts appear to indicate something different, even if we have something called a national identity. Regretfully, conversations regarding a variety of topics, including identity, sometimes devolve into sentimentality in Afghanistan. (Sarem) One of Seyed Jamaluddin Afghan's students, Mahmoud Tarzi, lived for a while in Turkey. Persuaded by Pan-Turkism, he believed that Afghan nationalism was the way forward for Afghanistan. To construct nationalism in his thoughts, Mahmoud Tarzi need resources that might convey Afghanistan's emerging identity. He opted to base his nationalist beliefs on Islam, ethnicity, and language. Tarzi successfully completed the dangerous work of integrating disparate resources in the rebuilding of the identity of a land that is a rainbow of races and languages. Considering the Islamic world as an Islamic institution was his first step towards legitimizing "Afghan nationalism". Then, using the Sharif Hadith, he stated: "It is true that Muslims are brothers, but every institution's residents have the right to defend and love the land they live in, and in order to support this argument, Afghan nationalism and love for Afghanistan should have their roots in Islam." As the process's motto, he sang "Hab al-Watan Man Al-Ayman". Grigarin says: He went on to emphasize that Afghans believed that Islam was a virtue given to them by God, and that they should be grateful for this land because of this truth. Tarzi then organized a team of scholars to work on the advancement of historical rationalism. (Karaca, Özkurt, 2015)

Religion
Religious and Islamic values are deeply ingrained in Afghan society, where the great majority of people practice Islam. Islam has influenced every aspect of Afghan society's individual and communal existence, not just as a collection of religious practices and traditions but also as a set of guiding principles and beliefs. Laws and regulations have been entwined with social life. In light of this, Islam is among the primary sources of political legitimacy inside Afghanistan's political power system. (Danspeckgruber, 2008) Within this kind of civilization, everyone agree that the Muslim country must be protected against enemies and unbelievers by a central authority. Without a doubt, this legitimacy comes into play if the Muslim populace acknowledges the monarch as a believer. This becomes further clear when one considers Afghan society's structure, which has managed to hold onto all of its historic forms in opposition to the emergence of new ideologies. Since villagers make up 80 percent of the population, there is a form of strong commitment and excessive dogmatism among Afghans due to the traditional structure of the country's civilization. (Keane, 2016) As a result, modernist movements that challenge social norms have always been met with resistance. The failure and eventual fall of Amanullah Khan's government, which sought to introduce modernity to Afghanistan with the assistance of Reza Shah and Ataturk, can be seen in the light of this nation's modern history as a testament to the people's steadfast adherence to their religious and traditional beliefs. Because of this, the Afghan kings and rulers pretended to be religious and used the term "protecting religion" to legitimize their authority. However, the main issue that presented the royal dynasty with a significant challenge to its legitimacy was the limited and particularistic interpretation of Islam. Because of this understanding of Islam, a wide variety of Afghans' religious views were disregarded, and as a result, the royal rule never achieved widespread acceptance or universal legitimacy. Islam was construed within the framework of Hanafi doctrine. Only Hanafi Muslims saw political sovereignty as justifiable, even in the greatest of circumstances and with theological reason, due to this limited and narrow-minded understanding of Islam. (Rubin, 2013) While religion remains significant in many nations, its role as a unifying force among people has diminished in certain regions due to its immense influence on the development of national cultures, customs, and traditions. It's regarded as a crucial component of national cohesion in most nations on the planet. Afghanistan is a country where the idea of a nation was not widely accepted until recently. The people their priorities local society over the government, viewing it as existing outside of society. Since over

98% of the population of Afghanistan is Muslim, Islam may be seen as a uniting factor, aside from the conflicts that occasionally arise in this nation between Sunni and Shia extremists. This component may be used to improve national unity and the nation-building process by fortifying and uniting Shiites and Sunnis and resolving their contradicts. It is possible to examine the identity of Islam in Afghan society from two angles: first, the influence of religious institutions and their social roles on social life, and second, the influence of religious ideas and ideals on social life. The analysis of Afghan society also reveals that religious institutions have a significantly bigger significance in this culture than do religious principles and beliefs. Because religion, mosques, and mullahs the three fundamental components of religious rites and rituals in this society have such a strong hold and are perhaps exclusive, it is challenging to think of a substitute for them. It's a given that this method perpetuates the instrumental view of religion, particularly among the ruling class and authoritative narrators; In the initial separatist action, Mirwais Hotaki went to the Hijaz scholars and requested a fatwa in order to challenge the Safavid dynasty. Dost Mohammad Khan referred to himself as Amir al-Mu'minin, while Abd al-Rahman believed that he was God's designated defender and monarch, citing the divine authority of kings. Furthermore, in an attempt to gain support from the people in this era of democracy and unrestricted speech, the president of Afghanistan is making an effort to establish himself in the eyes of the faithful. The historic and religious background of Afghanistan is not lost on the president. As a result of the political deal with Abdullah, Ashraf Ghani initially changed his name from Ashraf Ghani to Muhammad Ashraf Ghani and was elected president of the national unity administration. The name Muhammad was appended to the first half of his first name, and his final name, Ahmedzai, was erased. Moreover, he travelled to Saudi Arabia for the Hajj, marking his first international excursion. By doing this, the president is trying to win over the populace, which is why he yells religious phrases at every event. Nonetheless, given the importance of religion in Afghanistan's predominantly Muslim society, national cohesion and solidarity are fostered by religion, and from ancient times until the present, the country's leaders have profited from the nation's religious fervor.

Centralization

The people who are rooted in a particular physical area (the land) and who feel a feeling of unity with one another (the country) have created the political system, which is a reflection of their shared social-cultural traits and national identity. They have also discovered the political organization of their home country. The institution of government is founded on the human and natural features of the physical space, and its functions include managing the public affairs of the land and society, safeguarding them from outside threats to the environment and society, and policing social relations within the community. (Danspeckgruber, 2008) The government represents the people and carries out a range of political, economic, social, cultural, security, defense, and construction functions. It is established through certain politico-social procedures. Generally, the nation and the political system coexist in harmony, with the political system's structure reflecting the nation's cultural, historical, livelihood, environmental, and spatial features; in the event that the nation's original characteristics differ from those of its homeland, the system's values take precedence. (Keane, 2016) Their political relationship becomes strained, and in order for them to survive, the government needs to reconcile and rebuild the opposing viewpoints; otherwise, their disagreement will only get more intense and ultimately result in structural change or the overhaul of the entire political system. In Afghanistan, on the other hand, people have been subjected to government demands because of the existence of a centralized system, which prevents the people from resisting. The government views this kind of system as the most effective means of uniting the people under one roof. (Kakar,1979) The political system handles governance and political matters. The results demonstrate that the combined efforts of the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of government constitute the political structure of the nation as it exists now. Political idea—the rigid center or tent of the system—is the necessary condition for the shared acts and procedures of the forces constructing political systems, and it is political thought that gives rise to political systems. Governments are

classified as democratic or non-democratic according to the extent to which their goals have supplanted the national will for credibility and legitimacy. (Rubin, 2013)

From Abdur Rahman Khan's reign till the present, Afghanistan has had a continuous system. Starting with the formation of an absolute and centralized government, Abdur Rahman mercilessly punished the local leaders and feudal lords. The worst of all, however, was the oppression and destruction of the leaders of the Jihad against the British. Other kings adopted this strategy after Abdur Rahman in order to use this instrument to subdue the populace and limit threats. A political structure that is in line with the social reality of the country is paramount to the establishment of a thriving, contemporary government and system in Afghanistan. A political structure need to have the capacity to establish a foundation for convergence. The realities of society are incompatible with Afghanistan's governmental structures. The foundation of the government as a political entity has never been the social structure. More failures in the administrations and mono-ethnic political system may be observed in Afghanistan's recent history. As per Parsons, "social institutions form the framework or skeleton of society." The political system is regarded as one of the significant social institutions. This perspective says that the structure of political systems and national involvement in Afghanistan have been among the numerous drawbacks of skeletonization. (Cartwright, 2022) Amir Habibullah Khan's ascent to the throne raised concerns about the concentration of political power in the hands of one person, prompting the creation of the constitutional movement to divide power and create separate authorities within the government at the outset of the 20th century. For this reason, the second constitutionalism movement was launched during Amir Amanullah Khan's rule, however it was unsuccessful. Muhammad Tahir Badakhshi and Bahruddin headed "Saza," a revolutionary organization of Afghanistan's working class, denounced the Pashtuns' quest of domination under the rule of Muhammad Zahir Khan. Over other ethnic groupings, Pashtuns were perceived as "national oppressors." But the political system's mismatch with the country's socioeconomic structure has been a major talking point among Afghanistan's elites in recent decades, and it has been implied that this issue is the primary source of the country's instability and underdevelopment. As a remedy, some suggest the parliamentary system and governor election, such as the National Alliance under Dr. Abdullah Abdullah. (Bugeja, 2014) The argument put out by proponents of the centralized system was that the twenty years of struggle had only reduced the possibility of peripheral subordination to the center and strengthened regional autonomy. Local governments and areas have, on the other hand, truly benefited from autonomy. Now that the counties have been given autonomy and power, the country faces the possibility of breaking up if a solid framework is not put in place. Opponents argue that a decentralized government better reflects Afghanistan's complex society and that shifting from a centralized to a decentralized system but transitioning form centralized to decentralized government in Afghanistan is argue to better align with the intricacies of the country's society. However, the challenge lies in the lack of public awareness regarding decentralized governance. There exists a potential risk that implementing a decentralized system may not necessarily foster development and stability, instead, it could pose the threat of national division, a scenario that could be exploited by adversaries. (Asadzadeh Barzi, 2011) Nevertheless, the past Afghan rulers tried to use ethnic nationalism to establish nation-building by forcing the people under central authoritarian governments. Long term, this method has been destructive to the country, even if it has been successful in the short term in compelling individuals to obey. Centralized systems are seen as ineffectual and even condemned in varied societies like Afghanistan, where people are becoming more conscious of the nationalization process.

Military Use
A key component of the army and armed forces throughout history has always been its soldiers. To be more accurate, without these executive arms, no strong army or army has ever been constituted; yet, the methods for supplying this people were different during the Gonagorn times. Prior to the formation of

unified armies and national governments, the majority of soldiers belonged to ethnic and tribal groups that were united for religious or cultural reasons. The conditions were met for the first time for the formation of armies based on conscription following the Treaty of Westphalia and the rise of secular national governments in Western Europe. As nationalism, national sovereignty, and nation-state unity increased, public obligations and the system evolved into a dependable means of supplying human resources for contemporary militaries. From then on, the conscription system was seen as a way to identify citizens inside a country's borders and to link the army to the nation in addition to serving as a conduit for recruiting soldiers. First established in Europe in response to the demands of European societies, territorial rulers and recently arising social forces established the modern state and its institutions, including the army. Elites from outside Europe and European colonies were inspired to disseminate this government's institutions throughout the world by its effectiveness and military-economic triumphs. As much as the anti-colonial elites wanted to break free from their oppressors and gain independence and power, the colonizers desired to open up the globe. They propagated the nation-state model to non-European civilizations using force and violent tactics, even while they encouraged opposition against it. By combining the efforts of two opposing forces, the modern government was able to achieve worldwide domination. The extension of the modern state's institutions to non-European regions is viewed as part of this globalization. (Danspeckgruber, 2008) The national government aims to bring its subjects together, even if they may not have a "common linguistic, religious, and symbolic identity." The administration employed homogeneity, the creation of culture, symbols, and values, as well as the resuscitation of myths and traditions, to shape this unity. One of the instruments of homogenization, which aims to create a shared history, culture, symbols, and values both inside their own borders and throughout society, is the national army. Application of nationalism is linked to and impacted by the national army. The national army has contributed to the process of developing new nations as well as gaining and preserving independence in many different countries. There has been a strong sense of national identity among these troops, and in certain instances, they feel as though they belong to the country. To strengthen the nation's foundation, they actively engaged in social and political activities at home, particularly in acknowledging their "proud background and full of sacrifices." One of the primary concerns of military people and their propaganda research agencies worldwide has been writing the history of battles and doing historical study to reflect "heroism and proud events". The soldier no longer knows how to have doubts because, in the military era, all commands are mandatory. John Barkoff is not frightened of hurdles as he must race ahead of the adversary. Barrack life teaches warriors selflessness and patriotism while cultivating love and fraternity in their hearts. Furthermore, "differences of opinion that are harmful to the country" would vanish and young people will be packed with responsibility and common sense since there is no room for political discourse or disagreements in the barracks atmosphere. Across the nation, these soldiers all of whom are competent, responsible, and mature promote law-abiding behavior, order, and education. Based on the military structure, the Afghan government supported this. Specializing in the formation of the government army was Amir Abdul Rahman Khan, who was also a skilled sepahdar. The number of soldiers in Afghanistan's regular army was 9,400. Due to their high pay, these army troops awarded points to their parents upon death and to their children until they reached puberty in the event of a soldier's death. For the purpose of providing for their consumption and means of subsistence (pay), every 20 households in the nation were required to give one soldier for a year. These soldiers, who were to be replaced annually, would fight as jihad in the fields of military training and at the nation's boundaries. The 20 household members were responsible for the consumption of these individuals as well as themselves. Two instructors provided military instruction to the pupils at a military school founded under Amir Habibullah Khan's reign in order to improve the army. About twenty-four thousand soldiers made up Habibullah's army, which possessed outstanding military equipment. (Khalilzad, 2005) Mohammad Nader Shah put a lot of effort into building an army that was both powerful and well-equipped, as well as making sure that the force

was taught to obey and submit. To his family, dependents, and relations, he assigned army leaders and military commanders. He put officials on the second level who had no idea what their duties were, and they were consecrated to the ruler's family and blindly obeyed. Therefore, obeying the monarch and the royal family was vital, but possessing scientific and technical degrees was not required to achieve military jobs. This is the reason that, with the exception of those who were aristocracy or in the service of nobility, all experienced and educated foreign commanders progressively departed the army. Members of Shah's family headed the Ministry of War and all the major military departments. Nader Shah assembled a powerful army because he was able to put an end to any unrest, use force to enforce his will on the country, and appoint reliable individuals to lead it. During Amani's rule, Muhammad Nader, as army commander, would not deal with the rebels in the south unless the Shah abrogated the military service legislation and the criminal code, allowing him to deal with the rebels under the same terms of peacemaking. Additionally, after killing Habibullah Kalkani and seizing control, he mandated military duty for some tribes while exempting the eastern, southern, and Kandahar tribes. (Dodge, 2021) The Afghanistan Military rule of 1330 was created by him after Nader Shah, during the reign of his son Muhammad Zahir Shah. This rule of behavior is described in the first paragraph of the first chapter of the code. The requirements of this code of conduct apply to cafes run by male Afghan residents. In the military, they have an obligation to serve with honor by requesting.The time of the Afghan army's quantitative and qualitative development is taken into consideration under the rule of Mohammad Zahir Shah. This is particularly the case for the prime minister ship of Mohammad Daud Khan, who was mandated by Mohammad Zahir Shah to create the government on September 6, 1953. Together with being appointed president, Sardar Mohammad Daoud was also given command of the nation's armed forces. The Afghan army, which now numbers 80,000 soldiers, is a formidable force in terms of organization Similar to this, Afghanistan's independence, national sovereignty, and territorial integrity were all successfully defended by the army, which was one of the strongest and most skilled in the area. Therefore, the Afghan army improved and saw both numeric and qualitative growth during Sardar Mohammad Dawood's administration. The Afghan army was prohibited from joining any political organization under the laws in effect at the time. (Breede, 2007) We may conclude from a study of Afghanistan's nation-building history that the country's previous rulers never attempted to establish civil nationalism as the foundation of their nation. Instead, they are the only ones who, by whatever means necessary, want to force the country inside the framework of ethnic and religious nationalism while disregarding the identity and spiritual values of all other ethnic organizations. A crisis of national identity has resulted from this style of thinking, which has made it extremely difficult for Afghans to come to terms with common sense. A thorough examination of Afghanistan's past leads us to the conclusion that no ethnic group in the country has the right to unilaterally impose its will on other ethnic groups. However, in the past, the monarchs of this area have oppressed and tyrannized people to such an extent that they have attempted to eradicate other ethnic groups by adhering to ethnic and religious nationalism, which is one of the main causes and obstacles. These ethnically motivated actions and ancestry have been the origin of Afghanistan's power elites throughout the nation-building process. Despite their historical, cultural, religious, and other similarities, Afghanistan's ethnic groups continue to struggle with a sense of national identity and unity. (Sarem, 2015) Nevertheless, it can be said that nation-building attempts in Afghanistan have been one-sided and centered on ideologies related to ethnicity, language, and religion, which creates numerous barriers in a varied community and has not been achieved in Afghanistan up to this point. The strategies and instruments employed by Afghanistan's rulers in the process of nation-building will be covered here.

Nation Building in Afghanistan Challenges
While there is no denying that the United States might have handled its withdrawal from Afghanistan more skillfully, the catastrophe unfolding this month has been developing for 20 years. America and her allies adopted a top-down state-building policy that was doomed to failure right from the start and never

gave it second thought. Afghanistan had become a curse to both its own people and the rest of the globe, and the United States had invaded the nation 20 years prior in the hopes of restoring it. In order to promote regional security and avoid its use for international terrorism, the goal was for the "government of Afghanistan to sufficiently control its territory," as General Stanley McChrystal stated before to the 2009 surge of US soldiers. All America has left to show for its efforts, after over 100,000 lives have been sacrificed and over $2 trillion has been spent, are the images of the frantic flight from the nation this month, a humiliating failure akin to Saigon's fall in 1975. Why didn't it work? All of it, just not in the way that most people would assume. Although the accident was partially caused by ill-preparedness and a lack of reliable intelligence, the issue has really existed for 20 years. At an early stage, the US realized that strong state institutions were necessary to construct a stable nation with some semblance of law and order. Motivated by several specialists and concepts that have since been abandoned, the US military presented this difficulty as an engineering issue: The answer was to flood Afghanistan with money and transmit knowledge from outsiders, as the country needed governmental structures, a working security force, courts, and educated officials. NGOs and the wider foreign-aid apparatus of the West were there to provide assistance in whatever manner they could, regardless of the locals' wishes. Moreover, foreign soldiers primarily from NATO troops but occasionally from private contractors were sent in to maintain security since their job needed a certain level of stability. Political scientists have a long history of considering nation-building as a top-down, "state-first" Endeavour. This perspective was shared by US politicians. The idea is that you may force your will onto an area by conquering all other powers and establishing overwhelming military domination over it. But this notion was proven to be incorrect in Afghanistan and to be at best just partially correct in the majority of other areas. Afghanistan obviously needs a state that operated. That assumption, however, was incorrect that one could be imposed from above by outside powers. When you start with a very varied society structured around regional cultures and norms, as James Robinson and I contend in our 2019 book The Narrow Corridor, this strategy is impractical. True, there have been instances where the top-down strategy for creating states has succeeded (such as the Ottoman Empire and the Qin dynasty in China). However, most governments have been established via collaboration and compromise rather than coercion. The consent and cooperation of the people who are subject to the state institutions is more often required for the successful concentration of power. According to this paradigm, a society's aspirations are taken into account and governmental institutions obtain legitimacy by garnering some degree of public support. This in no way implies that the US ought to have collaborated with the Taliban. However, it does indicate that instead of providing resources to the corrupt and unrepresentative government of Hamid Karzai, the first president of Afghanistan after the Taliban, and his brothers, it ought to have collaborated more closely with various local parties. Co-author of a book published in 2009 detailing how this approach had fostered corruption and fallen short of its declared goals, Ashraf Ghani, the president of Afghanistan, whom the United States backs and who fled to the United Arab Emirates last week. Still, Ghani followed the same path after gaining power. (Dodge, 2021)

Natural geographic obstacles that effectively aid in Afghanistan's nation-building
The land is the portion of the nation-state's territory that is both land and water. Without land, the notion of a nation-state becomes meaningless. In the realm of politics, geography plays a crucial role, and land is one of the primary components of the state-nation phenomena (Farji Rad and others, 2011). The land has additional significant functions for the nations; first, it is commonly argued that the land creates a conceptual bridge, or state-nation, between the country and the state. Afghanistan's population's social structure and political behavior may be influenced by all of its geographic characteristics. Afghanistan has unique traits under the current circumstances. Landlocked Afghanistan is a nation. Because of the people's links to this region, the government essentially has no control over Durand Line with tribal territories, which is one of the country's hotspots for insecurity. But, because of inadequate infrastructure, this nation, along with Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, and Tajikistan, does not really include

_____
Volume: 3, No: 1   **January-March, 2025**

1764

their government oversight in the northern areas. Opportunities exist for this country along its western borders, although they are limited to the northern regions of Darad and the Lam Yazare deserts on the western banks of the Iranian border. Afghanistan, meantime, benefits from this matter in two ways. Due to the fact that, while Afghanistan lacks any territorial claims that may pose a threat to a nation-state, these attributes have made it difficult for the process to emerge as a means of resolving issues with nation-state construction. What's more, this trait has been most affected by being limited to land.

Afghanistan's Unique Geographical Location:

Because Afghanistan is shaped like a crossroads between the subcontinents of India, China, West Asia, and Central Asia and is positioned in the middle of the region, it is vulnerable to invasions from all directions and was divided between neighboring states and powers until the early 1700s. Afghanistan now occupies a strategically significant position due to its mountain ranges. As a clenched fist shaped like a crossroads between the subcontinents of China, West Asia, Central Asia, and India, Afghanistan is situated in the Centre of Central Asia; It was therefore vulnerable to incursions from the north, south, west, and east up to the start of the 18th century when it was split between the neighboring nations and powers. Afghanistan now occupies a strategically significant and essential location due to its mountain ranges (Aliabadi, 2016). The inadequacy and breakdown of contemporary state formation and nation-state establishment in Afghanistan can also be attributed to the physical and geographical makeup of the country. The difficulties Afghanistan's geographic topography presents for nation-building come in many forms and dimensions. Externally, Afghanistan was always positioned as a playpen and rival to the two colonial powers Tsarist Russia, followed by Bolshevik and British colonization, and finally the United States of America because it served as a buffer between them. A further difficulty to nation-building from the inside is Afghanistan's geographic configuration. Afghanistan's nation-building process is made more difficult to understand by the country's hilly terrain, the population's dispersion among the mountain valleys and rural areas, and their separation from one another.

Customs and Traditions of Tribal Society

Given the diversity of nations and ethnic groups living there, Afghanistan is one of the few places in the world where many and occasionally disparate ethnic groups and tribes coexist. The diversity and heterogeneity of the ethnic groups have made it impossible for this country's nation-building process to properly resolve the associated dilemma since there isn't a uniting answer. Due to the lack of a defined and accepted national identity that unites all ethnic groups and nations, despite the passage of many years since this country's independence, dispersed ethnic identities have supplanted the national identity in this nation. The tribe system in Afghanistan holds authority over about one-third of the country's people due to the resilience of its traditional structures. This system, which is still in place among the Pashtuns of Ilati, is manifested in a number of institutions, including the Khan (head of the tribe), Malak (Representative of Village), Jirga (an assembly that makes decisions on all matters pertaining to the group), and Loya Jirga (an assembly of representatives from various provinces that makes decisions on major national issues, such as: approval and amending the constitution..).The authority and guarantee that underpins these customs is derived from religious sources, economic establishments, or the standing and credit that the elders that is, the group that frequently holds the power have. (Farji, 2011) Because of the way ethnic construction is set up in Afghanistan, it has become difficult to communicate, trust one another, and exercise self-control. Tribal organizations often fall into several categories according to their degrees of heterogeneity, and this circumstance has led to a variety of identity conflicts and texture conflicts. The national destiny has been impacted by a variety of shared impacts resulting from several levels of identification and all the incongruous traits that occur in the social balance. These challenges are first attributed to the religious and Ili cultural systems within the native cultural system, and then to liberalism and communism within the modern cultural system. A political culture that presents significant obstacles to progress has gradually emerged from the fusion of Islamic

fundamentalism and tribal mentality. In several respects, the nation's political growth has been hampered by the new political culture's themes of ethnocentrism, aggression, distrust, and negative individualism. Afghan society is an oral, non-written civilization rooted in its tribal traditions. People are not accountable for their deeds and behavior in oral culture. Social and political concerns are handled in oral cultures according to individual preferences and interests rather than by following laws and regulations. Since one of the traits of oral culture is the disregard for personal responsibility by leaders and individuals, oral culture is fundamentally opposed to growth. Rather than being personality-oriented, traditional and tribal cultures are people-oriented. According to this assertion, people's social standing and dignity in traditional society are determined by their personal and familial standing as well as their social basis, rather than their knowledge, skill, and opinions. He is assessed along with his family and social basis. In this way of thinking, the khordar considers a person's familial relationship, ethnic background, and racial background more important than their knowledge and professional abilities. A further crucial component of democratization is destroyed by this bad aspect of traditional culture, which also poses difficulties for the process of nation-building.

Profound Social and Cultural Divides

This nation's multi-ethnic, multireligious, and usually cultural makeup is the primary feature of Afghan society that has expressed itself in its political system. The unique work and disorganized and disintegrable processes of such a structure should be regarded as the primary and fundamental causes of the inefficiency and difficulty of this structure. Since Afghanistan is home to several ethnic and religious groups, its social and cultural structures are founded on a disorganized and discontinuous framework that exhibits a variety of inconsistent and varied features in the structure's intended purpose. Educational practices include, but are not limited to, highlighting tribe allegiances, promoting descent values and subcultures, giving religious concepts precedence over religious solidarity ideals, and tabooing tribal symbols rather than national ones. The dearth of "national spirit" is what has made the characteristics of various entities within Afghanistan's political unit more distinct. The lack of a distinct national values and shared interest's framework is one of the reasons Afghanistan has not been able to establish a modern national government and country. National values are innate, communal ideals that define the shared requirements of a nation's citizens and advance communal living. There is still disagreement and lack of clarity around shared national ideals and interests in Afghanistan. Common national ideals and interests are impeded by the diversity of ethnic and linguistic groupings, their unique and diverse lifestyles, and their adherence to tribal and ethnic customs. National identity and values are defined by ethnic groups according to their own interests. (Dodge, 2021)

Religious Disparities

A scenario in which social animosity and conflict are followed by tension and force features based on religious beliefs and inclinations is referred to as religious conflict. Social environment and internal flow influence religious conflict, which arises when individuals attempt to force their ideals on others because of significant disparities in beliefs and values. Conflicts between goals in society transition to get more intense. Religion in Afghanistan's social-ethnic relations is arguably the most significant and influential factor. Because religion permeates Afghanistan's people's deepest beliefs, traditions, and levels of attachment to it, it has restricted the tribes' ability to think rationally and creatively, leading to the emergence and spread of "nervousness" in the conscience. The collective unconscious is a realm of data. Afghan society's historical memory recalls many individual and group disputes brought on by religious inclinations and connections. There have occasionally been violent confrontations as a result of these disputes.

Afghanistan's Racial Divide

In essence, the protracted conflict in Afghanistan is ethnic in nature. Every ethnic group attempts to find a position in the political hierarchy; but, when these attempts fail, they turn to violence. d. This society

_____
Volume: 3, No: 1   **January-March, 2025**

1766

has a far higher degree of interest and ethnic solidarity than a society that is more developed; it is built on a division of social activity and has an organic character. The Northern Alliance, which is primarily made up of Tajik, Hazara, and Uzbek ethnic groups, and the second group, which is primarily made up of Pashtuns, are the two primary ethnic groupings that are now active in Afghanistan. Among the major issues facing the nation-building state in this country is striking a balance between the Pashtuns and non-Pashtuns groups, as well as the intra-Pashtun ethnic division and the general ethnic features of Afghan society. In Afghanistan, the ethnic split has always played a significant role in political life, even if it has been dormant at times and has not had a significant influence owing to the ethnic and tribal basis of the country's socioeconomic structure. Since social control has such a strong hold, the non-ruling ethnic groups, who have always held a bad opinion of the governing ethnic group and particularly the central government, have typically not had the chance to emerge and have only done so when there have been family disputes. As a result of the amplification of these differences, the imperative to maintain political sovereignty has diminished, and violent ethnic and tribal wars have resulted. (Breede, 2007)

Because the political currents in Afghanistan were unable to sustain the country and its various tribes as a nation, cultures developed in places where ethnic identity could be defined but political identity was not yet established. The tribes are currently organized based on race. Unfortunately, there is still no discernible stream that makes a significant move in this direction; they have stayed tribal and ethnic. Not only has the "Afghan nation" failed to make any progress in the last century, but it has also shattered Shiraz and increased national bloodshed in the nation by putting the Pashtuns people and the Pashto language at its heart. The country will unavoidably fall into several sections if it is not avoided. Undoubtedly, the Afghan nation-building initiative centered on the Pashtuns ethnic group has proven to be unsuccessful, and a fresh strategy for constructing both the state and the nation should be considered. Afghan administrations, particularly the Karzai regime, wasted significant potential at least a century and a half ago to solidify tribal and ethnic autonomy and Pashtunize the nation. Although the money spent on these expenses ought to go towards fostering national cohesion. (Asadzadeh, 2011)

Future Prospects and Recommendations:
The improvement of the Afghan people and the stability of the region depend on the establishment of a stable and wealthy Afghanistan, despite the many obstacles in the way. For Afghanistan's nation-building, the following proposals and future possibilities are presented:

Inclusivity and Political Stability
The essential foundations of Afghanistan's future are inclusion and political stability. Resolving the long-standing disputes and historical divides that have afflicted the country is a complex task necessary to achieve inclusive government and long-lasting stability. The first and most important requirement for establishing an atmosphere conducive to advancement and development in Afghanistan is political stability. A government that is able to maintain law and order, care for the needs of its people, and protect their safety is essential to this stability. As a result, the Afghan people are able to live normal lives, seek education, participate in the economy, and create a rich future. Stable political systems also reduce the likelihood of military conflict. Since it guarantees that all facets of Afghan society are represented and have a role in the country's destiny, inclusivity is just as important. Being inclusive entails promoting harmony and collaboration across many groups by bridging racial, religious, and geographic divides. A truly inclusive administration can capitalize on the potential of Afghanistan's varied populace, resulting in a more peaceful and wealthy country. Afghanistan has to create a political system that takes into account a variety of viewpoints and interests in order to accomplish these aims. Power-sharing arrangements open and transparent elections and conflict resolution procedures may all be part of this. Furthermore, it demands that different stakeholders be involved in decision-making, such as women and minority groups. (Danspeckgruber, 2008) Afghanistan's nation-building process depends on both political stability and inclusion. They are necessary for long-term peace, economic growth, and

_____
Volume: 3, No: 1   **January-March, 2025**

1767

social cohesiveness. Afghanistan may steer towards a more promising future where all its residents can actively participate in the country's development and prosperity by giving priority to these factors.

Lawfulness and Security

For Afghanistan to remain stable, grow, and ensure the welfare of its citizens, security and the rule of law are essential. These ideas are related because security creates the preconditions for the rule of law to flourish and the rule of law strengthens security by enforcing a framework of justice and order. Afghanistan's security is complex, requiring both a strong military and a police force that can uphold law and order. It is essential to bolster Afghan security forces and provide them with the infrastructure, resources, and training they need to maintain security. In order to fight challenges from extreme organizations like the Taliban or ISIS, this entails having both militaries might and a strong intelligence apparatus. In addition to establishing a framework that regulates society, the rule of law also protects individual rights and facilitates the settlement of disputes. It is essential to have an unbiased, independent, and open judiciary. It guarantees equitable application of the law and equal access to justice for all Afghan people, irrespective of their background. The cornerstones for establishing an atmosphere that encourages investment and economic progress are security and the rule of law. They provide business owners and investors the assurance that their agreements and assets will be safeguarded and that disagreements will be settled amicably. Furthermore, as insurgent or extremist organizations frequently flourish in conditions of lawlessness and injustice, a safe and equitable society promotes social cohesiveness and lessens their appeal. Investments in capacity-building, governance reform and the creation of a legal infrastructure are essential if security and the rule of law are to be achieved in Afghanistan. In order to offer the required resources, training, and experience, international collaboration and aid are essential to this process. (Miller, L., & Perito, R. (2004). Afghanistan's stability and advancement are based on the interdependent relationship between security and the rule of law. Afghanistan can become a more secure, equitable, and affluent country that will benefit all of its residents by tackling these issues.

Development of the Economy

Achieving security, prosperity, and raising the standard of life for the people of Afghanistan requires both economic growth and the rule of law, which are interconnected facets of nation-building. Establishing a legal system that safeguards property rights, upholds contracts, and fosters corporate trust must be Afghanistan's top priority if it is to achieve sustainable economic progress. Expanding Afghanistan's economy beyond its traditional dependence on poppy cultivation is one of the country's main concerns. Facilitating this diversification requires the development of the legal framework. Enacting policies that promote investment in industries like mining, manufacturing, and agriculture can minimize the country's susceptibility to the illegal drug trade while also promoting economic growth. (Dan, 2014) In order to entice outside investment, Afghanistan must provide a business-friendly atmosphere that guarantees investment security and contract enforcement. To guarantee that investors' assets and interests are safeguarded, a clear and uncorrupt legal framework is necessary. The government should also give top priority to measures that simplify laws and lower administrative barriers, which would facilitate the establishment and operation of enterprises in Afghanistan. Providing access to markets, providing funding, and cultivating an entrepreneurial culture are all part of this. Further essential to economic expansion is the development of infrastructure. (Barnett, 2018) For businesses to operate effectively and reach a wider market, it is imperative to enhance transportation networks, energy infrastructure, and access to clean water. Human capital is also important, and this should be included in sustainable economic growth. For Afghan workers to be prepared for a global economy that is changing quickly, education and vocational training investments are crucial. As it may greatly contribute to the growth of the country's economy as a whole, economic empowerment of women is equally important. An effective legislative framework that encourages investment, entrepreneurship, and

_____
Volume: 3, No: 1   **January-March, 2025**

1768

economic diversity is essential to Afghanistan's economic success. An economically thriving and self-sufficient Afghanistan becomes a realistic objective, providing a better future for its people, when combined with vital infrastructure development and human capital investments. (Chris, 2019)

Building Peace and Reconciliation

For Afghanistan to end decades of violence, stability must be restored, and the Afghan people must be given hope for a better future via peacebuilding and reconciliation. Because they necessitate the creation of a fair and reasonable system to settle disputes, guarantee accountability, and assist in the reintegration of former combatants into society, these programmes are closely associated with the rule of law. An all-encompassing national discourse with pertinent stakeholders is essential to promoting peace and reconciliation in Afghanistan. Participants in this conversation should include civil society organizations, government representatives, and former rebels. Parties can strive towards mutual understanding and reconciliation by creating an atmosphere in which complaints can be freely discussed. Offering incentives to ex-combatants to give up their weapons and reintegrate into society is essential to establishing a durable peace. Ensuring that people are held responsible for their crimes and given a means to return to their communities as law-abiding citizens is a crucial function of the rule of law. The establishment of a shared understanding of historical wrongs may entail the use of transitional justice tools like truth commissions or amnesty. The core causes of conflict, such as social, economic, and political inequality, must also be addressed in peace building initiatives. Legal changes ought to uphold equal access to resources, safeguard minority rights, and encourage diversity. In the pursuit of peace and reconciliation, international collaboration and assistance are equally crucial. The international community can support these procedures with financial aid, diplomatic mediation, and technical support. Afghanistan needs a strong legal system that encourages communication, responsibility, and reintegration if it is to achieve peace and reconciliation. Afghanistan has the potential to establish a sustainable peace that will benefit its entire people by resolving historical grievances and striving towards a more just and open society. (Ahmad, 2017)

Development of Infrastructure

The formation and maintenance of the rule of law are inextricably related to the development of infrastructure in Afghanistan, which is vital to the country's stability and prosperity. Strong infrastructure is needed for the enforcement of contracts, protection of property rights, and equitable resolution of disputes; hence, a functional legal system and a strong infrastructure go hand in hand. Particularly in the aftermath of decades of fighting, Afghanistan confronts formidable obstacles in the development of its infrastructure. The infrastructure for electricity, clean water availability, and transportation networks should all be improved. Not only do well-maintained roads and bridges link isolated regions, but they also make it easier for people and things to move about, which is crucial for social cohesiveness and economic development. (Naveed, 2019) A dependable power supply, the ability to power homes and businesses, and the advancement of economic growth all depend on investments in energy infrastructure. In addition, public health and welfare depend on having access to clean water. Fighting waterborne illnesses and enhancing Afghanistan's general quality of life need the development and upkeep of infrastructure related to water supply and sanitation. Complete rehabilitation is necessary in urban areas, especially in Kabul. Basic infrastructure, including homes, schools, hospitals, and public utilities, must be built or renovated. By building secure and resilient urban areas, Afghans will be able to live better overall, attract investment, and generate jobs. (World Bank Group, 2004). Transparency, consistency, and investor friendliness are requirements for the legislative framework governing infrastructure development. To guarantee that projects are carried out effectively and that property rights are protected, this calls for the establishment of clear laws for public-private partnerships, building licenses, and land acquisition. The development of infrastructure benefits greatly from international assistance as it may offer the funding, technical know-how, and capacity-building initiatives that are

_____
Volume: 3, No: 1   **January-March, 2025**

1769

required. Cooperation with surrounding nations may improve commerce and regional connectivity, which will improve Afghanistan's economic prospects. Afghanistan's economic and political stability depend on the country's infrastructure being developed and backed by a robust legal system. It makes economic expansion possible and raises the standard of living for Afghans. (AREU, 2004)

Knowledge and Human Resources
Afghanistan's nation-building process greatly depends on the creation of a strong legal framework, which is essential to education and the development of human resources. Economic prosperity, societal advancement, and individual empowerment are all facilitated by education. Establishing an atmosphere that fosters education and allows human capital to be utilized to propel the country's advancement requires a strong legislative framework. Education spending, especially in the primary and secondary grades, is essential in Afghanistan. Self-improvement and social mobility depend on having access to high-quality education. It is also a vital weapon in the fight against injustice, poverty, and the advancement of gender parity. Since it empowers women and creates a more egalitarian society, supporting girls' education is extremely important. Strong legal protections are needed to back up these instructional programs. A fair and equal access to education, regulation of educational institutions, and upholding of quality standards should all be guaranteed by this framework. In addition to promoting study and innovation, it needs to safeguard intellectual property rights. To guarantee that every Afghan kid has the chance to study and reach their full potential, laws addressing child labor and mandatory schooling might be helpful. Edwards, L. M. , 2011). Additionally, developing a national atmosphere that draws and keeps talent inside the nation is part of nurturing human capital. Essential policies are those that safeguard minority rights, provide a secure and welcoming community, and guarantee that people may freely express their opinions without fear. Foreign talent is drawn to such an atmosphere, which also promotes the growth of human capital. A legislative framework that guarantees access to high-quality education, upholds individual rights, and fosters a welcoming and safe community is crucial for Afghanistan's success in the areas of education and human capital development. Afghanistan can use its most valuable asset, its people, and provide the foundation for a more successful future by making investments in human capital and education. (Hammink, W., 2017, December).

Conclusion
Political scientists first introduced the idea of nation-building in 1329–1339, and it highlights the establishment of a common identity and unity between the state and society. Nation-building takes a lot of time and requires a thorough comprehension of the distinctive features of the country. NATO partners and the United States invaded Afghanistan in 2001 to fight worldwide terrorism, especially Al Qaeda. Nonetheless, this objective resulted in difficult and intricate nation-building initiatives. In Afghanistan, nation-building entailed multispectral rebuilding along with socio-political changes. There was significance in the top-down and bottom-up nation-building methods of James Robinson and Daron Acemoglu. Whereas bottom-up relied on local involvement, top-down was more concerned with state institution construction by outside players. NATO's top-down, militarily-focused policy in Afghanistan was largely adopted. Afghanistan's diversity—its many ethnic groups, tribes, and cultural customs—made nation-building difficult. In addition to government development and infrastructure, success necessitated taking into account local history, customs, and traditions. Sadly, rather than funding development, governance, or humanitarian help, a large portion of the reconstruction money went to the security forces. With billions of dollars being spent by the United States, the entire world invested extensively in infrastructure renovation. Cash, meanwhile, was also directed into military efforts. There are concerns over foreign nation-building plans as the pullout in 2021 allowed the Taliban to restore power despite major investments from NATO allies. Foreign intervention in Afghanistan produced two important lessons. Development and governance were not adequately funded, to start. Indicating a preference for security over civilian goals, funding decreased dramatically between 2011 and 2018.

_____
Volume: 3, No: 1   **January-March, 2025**

1770

Contributors were dependent on central government systems, which resulted in incompetence and poor administration. Disorganized and poorly run district-level administrations were created by initiatives such as the Afghan Social Outreach Program. Development was further impeded by corruption and misallocation of funding. Local support for nation-building was undermined by these problems and a disregard for rural regions. Historical events such as the Mughal Empire, Soviet and British invasions, and the emergence of the Taliban are all part of Afghanistan's complicated past. The difficulties of nation-building were exacerbated by the nation's complex history and mixed ethnic composition. Let's sum up by saying that nation-building in Afghanistan was a difficult task. Even if top-down strategies that gave military dominance precedence over local participation and governance failed, international attempts to maintain stability were nonetheless made. Corruption, insufficient finance, and the wide range of ethnic backgrounds made the situation even worse. Afghan ethnicity, religion, language, and centralized government are just a few of the many strands that make up the intricate tapestry of the country's national identity. Gaining an understanding of these elements is essential to appreciating the difficulties and subtleties involved in nation-building in this multicultural and historically complex country. Afghanistan's national identity is shaped by the diversity of its ethnic groups and tribes, presenting a challenge in fostering unity. The promotion of Pashto/Dari as the official language and the implementation of a centralized political system have been part of efforts to define Afghan identity, but they have also sparked debates and tensions related to ethnic supremacy and language diversity. Throughout its history, Afghanistan has experienced external influences and political agendas that have influenced the shaping of its national identity. The intricate nature of Afghanistan's historical, geographical, cultural, and social factors further complicates nation-building efforts. The top-down approach used in previous nation-building attempts underestimated the complexity of Afghan society, rooted in local customs, ethnic identities, and tribal structures. Afghanistan's topography, characterized by isolated villages, scattered populations, and challenging terrain, adds to the difficulties of nation-building. The coexistence of various ethnic groups and tribes, each with their own identities, hampers the formation of a unified national identity. Traditional tribal systems, deeply intertwined with social and political institutions, contribute to the fragmentation of the state. The blending of Islamic fundamentalism with tribal mentalities has also posed challenges, giving rise to ethnocentrism, mistrust, and negative individualism. Furthermore, Afghanistan's oral culture and preference for personal customs over legal requirements hinder the establishment of the rule of law and effective governance. In summary, Afghanistan's nation-building journey is complex due to the interplay of historical, geographical, cultural, and social factors, as well as the need to balance diversity and cohesion in defining its national identity. The political system's inefficiency has been exacerbated by deep social and cultural differences. The multiethnic, multi religious and culturally varied culture of Afghanistan is devoid of a unifying national identity and set of guiding principles. The lack of agreement on shared national goals and conflicting interests resulting from this diversity have hindered the establishment of a unified national administration. Afghanistan has faced several obstacles due in large part to religious differences that are made worse by societal friction and hostility. People's lives have been greatly impacted by religion, which has led to deep-seated religious disputes and divides. At times, this has led to violent conflicts and complicated the process of developing a new nation. Afghanistan's history, geography, culture, and social dynamics are all intimately entwined with the problems of nation-building. Without taking into consideration the country's regional, ethnic, and tribal diversity, attempts to establish a centralized state from the top down have often failed. It is imperative that nation-building efforts adopt a more collaborative, bottom-up strategy that values and actively engages with varied identities, local communities, and traditions. Acknowledging and protecting the country's rich cultural legacy will be essential to resolving ethnic, tribal, and religious differences and establishing a united Afghanistan. For Afghanistan to remain stable and prosperous in the future, overcoming these obstacles and creating a unified national identity will be a difficult and continuous task.

_____
Volume: 3, No: 1   **January-March, 2025**

1771

Disclosure of interest
In the context of the article "Nation Building in Afghanistan: Perspectives and Challenges," disclosing any competing interests is crucial to maintain the integrity and credibility of the information presented. By declaring any competing interests, readers can assess the potential influence or bias that may exist in the article's content. In this case, the author of the Review article states that they have no competing interests. This means that they do not have any financial, professional, or personal relationships that could be perceived as influencing the information presented in the article. By making this declaration, the author ensures that the article is free from any potential conflicts of interest.Disclosing competing interests is an important ethical practice in academic and professional publishing. It helps to maintain transparency, trust, and objectivity in the dissemination of information.

Data Availability Statement
The data and materials supporting the results or analyses presented in this work are available upon reasonable request. we want to ensure that accessing the data and materials is clear, even if it is already mentioned elsewhere in the paper. To obtain the data and materials, please contact the corresponding author directly, specifying your request for accessing the primary data as well as any secondary data related to the review article. We are committed to making the data and materials supporting this work available to interested researchers upon reasonable request. Please note that the availability of secondary data may depend on any restrictions imposed by the original data sources. However, we will make every effort to provide access or guide you to the appropriate sources for such data.

References
Danspeckgruber, W., Khalili, M. K., Vendrell, F., Stanekzai, M. M., Tanin, Z., Feith, P., ... & Finn, R. (2008). State, Security, and Economy in Afghanistan: Current Challenges, Possible Solutions. http://arks.princeton.edu/ark:/88435/dsp013484zg945

Keane, C. (2016). US Nation Building in Afghanistan. Taylor & Francis. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315548623

Rubin, B. R. (2013). Peace Building and State-Building in Afghanistan: constructing sovereignty for whose security? In From Nation-Building to State-Building (pp. 171-181). Routledge.

Barfield, T. (2008). Culture and custom in nation-building: law in Afghanistan. Me. L. Rev., 60, 347.

Congressional Research Service. (2021, September 17). U.S. Military Withdrawal and Taliban Takeover in Afghanistan: Frequently Asked Questions (Version 11) [CRS Report No. R46879]. Retrieved from https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/R/R46879.

Khalilzad, Z. (2005). How to Nation-Build: ten lessons from Afghanistan. The National Interest, (80), 19-27. https://law-journals-books.vlex.com/vid/nation-build-ten-lessons-afghanistan-55619907

Dodge, T. (2021). Afghanistan and the failure of liberal peacebuilding. Survival, 63(5), 47-58.

Breede, H. C. (2007). Aristotle's Afghanistan: Ancient Insights Into Nation-building and Their Application to a Contemporary Problem (Doctoral dissertation, University of New Brunswick, Department of Political Science).

Dobbins, J. (2008). After the Taliban: nation-building in Afghanistan. Potomac Books, Inc..

Zhuoma, C. State Building in Afghanistan.

Cartwright, C. T. Nation Building: Applying Frames of Analysis a Case Study of Afghanistan by Chris Cartwright Sultana Parvanta| Jun 5, 2022| 0 comments.

Bugeja, M. (2014). Al-Qaeda in Afghanistan: Nation-building and Combating Al-Qaeda's Ideology. Anchor Academic Publishing (aap_verlag).

Kakar, M. H. (1979). Government and Society in Afghanistan. University of Texas, 10, 1-7.

Asadzadeh Barzi, M. (2011). State and Nation-building, stabilization, and development in Afghanistan.

O'Connell, A. B. (Ed.). (2017). Our Latest Longest War: Losing Hearts and Minds in Afghanistan. University of Chicago Press.

Sarem, M. CHALLENGES OF NATION BUILDING IN AFGHANISTAN AFTER TALIBAN.

Karaca, R. K., & Özkurt, F. Z. (2015). Current Challenges and Future Settlement Opportunities in Afghanistan. FWU Journal of Social Sciences, 1(1), 23.

Dougherty, K., & Pauly Jr, R. J. (2017). American Nation-building: Case Studies from Reconstruction to Afghanistan. McFarland.

The Asia Foundation. (2011). Justice and state-building in Afghanistan: State vs. society vs. Taliban [Series of analytical papers]. Afghanistan in 2011: A survey of the Afghan people.

Giustozzi, A. (n.d.). Justice and state-building in Afghanistan: State vs. society vs. Taliban. [Author's role, affiliation, and other relevant information].

Miller, L., & Perito, R. (2004). Establishing the Rule of Law in Afghanistan: Progress and Challenges. United States Institute of Peace. Retrieved from https://www.usip.org/sites/default/files/sr126.pdf

World Bank Group. (2004). A Guide to Government in Afghanistan. Copyright © 2004 by The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development / The World Bank. Washington, DC: The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development / The World Bank.

Afghanistan Research and Evaluation Unit(AREU). (n.d.). [A Guide to Government in Afghanistan]. Retrieved from https://www.areu.org.af/

Edwards, L. M. (2011). State-building in Afghanistan: A case showing the limits? Unpublished manuscript. https://international-review.icrc.org/sites/default/files/irrc-880-morgan-edwards.pdf

Hammink, W. (2017, December). Challenges of USAID in a War Zone: Lessons from Afghanistan. (Special Report No. XX). United States Institute of Peace. Retrieved from https://www.usip.org/sites/default/files/2017-12/sr417-usaid-in-afghanistan-challenges-and-successes.pdf