| **RESEARCH ARTICLE**

Nation Building Elements in Afghanistan

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| **ABSTRACT**

A nation is a collection of people who have common culture, history and values so that these values can cause cohesion and solidarity among different groups in a country. Transitional factors such as culture and language, common race, common history, religion, etc., play a role in the formation of a nation. These factors are among the things that cause the formation of a nation. A nation-building is a sociological approach that is realized as a result of the fading of ethnic, racial, and gender distinctions. Today, nation-building is used as one of the important tools in different societies for the solidarity and integration of ethnic groups. Various factors play a role in the process of nation-building, and these factors have both strengthening and inhibiting roles. When national-civil nationalism is strengthened in the process of nation-building, the process of nation-building is realized, but with the strengthening of ethnic and religious nationalism, the process of nation-building faces a dead end. Countries that have been able to build a nation have been able to form a single nation by strengthening nationalism. But in countries where there is ethnic and religious nationalism, the process of nation-building faces many challenges. Therefore, the realization of the nation-building process in heterogeneous societies is one of the important tools for the cohesion and solidarity of different ethnic groups, and with the realization of this process, social distinctions disappear, and all citizens enjoy the same privileges and equal rights in a country. In this research, using the descriptive-analytical method, the tools and methods of nation-building in Afghanistan have been examined.

1. Introduction

Nation-building as a concept was popularized during the years 1329 and 1339 among political scientists who had a historical approach. Nation-building describes the broad convergence and cohesion between the government and society and the development and expansion of a common identity. The nation-building process is a long-term process that takes a lot of time to realize the real concept of nation-building. Therefore, in order to understand the nation-building process, it is necessary to get familiar with the concepts mentioned in this chapter of the thesis. Understanding the concepts mentioned in this chapter can help the reader to gain knowledge about the process of nation-building. Nation-building, as one of the processes of cohesion and solidarity in a country, is a long and time-consuming process. Comes true.

Therefore, keeping in mind the importance of nation-building, this concept underwent changes over time, and various experts, in their discussions, emphasizing the next of its multiple dimensions, reflected on these changes. For example, "Deutsch" has emphasized the role of social relations and national cohesion in shaping a nation; "Bendix" emphasizes the expansion of citizenship rights and political participation. Homi Baba presented the point of view of the boiling pot or boiling pot and said that the cultural coordinates of a person should be melted in the cultural boiling pot. Ozkrimli proposed the theory of assimilation or cultural homogeneity. Emile Durkheim has mentioned the division of labor in social solidarity.

However, nation-building in heterogeneous societies with multiple ethnic, racial, cultural, socio-political, and... this process became familiar. With this in mind, the knowledge of the above-mentioned issues is one of the key issues of nation-building in this article, and its detailed study can be beneficial in order to institutionalize the process of nation-building.

In the process of nation-building, many tools and methods have been used in different countries; the process of becoming a nation in every society depends on the ruling values in society; countries that have experienced the process of nation-building are among the methods that have been used, which was based on citizenship rights and collective justice, but modern methods that can guarantee the rights of all Afghan citizens have not been used in the country of Afghanistan, rather, in the process of nation building in Afghanistan, the tools and methods that Until now, it has been exploited not based on the wishes of the majority of the Afghan people; Therefore, the process of nation building in Afghanistan has come to a dead end.

If we look at the history of nation-building in Afghanistan, we will conclude that the past rulers of Afghanistan have never sought to build a nation based on civil nationalism. Rather, they are the only ones who want to impose the nation within the framework of ethnic and religious nationalism by any means and ignore all the spiritual and identity values of other ethnic groups. This way of seeing has created a serious challenge in the way of reaching common sense among the people of Afghanistan and has caused a crisis of national identity.

If we take a deep look at the history of Afghanistan, we will conclude that in Afghanistan, no ethnic group can unilaterally impose its wishes on other Afghan ethnic groups. But in the past, history has witnessed such oppression and tyranny by the kings of this land that in order to survive their power, they sought to eliminate other ethnic groups by clinging to ethnic and religious nationalism, which is one of the major factors and challenges. Inside the path of nation-building in Afghanistan, these ethnic-oriented behaviors and descent have been the source of the power holders of this country. Although the ethnic groups of Afghanistan have historical, cultural, religious and religious commonalities, they are still in a crisis of national identity and national solidarity.

However, it can be stated that in Afghanistan, the efforts to realize nation-building have been made in a one-sided manner and based on ethnic, linguistic and religious ideology, which imposes many obstacles in a heterogeneous society has had and has remained unfulfilled in Afghanistan until now. Below, the methods and tools used by the rulers of Afghanistan in the process of nation-building will be discussed.

2. Research Methods
The research method in this study is analytical and descriptive, which was conducted using books, articles and internet resources. Historical, geographical and sociological sources have been used in the preparation and arrangement of this article.

2.1 Methods of nation building in Afghanistan
2.1.1 Religion
The Afghan society, where the vast majority of its people follow Islam, has a deep belief in religious and Islamic beliefs. Islam, not only as a set of religious customs and traditions but also as a system of values and beliefs governing the society, has penetrated into all dimensions of the individual and collective life of Afghan society, and social life has been intertwined with its laws and orders. Considering this, Islam is one of the most important sources of political legitimacy in the political power structure in Afghanistan. In such a society, everyone has accepted the necessity of a central power to defend the Muslim nation against enemies and infidels. This aspect of legitimacy appears in critical periods, But when there is no external danger, it loses its importance. There is no doubt that this legitimacy plays its role if the king is recognized as a believer by the Muslim people. This becomes more obvious, especially considering the structure of Afghan society, which has preserved all its traditional manifestations against the rise of new ideas. Due to the traditional nature of the society, a kind of deep adherence and extreme dogmatism can be observed among the people of Afghanistan, especially the villagers, who make up 80 percent of the country's population. Therefore, any kind of modernist movement against the traditions of society has faced failure. In the contemporary history of this country, the failure and final fall of Amanullah Khan's government, which, with the help of Reza Shah and Atatürk, aimed to spread the manifestations of western modernity in Afghanistan, can be a testimony of the people's deep commitment to their traditional and religious beliefs (Sajadi, 2015: 150-151).

It was due to this that the rulers and kings of Afghanistan gave legitimacy to their rule by pretending to be religious and with the slogan of protecting religion. But the big problem that made the royal dynasty face a serious challenge of legitimacy was the specific and narrow-minded interpretation of Islam. Based on this perception of Islam, the religious beliefs and beliefs of a huge range of Afghan people were ignored, and this negligence caused the royal regime to never gain general legitimacy and universality. Islam was interpreted in the context of the Hanafi religion. This narrow and narrow-minded interpretation of Islam caused that even in the best case and with religious justification, only the followers of the Hanafi religion considered political sovereignty as legitimate (ibid.: 151).

Although religion has lost its importance as a factor of national solidarity in some parts of the world because it alone has a tremendous effect on the creation of culture, customs and traditions of many countries, it is still important in many countries. Among the countries of the world, it is considered an important factor of national solidarity. In Afghanistan, where the concept of nation was not common until recently, the government is considered outside the society, and the consensus of the people is, first of all, towards the local society. The only thing that all Afghans have in common is Islam. Since more than 98 percent of the people of Afghanistan are Muslims - of course, apart from the differences caused by the extremism between the Sunnis and the Shias that sometimes occur in this country, Islam can be considered a unifying force. He was considered the unifier of different ethnicities in this country. By strengthening and connecting, and resolving differences between Shiites and Sunnis, this factor can be used to strengthen national unity and the process of nation-building (John Peror, 2009: 38).

The identity of Islam in the society of Afghanistan can be studied from two perspectives: first, from the perspective of religious beliefs and values and their impact on social life, and second, from the perspective of religious institutions and their impact on social life. And the study of Afghan society shows that in this society, the role of religious institutions is far greater than the role of religious beliefs and values. Therefore, religion, mosque and Mullah, The three basic elements of religious rites and rituals in this society, have a very determined position and are perhaps exclusive, so it is difficult to consider an alternative to them. As a result, commitment to religion and religious beliefs in Afghanistan has historical and social roots rather than religious origins. It is certain that in this approach, the instrumental attitude towards religion prevails, especially among the rulers and commanding narrators; As Mirwais Hotaki, in the first separatist move, he first went to the scholars of Hijaz and obtained a fatwa to confront the rule of the Safavid rulers. Dost Mohd Khan called himself Amir al-Mu'minin and Abd al-Rahman, by appealing to the divine right of kings, considered himself the protector and protector of Sharia and appointed by God (Mohammadi, 2014: 282).

Also, today, when there is democracy and freedom of speech in the society of Afghanistan, the president of Afghanistan, aware of the traditional and religious situation of Afghanistan, is trying to establish himself in the religious public opinion in order to gain the support of the people. As Ashraf Ghani was elected as the head of the national unity government after the political agreement with Abdullah, in the first step, he removed his last name (Ahmedzai) and added the name Muhammad to the first of his first name and changed his name from Ashraf Ghani to Muhammad Ashraf Ghani. Also, on his first foreign trip, he went to Saudi Arabia for Hajj; With such an action, the president is seeking to gain the people's satisfaction, and for this reason, he chants religious slogans at every gathering.

However, keeping in mind the place of religion in the mostly Muslim society of Afghanistan, religion is one of the important values for solidarity and national unity in Afghanistan, and from the distant past until now, the rulers of Afghanistan have used the religiosity of the people to maintain their power.

2.1.2 Imposition of ethnic identity
The name of each country is effective in creating an identity and a suitable framework for national integration and unity. The selection of the country's name is of special sensitivity and importance due to its political and emotional burden, and it also helps to find the cause of the country and government. Choosing a meaningful name so that it creates a complete umbrella and coverage for the people of the nation so that all or the overwhelming majority of the population living in the land consider themselves to belong to it is a fundamental matter, and the attention of the country's government should be focused on it. Choosing names that are different parts of the nation, and in other words, reflect the characteristics of a part of the nation and not the majority, makes national unity and cohesion face the first fundamental challenge. Because the minority do not feel dependent on it and consider themselves separate from the bodies of the nation, gradually, this belief is institutionalized in them, and under favorable conditions, it manifests itself in the form of a special political ideal, which is a problem for the government and the government (Jan Peror, 2019: 39).

Since Afghanistan, as it is known today, is a country composed of different ethnic groups, only one of which is the Afghans (Pashtuns). Using the name of Afghanistan as the name of the entire country, in the first step, refers to a kind of monopoly of power, imposing the identity of Afghans on non-Afghans and denying the existence of other inhabitants of this land. For this reason, other ethnic groups have never accepted this name, A fact that is less reflected outside of this country, but it is certain inside Afghanistan. This issue has provided the basis for division, divergence and non-dependence among the ethnic groups living in this country (ibid.: 40)

As Anwar Haq Ahadi, the former head of the ethnicist party "Afghan Mellat", clearly declares that the Pashtuns are "big brother" in Afghanistan and will not settle for anything less than that, the right of the big brother that Afghanistan has a Pashtun identity be Leadership is the inalienable right of Pashtuns. It is based on this theory that "everyone who lives in Afghanistan is an Afghan" is included in the Afghan constitution. This article of the constitution ignores the identity of other ethnic groups. All these programs have been followed to realize an attractive and apparently reasonable slogan, and that slogan is the formation of the Afghan

nation. There is nothing wrong with forming a unified nation. But the problem is in this issue, is it possible to achieve unity and achieve national consensus by imposing the identity of the part on the whole? (Mansour, 2016: 72).

The important thing in the discussion of identity is that our perception of national identity actually shapes how we think about the future of the country and society. Taking one hand or relatively one hand from the national identity will align the thoughts in the matter of a peaceful life and, ultimately, a prosperous society. Different perceptions of national identity or heterogeneous realities of identity make thoughts and actions about the land, people and government variable and diverse. The purpose of writing this is not to fuel this issue; Rather, the word "Afghan" as the national identity of the Afghan people should be further analyzed and redefined. This discussion should clarify how Afghan can be an identity for the people of Afghanistan. It seems that despite the fact that we have something called national identity, the facts show something else. Today, if we go to any corner of Afghanistan, everyone will see that Oghan (Afghan) means a specific people. In Afghanistan, unfortunately, discussions about many issues, including identity, often turn into emotions (Mashreghi, 2017: 189).

Mahmoud Tarzi, one of the students of Seyed Jamaluddin Afghan, spent a period of his life in Turkey; Influenced by pan-Turkism, he considered Afghan nationalism to be the development path of Afghanistan. Mahmoud Tarzi needed materials that could express the new identity of Afghanistan in order to build the building of nationalism in his mind. Islam, ethnicity and language are the materials he chose to build his nationalist ideas. The integration of heterogeneous materials in the reconstruction of the identity of land that is a rainbow of ethnicities and languages was a risky task that Tarzi managed to achieve. In order to legitimize "Afghan nationalism", he first considered the Islamic world as an Islamic institution. Then he relied on the Sharif Hadith and said: It is true that Muslims are brothers, but the residents of every institution have the right to defend and love the land they live in, and to support this argument, love for Afghanistan and Afghan nationalism should be rooted in Islam. He chanted "Hab al-Watan Man Al-Ayman" as the slogan of this process. Grigarin says: He continued to add; Afghans accepted Islam as a virtue by God's will, and based on this reality, Afghanistan was a God-given country and assumed love for this land... Then Tarzi and his colleagues formed a group of researchers for the development of historical rationalism. And his task, in order to guarantee the future of the country, was comparative readings to explore and discover the sources of success and failure of various civilizations (Irfan and Khani, 1396: 183-183).

2.1.3 Ethnic culture
It was during the time of Amanullah Khan that the idea of a special national language to distinguish the identity of this land came up. For the first time, Mahmoud Tarzi mentioned Pashto as the national language in his articles.

Mahmoud Tarzi writes in Siraj Al-Akhbar Afghani about the necessity of Pashto nationalization: It is known to the world that everyone in the world calls our nation "Afghanistan", and we are called "Afghans". Therefore, in the description and interpretation of our helpless title, one remaining doubt is the correctness of "Afghan national literature" [Pashto] and the borrowing of "Persian national literature", in which the homeland is its container, that is, the homeland is a bowl which is the nation of the things filled with it, some bowls, like that, may be filled with one substance, and some bowls, such as food and "Kashkul al-Fuqra", may be filled with a mixed substance, which is the nation of Afghani. Since the majority of people speak that language, it is the reason for the national literature, and naturally, it should be in Persian and Afghan languages, and also because the official language of our holy state, it has been used in Persian for a long time. Therefore, this has added honorary precedence to it" (Mansour, 2016: 70-71).

In addition to that, Tarzi argued as follows: "These readings should be accompanied by concerted and focused efforts to raise the status of Pashto, which he and his colleagues had considered as the language of Afghanistan instead of the official and universal language of Persian. Be Pashto or Afghani is the manifestation of our national genius, the ancestor of languages and the true national language, and for this reason, it should be taught to all groups and tribes of Afghanistan. This is why, after Hitler took power as the leader of the National Socialist Party of Germany in 1932 and propagated the theory of racial superiority, a number of Afghan government figures, including Mohammad Daud Khan and Mohammad Naeem Khan, brothers Mohammad Hashim Khan and Abdul Majid Khan, president of Melli Bank, followed the above-mentioned opinion and started similar campaigns in Afghanistan. They adopted Gul Mohammad Mohmand's opinion about the generalization of the Pashto language and rejection of other languages after they polished it with Hitler's style as a new cultural policy in the place of implementation. They left... At the same time as a program to popularize the Pashto algebraic language, actions were taken under the supervision of the Minister of Education to propagate the ideology of the Nazi Party in Germany, and an attempt was made to compile and teach the history of Afghanistan based on the aforementioned theory. (Irfan and Khani, 1396, 184-185).

During the 40-year reign of Mohammad Zahir Shah, first, the curriculum of education was translated into Pashto, and then the names of a number of historical places in the north, west and central regions of Afghanistan were changed to Pashto. In the third stage, the Pashto language was promoted alongside the Dari language, and in this way, it tried to damage the relationship between the Persian speakers of Afghanistan, Iran and Tajikistan. During the presidency of Muhammad Hashim Khan, the main names of many regions were changed from Persian and Turkish to Pashto in order to give Afghanistan a Pashtun identity. Examples of those areas are as follows:

Sepid Dej = Spin Keli, Qara Tepe = Torghandi, Gol Tepe = Gol Ghandi, Dareh Zandan = Dareh Zyvon, Charbagh = Golshan = Shinki, Yengi Azq = New Kot, Qezal Qala = Shirkhan Bandar, Hazarchagish = Stolgi, Pol Bulai = Lindi, Ghosh Tepe = Mongolian, Hesarak = Oghz, Plus Posh = Zozan, Chehelston = Ghandan, Keshk Abdul = Bande, Bagh Waragh = Haji Kot, Agh Tepe = Spinki, Boyne Qara = Shulgar, Takht Sultan = Shinkot, Adina Masjid = Chaharbulk, Salih = Beti, Agche Namaj = Beti Kot, Kote Sangi = Mirwais Maidan, Deh Buri = Jamal Mine, Shah Shahid and Siah Sang = Seydinur Mohammad Shah Mine, Jaranil Castle = Khushal Mine, Street = Kashti Bridge, Shourbazar = Nader Pashtun Road, Serai Khwaje = Mir Bacha Kot, Sabzevar = Shindand, Shawl Fan = Pashtun Zarghoon (Mansour, 2016: 70). In the same period, the policy of ethnic superiority was implemented in Afghanistan in imitation of Hitler's policy of racial superiority.

In line with this policy, the Persian language was de-officialized, and only Pashto was declared as the official language. Government officials were forced to attend evening courses in the new official and national language. Speak Pashto in government offices and teach in Pashto in education. At the same time, a letter from "Habul Matin" from Calcutta warned that the elimination of the Dari Persian language in Afghanistan is a disaster; because it separates this country from the historical past and cultural treasures of Iran and from scientific and literary language; But the Afghan government was not convinced. In fact, this action was intended to give the Afghans a specific and unique language and to strengthen their relations with the Patans across the border, where the government claimed that Pashto was the official language of Afghanistan. The institutionalization of the Pashto language in all schools of Afghanistan and the preparation and distribution of Pashto language texts and grammar were the main preoccupations of the Afghan Ministry of Education during the period of Mohammad Hashim Khan (Grigorian, 2008: 432).

The plan to teach Pashto in Afghanistan brought many problems to the Afghan government: a lack of teachers and a lack of modern teaching techniques due to the established position of the Persian language in most of the country's big cities. Government employees were required to learn Pashto within three years, while Pashto-speaking employees were not given such instruction regarding Farsi language training. While after three years, the rulers and members of the royal family could not learn the Pashto language. This program was extended once again for another three years, But it did not work. Pashto Literary Association and Kabul Literary Association were merged and named "Pashto Tolaneh". The History Association, under the chairmanship of Abdul Hai Habibi, undertook the process of writing the history of Afghanistan in the framework of the theory of racial nationalism. At the suggestion of "Pashto Tolaneh", the government converted all official and national boards into Pashto. Also, the Ministry of Education was ordered to consider racial and ethnic nationalist ideology in the content of textbooks, and an effort was made to compile and teach the history of Afghanistan based on the aforementioned theory. But since this history writing was not scientific and methodical and its conclusions had a prescriptive and prejudicial aspect, it was not welcomed (Saadat, 2016: 243). Therefore, with this approach, the rulers of Afghanistan tried to build a nation with the idea of creating an ethnic culture, which failed in the short term.

2.1.4 Centralization

The political system is a manifestation of the will of the people who have a sense of belonging to each other (the nation) and are settled in a geographical space (the land) and based on the social-cultural characteristics of their society as well as the characteristics of the homeland. And in the land where they live, they have found the political organization. The institution of government is based on the human and natural characteristics of the geographical space, and its duty is to manage the public affairs of the society and the land and to protect them from external threats from outside the environment and society, as well as to regulate social relations within the society. On behalf of the people, the government expresses itself and fulfills various political, economic, social, cultural, security, defense, construction, etc. roles, and certain political-social processes are implemented to establish it. Usually, there is harmony between the nation and the political system, and the structure of the political system reflects the cultural, historical, livelihood, environmental, and spatial features of the nation, and if there is a difference between the original characteristics of the nation and its homeland, with the values of the system. Politically, their relations become tense, and for their survival, the government must correct and reconstruct the conflicting views; otherwise, the conflict between them will intensify and eventually lead to structural reform or transformation of the government system. Nimjad (Ahadi and others, 1393: 107).

But in Afghanistan, on the contrary, in order for the people to not be able to get out of the control of the government, with the existence of a centralized system, until now, they have imposed their own demands on the people, and they have considered this type of system as the most important tool for governing the people under a single umbrella.

The political system deals with political affairs and government. The findings show that the political organization of today's country is manifested through the joint actions and steps of the executive, legislative and judicial powers. The prerequisite for the common actions and steps of the political system-building forces is the existence of political thought (the hard core or tent of the system), which is the reason for the existence of that political system. Based on the degree to which the government's desire has taken its credibility and legitimacy from the national will, the governments are divided into two categories: democratic and non-democratic (Kaviani Rad and Qara Beigi, 2017: 82).

In Afghanistan, such a continuous system has existed since the time of Abdul Rahman Khan until now. Abdur Rahman started to form an absolute and centralized government, and in this direction, he severely suppressed the local leaders and feudal lords and, worst of all, suppression and destruction of the Jihad leaders against the British (Mohammadi, 2014: 304). After Abd al-Rahman, other rulers also chose such an approach to contain the threats and put the people under their rule with this tool.

The first step for a prosperous Afghanistan with a modern government and system is a political system that is compatible with the objective realities of the society. A political system should be able to create at least the ground of convergence. The political systems in Afghanistan are not compatible with the realities of society. The government as a political institution has not been based on social structure. In the contemporary history of Afghanistan, more failure can be seen in the governments and mono-ethnic political structure. The political system, in turn, is considered one of the important social institutions; According to Parsons, "social institutions form the framework or skeleton of society." It is according to this point of view that skeletonization in Afghanistan has had many shortcomings, and one of them was the structure of political systems and national participation (Mashreghi, 2017: 202).

The concentration of political power in the hands of one person was discussed and criticized at the very beginning of the 20th century when Amir Habibullah Khan ascended the throne in such a way that the constitutional movement was created in protest against it in order to divide power and separate powers in The government will be created. During the reign of Amir Amanullah Khan, the second constitutionalism movement started for this purpose, but it failed. During the reign of Muhammad Zahir Khan, the Pashtuns' pursuit of supremacy was condemned by the revolutionary organization of the working people of Afghanistan, "Saza", led by Muhammad Tahir Badakhshi and Bahruddin. Pashtuns were known as "national oppression" over other ethnic groups. But in recent decades, Afghanistan's rulers have talked a lot about the incompatibility of the political system with the social structure of Afghanistan, and this problem has been pretended to be the main cause of instability and underdevelopment in Afghanistan. Some offer a federal system as a solution, such as the "National Congress Party" and the "Afghanistan National Islamic Movement Party" and some, such as the National Alliance headed by Dr. Abdullah and the National Front headed by Ahmad Zia Massoud, the parliamentary system and the election of governors. the governors) demand (Mansour, 2016: 97-98).

Proponents of the centralized system argued that the two decades of war have only increased the autonomy of the regions and reduced the possibility of peripheral subordination to the center. Rather, regions and localities have experienced autonomy in practice. Now, if a powerful system is not formed and the power and authority are handed over to the regions, the country will fall into the trap of disintegration. Qazi Mohammad Amin Waqad, a member of the Constitutional Drafting Commission in the First Committee of the Constitutional Loya Jirga, argued in this regard: "We have problems in the localities, commanders, district governors, governors, none of them." They don't obey what Sarnawali (story) and Sharwali (municipality), the authority of the head of state is should be more to create national unity and solve the problem of the localities" (Mohammadi, 2014: 150).

But those who are against this point of view consider the decentralized government as the best version of the multi-layered society of Afghanistan and claim that changing the structure of the centralized system to a decentralized one will lead to the participation of all ethnic groups and create a platform for national solidarity. But the past rulers of Afghanistan, with the existence of central authoritarian systems, have tried to force the people to obey by force of numbers and realize nation-building by relying on the ideas of ethnic nationalism. Such an approach has been able to make the people obey in the short term, but in the long term, it has ended up to the detriment of this country, and with the rise in the level of knowledge and awareness of the people about the process of nationalization, the existence of centralized systems in heterogeneous societies like Afghanistan is not considered effective and criticized.

2.1.5 Use of the military
Soldiers in history have always been one of the main pillars of the army and military forces. In more precise terms, it can be said that no powerful army and army has been formed without these executive arms, but the way to provide this manpower was not the same in the periods of Gonagorn. Before the spread of national governments and unified armies, most of the soldiers and troops of the armies gathered for ethnic and tribal purposes and interests or due to religious and religious attitudes. For the first time, after the Treaty of Westphalia and the emergence of national governments independent of the church in Western Europe, the ground for the establishment of armies based on compulsory military service was created. "With the unification of the nation-state, national sovereignty and the spread of nationalism, the system and public duties became the reliable method of providing human resources for modern armies. From that date onwards, the conscription system was not only considered a mechanism for recruiting manpower for the army, but in addition, it was a means of connecting the army to the nation and identifying the people of a nation within certain national borders (Niyazi and Shalchi). , 1392: 118).

Territorial rulers and newly emerging social forces founded the modern state and its institutions, including the army, for the first time in Europe and in response to the needs of European societies. The efficiency and economic-military successes encouraged European colonists and non-European elites to expand this government and spread its institutions in other parts of the world. The colonizers wanted to open up the world, and the anti-colonial elites wished to leave behind their backwardness and achieve

independence and power. Despite inciting resistance against the nation-state model, they spread it to non-European societies by resorting to force and violent means. This is how the modern government gained global dominance through the efforts of two conflicting forces. From this point of view, the globalization of the modern state means the expansion of its institutions to non-European lands (Sinai, 2011: 63).

Since the citizens of a state do not necessarily have a "common linguistic, religious and symbolic identity", the national government seeks to unify the people under its rule. In shaping this union, the government uses the tools of homogenization, creating culture, symbols, and values and reviving traditions and myths. National armies are one of the tools of homogenization, which are involved in creating a single culture, symbols, values and common history both within themselves and at the level of society. The national army is connected with the applications of nationalism and has an effect on them. In many countries, the national army has played a role in the process of achieving independence or maintaining it, as well as in the growth of nations. These armies have had a strong feeling and awareness of their belonging to the nation, and in some cases, the nation belongs to them. In order to deepen the roots of the nation, they actively participated in national social and political movements and especially in recognizing their "proud background and full of sacrifices". Writing the history of wars and conducting historical research to represent "heroism and proud events" has been one of the main preoccupations of military personnel and their propaganda research institutions everywhere (Sinai, 1389: 107).

Due to the fact that during the military period, every order is obligatory, the soldier is no longer familiar with doubts. Because John Barkoff has to run in front of the enemy, he is not afraid of obstacles. Life in the barracks fosters love and brotherhood in the hearts of soldiers and teaches altruism and patriotism. In addition, since there is no place for political discussion and differences of opinion in the barracks environment, "differences of opinion that are harmful to the country" will disappear, and young people will be loaded with sense and duty. These soldiers, who are all capable, mature and determined, are scattered around the country and preach order and education, obedience to the law, a sense of duty, patriotism and family in every corner (Ibid.: 134).

The Afghan government's support was based on the military establishment. Amir Abdul Rahman Khan, who was a capable sepahdar himself, put all his efforts into forming the government's army. The regular army of Afghanistan amounted to ninety-six thousand and four hundred people. These army soldiers had a high salary; whenever a soldier was killed, Points were given to his parents until death and to his children until puberty. At this time, every 20 families in the country were obliged to provide one soldier for their consumption and livelihood (salary) for one year, who would serve as jihad in the military training field and on the borders of the country and be changed from year to year. The household consumption of these people and themselves was the responsibility of the 20 members of the household (Ghabar, 138: 671-672).

During the time of Amir Habibullah Khan, a military school was established for the advancement of the army, and two teachers taught the students military training. The number of Habibullah's army reached approximately 24 thousand troops, which had extraordinary military facilities (ibid.: 737).

Mohammad Nader Shah worked hard to form a strong and well-equipped army and spread the discipline of obedience and subjugation in the army. He assigned army chiefs and military commanders to his family and relatives or dependents. In the second step, he placed officers who did not know any duty without blind obedience and consecration of the ruler's family. Therefore, to obtain military positions, having scientific and technical qualifications was not a requirement, but following the king and the royal family was important. It was for this reason that all experienced and educated foreign officers gradually left the army, except for those who were part of the nobility or in the service of the nobility. The Ministry of War and all the important parts of the army were managed by the members of Shah's family (Ghabar, 1388: 993). Nader Shah built a strong army because he could suppress any kind of disturbance and impose his wishes on the nation through coercive power and put trustworthy people at the head of it.

Mohammad Nader, when he was the army commander during Amani's tenure, refrained from dealing with the southern rebels unless the Shah waived the application of the criminal law and the military service law in that position and allowed him to deal with the rebels on the same condition make peace. Also, after he killed Habibullah Kalkani and came to power, he exempted the southern, eastern and Kandahar tribes from military service but forced other tribes and tribes to do military service. Nomad (Mohammadi, 2014: 304).

After Nader Shah, during the reign of his son Mohammad Zahir Shah, he made a military code of conduct - as stated in the first paragraph of the first chapter of the Afghanistan Military Code of 1330: Cafes of male citizens of Afghanistan according to the provisions of this code of conduct They are obliged to serve with the honor of asking (military) (Usul Nameh Askari, 1330: 2).

During the era of Mohammad Zahir Shah in Afghanistan, the period of quantitative and qualitative development of the Afghan army is considered, Especially during the prime ministership of Mohammad Daud Khan, who was required to form the cabinet on September 6, 1953, by Mohammad Zahir Shah. Sardar Mohammad Daoud was placed as the head of the country's defense power

in addition to the presidency. In terms of organization, the Afghan army has become a powerful army, and its number has reached 80,000. In the same way, the Afghan army, as a powerful and well-trained army in the region, was able to defend the independence, national sovereignty and territorial integrity of Afghanistan. In this way, the period of the presidency of Sardar Mohammad Dawood was a period of quantitative and qualitative growth, and improvement of the Afghan army goes. The Afghan army, according to the law of the time, did not have the right to join any political organization (Afghanistan Young Journalists Club, 2015 at: www.yjc.ir/fa/news

If we review the history of nation-building in Afghanistan, we will conclude that the past rulers of Afghanistan have never sought to build a nation based on civil nationalism. Rather, they are the only ones who want to impose the nation within the framework of ethnic and religious nationalism by any means and ignore all the spiritual and identity values of other ethnic groups. This way of seeing has created a serious challenge in the way of reaching common sense among the people of Afghanistan and has caused a crisis of national identity.

If we take a deep look at the history of Afghanistan, we will conclude that in Afghanistan, no ethnic group can unilaterally impose its wishes on other Afghan ethnic groups. But in the past, history has witnessed such oppression and tyranny by the kings of this land that in order to survive their power, they sought to eliminate other ethnic groups by clinging to ethnic and religious nationalism, which is one of the major factors and challenges. Inside the path of nation-building in Afghanistan, these ethnic-oriented behaviors and descent have been the source of the power holders of this country. Although the ethnic groups of Afghanistan have historical, cultural, religious and religious commonalities, they are still in a crisis of national identity and national solidarity.

However, it can be stated that in Afghanistan, the efforts to realize nation-building have been made in a one-sided manner and based on ethnic, linguistic and religious ideology, which imposes many obstacles in a heterogeneous society has had and has remained unfulfilled in Afghanistan until now. Below, the methods and tools used by the rulers of Afghanistan in the process of nation-building will be discussed.

3. Conclusion

The process of nation-building in Afghanistan has brought many ups and downs. Afghanistan is a multinational country that suffers from a lack of cultural, social and political homogeneity. This heterogeneity has led to several factions, disintegration and fragmentation of Afghan society in the long term.

As it was said, Afghanistan suffers from a lack of national solidarity. This suffering is caused by factors that have been imposed on the people of this country from the past until now. Nation-building, which is the best tool for creating common sense among ethnic groups, has been tested in different societies. This version could have been effective in removing the differences and the crisis of national unity in Afghanistan, but unfortunately, this process has been neglected as a result of the autocracy of Afghan rulers to maintain and survive their government positions for a long time. A lot of history is proof of creating crisis and fueling ethnic differences by the leaders of this land. Nation-building is one of the important processes to achieve collective benefits, the important components and elements of which are mutual acceptance, justice and social equality; Due to the presence of many ethnic groups in Afghanistan and the lack of a systematic solution that can bring together the masses and the deprived ethnic groups, this country has not yet succeeded in this regard.

The rulers of Afghanistan have never used modern and civil methods to realize the process of nation-building; they have tried with undemocratic means to impose their wishes on the people of Afghanistan by repression, tyranny and force at the head of the spear and by homogenization. To realize the culture of a nation, this process has caused the anger of ethnic and religious groups in the long term and has failed in the end.

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