

NAJIBURRAHMAN, HADID; FARID AHMAD, FARZAM RAHIMI; HADI, KHARDORZ JUYA AND MOHAMMAD OMI, JAMI (eds): *Factors of the Collapse of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan*. 80 pp., Satare Noqraee, Herat, 2022. US\$ 10.

The research book on the factors of the collapse of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan was unveiled in Herat city on August 17, 2022. This research was written in Persian and consists of five chapters, supported by the Herat Professional Council. The research team consists of four professors from Herat University. The primary objectives of this research are to examine the factors contributing to the failure of the Bonn Conference in 2001 and the subsequent collapse of Afghanistan from the perspective of political and economic elites. The book is organized into five chapters: the first chapter discusses the research objectives and problem statement, while the research method and theoretical concepts are discussed in the third chapter. The second chapter explores the concept of democracy, traditional structure, tyranny, and the compatibility or incompatibility of religious values with democracy. The challenges of democracy in complex societies, such as the lack of social solidarity and weak governance in Afghan society with ethnic characteristics, are considered to be the most crucial reasons for the failure of democracy in Afghanistan.

The incident of September 11, 2001, in the United States is considered a significant development in Afghanistan. The United States military attack on Afghanistan aimed at overthrowing the Islamic Emirate of the Taliban in 2001 and the return of Afghanistan to the global community is known as a turning point in the country's recent history. This development took an unexpected turn with the "Bonn Conference 2001" held in Germany (Chapter 1). The efforts of the international community and various Afghan political groups to end the war and find a political solution to the Afghan issue resulted in the formulation of a roadmap to create a stable political and governance system based on the "will of the people."

The Authors mentioned that Afghanistan has reached a relatively democratic state in the last two decades, and therefore, ethnic minorities, women, and girls have benefited from their human rights to some extent. It is considered the traditional structure of developing societies is one of the factors that lead to obstacles in the way of political development. These obstacles are mostly due to the accelerated modernization of traditional societies and cause ruptures in society and politics (chapter

4). The lack of economic development, the incompatibility of religious values with democracy, and tyranny have been considered factors in the non-implementation of democracy in Afghanistan. During the two decades of US presence in Afghanistan, the existence of a corrupt system caused the stagnation of democracy in Afghanistan. In addition to other factors this time, discussions related to the Doha talks in February 2020 in Qatar (chapter 2) between the United States and the Taliban; changed the regime in another way and led to the sudden collapse of all the alleged achievements of the United States, which were said to be the product of this twenty-year presence.

Based on the findings of this research, a total of ten basic factors are defined within two categories: internal factors and external factors, as well as crisis and collapse factors of Afghanistan (p. 68). Therefore, seven cases are identified as internal factors, and three other factors are recognized as external causes of this evolution. The most important internal factors contributing to the failure of Afghanistan are listed below.

1. Incorrect interpretation of democracy and society's values: democracy in Afghanistan was an imported phenomenon that was not formed based on the realities and needs of the Afghan society, and during more than twenty years of the presence of the West to establish those democratic values, especially in Non-urban areas lost color and did not gain the necessary support and social base.
2. Lack of acceptable political structure: The structure of the political system and the arrangement of power after 2001 was a structure that was formed as an emergency based on the Bonn, Germany agreement. Although this structure was able to be effective in the progress and development of society, in the beginning, it gradually brought about changes at the level of society and the government, which itself became a factor in the collapse of the system.
3. Corruption and weak rule of law: Violation of the rule of law, expediency, and corruption in the upper levels of the government were the negative key factors in the growth of corruption in the lower levels of the government.
4. Injustice and discrimination: the existence of widespread corruption in the government system, especially in the judicial system, is one of the main factors in the spread of "injustice" in Afghan society.
5. The performance of essential democratic institutions: the lack of formation of institutions that strengthened democracy in the last two decades, including effective political parties and active civil



institutions, has been one of the main internal factors of the collapse of the system.

6. The performance of elites and incorrect political culture: The absence of active political elites, who adhere to a national political idea while distancing themselves from ethnic, linguistic, and political affiliations, have challenged the process of criticizing and reforming the government's performance, thus exacerbating the crisis of mistrust in the country.
7. Dependence on foreign aid: the abundant international aid for the reconstruction of the country, during the last two decades, the lack of a regular strategy in accordance with the national capacity and structures has hindered the financial independence of the government, and as a result, in the formation of a kind of artificial economy and Dependence on foreign aid, especially after the agreement between the United States and the Islamic Emirate (Taliban), has facilitated the process of collapse.

The research shows that external factors are as below:

1. Regional and extra-regional competitions and the change of Western policy, especially the change in the policy of the United States, after the start of political talks (Doha talks in Qatar) between the two sides and the final agreement on the withdrawal from Afghanistan, is considered one of the most important external factors of the collapse of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan system, which was highly dependent on the political and military support of the United States.
2. Based on the findings of this research, the countries of the region, especially the neighboring countries, have played a key role in the collapse of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan by supporting the military activities of the "Islamic Emirate" of the Taliban.
3. The performance of international forces: According to the opinion of experts participating in this research, the actions of foreign soldiers in "night attack", "violent actions" and "disregarding the values of Afghan society" during security inspections, especially in rural areas, are among the main factors of strengthening the opposition groups.

The research findings and conclusion examined in the fifth chapter that show the aforementioned internal and external factors have gradually weakened the rule of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan supported by the United States of America in the country, and ultimately led to the collapse of the system. With the passage of twenty years and the spending of billions of dollars in international aid and the killing of more than four hun-

dred thousand people in this land, not only this promise was not fulfilled, but also the rapid withdrawal of international forces from Afghanistan, as a result of the Doha Agreement, and the re-establishment of the Islamic Emirate "Taliban". In the country, it seems, all at once, there was an endpoint to the Bonn project and the release of all the announced achievements in this field. On the other hand, in this research, an attempt has been made to consider the Bonn German agreement that happened in December 2001 as a road map for Afghanistan. The formation of national institutions, in accordance with the Bonn Agreement, during the interim and transitional presidential periods of Afghanistan, and the drafting of the constitution and the holding of presidential elections provided the basis for the formation of an elected government. The presence of different political groups in the two interim governments and the transitional government contributed to the stability and power of the government, and in this way, it seemed that the implementation of the provisions of the Bonn Agreement provided the basis for the return of political stability to Afghanistan.

The results of the book specify that During the last years of the first term of the presidency, issues such as the re-emergence of the "Taliban Islamic Movement" and their attacks on foreign and national military centers, the weakening of the central government, lawlessness, lack of economic stability, and more, were among the major concerns in the second term of the presidency. The holding of the second round of elections and the formation of a "national unity" government, followed by the fourth round of presidential elections and the establishment of a government based on a "political agreement," further intensified and, in fact, created the grounds for the resurgence of the crisis in Afghanistan.

Simultaneously, the monopolization of power by a select group, the marginalization of former political groups, power-sharing tensions, the disregard for the principle of separation of powers and the monopoly of decision-making authority, the violation of the constitution by the presidential institution, the spread of administrative corruption, unemployment, inflation, interference by neighboring countries, and the dependence of political factions on external powers and the policies of the United States, all seem to be deadlock factors in the process of banning and undermining the agreement, ultimately leading to the collapse of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan.

The authors have produced an excellent and interesting research work that specifies the important factors of the collapse of the system and the objective realities of Afghan society, The Authors consider that the external factors and geographical location, especially the

change in the policies of the United States of America to be the main cause of this round scorpion and regime change in Afghanistan, but from the point of view of others, internal factors, including political culture, play a more colorful role have played a role in this transformation. However, the complexity of the issue and the speed of change are such that it seems that no single talk can be considered as an answer to this question. Research shows that the main root of transformation is more related to internal causes compared to external factors.

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