



HJRS Link: [Journal of Academic Research for Humanities \(HEC-Recognized for 2023-2024\)](#)

Edition Link: [Journal of Academic Research for Humanities, 3\(3\) July-September 2023](#)

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Link of the Paper: <https://jar.bwo.org.pk/index.php/jarh/article/view/267>

AN ANALYSIS OF POLITICAL GOVERNANCE IN THE ISLAMIC EMIRATE OF AFGHANISTAN: POST-US WITHDRAWAL ERA

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Paper Information

Citation of the paper:

(APA) Yousufi, Musab. Tariq, Muhammad. Asif, Aqeela. (2023). An Analysis of Political Governance in Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan: Post-US Withdrawal Era. In Journal of Academic Research for Humanities, 3(3), 178–188.

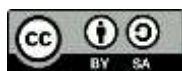
Subject Areas:

- 1 Humanities
- 2 Political Science

Timeline of the Paper:

Received on: 25-04-2023.
Reviews Completed on: 20-09-2023.
Accepted on: 29-09-2023.
Online on: 30-09-2023.

License:



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Recognized:



Published by:



Abstract

Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan has experienced a protracted war against its invaders and a civil war between its factions during the last three decades. Continuous war and repulsion of invaders have created a vacuum multiple times which has been filled by warring factions such as Mujahedeen after the withdrawal of the Soviets. However, these groups could not restore peace and stability in Afghanistan and such scenarios pushed the country into endless civil war. Subsequently, Mujahedeen groups were gradually replaced by the Taliban. They established and implemented the hardliner version of Islamic Sharia and especially targeted the female gender. Their connections with terrorist organizations such as Al-Qaeda which made them unacceptable among the international community. The United States of America got approval from the international community and announced war against the Taliban, however, the Taliban fought back, and the US had to leave after ten years of combat operations. This research study is an effort to analyze the political governance of the Taliban Model, after the US withdrawal and focuses on the questions of determinants of political governance in the context of Afghan society, state, history, and culture. The methodology of this paper is centered on qualitative and thematic exploration. The study ends with recommendations for the Taliban government to improve political governance. The objective of the study is to highlight the importance of political governance, the challenges of the Taliban regime, and the prospects of its improvement, leading to the way forward for establishing a stable government in Afghanistan.

Kew words: Afghanistan, Governance, State, Society, Periphery

Introduction

Afghanistan over centuries has remained politically unstable. Political governance in Afghanistan has remained in shambles not over decades but over centuries. Afghanistan's history is one of continuous turmoil, invasions, war against empires, and even against each other on the grounds of ethnicity and tribal enmities. It is due to this factor that Afghanistan could not develop a stable political governance structure capable of rescuing the nation at times of strife both internally and externally. "Afghanistan, the unending source of warlords and terrorists throughout the world, will be caught in the historical crossfire. British, Soviet, and American superpowers have all focused their attention on this terrible region during the past three centuries to impose a new global order on it (Holt, 2005). A great force has attempted to invade, occupy, conquer, or in some other way seize control of Afghanistan five times in the past 200 years. The curious thing about these interventions is that they have all failed in essentially the same way and for essentially the same reasons as if each new power entering Afghanistan has vowed to learn nothing from its predecessors. Each intervention has resulted in a painful setback for the intervening power (2012) Ansary. The Afghan nation seems to be fighting to restore and establish a stable political governance system, which can guide it on the path of social uplift and development. The world has entered the twenty-first century with numerous technological advancements, which have revolutionized human life. Social peace and stability, a sound governance system, and a sound institutional mechanism are prerequisites for enjoying the fruits of all this progress and development. New thinking, new social order, and the creation of a public agreement between the state and society are the realities with which present-day nations, whether developed or developing, must live. No nation or state can afford to keep itself

aloof from the global community. Afghanistan is a glaring example of the destruction that results from the lack of political governance structure in a country. This study aims to discuss and bring to light the political governance of Afghanistan in the light of its history and the light of present political developments; that have taken place in Afghanistan in the last two decades. The withdrawal of United States and NATO forces from Afghanistan is a breakthrough in world affairs. The takeover of the Taliban has exposed Afghanistan into meeting another challenge of establishing a lasting political order which in the long run may lead to perpetual political institutions set up regardless of who rules in the country, but the standards of political governance will be based on these foundations. Over 25 years of armed conflict have left Afghanistan with a fractured state, virtually nonexistent national institutions, and a collapsed economy, according to one academic. Conventional authority was challenged, and many societal norms appeared to have changed (Weibaum: 2006). History, geography, politics, state, and societal relationships all have played the first role in the devastation that Afghanistan has experienced over the past three decades.

Research Questions

- What is the present status of political governance in Afghanistan?
- What are the causes of the fragility of political governance in Afghanistan?
- What should be the way forward for the Afghan government to strengthen political governance?

Research Objectives:

- To analyze the causes of government failures and determine a governance structure that can be devised that can ensure the building of Afghan state institutions.
- To be carried out to highlight the factors that are responsible for the weaknesses in the political governance structure and recommend steps needed to improve.

Literature Review

The process of political governance is linked to the relationship between the state and society. Its effectiveness is directly proportional to the degree of effectiveness of state organizations that are responsible for law-making and its execution. This is an evolutionary process, and it takes centuries to develop an effective political governance system that ensures a peaceful social order. Given the importance of the factors that led to the establishment of the POA political governance system works. Published works on governance, policy making, and political governance in Afghanistan are related to the era after the United States invasion of Afghanistan in 2001. The issue of political governance has been raised by the people working with different UN, World Bank IMF and US think tanks including both congressional committees of the US government and private think tanks like the United States Institute Peace (USIP), the Carnegie Endowment Center for Peace, Center for International Governance, etc. "Good Governance in Afghanistan: Challenges and Solutions" 2005, by Said Nasim Bahman, (Bahman, 2005), of the Balkh University Afghanistan is a research paper by an Afghan scholar that is an important study in the sense that it is an indigenous study by an Afghan and in Afghanistan, the analysis and findings are very relevant and worth noting both for policymakers and research.

"A Guide to Government in Afghanistan": by (Anne Evans, 2004) is a World Bank study that explains the Afghan government structure in the post-Taliban era of 2001. The international community supported the local Afghans in forming a government which many Afghans welcomed with hope that they may steer the country out of the destructions of war. The government structure that was formed has been given in this report this explains all the government departments like the administration, the Judiciary, the executive, the budget, the Audit departments

e, etc. a good guide to the government structure as the same must be performed in governments. "Building a State, Ensuring Development, and Reducing Poverty in Afghanistan (Bank, 2005), a World Bank study, provides details about the prevalence of challenges to state building in the form of existing poverty levels in Afghan society, the growth pattern and efforts for making growth and above all sustainable growth which will create a strong government. It provides statistical details about Afghanistan which are very rare in the case of Afghanistan. And which are highly needed for realistic policy-making and effective governance. "Afghanistan: 1979-2009, in the Grip of War": (Peace, 2009), is a collection of papers published by the Middle East Institute, Washington DC, under their series Viewpoint, by scholars. This combines the opinions of scholars, policymakers, and think tanks regarding trouble points around the globe. The collection of writings regarding Afghanistan provides an excellent viewpoint about Afghan politics, war, invasion, state and society, and its future course of events. A piece of highly relevant information about governance issues and state-building in war-torn Afghanistan. Among the reports Afghanistan Study Group Final report published in February 2021 (Gruop, 2021), is an exhaustive study made by the Afghan study group which was constituted by the United States Institute of Peace (USIP). The report discusses in detail US national interests in Afghanistan. It gives a detailed account of the status of peace in Afghanistan. The problem of terrorist threat from Afghanistan, Afghanistan's economic dependency on foreign donors especially the US, Politics and State, Civil Society, Rights and Social gains, The Taliban Organization, and objectives. All these refer to the pre-Taliban period hence the policy recommendations for the US government pertain to future course pathways in the light of what has been done so far and what needs to be done. The section

on Politics and State addresses to some extent the issue of governance and policy making. It advises the US government that any future achievements will be highly dependent upon the support of the Afghan people which requires a better understanding of their needs and aspirations. The study is based on realistic observations and realistic policy advice to the US government. A USIP study, under the heading of "What Afghan Teaches US about Evidence-Based Policy" (Graff, 2021), concludes that the non-achievement of goals in Afghanistan is a result of a lack of understanding of working in conflict environments. It is a bit of policy advice to the US to structure its course of action on the understanding of conflicts it's a course and what needs to be done. It points towards the reasons for bad governance like corruption, low delivery of social services, and the resultant community grievances. "Assisting Afghan Local Governance: What Went Wrong" (Brown, 2021) published by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace is exclusively focused on the aid activities and aid provided to the Afghan people but the characteristic feature of this work is that in the context of aid it features on the weaknesses of the local governance it concludes that the international community aimed to use subnational governance to help decentralize authority to local communities which did not succeed. The authors see beyond this failure the combination gap that exists between the Afghan people and the government a serious policy failure both on the part of the Afghan government and the donors. The Extraordinary Inspector General for Afghanistan's Rebuilding (SIGAR) is a figure created by the US Congress to guide the US government on policy matters in Afghanistan. Its reports also give valuable information about the Afghan crisis. Its recent report has been published in August 2021, (SIGAR, 2021). It throws light on lessons learned in the past twenty years.

A study by Hamish Nixon under the title, "Sub National State Construction in Afghanistan" (Nixon, 2008) a synthesis paper series published by the Afghanistan Research and Evaluation Unit (AREU) describes the governance structure in Afghanistan at the sub-national level, that is, the provincial and local bodies level. It states that state-building at subnational levels in Afghanistan has been characterized by the lack of a subnational governance policy. "Regulation of Law, Governance and Human Rights in Afghanistan": 2002-2016 by Erin Houlihan and William Spencer (Houlihan, 2017) published by the US Institute of Peace (USIP) is a report that brings into light the achievements and catastrophes in the field of Afghan rebuilding over the period of fifteen years from 2002-2016. This also suggests the way forward for the stakeholders and the international community to consolidate the effects of good work done in the fields of rule of law, human rights, and good governance in the extended run. "Afghanistan: Post-Taliban Governance, Security, and U.S. Policy": by Kenneth Katzman (Katzman, 2017), is a detailed report by the Congressional Research Services account of events that have taken place since the Soviet withdrawal in 1989. The report states the policy options for the US government in totality and refers to the element of good governance and policy on the part of the incumbent Afghan governments to consolidate their achievements of war against the Soviets. This is a highly important document in terms of historical developments in the wake of the Soviet withdrawal. It also provides data regarding social sectors like education, health, and physical infrastructure like roads and buildings. It is an assessment of the present and future needs of Afghanistan. The available material on Afghanistan points towards many areas where the Afghan society needs to improve and progress in the future.

Methodology:

The study is qualitative based on the review of published material in the form of reports, journal papers, and books. The methodology adopted is based on a comprehensive desk review of existing research, literature, and documentation on political governance and material available in the form of reports articles, journal articles, and already published works. Media reports, and interviews of Afghan officials and Taliban representatives on international media like BBC, CNN, and Al-Jazeera have also been included and analyzed for concluding. The approach is meta-analytic where conclusions are extracted from the reviewed mate

Determinants of Political Governance**(i). Economy**

"Internal confrontations seem to last longer now than they did in the Cold War era. They are particularly difficult to resolve due to several economic factors, including the following: (1) they are frequently self-financing and economically integrated at regional and international levels; (2) resource competition can affect the command, control, and cohesion of both rebel and government forces; (3) there are numerous opportunities for self-enrichment throughout a conflict; and (4) diaspora networks, which some groups rely on for financial support. (Cater, 2002) "State revenue sources have an impact on the development of state institutions and governance. State development critically depends on how money is raised, particularly the concessions that leaders make to their subjects to raise (and spend) money. The state's institutional capacity to carry out this mission and the degree to which institutional structures take into account the interests of both the rulers and the ruled (Bizhan, 2018). A government that is in the economic doldrums cannot establish a sound political governance structure. Because governments have to provide the necessities and amenities of life to their citizens in the first place. Security and

peace are the prerequisites for the revival of the economy. In the globalized world integration into regional and international trade systems and cross-border trade are crucial to economic growth. The present Taliban government will have to devise policies that must enable it to integrate itself into the international trade system which again is dependent upon the improvement in the political governance indicators.

(ii) Legitimacy of the Taliban Government

Any government's ability to function independently both inside the boundaries of the state and as a member of the international community depends on its legitimacy and reputation. A government's recognition opens the door to a few significant advantages, including the acceptance of its representatives as diplomats, the capacity to sign treaties, the acceptance of aid and development packages, and access to state assets overseas. The Taliban are aware that they will not be able to effectively maneuver to win over the support of the Afghan people or to craft or join cooperative arrangements with other states to address a wide range of issues in the defense, economic, and sociocultural realms without proper external legitimacy and recognition (Cogan & Gill, 2022). Political legitimacy also needs approval from other sources. A sovereign state gains legitimacy and the ability to engage in external relations, such as signing treaties, conducting trade, and waging war, when other states recognize it. In a nutshell, legitimacy is a condition of sovereignty, and this has both internal and international ramifications.

(Bukovansky, 2002, p. 3) Legitimacy thus is highly important for state governments to function properly. The accordance of recognition from both the citizens and the international community is dependent upon the fact that the government is considered legitimate by the citizens as well as the external world. Political institutions are the medium of political governance, enabling the

environment for political institutions to flourish and grow leading to a stable political governance structure. The political system prevailing in a society and state provides a base for political governance. A strong and stable political culture determines the strength of political governance. "Political violence can be serious and enduring in societies that are going through severe and protracted crises of legitimacy. Additional ancillary claims include: political violence is frequently used in conjunction with other non-violent political techniques to overcome the legitimacy issue by recruiting support, cooperation, compromise, control, and compliance [2017 \(Ottunnu\)](#).

(iii) The Nature of Afghan Society and State

The nature of the state and society of Afghanistan has a direct bearing on the nature of political governance. Afghanistan has remained without statehood for a very long time in its history. Afghanistan used to be a combination of principalities that would fight against invaders and offer stiff resistance to every passerby army. The area that is now Afghanistan was subjugated and dominated by foreign invaders during its pre-modern history. The possession of Afghan territory offered conquerors access to wealthier nations like India or central Asia or gave them control over important trade routes, not because they sought the richness of Afghanistan [\(Barfield; 2010\)](#). Afghanistan has been a topic of discussion for most of its history simply due to its Geo-Strategic location. It was in 1747 when Afghanistan got a semblance of statehood under the leadership of Ahmad Shah Durrani whose descendants ruled Afghanistan till 1978 when the dynasty ended with the assassination of Sardar Muhammad Daud Khan the great-grandson of Ahmad Shah. The Afghan state was a buffer state between Czarist Russia and Imperialist British India. It has remained a land of big power interests throughout its history. But that is a historical aspect of its politics. The nature of the Afghan state is

determined by the lifestyle of its inhabitants, their culture, their aspirations, and their sense of freedom. Afghanistan has been described as biblical and medieval even by present-day writers because Afghanistan still keeps intact its centuries-old tribal system. Loyalties are based on kinships and tribes have their territorial expansions which they hold no matter what happens on the national scene. Within these local cultural and administrative units there is a combined national adherence to the central government which is observed until the central government does not interfere in the local affairs. Tribal loyalties serve as a centrifugal force in the Afghan society.

Due to the peculiar social setup which is based on tribal and kinship more on a unified national character the political system and governance structure of Afghanistan have remained in permanent chaos. There has been a continuous center-periphery conflict in the political culture of Afghanistan. "Troubled relationship between a centralist state and centrifugal society has posed a serious challenge to state-building in Afghanistan." [\(Ibrahimi S., 2019\)](#). Over a mostly centrifugal society, Afghanistan was created as a centralist state. A problematic connection between the state and society has resulted from the centralist state-building techniques working against the traditional norms and interactions of the decentralized society. The absence of an institutionalized connection between state and society is manifested in weak state institutions, on the one hand, and a marginalized and reactive society, on the other." [\(Ibrahimi S. , 2019\)](#). Given the nature of the Afghan state and society, the present Taliban government is also faced with the challenge of establishing a political governance structure where the state tries to be centralist and the society is centrifugal by nature. Throughout the past century, this conflict has significantly influenced Afghan history. Strong local social organizations and a longstanding heritage of

independence also mean that locals frequently dislike decisions they perceive as being imposed from the outside. Also, although the two don't necessarily go hand in hand, experiences with violent tyranny and corruption have increased public mistrust of the central authority (Thier, 2020).

(iv) Ethnicity as a Factor in Political Governance:

Ethnicity is also a very active factor in the political governance of Afghanistan. The Pashtun dominance in the state-building and state-running functions has created a lot of friction among the Pashtuns and other communities most prominently the Uzbeks, Tajiks, and the Hazaras. Since the birth of the Afghan state by a Pashtun chieftain Ahmad Shah, the dynasty ruled Afghanistan till 1978 which ended with the overthrow of Sardar Daud the last monarch of the Muhammadzai Pashtuns. Pashtun rulers like Amir Abdur Rahman and Amir Habib Ullah Khan have been blamed for ruling Afghanistan with mostly Pashtun tribal chiefs. The present Taliban government is seen as a Pashtun-dominated government and non-inclusive. Most of the Taliban cabinet is composed of Pashtuns. The Taliban movement emerged from Qandahar which is a Pashtun-dominated part of Afghanistan. The international community has its reservations against the Taliban on the grounds of being not completely representative of the Afghan nation. The ethnic factor in Afghan politics and the Taliban being Pashtuns must be looked at for the historical role that the Pashtun community has played in Afghan politics.

(v) Taliban's Transformation from an Ethnic Group to a Religion-Based Group:

Taliban at the inception of the group in the 1990s had very effectively used the Pashtun identity to mobilize the resistance against the US and its warlords who could not according to the Taliban provide the required degree of governance to Afghanistan after the Soviet withdrawal. Even though the Taliban are

predominantly Pashtuns over time the fervor with which they made a comeback is more because of the religious factor than the ethnic one. There has been a transformation from ethnic identity to religion and faith which made the Taliban so resilient in facing the NATO and US forces. The Taliban Pashtun nationalism has been challenged by some authors on the grounds of two prevalent theories of ethnicity that is, primordialism and social constructivism. Primordialism bases ethnicity on language, race, custom, religion, and kinship. Social constructivism bases ethnicity on the human needs of economics and security and this advocates that human beings come together to form a group in particular circumstances to safeguard their survival through economic means and physical security. Authors like Rashid Ahmad and Osman Tariq believe that "Taliban's spiritual inspiration was a driving force in combat and maintaining their unity" (Ahmad. R, 2014). The Pashtun ethnicity of the Taliban is a potent factor in determining the political governance culture of the post-US withdrawal phase in the policies of Afghanistan. Taliban now rulers of Afghanistan will have to develop a group feeling based on stabilizing and putting Afghanistan on the path of development.

(VI) The Question of Political Parties and Representative Parliament:

Political governance is determined by the presence of a strong and developed political party culture which provides a basis for representative parliament. Parliament, being the law-making body and the legislative organ of the state, caters to the determination of a political governance structure which in return strengthens the governance. Afghanistan does not offer any evidence of a strong political culture based on the representative system. Although its monarchs since the times of Amir Abdur Rahman and Amir Amanullah Khan till King Zahir Shah and Sardar Daud have tried to form a parliamentary system, they won't

allow a true representative mechanism which will ultimately result in representative democracy. In the recent past, the practice of formation of a representative parliament was started right from the start of the formation of the Karzai government which started in Bonn in December 2001. Bonn conference agreed upon an elected parliament which would be composed of an upper house called the *Mahsrano Jirga* (House of Elders) and a lower house called the *Wolesi Jirga* (peoples' house). The problem with all these exercises was that they were all brokered by the United States of America. All these efforts were focused on securing American interests in Afghanistan rather than securing a peaceful Afghanistan and helping the formation of a government that would be acceptable to the Afghans. The second problem with the democratic process is the availability of political parties in the system. Afghanistan has absolutely no organized political party system that can fill in the vacuum that persists in the political governance system. The modern Afghanistan which is said to have started from the fall of Sardar Daud the last monarch and with the inception of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA), the political system was based on a single-party system on the fashion of communist governments of Russia and China. The same PDPA split into "Parcham" and "Khalq" factions and the Islamic parties like the Hezbi Islami of Gulbadin Hikamtyar and the Jamiat Islami of Burhaddudin Rabbani were parties that got groomed during the period of war against the Soviets. They had no experience in electoral politics the leadership had no space for the democratic process of change of leadership and difference of opinion on national issues. Taliban being a religious group and having gained victory mostly on the slogan of reviving Islam will be tested on this count whether they would be able to allow the formation of a parliament based on an electoral process which again will be based on a multi-party system acceptable

to the Afghans and the international community.

(VII) Political Governance Strategy for Afghanistan

"It has become common practice for academics, foreign aid workers, military leaders, diplomats, and others to acknowledge that governance, a set of public activities, is distinct from government, a set of formal institutions; that governance takes place at the local level as well as the national level; that local governance in "fragile" states is frequently carried out by both state and non-state actors; and that governance in conservative, traditional, non-Western countries is often undertaken by both state and non-state actors. This broad perspective is a welcome departure from earlier views that had considered places outside of the control of some central government to be "ungoverned" and that consequently had prescribed building the capacity of state institutions to "extend" governance to the hinterlands." (Lamb, 2012) A 2009 conference on Afghan governance, involving mostly international experts, concluded that "stability in Afghanistan *requires* that its people accept state authority as legitimate and trust its institutions. This will happen *only if* the central government addresses the people's 'hierarchy of needs'—security, justice, and economic development—through good ~~governance~~" (summary, 2009). The communiqué from the 2010 Kabul Conference "recognizes that the Afghan Government can provide security only if its people are secure in its ability to deliver public services, decent governance, human rights protection including gender equality, and economic opportunity" (Communique; 2008). Political governance strategy for Afghanistan will have to be carried out the light of certain assumptions. The most important one is that Thirdly, state institutions have a unique capacity to lead the process of maintaining stability and the quality of human development. Non-state

actors, which in the present-day world have a role in governance and decision-making leading to specific policy initiatives on the part of the government, usually have an impeding role in governance.

(VIII) Political Governance Framework

A framework provides the basic parameters that define a formal system. Political governance is a wider term that encompasses the politics of governance and this in turn allows an entry to a wide array of social factors which determines the quality of governance in general and political governance in particular. The actors of political governance are a permanent feature of governance whether they are formal, informal, or illicit. In conflict-ridden states the post-conflict and stabilization phase is always characterized by fluidity of circumstances and no government can afford to neglect these actors. These actors or governors of political governance primarily perform four functions in the process of governance: they make policies that significantly affect policies both at the national and sub-national levels even at the local levels; they provide essential services and work for public good; they manage and build public and collective institutions; and they manage and manipulate networks of influence. This is a synopsis of the political governance framework in Afghanistan.

	Policies/processes	Services	Institutions	Networks
Formal	Elections, laws, regulations	Health, education, security, defense, taxation, trade & commerce	Parliament, military, courts, police	Communities of practice, parties
Informal	Jirga, shura, Pashtunwali, sharia	Community, defense, health, education	Jirga, shura, militia, alternate dispute resolution (ADR), madrassa	Patronage, tribal kin, faithful
Illicit	Curfew/rule of man	Employment, protection	Manufacturer, enforcer, strongman	Patronage, cartel, smugglers

The different combinations of shapes and forms that these actors take can be graphically represented as above, Adopted after [Robert D. Lamb \(2012\)](#). The actors highlighted in this framework are all active in the case of Afghanistan. Afghanistan is a test case for determining the role of political governance in running the affairs of the state and managing the public services, the provincial governments, and the local governments. In post-conflict states like Afghanistan, these four faces of governance are highly active in the provision of governance and the success and failure of governance largely depends on the performance of these actors.

Conclusion:

The post-US withdrawal phase of Afghanistan was fraught with risks and opportunities for all stakeholders including the Afghan government, state, citizens, and policy decision-makers. War-stricken nations like Afghanistan mostly face the crucial issues of political instability, a cluster of groups with their agendas, lack of decision-making mechanisms that address the interests of all stakeholders. As per the above analysis, Political stability must be well-maintained officially at all levels with the support and coordination of state organizations, the private sector, and other active and effective groups. The process of the formulation of rules, laws, and regulations, should be based on the principle of consultation of all political groups at the local level in general and national level in particular. A combination of old and new political scenarios may create a hybrid system of governance that assigns an active role to all stakeholders. Accordingly, such a strategy for political governance will work to establish a strong state in Afghanistan.

Recommendations:

(I). Predictability

Taliban government is highly vague and undefined on many issues for example

they call their government an interim government with no plan or strategy for forming a stable and lasting government for Afghanistan. Taliban should have a clear and defined policy regarding all contentious issues like women's rights, female education, its relationship with neighbors, and the obliteration of terrorist heavens.

II). Inclusivity

Taliban must focus on forming an inclusive government that should have a fair representation of all communities in it. Secondly, they must devise policies for all government departments and sectors to make it possible for all sections of society to participate and contribute to national growth and prosperity.

(III). Decentralization:

Decentralization is the way towards the formation of stable political governance institutions within the context of Afghan social and political culture. This will also allow the peripheral leadership to share the burden of decision-making. The development of local government institutions is what is direly needed in the post-US withdrawal era of Afghanistan. The development of the institutions of governance and employing effective governance instruments by enacting laws, rules, and regulations for public affairs is a long-term process.

(IV). Dealing with the Power Brokers:

The existence of power brokers is a permanent phenomenon in war-stricken countries like Afghanistan. In the case of Afghanistan, the presence of power brokers is even more severe because the long war has produced warlords who have tremendous resources and influence over their people. The political governance strategy of the Taliban should be based on enticing these groups to play a positive role in the national reconstruction. Their entry into the mainstream should be incentivized by offering them economic and business opportunities, allowing them to hold certain

titles, personal security, other payoffs, and numerous other incentives that will make them stakeholders in the political and economic system.

(v) Progress should be Incremental:

Political Governance is a social process and cannot be pushed to improve mechanically. It is rather a gradual development in many spheres of national life. Political governance in Afghanistan cannot be and should not be expected to be as good as the term is used in Western countries. But it has to be just good enough to run the state in the prevailing situation without deteriorating further and should get better incrementally so that a much better system emerges with time.

(VI) The Problem of Terrorism:

Terrorism has been the main cause of the lengthening of the Afghan problem. It is therefore necessary that the Taliban come out with a clear and concrete anti-terrorist policy and exhibit to the world their intent of reverting from supporting terrorist organizations and terrorist groups. Taliban are also duty-bound to see to it that Afghanistan is not turned into a haven for terrorist groups, under the provisions of the Doha agreement. Moreover, neighboring countries like Pakistan must be kept in good humor by expelling Tehreek Taliban Pakistan (TTP). Institutions of political governance can flourish and grow only in a peaceful environment which if denied to them may take Afghanistan into another phase of chaos and unrest which will never allow the state to get stabilized. Political stability is the result of a sound and stable political governance mechanism able enough to lead to the establishment and strengthening of political institutions and political culture.

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