



Law and Humanities Quarterly Reviews

Yawar, M. E., & Sharify, A. J. (2023). Negative Consequences and the Direct Impact of Unstable Governments on the Neighbors (Iran): Afghanistan and the Failure of the Government - Nation Building and Peace. *Law and Humanities Quarterly Reviews*, 2(4), 44-56.

ISSN 2827-9735

DOI: 10.31014/aior.1996.02.04.85

The online version of this article can be found at:
<https://www.asianinstituteofresearch.org/>

Published by:
The Asian Institute of Research

The *Law and Humanities Quarterly Reviews* is an Open Access publication. It may be read, copied, and distributed free of charge according to the conditions of the Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International license.

The Asian Institute of Research Law and Humanities Quarterly Reviews is a peer-reviewed International Journal of the Asian Institute of Research. The journal covers scholarly articles in the interdisciplinary fields of law and humanities, including constitutional and administrative law, criminal law, civil law, international law, linguistics, history, literature, performing art, philosophy, religion, visual arts, anthropology, culture, and ethics studies. The Law and Humanities Quarterly Reviews is an Open Access Journal that can be accessed and downloaded online for free. Thus, ensuring high visibility and increase of citations for all research articles published. The journal aims to facilitate scholarly work on recent theoretical and practical aspects of law.



ASIAN INSTITUTE OF RESEARCH
Connecting Scholars Worldwide



Negative Consequences and the Direct Impact of Unstable Governments on the Neighbors (Iran): Afghanistan and the Failure of the Government - Nation Building and Peace

Mohammad Ekram Yawar¹, Abdul Jamil Sharify²

¹ PhD Candidate, Institute of Social Sciences, Department of International Relations, Akdeniz University, Antalya-Turkey

² Post Graduate from Faculty of Business Administration, Osmania University, Hyderabad-India.
Tel: +90 5383421466. E-mail: jamilsharify@yahoo.com. ORCID 0009-0001-0727-6726

Correspondence: Mohammad Ekram Yawar. PhD Candidate, Institute of Social Sciences, Department of International Relations, Akdeniz University, Antalya, Turkey.
Tel: +905373804027. E-mail: ekramyawar93@gmail.com. ORCID 0000-0003-3198-5212

Abstract

Iran's neighborhood with countries that most of them have experienced unrest, conflict or war due to internal conflicts or due to regional and international crises, has effected and consequences of such issues spread to Iran unintentionally. One of the most tangible of these often undesirable effects is the occurrence of crises and violent conflicts in the neighboring countries, which with the occasional influx of refugees fleeing from such crises (especially from the two countries of Afghanistan and Iraq) into the territory of Iran, the it has shown its adverse effects in different areas in Iran. In the meantime, due to several decades of civil war and international conflicts, the existence of numerous ethnic and religious divisions, a failed state and the lack of a real nation-state, Afghanistan remains a focal point of ongoing turmoil within both the region and the global community. Even though it was expected that this country would experience peace and stability over time following the international coalition's defeat of the Taliban in 2001, but after more than a decade, there is still no promising prospect for this. Therefore, one cannot be safe from the unwanted and inevitable side effects of being a neighbor with such countries, or simply avoid them. Since the fate of the neighbors has always been related to each other and somehow tied to each other, the future and fate of the neighboring countries and nations should be so important to Iran that the fate of Iran itself is important. Considering the history and the difficult and complicated situation of Afghanistan during the past decades and looking at the fragmented, heterogeneous and chaotic situation of this country today, we will definitely find that despite the apparent changes in the political and governance arena, there is not much change in the unstable nature and from Afghanistan has not come into existence and this means that until the unknown future, Iran will be affected by the effects and consequences of its neighborhood with this country.

Keywords: State-Nation Building, Failed State, Afghanistan, Iran

1. Introduction

Over the past years, Afghanistan has consistently remained a cause of concern for Iran as a neighboring country, and this situation is likely to persist in the foreseeable future. An analysis of the disputes, conflicts, and wars that have unfolded in the Middle East region over the past two decades reveals that this country has emerged as a significant epicenter of crisis and conflict, both within the region and on a global scale. Definitely, the root and origin of this chaotic situation of Afghanistan in the region should be sought in the internal issues of that country.

The numerous and intersecting ethnic and religious divisions and the lack of a real nation-state have caused the denial of our sense of belonging as a single country among the people of Afghanistan has always caused ethnic and religious strife and strife over power.

Iran's neighborhood with Afghanistan has always unintentionally and inevitably imposed its consequences and complications on Iran, one of the notable outcomes of this situation was the refugee crisis in Afghanistan, leading to a significant influx of Afghan nationals seeking shelter into Iran's borders.

Following the collapse of the Taliban and the initiation of the democratic process in this country, there was a belief that the security issues and the multitude of crises in Afghanistan had finally come to an end.

But in this article, we intend to examine the issues of Afghanistan and explain the realities of this country, to point out the fact that this country is still prone to new crises in the future, which is a sign of the establishment of a unified nation-state with stability is not seen in the short or even medium term.

This issue will be important for the Islamic Republic of Iran because it will be clear that there are still conditions for the occurrence of new crises and conflicts in Afghanistan, and the necessary forecasts and preventive measures in this area should be taken in determining the macro strategies towards the unstable neighbors, meant

2. Theoretical foundations: state-nation building in theory and practice

2.1. Nation building

Nation building is a sociological-historical process through which, with the dimming of ethnic, tribal, racial, gender, language and number of "people" distinctions, in a "certain land," it becomes a "common historical identity." They achieve and consider maintaining its values as one of their vital duties. The term nation building was popular among political science thinkers who had a historical approach in the 1940s to 1950s. The theory of nation-building has been used first to describe the processes of national cohesion and continuity that have led to the establishment of modern nation-states and are different from the various traditional forms of governments such as feudal and monarchical governments, church governments and empires (Riemer, 2005).

The historical development of nation-building in Western Europe starting from the sixteenth century onwards is a significant process that took place over time and based on a process from the past; That is, certain factors and foundations have caused nation-building to take shape as a modern phenomenon. Naturally, based on the developments that occurred in Europe after the feudal era and with the formation of the Renaissance era, as well as social, industrial and economic developments, we are faced with the concept of the nation and the modern state. The Treaty of Westphalia signed in 1648 serves as the foundation for the establishment of contemporary nations and later the concept of the modern nation, which we can recognize as the foundation for the establishment of contemporary nations within the state. But if we want to have the same historical view about Western Europe, we must say that the formation of nations in Europe preceded the formation of governments. To clarify, this can be attributed to the social, cultural, economic, and political transformations that transpired in Europe throughout the feudal era, people found themselves in the form of a group of people with common goals and ideals and actually created a nation. These nations formed governments so that they can distinguish between themselves and others within the framework of a geography and a specific political organization called the

government, and in this way to meet their political, security and economic needs. This self-awareness caused the correlation of a group of people based on linguistic, cultural, ethnic, historical and religious characteristics, and the nation is the crystallization of this historical process. Later, these nations formed their own governments, which became the foundation for the establishment of the national government in the Treaty of Westphalia. After the Treaty of Westphalia, loyalties shifted from the person of the emperor and the king to the land. This change shows that after that, we are faced with people who live within a specific geography and have loyalty to that land, and this is how the concept of the national government was formed. We can say that nation-building in Western Europe is a modern phenomenon, and this nation is the result of the self-awareness of the people who live in that territory. Therefore, in Western Europe, first the nation and then the state emerged (Rierner, 2005).

2.2. *State building*

It is not hidden from anyone that the stability, power, technological advances and authority of the western countries were the result of the successful process of nation-state building in the west and on the contrary, long tensions and wide-ranging conflicts in other geographical areas of the world including Africa, Latin America, the Indian subcontinent, South East Asia and even Eastern Europe was caused by not going through this process successfully. It is to emphasize the importance and role of governments that some thinkers have called the current era the era of nation-states.

State building is a process that involves the development of the connection between the government and the people is regulated and defined and institutionalized in the form of different political, economic, social, cultural and basically legal structures.

In a general view, one can argue that each society follows its unique trajectory when undergoing the state-nation building process, and without doubt, such a process cannot be generalized to other societies, in different terms, one can express that there are various state-building processes, It is equal to the number and variety of countries. But in order to facilitate the study of state building processes in different societies, it is necessary to categorize them and narrow down the scope of study as much as possible by identifying the common features. To determine state building models, criteria such as different geographical and cultural conditions, different historical conditions, or priority and priority of state building or nation building are important features (Arianfar, 2013).

However, three models can be considered for this, that the advance and delay of the state or nation, and the international state-building model are considered common and valid models for studying the state-nation-building process in today's world.

In the model of advance and delay of state and nation, they investigate the process of state-nation building with two methods. As stated before, sometimes nation building is considered prior to state building, similar to the situation in European countries where the concept of a nation was established prior, and these nations subsequently served as the foundation for state formation. Sometimes they also suggest the opposite of this process, such as the United States of America and many third world countries, where in the first stage, state building was carried out, followed by the process of nation building by the governments, the first of which was a bottom-up model. And the second one is also called top-down model.

But the third model, which is used more in the discussion of Afghanistan and countries like it, is the international nation-state-building model, which has also been called nation-state-building from outside and even imperialist nation-state-building.

In this model, an external agent (such as foreign countries or international organizations) tries to intervene in this process, and the necessary planning is guided by the support and supervision of the external actor (Zarger, 2016). The international state-building model was initially employed after World War II in the cases of Germany and Japan. At this stage, the United States of America began to build a state in these two countries. Germany and Japan had very successful experiences for government and nation building.

However, this process was not done easily in Germany and the Germans went through many ups and downs in order to succeed and overcome the challenges of state building. The new experience of this model started in the 1990s in the Balkans, and today, state building in Afghanistan and Iraq is one of the clear examples of the international state building model.

3. Causes for the lack of success in the nation-building project in Afghanistan

Although many reasons can be listed for the failure of nation-state-building in Afghanistan, in below discussion, we shall state the causes that have had the greatest impact in recent decades and in the age of modernity:

3.1. Deep cultural and social gaps

The main characteristic of the Afghan society that has emerged in the political structure of this country is the multi-ethnic, religious and cultural structure of this country. The main and fundamental factors of inefficiency and challenge of this structure should be considered to be affected and caused by the unorganized and decomposable tasks and processes of such a structure.

The population of Afghanistan is estimated to be around 27 to 40 million people (depending on the number of displaced people). It is estimated that 38% of this amount are Pashtuns (according to other sources about 50%), 25% Tajiks, 19% Hazaras, 6% Uzbeks and 12% other ethnic groups.

From a religious point of view, 84% of people are Sunni Muslims, 15% are Shia Muslims and 1% are other religious minorities. The languages of Afghanistan are Pashto, Dari, Uzbek, Turkmen and Arabic for religious ceremonies. The literacy rate (people aged 15 or more who can read or write) is 47% for men and 15% for women. (The World Fact Book)

Also, many and diverse ethnic groups and sub-groups live in the mountains of Afghanistan, the three main groups of which are: Hazaras, Shia Tajiks and Nuristanis. It is believed that the Hazaras, who are themselves a Shiite group, came here together with Genghis Khan, the great Mongol general who came to this region in the 13th century, and they have a completely Mongolian face. Tajiks are one of the ethnic groups of Afghanistan. The majority reside outside urban areas, while a limited few inhabit the Badakhshan mountains, and the Nuristanis dwell in the wooded regions of the challenging mountains to the east of Kabul. There are small towns on the banks of Hirmand river, but there is no densely populated center in the desert region of Afghanistan. The inhabitants of this area are predominantly Pashtuns, comprising a significant portion of Afghanistan's population, primarily concentrated in the southern regions. The primary Pashtun factions, Ghilzai and Durrani (Abdali), wield considerable political influence in the nation, and many of the political leaders have arisen from within these groups (Korna, 2004:14).

The majority of the population in the steppe regions consists of Sunni Tajiks, which are mostly concentrated in the districts of Kabul and Herat. Tajiks, whose language is similar to Persian, form the second major ethnic group after Pashtuns. Four million Tajiks live in Afghanistan. Another major ethnic group in northern Afghanistan are the Uzbeks and Turkmen, whose number exceeds 10.5 million people. Uzbeks and Turkmen are robust individuals primarily involved in agriculture and livestock farming, with their ancestry tracing back to the Turkic peoples of Central Asia (Korna, 2004: 18).

This mosaic structure is based on discontinuous and unorganizable foundations that show multiple, inconsistent and different features in the objective function of a structure. The bed that gives content to this structure is based on dissimilar and heterogeneous components. The mentioned features in the national structure of the Afghan society has exhibited pronounced elements of both discontinuity and fragmentation, and the emphasis on these structural characteristics and details has exacerbated social disarray and disintegration.

Ethnic, linguistic, and religious diversity constitutes a fundamental aspect of Afghanistan's national composition. The incomplete and uncultivated functions of these elements have made the foundations of consistency and

durability of the common national spirit weak and weak. Emphasizing tribal allegiances, insisting on descent values and subcultures, prioritizing religious ideas over religious affiliation rituals, and making tribal symbols taboo instead of national symbols are obvious manifestations of lack of education and lack of "national spirit." It is considered that it has crystallized the fragmented structural profiles in the political unit of Afghanistan. The continuation of this sick structure has led to the closing of the arteries of interaction between the elements and elements of the national elements, and the fragmentation of the elements into different parts, and the division of the elements into heterogeneous fabrics, to the further disintegration of the characteristics of the ethnic groups and elements of the formation. It has helped the social structure of Afghan society. The process of such interaction has been the prominence of signs and manifestations of culture and ethnic-tribal attachments in this country; In the end, this has blocked the platform for the multiplication of cultural diversity, and the opportunity for manifestation and re-cultivation, dialogue and national unison (Vaazi, 2002: 72).

Numerous significant factors have played a crucial role in shaping and solidifying this progression, among which two main factors of spreading the culture of poverty and the data of tribal culture can be mentioned. Continuous poverty has caused the dynamism and social mobility to decrease in the field of social interaction and it has occurred as a cultural-social problem in the field of relations and national structure. This phenomenon has evolved into a "subculture" within the fabric of social existence, perpetuated across generations, and yielding distinctive impacts and outcomes.. Social introversion and the lack of effective participation of people in the public arena, the prevalence of specific social characteristics, such as fear, despair, and the impact of environmental violence on social and political characteristics, discontent with the political system represents one of the outcomes of the "culture of poverty" in Afghanistan. it is possible. From within the data of tribal culture, we can also point to the insularity of tribal culture, resistance to rationality, the nurturing of biases and various ethnic, religious, racial, and local conflicts, and the unbelief in political inclusiveness. (Vaazi, 104-74: 2002).

A key factor contributing to the absence of a modern national state and the formation of a unified nation in Afghanistan is the lack of a clear definition of national values and common national interests. National values typically encompass universal or shared values that serve to foster a sense of collective purpose among a country's residents, promoting a common way of life. These national values should transcend the various ethnic, tribal, linguistic, religious, political, and social identities. However, in Afghanistan, these common national values and interests remain ambiguous and unattained. The presence of numerous ethnic and linguistic groups, each leading separate and diverse lives while adhering to tribal and ethnic traditions, hinders the establishment and recognition of shared national values and interests. National identity and national values are often defined by different ethnic groups based on their particular interests and objectives.

3.2. The special geographical location of Afghanistan

The physical and geographical characteristics of Afghanistan represent another factor contributing to the challenges and failures in the establishment and sustainability of modern national governments and the formation of a nation-state in Afghanistan. The geographical challenges faced by Afghanistan in the process of nation-state building have several dimensions and aspects. From an international perspective, Afghanistan, positioned as a buffer state between the competing colonial powers of Tsarist Russia, Bolshevik Russia, British colonialism, and later the United States of America, was consistently caught in their geopolitical maneuvers and rivalry. The involvement of regional countries in cooperation with these international superpowers further complicated the dynamics of this competition. The repercussions of this competition over Afghanistan are evident in political instability, a critical element in the development of a state-nation.

From an internal standpoint, Afghanistan's geographical structure poses another set of challenges for nation-state building. The mountainous terrain and the dispersal of the population across mountain valleys and rural areas, isolated from one another, render the process of nation formation in Afghanistan more challenging to achieve.

3.3. Political and economic obstacles

Over the past century, political factors in various dimensions have posed a significant challenge to the establishment of modern and national governments. The acquisition of political power not through democratic elections but through conflict and warfare for control has been a detrimental element in the nation-state building process and the formation of a modern national government. Afghan governments and rulers' reliance on foreign support, both in gaining political power and maintaining authority, to varying degrees during the last century, further compounds the challenges in the nation-state building process. The weakness or lack of legitimacy of ruling authorities resulting from violent power struggles renders them incapable of forming a modern national government.

Throughout Afghanistan's contemporary history, the tyranny and authoritarianism of rulers have consistently obstructed the path to establishing modern and national governments. While political participation and pluralism are essential for the development of a modern national government, political oppression and the monopolization of power based on ethnic, tribal, linguistic, and religious discrimination have eroded the foundation for such participation. The internal power struggles within Afghanistan have been a continuous impediment to the creation of modern and national governments (Akhlaq, 2015).

The power struggle, contrary to the concept of nation-building and the establishment of a nation-state, seizes every opportunity, both in theory and in practice, from governments and statesmen, hindering progress in this direction. Until the seventies of the 20th century, the power conflict was a tribal and clan conflict and a family conflict between the king and the princes of the ruling tribe. The conflict between the kings and princes of the tribes, the power struggle between the Saduzai and Muhammadzai tribes, and the continuous and endless war between the rulers of these tribes, were actually conflicts that continued continuously over access to power, maintaining power, and expanding power. Nevertheless, despite the alterations in the power acquisition process in Afghanistan following the fall of the Taliban in 2001, it's evident that a significant portion of the elections held in the country has been marred by disputes and accusations of electoral fraud. The system of transferring political authority remains ineffective, with a new form of reconciliation emerging among various groups, individuals, and tribes. This process is, in fact, considered the reproduction of an incomplete and inefficient tribal and clan structure from the past, leading to the production of modern inadequacies.

Conversely, economic destitution and profound vulnerabilities in the economic infrastructure present substantial barriers to nation-building in Afghanistan. The prevalence of economic poverty and the resulting fiscal constraints of the government have perpetuated a state of perpetual reliance on foreign aid, with the termination of this aid jeopardizing the stability of the government. Economic impoverishment also exerts a detrimental influence on society, diminishing the capacity and opportunity for the general populace to engage with national and social issues. People's inclination and enthusiasm for involvement in political and even social activities, which are vital components of nation-state building, do not naturally flourish in the context and ambiance of severe and ongoing poverty that has afflicted Afghan society. Poverty remains at an alarmingly high level in Afghanistan, with roughly 42% of the population falling below the poverty threshold, and a significant proportion of them facing severe hardships. Women and youth rank among the most vulnerable segments of the population in this country (World Bank, 2013).

Such circumstances breed distrust both within society and between the government and the populace. Undoubtedly, under the unfortunate conditions of scarcity and poverty, people struggle to attain the capacity for instigating change in both social and political spheres of life.

3.4. The failure of international state building (the failure of the international community in Afghanistan)

In the international state-building model, if the opportunities are used properly and accurately, the field of public order, people's values, and human rights will gradually be institutionalized and will come to fruition. Successful examples of this nation-building model can be seen in Kosovo, East Timor, and Sierra Leone, while there are also unsuccessful examples such as Somalia, Haiti, and Cambodia. As a consequence, the international state-

building model stands as one of the prevalent and successful frameworks that have been implemented and firmly established in numerous nations in the post-Second World War era. Presently, some of these countries lead the way in democratic systems and excel in technology and innovation, exemplified by nations like Germany and Japan, while others have had comparatively less success, lagging behind those in the vanguard.

Historically, Afghanistan's state-building process can be divided into five key phases:

1. The initial stage involved Afghanistan gaining independence and separating from Iran.
2. The second stage saw the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the establishment of a communist government.
3. The third stage followed the Soviet Union's withdrawal from Afghanistan, leading to the emergence of the Mujahideen Islamic government.
4. The fourth stage marked the formation of the Taliban-led government.
5. The current, fifth stage is characterized by the establishment of the government due to American intervention in Afghanistan.

In the context of state building, the initiation of the modern state-building process in Afghanistan, following a model of international nation-building or external involvement, should be attributed to the presence of the global coalition led by the United States in Afghanistan in 2001. The United States assumed a leadership role in maintaining global security and order, which entailed promoting political system democratization and the creation of stable governments that contribute positively to the world order.

Since 2001, terrorism has evolved into a global threat that endangers the stability and security of nations worldwide, causing everyone to perceive themselves as being at risk. The attack on the Twin Towers and the World Trade Center resulted in the loss of thousands of lives. Consequently, in the eyes of the international community, Afghanistan became a refuge and sanctuary for terrorists on that tragic day. From that day on, terrorism was present as a serious and new threat everywhere and at any time. The fight against this phenomenon was started by the international community, and after the presence of the coalition forces in Afghanistan, the practical basis for the defeat of the Taliban was provided, which at that time was believed to be the end of the establishment of terrorism in Afghanistan. Then, in order to prevent new terrorist attacks and move Afghanistan towards a system of democracy and global values and human rights, the foundations of the national government should be laid. This work was done with the help of different countries, including the United States of America, and now more than a decade has passed since that time. Although Afghanistan still had an incomplete and primitive democratic system, it could be claimed that the current system of Afghanistan would not be able to preserve the country and at least the democratic achievements in this country without international support. Despite the remarkable progress in this field, there is still a long way to talk about a real nation-state. The politicians, cultural and civil institutions of Afghanistan along with regional and international actors must work hard to remove Afghanistan from the list of bankrupt governments and save the Afghan society once and for all from the current course of regression.

From that moment onward, terrorism became a pervasive and significant threat worldwide, existing at any time and in any place. The international community-initiated efforts to combat this phenomenon, and with the presence of coalition forces in Afghanistan, a practical foundation was laid for defeating the Taliban, which was seen as a step towards eliminating terrorism in Afghanistan at that time.

Subsequently, to avert fresh terrorist attacks and guide Afghanistan toward a democratic system founded on global values and human rights, the groundwork for a national government was established. Multiple countries, including the United States, contributed to this endeavor, and over a decade have elapsed since that period. Although Afghanistan currently possesses an imperfect and rudimentary democratic system, it can be asserted that the existing Afghan system, along with its democratic accomplishments, is unlikely to be sustainable without international support. Despite notable progress in this regard, there remains a considerable distance to cover before Afghanistan can be characterized as a fully established nation-state.

The government, cultural and civil institutions, and the political elite of Afghanistan, in collaboration with regional and international stakeholders, must exert considerable effort to rescue Afghanistan from the ranks of failing governments and permanently steer Afghan society away from its current path of decline.

3.4. Bankrupt government¹

The failure or bankruptcy of the government means that the government has failed in very important ways and instead of protecting the citizens, chaos and often civil war prevails. Laws are not made and if they are made, they are not implemented and order is not established. There is either an absence of central political authority or, if it exists, it is highly ineffective. Frequently, the economic system is powerless and unable to supply even the most fundamental necessities of well-being for the population. The government's failure in most cases happens to governments that were already fragile and weak. In comparison with the fragile state, the failure is only more intense and the problems of the fragile state are intensified. Therefore, to understand the government's failure, we must know the fragile and weak government from which failure comes out. Broken governments are ineffective in several ways. The first important problem of these governments is the economy. In fact, there is no coherent national economy capable of maintaining the basic level of welfare for the people. The second issue with corrupt governments is of a political nature and is linked to the government institutions and their legitimacy as perceived by the people. Effective governments perform many activities that their citizens take for granted, such as: ensuring the security of citizens against internal and external threats, establishing order and justice in the sense of the effective rule of law, and maintaining personal freedoms, including basic civil and political rights.

Fragile and failed governments perform such functions only to a limited extent or are unable to perform them at all. Government institutions, on one hand, exhibit a deficiency in capacity, competence, and resources, while on the other hand, power frequently becomes concentrated in the hands of elites who exploit the prevailing circumstances for their personal gain. For obvious reasons, corrupt governments lack legitimacy. Public legitimacy is low because large sections of the people do not see a reason to support the government and the government lacks authority. It means that people do not support or follow its rules and regulations. Horizontal legitimacy, which encompasses the sense of shared belonging among individuals within a nation, is also feeble. This is because the government is often dominated by specific groups and doesn't symbolize the entire population. Destructive governments entirely lack the capability to foster a sense of spiritual unity among the people (Rotberg, 2004).

The concept of a disruptive government is an ideal model and in the real world, governments approach this model to different degrees.

With this assessment in mind, the state of Afghanistan after more than a decade of international community presence in the country is a mixed one. Despite substantial aid and support from international institutions, including the United Nations, the European Union, and other nations, aimed at fostering development, peace, and stability in Afghanistan, there remains a significant disparity between the aspirations of the international community for Afghanistan's future and the current reality the country faces.

While the international community has made substantial financial contributions and deployed a significant number of soldiers, trainers, experts, and foreign organizations and companies in Afghanistan, it has struggled to meet even the basic security and development needs of the nation. Various statistics from international organizations indicate that over the course of more than a decade and billions of dollars spent, the impact on Afghanistan's overall situation has been limited, and in some cases, there has been a decline in the country's status.

¹ Failed State

According to the ranking of the Transparency International Organization in 2013, in terms of corruption and government mismanagement, Afghanistan is in one of the worst positions among 177 countries, i.e. 175. Of course, this country was in a better situation in 2005 than now (International Transparency, 2013).

According to various polls, after more than a decade, the feeling of insecurity and fear among the people is still persists in several parts of Afghanistan, and numerous incidents and terrorist attacks in different parts of Afghanistan, including the capital of this country, are still one of the It is the main problem. In 2001, Afghanistan was introduced as the most bankrupt state in the world (Miller, 2011: 54). However, despite many international efforts, this country still does not have a good situation and during the years 2010-2013, it was among the first seven states in the ranking table. It has been ranked among the most bankrupt governments (The Failed, States, Index, 2013).

According to various polls, after more than a decade, the feeling of insecurity and fear among the people is still persists in several parts of Afghanistan, and numerous incidents and terrorist attacks in different parts of Afghanistan, including the capital of this country, are still a problem. In 2001, Afghanistan was introduced as the most bankrupt state in the world (Miller, 2011: 54). However, despite many international efforts, this country still does not have a good situation and during the years 2010-2013, it was among the first seven states in the ranking table. It has been ranked among the most bankrupt governments (The Failed, States, Index, 2013).

Afghanistan is still known as the largest producer and exporter of drugs in the world, and talks about the failure of programs to combat drug production in this country are heard through the reports of various experts². The United Nations Office on Narcotics and Crime recently announced that the level of drug cultivation in Afghanistan increased by more than 36% in 2013 (UNODC, 2013).

Afghanistan continues to be regarded as one of the world's poorest and least developed nations. As mentioned earlier, a significant portion of the Afghan population, around 42%, still resides below the poverty line. In the field of human development index, this country ranks 175th among 186 countries and ranks 141st among 146 countries in terms of gender equality, despite years of spending and propaganda by western countries (UNDP, 2013).

Afghanistan still grapples with one of the highest rates of maternal and infant mortality and possesses one of the lowest life expectancies in the world (Transparency International 2013). They rely on agriculture and animal husbandry for their livelihood. Finally, in the latest UN report, the number of Afghan civilian casualties in the ongoing violence in this country increased by 14% during 2013, which is the highest increase since 2009. According to this report, the majority of the victims of this violence were women and children as in previous years (Afghanistan Annual Report, 2013).

All this shows that the Afghan government, despite the efforts made, is still considered among the bankrupt governments, which still does not see a promising and reassuring prospect ahead of it.

4. Past experiences and future possibilities

4.1. Consequences of instability in Afghanistan for Iran

As stated, the problems and consequences of neighboring bankrupt states like Afghanistan are not limited to the national borders of that country, and their problems and crises spread to neighboring countries (Starr & Iqbal, 2008). Different issues in such countries can be studied in different areas such as political-security, social-cultural and financial-economic.

But among the first tangible and far-reaching consequences of this neighborhood is the emergence of people with the title of refugee and a crisis called refugee. The presence of any foreign citizen in a foreign country can

² United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime.

have political and security consequences for him and the host society. Now, when these people are present in a society in the form of numerous refugees, the scope and depth of such problems will definitely increase. The spread of social insecurity, theft, various crimes, illegal entry and exit from international borders and the occurrence of border conflicts, the infiltration of terrorist groups and obstacles in the guise of refugees into the host society and changing the composition of the population have been some of the cases that have occurred throughout the year. In the past, it has been mentioned as political and security concerns caused by the presence of refugees in Iran. On the other hand, the refugee community is also deprived of special political and social rights such as participation in elections and special political and security protections due to the termination of the citizenship relationship with their respective government. Definitely, the most important part of the consequences of asylum for both parties should be sought in the social and cultural field.

The emergence of new social phenomena resulting from the interaction between the culture of the native community and the culture of the refugee group is considered one of the most significant complexities of such an unintended encounter. Cultural and religious conflicts, marriages between refugees and host society and its cultural consequences and other such examples have always been clearly observed in different periods of refugees' presence in Iran. The problem of providing the educational needs of the refugees is also one of the things that has caused problems for the host society. Simultaneously, neglecting the education of these individuals and the younger generation, alongside the financial burdens associated with their presence, creates a breeding ground for crime and a multitude of security and economic issues. The increase in the refugee population has consistently been a cause for concern in the region. In addition to the long-term security and political effects, this has also caused concerns in the field of deep cultural and social effects. With the presence of the first refugee in any country, the first need is financial resources for accommodation and provision of his general needs. Providing for the staggering expenses of refugees in Iran has been the first economic problem caused by their presence in our country.

But the economic problems of the refugee crises in Iran have gone beyond current expenses. Due to the lack of access and permission of this refugee group to the official labor market in the country, the informal and black labor market and the internal labor market were occupied by the refugees. On the flip side, the extensive border regions and the allure of markets on both sides create opportunities for the smuggling of goods, gold, and currency by the asylum seekers, and they establish connections with domestic and foreign businessmen. This has had a detrimental and destructive impact on the national economy. However, when will these crises, particularly the refugee crisis, come to an end? This is a challenging question to address. At the very least, it can be said that as long as numerous conflicts and divisions persist in neighboring countries and societies, including Afghanistan, and until a genuine nation-state is established in these nations, such crises will remain a formidable challenge for neighboring countries, particularly Iran. Even though more than a decade has passed since the fall of the Taliban and the presence of international institutions and nations in Afghanistan, the Minister of Interior of the Islamic Republic of Iran reports that there are still approximately 2.5 million Afghan refugees in Iran, both legally and illegally (Hamshahri 2014).

This clearly means that the Afghan people are still not confident enough about the security, stability and prosperity in their country to force them to return to their homeland, and it seems that this pessimism will continue until the unknown future.

4.2. Afghanistan and the future perspective

The process of nation-building and the establishment of a national government represent one of the paramount and foundational concerns in Afghanistan's political and social landscape. This issue has been continuously faced with different and even conflicting answers and views that there is a nation in Afghanistan? Are we a nation in Afghanistan? Do we have and have had a national government? And if we are a nation, what is the national identity and national interests in this structure? However, there is no common definition and belief about the Afghan nation and about the national identity and interests that require such a nation. If some people in the intellectual and political field still think that the phenomenon of the nation in Afghanistan is unformed and unformed, another group talks about the existence of the Afghan nation, whose roots even go back thousands of

years. Their belief and attitude speaks of the continuous existence of the nation in Afghanistan, but the permanent presence of the nation has been damaged by aggression and foreign interference.

Some people believe in the existence of the foundations and components of the nation in Afghanistan, which can be used to build the foundation of the nation and go through the process of nation-state building.

The owners of each different point of view about the nation and nation-building and the process of nation-state and nation-state formation in Afghanistan present their reasons and evidence. Some attribute continuous hindrances to the stability of the nation-state to external influences, while others point to internal factors, identifying ethnic dominance as an obstacle to the development of the nation-state concept. Another group considers various social, cultural, political, economic, geographical, etc. components to be involved in not being a nation and not completing the state-nation process (Andishmand, 2014).

A noteworthy and critical aspect in the discourse on national identity, nation-building, and the establishment of a nation-state is the extensive range and diversity of theories surrounding this discussion. It is possible that a theory and point of view in one society and country has more comparative fields and a better practical basis, but in another country, it works unsuccessfully. Or maybe it is possible to draw an easier and more practical map in this direction by combining all the theories of scientists or the experiences of countries that have gone through this process. The important point is that in nation-building and going through the nation-state process, objective and subjective conditions should not be ignored and should be dealt with ideologically and dogmatically. The discussion on this issue is not a discussion about a category and formula of mathematics and experimental sciences that can reach a conclusion with certainty.

But after going through different theories and in the field of reality, considering the turbulent and complicated history of Afghanistan and the bitter experiences that the people of this Afghanistan have gone through, now the main question is, what will the future of Afghanistan be like? Another important question will be, what will be the impact of developments and possibilities that are envisioned for the future of this country on Iran? Should we wait for the occurrence of other crises in Afghanistan, or will this country gradually go through the real path of nation-state building? How should the Islamic Republic of Iran prepare itself for the current and future developments in Afghanistan and with what approach should it take to welcome various possibilities? What are the possibilities we are talking about? While this article cannot comprehensively analyze and elucidate the impact of every potential scenario on Iran, but identifying specific examples can be a prelude to determining alternative strategies for preparing to face any new conditions in the country.

Following the collapse of the Taliban regime, the Islamic Republic of Iran has consistently endorsed the cohesion and unity of the Afghan nation and state, regarding the presence of a united Afghanistan as a safeguard for stability, security and prosperity in Afghanistan and subsequently in the region. In fact, the best imagined form for Iran and the region is the existence of a unified country with aligned groups and to a large extent agree on affairs. This model will definitely reduce many of Afghanistan's internal crises and minimize its effects on Iran and the region. But this is considered an ideal example for this country, and during the past decade, the hope to reach a unified powerful nation-state has not strengthened much. At present, the full realization of such an ideal model appears overly optimistic, and it is not reasonable to expect it, particularly in the short term. Nevertheless, even if achieving an ideal Afghanistan in practice may be challenging, the country is currently striving to preserve its unity and work towards national reconciliation to reestablish a nation-state in its original configuration. Although the new government was formed and finally all groups agreed on its formation, it is still far from reaching the minimum required to talk about a national government in the full sense. There is still a serious possibility that with a new and not so severe crisis, this coalition will break apart and Afghanistan will face a serious and vital challenge. Still, the governments formed after the Taliban not being able to find their effectiveness and strength in a comprehensive national agreement and prove it to the world community.

But against the most optimistic scenario for the future of Afghanistan, there are other options that have the possibility of real and full-fledged development in the political life of this country. In fact, some are so

pessimistic about the political future of this country that they consider it impossible to create a stable democracy for this country (Sale, 2013).

Now, if we leave aside the return of Taliban-type extremism or the domination of a foreign country over Afghanistan as not very likely options, the most pessimistic possibility will definitely be the strengthening of separatist approaches in Afghanistan, which will have different and profound consequences and effects for this. This process will involve the country and its citizens on one side and the region and its nations, particularly Iran, on the other side. Although now this option does not have much support among public opinion, but some actions, statements and behaviors point out that it should not be neglected and even its potential possibility should not be overlooked. In the middle of these options, there is the granting of autonomy to different sectors or the creation of federal governments in Afghanistan. If such options are implemented completely and definitively, they will have their effects and consequences, which can be seriously considered. Indeed, each of the scenarios mentioned should be treated as a potential outcome, each with varying degrees of likelihood, and appropriate measures and preparations need to be undertaken for each one. Although in the end it is the people of Afghanistan who must determine their own destiny, but the Islamic Republic of Iran must also have the conditions and readiness to face any fundamental change in this country and not be influenced by the events and actions that have the least consequence. It could be the extension of the current refugees' presence in Iran and even the occurrence of a new refugee crisis in the country.

5. Conclusion

The neighbors of any country are considered the most important friends or enemies of that country. In this sense, stability, security and prosperity in the neighbor of each country means stability and security in that country, and on the contrary, any tension and instability in the neighbor will threaten the security and stability in the neighboring country. Unfortunately, Iran has had two unstable and insecure neighbors in its east and west for the past decades. Two neighbors who have sent millions of refugees to Iran. The common feature of these two countries, namely Iraq and Afghanistan, is the existence of bankrupt governments in them, which have not left their hostages until today. An examination of Afghanistan's historical, cultural, ethnic, and religious contexts suggests that in the short term, there may not be much hope for escaping the current predicament. The government of the country remains ensnared in a cycle of crisis and turmoil. This means that these countries still have a great potential to spread the effects of their internal crises to their neighbors, and the latest example, the presence of ISIS in Afghanistan and Iraq, confirms this. Despite over a decade of fundamental changes in Afghanistan's political structure, a genuine and effective nation-state remains elusive in this country. Given this situation, it can be argued that Afghanistan still possesses the potential to generate regional crises, and any crisis can serve as a catalyst for its adverse repercussions spilling over into neighboring nations. It is still premature to forget the memory of the influx of Afghan and Iraqi refugees into Iran and assume that such a scenario is a thing of the past and cannot recur. Such countries with bankrupt governments and devoid of any real sense of nationalism, can still be pregnant with unforeseen events and incidents, the lack of serious attention to which can have serious consequences for the region and Iran.

Authors contribution: Research, analysis, writing and theoretical framework have been done by the first author Mohammad Ekram Yawar and significant input to the article and its revision and conclusion was done by the second author Abdul Jamil Sharify.

Funding: it is funded from authors' own budget, no fund is provided by any institution.

Conflict of interest: the authors declare that there is no conflict of interest, no sponsor was involved in design of the study, data collection, manuscript writing or decision to publish the work result.

Informed Consent: Not Applicable

References

- Arianfar, Aziz (2012), "Roots of failure and impasse of nation-building and state-building projects in Afghanistan, Shiraz is broken apart, threads are torn apart, the thread and fabric of the national government in the country is rotten" in: <https://tinyurl.com/2m59sbw5>
- Andishmand, Mohammad Akram (2014), "State-nation building in Afghanistan", Saeed Publishing House, Kabul. <https://tinyurl.com/ssxkvfu6>
- Zargar, Afshin (2016), "Nation-building state models: from the European model to the Eurasian model", specialized journal of political science, 4th year, 7th issue. <https://tinyurl.com/2p9frf3p>
- Kurna, Laurel (2013), Afghanistan, Tehran: Phoenix Publishing. <https://tinyurl.com/5n8tr3z4>
- Hamshahri online (2014) in: <http://www.hamshahrionline.ir/details/294916>
- Vaezi, Hamzah (2002), Afghanistan and the incomplete structures of national identity, Tehran: Tehran Publications. <https://tinyurl.com/46x5u2en>
- Afghanistan Annual Report, Protection of Civilian in Armed Conflict (2013), "United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan", available at: http://www.unama.unmissions.org/Portals/UNAMA/human%20rights/Feb_8_2014_PoC-report_2013-Full-report-ENG.pdf
- Akhlaq, Sayed Hassan (2015), "The Crisis of national and Religious Identity in Afghanistan Today", available at: - Failed States Index, (2013), available at: <http://www.fsp.statesindex.org> <https://www.opendemocracy.net/sayed-hassan-akhlaq/crisis-of-national-and-religious-identity-in-afghanistan-today>
- Iqbal, Zaryab & Starr, Harvey (2008), "Bad Neighbors: Failed States and Their Consequences", Conflict Management and Peace Science September 2008 Vol. 25, No. 4, 315-331.
- Miller, D. Paul (2011), "Finish the Job: How the War in Afghanistan Can Be Won", Foreign Affairs, Vol. 90, No.1.
- Riemer, K. Andrea (2005), "The Concepts of State Building, Nation Building and Society Building", available at: <http://www.zmne.hu/aarms/docs/Volume4/Issue3/pdf/01riem.pdf>
- Rotberg, R (ed) (2004), When States Fail, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Sale, Richard. (2013): "Afghanistan: A Dark and Fragile Future" available at: http://www.truth-out.org/news/item/15264afghanistanadarkandfragilefuture#14327117726221&action=collapse_widget&id=0&data=
- The World Factbook, available at: <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/af.html>
- Transparency International (2013), available at: <http://www.transparency.org>
- UNDP (2013), "Human Development Report, The Rise of the South: Human Progress in a Diverse World," available at: <http://www.undp.org/content/dam/undp/library/corporate/HDR/2013GlobalHDR/English/HDR2013%20Report%20English.pdf>
- UNODC (2013), "Afghanistan Opium Survey 2013", United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, available at: www.unodc.org/documents/crop-monitoring/Afghanistan/Afghan_report_Summary_Findings_2013.pdf
- World Bank (2013), available at: <http://www.data.worldbank.org/country/afghanistan>