

POLITICAL FACTORS OF THE COLLAPSE OF THE AFGHANISTAN REPUBLIC IN 2021

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Annotation. The purpose of this research is to find the political factors behind the collapse of the 20-year-old republican system in Afghanistan.

In the framework of this research, it will be found that the Afghan republic system, which was in power in Afghanistan from 2001 to 2021, collapsed on the basis of a number of domestic and foreign political factors. Differences between politicians, seeing the conflict as a business, prejudice, low level of knowledge of the people, prioritizing personal interests instead of national interests by the rulers, indifference of the president and the alternative of the West. These include not making efforts, giving power to an incompetent constituency, not working to strengthen the government system, tyranny and incompetence of the central government. The external political factors of the collapse include the role of Pakistan and the United States. The United States had two faces in Afghanistan; On the one hand, he supported the ruling system politically, economically and militarily, but on the other hand, he did not allow the political system to strengthen and self-establish itself due to its illegal interference. On the other hand, he practically provided the conditions for the downfall of this political system, he negotiated with the Taliban under the protection of the Republic of Afghanistan and signed an agreement with them, as a result of which he withdrew his support for the republican system, the republic collapsed and The Taliban took over. Throughout its history, Pakistan has pursued a policy of interference and chaos in Afghanistan, and in this 20-year period, it had provided all the facilities to the Taliban in its territory, so that the political system in Afghanistan would be restored. It may not be stable or it may be thrown away. In this research, the answer to this question has been given, which political factors caused the collapse of the Republic of Afghanistan in 2021. Using the descriptive and analytical method, an attempt has been made to examine the hypothesis of how these factors caused the collapse.

Key words: Afghanistan, 20-year system, political factors, the collapse of the state, external powers, America, Pakistan, Taliban

Basic provisions

In this article, an attempt has been made to find an answer to this central question: What are the political factors of the collapse of the Afghan republic in 2021? In addition to the central question, answers have also been found to some sub-questions such as: How was the Republic of Afghanistan established in 2001, how did Mohammad Ashraf Ghani come to power? During the reign of Mohammad Ashraf Ghani, what was the structure of the government and the implementation of the constitution?

Introduction

Afghanistan is a country rich in natural resources, with strong human resources and a strategic location. But still he is dealing with all kinds of troubles and misfortunes, the reason of which is the lack of political stability in the country. If the political history of Afghanistan is studied, it will be thought that the collapse of governments and systems in Afghanistan is a political culture of this society, but the truth is that the collapse of each system had its own factors. The history of modern Afghanistan starts from the day when Ahmad Shah Baba laid the foundation of modern Afghanistan and decided the natural borders of Afghanistan with its neighbors. But since that time, the neighbors and the great power of the time, England, had a cunning and hostile policy towards Afghanistan and always divided the ruling family in Afghanistan. In this way, Afghanistan's political systems have collapsed.

Afghanistan, which has a strategic position as a connector between Central Asia and South Asia, and recently the importance for South Asia is increasing, this position has caused it to attract the attention of the world's major powers. On the other hand, Afghanistan's bad neighbors, especially Pakistan and Iran, who see Afghanistan's development, economic growth, legal system and political stability as their own detriment, have created obstacles for the survival of political systems in Afghanistan. , and on the basis of the ruling political system, they invented groups within the nation and supported these groups financially, militarily and politically. Recently, the republican system of Afghanistan, which was established in 2001, collapsed and dissolved in 2021 after 20 years of rule. This article also discusses the political factors of the collapse of the last republican system.

The purpose of investigating this issue is to find the political factors of the fall of the republic and to find solutions. And finally, the establishment of political systems in Afghanistan should be provided. Because the establishment and stability of the political system in Afghanistan is important for the nation of Afghanistan, it is also important for the countries of the region.

In this article, an attempt has been made to find an answer to this central question: What are the political factors of the collapse of the Afghan republic in 2021? In addition to the central question, answers have also been found to some sub-questions such as: How was the Republic of Afghanistan established in 2001, how did Mohammad Ashraf Ghani come to power? During the reign of Mohammad Ashraf Ghani, what was the structure of the government and the implementation of the constitution?

We present the hypothesis to the above questions in this way: Illegal intervention of foreigners, lack of a single political strategy for governance, and lack of a single authority for decision-making and differences between politicians.

Politicians and rulers of the time have presented their ideas about how the republic will fall in 2021, The statements of politicians and rulers and my own observations constitute the main sources for this article. Reference is given. But so far I have not found any specific research on this in various libraries and websites.

Description of materials and methods

After the defeat of the former Soviet Union in 1989, the Mujahideen gained power in Afghanistan, but the Mujahideen did not have a single leader, but were divided into seven parties; While there are still other small groups within some parties, this is why the Mujahideen were not able to gather all the parties and groups under one umbrella and create a strong, unified and centralized government in Afghanistan. This situation paved the way for the emergence of the Taliban; The Taliban did not agree with any of the seven parties and stood against them and started a war that by 2001 had brought almost 95% of the territory of Afghanistan under their control. In 2001, two buildings were attacked by airplanes in the United States of America. The United States blamed the attacks on the Al-Qaeda network, whose center was in Afghanistan, and the leader of this network, Osama bin Laden, was also based in Afghanistan. The United States declared war against the Al-Qaeda network, began bombing the Taliban centers in Afghanistan, thereby ending the Taliban's rule. And held a conference in Bonn about the future government of Afghanistan, the people invited to this conference could not represent the entire nation and classes of Afghanistan. From that day, the foundation of the future government of Afghanistan could not be established properly. Based on the decision of this conference, a temporary administration was established in Afghanistan under the leadership of Hamid Karzai. After that, a transitional government was established under the leadership of Hamid Karzai. During the transitional period, the constitution was written, all elections were held for the presidency of the republic, and the president of the transitional period, Hamid Karzai, was considered the winner of the election and was sworn in as the head of the republic. After that, he was sworn in for the second time in 2009. After the re-election, Hamid Karzai was sworn in as the president for another term. But the 2014 elections became controversial again due to the interference of the United States of America and its allies. Power in this government was divided between two leading candidates, Mohammad Ashraf Ghani as the President and Dr. Abdullah Abdullah as the Chief Executive. This period was spent in conflict between the two political figures. In 2019, the elections were held despite the opposition of the United States of America. The level of participation in the elections was very low due to many factors. The results of this election The United States of America has also become controversial due to the conspiracies, and finally the previous experience was repeated and this time the power was divided between the two leading candidates (Mohammed Ashraf Ghani as the President and Dr. Abdullah Abdullah as the head of the Supreme Council of Reconciliation). . This five-year period of the republic was not completed, but in 2021, this system was overthrown and the Taliban took power. In this article, we are discussing the political factors of the collapse of the republican system of Afghanistan. These factors can be divided into two parts, domestic and external factors. Since the role of external factors is stronger than domestic factors in the downfall of the republic, we will discuss the external factors first.

Results

The external political factors of the collapse of the Republic of Afghanistan

The external political factors of the collapse of the Republic of Afghanistan in 2021 are directly related to United State of America and Pakistan.

The role of the United States in the downfall of the republic is the most effective, as it was mentioned before, that the United States started the war against the Taliban in Afghanistan, and established a government under the leadership of Hamid Karzai, who from the beginning of this government Economic, political and military support. But they did not have a systematic and effective policy to win or end the war in Afghanistan [1]. This is the reason why the war lasted for two decades. Similarly, America made ethnic differences in Afghanistan a part of its policy, and during this 20-year period, it divided political power based on ethnic structures. As a result, it will have a negative impact on the delivery of government services.

The soldiers of the United States of America and their allies who were stationed in Afghanistan and conducting military operations in Afghanistan did not pay attention to the culture of Afghans. Sensitivities against America arose and became the cause of discontent among the nation, and as a result, the ranks of the Taliban were strengthened.

In addition to this, the US was feeding more money to Afghanistan than its capacity. Former USAID employee David Marsden said in an interview that during the height of this mission, a huge amount of people and money was sent to Afghanistan. He adds that it is like pouring water into a funnel. We did the same in Afghanistan. Dollars exceeded the capacity of the funnel and spilled on the ground. American officials spent a lot of money on projects that Afghans either didn't need or didn't want. Most of this money went into the pockets of a few limited contractors or corrupt government officials. While the condition of the schools, roads and hospitals built with American money was such that year after year they were all destroyed due to poor quality. Also, the US would bring the warlords to power and make them pay ransom, and would provide the ground for corruption. America was one of the countries that gave warlords high positions in the country, and pressured the government to give them a share in the government. With the entry of warlords into the government, America made these people a component and a part of the new political system and thus laid the foundation stone of a permanent problem. The warlords were the ones who used to get a lot of customs and taxes through illegal means, for example, through drug trafficking or bribery. It reached its peak. The United States made the same mistake by strengthening the ranks of the Taliban day by day, widening the gap between the people and the government, and finally laying the groundwork for the downfall of the republic [1].

Since all the affairs of Afghanistan's governance were based on foreign aid, the consent of the donor countries was essential to carry out the affairs in every area. Thus, there was no sound policy for peace and reconciliation between Afghans. These affairs were mostly related to the US and its allies because they were involved in the war against the Taliban. In the first step, there was no opinion of the Republic of Afghanistan in opening an office for the Taliban in Qatar, and thus the will of a large-scale and ruling system of Afghans was not respected. Also, the negotiations that took place between the United States and the Taliban in Qatar did not involve the intention of the Afghan government until the end, nor were they aware of the

developments. As a result, the republican system of Afghanistan collapsed and the power came to the hands of the Taliban.

One of the election slogans of former President Muhammad Ashraf Ghani was to create peace, for which he made some efforts and promoted a peaceful movement that drew the attention of the United States and many foreign countries to the government of national unity. Support peaceful efforts [1].

Any opportunities for peace that existed were wasted by the Americans one after the other. The Taliban could not be included in the framework. Another opportunity for peace was lost when the first presidential election of Afghanistan was held three years later and eight million Afghans went to the polls and cast their votes to determine their political fate. Karzai won transparently and easily, and the Taliban, despite having ordered the people not to vote, faced public disobedience and thus felt weak. This was the time that could be used as a good opportunity for peace talks, but Karzai and Bush did not go beyond their political interests and did not extend a hand of peace to the Taliban.

The Americans made contradictory announcements and propaganda for the withdrawal of foreign forces from Afghanistan, the announcement of the final schedule for the withdrawal of foreign forces from Afghanistan, a significant decrease in the joint intelligence operations of international forces and Afghan forces, and the foreign forces Stopping or turning away aid to the Afghan security forces also encouraged the Taliban to continue their regular activities.

After 2001, the dubious and duplicitous activities of the international community and the international coalition against terrorism led by the United States caused the Taliban to strengthen their hopes and intensify their war [1]. For the Afghan government, the recent news that the Taliban had been invited to Camp David was shocking. On the other hand, the game of cat and mouse and the signing of the agreement between the Taliban and the US was so beneficial for the Taliban that even the Taliban themselves found it hard to believe. In fact, this agreement was a guarantee for the re-establishment and revival of the Islamic Emirate.

The resumption of peace talks took place when, in February 2018, Afghan President Ashraf Ghani proposed unconditional talks to the Taliban and said that he is willing to recognize the Taliban as a political group. But the Taliban rejected this proposal and their leaders wanted direct talks with the United States and the withdrawal of foreign troops.

Four months later, the Taliban softened. Afghan President Ashraf Ghani has announced that he will announce a unilateral ceasefire at the end of the holy month of Ramadan and the arrival of 'Eid.

Taking advantage of this opportunity, the Trump administration ordered high-level and face-to-face talks with the Taliban for the first time. In July 2018, the senior American diplomat Alice Wells met with the Taliban at the office in Qatar. As a concession to the Taliban, no one from the Afghan government was invited to the meeting. America, especially Trump, looked at the war in Afghanistan from an economic point of view. The determinants of Trump's politics were the economy; Considering the following statements, the matter becomes clear:

It is easier to build a World Trade Organization than to fight in Afghanistan. We said that we are fighting in Afghanistan and Iraq, why are we not fighting in Venezuela? We are already paying for NATO. Trump's economic policies led him to end his war in Afghanistan. But ending the war like this without stopping caused the republic to fall.

In short, according to Trump's point of view, politics, keeping the Afghan government away from negotiations, releasing 50,000 Taliban prisoners by force on the government, withdrawing American forces without any conditions or conditions based on the agreement, the Afghan government No support from; And giving the Taliban a high political privilege was what brought the republic to the brink of collapse [1].

Although the peace process of Afghanistan was an internal issue of Afghanistan, the involvement of some powerful countries such as America, Russia, China, Iran, Pakistan and India in this issue turned this process into competition between them and an international color. The main parties of this process were the United States, the Republic of Afghanistan and the Taliban, but Pakistan was considered important because it has influence over the Taliban, which is why Pakistan wants to get more privileges from this process. Russia also wanted to use the Afghanistan peace process to its own advantage because Russia strengthened relations with the Taliban under the pretext of playing a constructive role in this process and used this opportunity to suppress the Daesh group from the Taliban. He took many risks for himself, that is why the US accused Russia of wanting to give legitimacy to the Taliban under the pretext of ISIS influence in Afghanistan, but Russia denied these accusations and said that the purpose of its relations with the Taliban was Helping Afghanistan's peace process Both America and Russia intend to bring peace to Afghanistan, but they decided to reach this goal by considering their own interests.

Also, India, Pakistan and Iran wanted to play a role in the peace process in order to neutralize their interests and rival influence. But Afghanistan's future and peace were not important to any country [2].

The Doha Agreement was an agreement between the United States and the Taliban to bring peace to Afghanistan, which was signed in Qatar by the US special representative for Afghanistan, Zalmay Khalilzad, and Mullah Abdul Ghani Baradar, a senior member of the Taliban. The former president of the country, Mohammad Ashraf Ghani, and Afghans as a whole have not been informed of the contents of this agreement and have no information. On the other hand, American officials have repeatedly said that there are articles in the agreement that are hidden and no one knows about them except the signatories of the agreement!

Former President Mohammad Ashraf Ghani is a disaster of the Doha agreement. Mr. Ghani said in his recent interview with CNN on August 14, "The Doha agreement between the Taliban and the United States was a disaster and it stopped the peace process in Afghanistan." He also adds, «This agreement stopped the peace process that the Afghans had started. The international community left the Afghans alone» [2].

In February 2020, the United States and the Taliban signed an agreement to bring peace to Afghanistan. Japi will negotiate with the Islamic Republic and try to

reduce the violence in the country. The Taliban also promised that they will not attack the American and NATO forces that are about to leave. But they can continue to attack Afghan forces. Most of the articles were secret, and the Islamic Republic was not a party to the agreement [3].

The United States originally announced the end of the Republic and Ghani's government in Afghanistan by signing the Doha Agreement with the Taliban. This was said by the top military officials of the United States, Defense Minister Lloyd Austin, Chief of Staff General Mark Milley, General Kenneth McKenzie, Commander of the Central Forces of the United States Armed Forces, at a meeting of the Armed Forces Committee of the United States Senate on the 6th of this year. He has presented the questions and called it a strategic weakness for America.

Mark Milley said: America's "strategic defeat" in Afghanistan is the result of the decisions that have been made in the last 20 years. General Kent Mackenzie explained: "The downfall of the Afghan government is rooted in the Doha Agreement. The Doha Agreement really had a bad effect on the Afghan government and its forces."

US Defense Secretary Lloyd Austin said in this meeting that he agrees with Mackenzie's analysis. He added that in the Doha agreement, it was promised to stop US airstrikes on the Taliban. «Because of this, the Taliban became active, they forced operations against the Afghan forces and many Afghans lost their lives» [4].

The discussions and decisions that took place in Washington, Kabul and Doha before the fall of the Islamic Republic were mostly done privately. Hundreds of pages of meeting notes, transcripts, emails and documents, as well as extensive interviews with Afghan and US officials, provide a chilling record of misunderstanding, ambiguity and deception from the start. This agreement was signed in order to destroy the republican system that was on the verge of standing for 20 years due to the efforts of Afghans. As a result of this agreement, the army was destroyed, hundreds of thousands of educated Afghans and national cadres from different parts of the government were forced to emigrate. The doors of schools and work were closed to Afghans, especially girls and women. Afghans became unemployed, economic and social development came to a standstill. People's civil and personal freedoms have been restricted, the world sees Afghanistan as a threat and does not maintain relations with it. Afghans became marginalized and statusless in the region and the world.

The role of Pakistan in the downfall of the Republic of Afghanistan is very strong after America. Because everyone knows that all the possibilities of war against the American troops, NATO and Afghan soldiers in Afghanistan were provided in Pakistan, and there were centers there. In 2011, the Italian authorities arrested a North African man who previously served as an executive of the al-Qaeda group. I will give you information and reports. An American diplomat, James Dobbins, who worked as an organizer in the Bonn conference, says: Our opinion was proved to be grossly wrong, because this thought ignored the possibility that Pakistan would replace the Mujahideen with the Taliban. Therefore, to continue their assistance and interventions and will eventually revive it. I think this thing was not

acceptable to anyone at that time. Pakistan's involvement in this war was recognized by Washington seven or eight years later [5].

Pakistan played on both sides, on the one hand, it did not want to make America sad and disgusted with itself, and on the other hand, it did not want to have a special influence in Afghanistan in the long term, and for this purpose, it used some political and racial. Due to considerations, the Taliban is considered superior to all other groups.

Streamike wrote in his report to Ramsfield: Since 2002, the Taliban have had safe havens in Pakistan, where they recruit freely. Training, funding, support and procurement are done. Pakistan is helping the Taliban in the field of action and war, but it is not known to what extent this assistance is. Pakistan's involvement in the war in Afghanistan became very clear when Osama bin Laden was killed by American special forces in Abbottabad on May 1, 2011.

Crocker, who was America's diplomatic chief for Afghanistan for a short time, tried to talk to ISI chief Lt. Gen. Ashfaq Kayani and provide information about the Taliban leader who was said to be in Pakistan. Instead of beating himself with ignorance and uncertainty, Kayani said clearly: Do you know? You may say that this is a kind of betrayal and deception against America, you are right. We are doing this because one day you will go the same way as before and you will leave Afghanistan again like the first time. You may leave it, but we cannot leave it. What we do not want, among other problems, is to turn the Taliban into our bitter enemies. So you are right, we are taking risks with our words.

What can be more clear than this in the war in Afghanistan and the overthrow of the government? The head of ISI admits that we support the Taliban. We cannot accept the enmity of the Taliban [6].

Apart from its existence, Pakistan has created problems for the government and people of Afghanistan through the military rulers and ISI from time to time. The attention of the government has been diverted to the development of the Afghan society and not to the other side. Pakistan has been trying to overthrow and weaken governments in Afghanistan to achieve strategic goals since its inception. Thus, Pakistan has played a major role in the downfall of the republic.

In addition to foreign political factors, there were also some domestic political factors within the country; There is no doubt that some factors are a continuation of external factors. Such as, corruption, the presence of corrupt and corrupt rulers and politicians and the corrupt government, which are undoubtedly the factors of the downfall of the republic.

The internal political factors of the collapse of the Republic of Afghanistan

Afghanistan's political system was facing problems from the beginning. In the government formed by the mediation of the American officials, the president and his chief executive, Abdullah Abdullah, were often involved in political disputes. It should be mentioned that the executive chairman shared power with the president in an administrative structure against the constitution of Afghanistan. Appointment of ministers in the cabinet, election of governors, distribution of electronic ID cards and reforms in the electoral system were some of the important topics on which the

arguments of the two leaders reached the media. When the first vice president, Abdul Rashid Dostum, was accused of sexually harassing one of his political rivals, the president also parted ways with Dostum. This decision caused Mr. Dostum to face an undeclared exile and went to Turkey for more than a year.

President Ghani was involved in political disputes with his chief executive and first deputy, and some close friends were also expelled, such as National Security Advisor Hanif Atmar, President Ghani's special advisor Ahmed Zia Masoud, and some cabinet ministers. And some MPs were involved.

But on the other hand, the president destroyed some small islands of power in Afghanistan within a few years and stood firmly against the warlords. During this period, he forced his American friends to take a decisive stand against Pakistan and put this country under pressure. Also, Mr. Ghani supported the Afghan peace process through active diplomacy with the Conference of Islamic Countries and Indonesia and Saudi Arabia [7].

Another major reason for the fall of the nearly 20-year-old Republic of Afghanistan is unprecedented corruption in the government. Regarding the evaluation of the transparency of the Republic of Afghanistan in recent years, Transparency International surveys show that from 2016 to 2018, practical and effective anti-corruption measures were not taken.

According to the evaluation of this international organization, in the last 2021 year of the Republic, the government scored 16 anti-corruption points, while a year before that, it scored 18 points in 2020.

In the past 20 years, the corrupt rulers (politicians) who did not believe in the values of democracy had occupied the political institutions of Afghanistan. In the past 20 years, these rulers only thought about luxury and increasing their wealth. In the last 20 years, the United States forces have been busy building high-rise buildings, destroying buildings, and harassing people.

The internal factors of the fall include the wrong structure of the army, imaginary and false numbers. According to the statements of the last Acting Minister of Finance, Khaled Payandah, Afghanistan may have had an army of 40,000 to 50,000 people, which the top officials of the government had falsely announced to the people as 300,000. Many of the commanders of this small army were busy stealing the food of their soldiers and traveling abroad. A large number of fighting forces also fought for money. The army had no concept of national spirit and territorial integrity of the country. Therefore, the entire country fell to the Taliban within a week [8].

Regarding the number of the National Army of Afghanistan, Khalid Payandah said: "Afghanistan has never had an army of 300,000 men. It did not even have 120,000 men. Even in an optimistic situation, there were 40,000 to 50,000 soldiers. Others had either died or left their jobs, but the commanders took their salaries and privileges.

Latifullah Najafizadeh, who was the head of broadcasts of Tolo News television network, wrote: When Khalid Paysandú's statements and the true number of the National Army were discussed with the high officials of the army, whose names

have not been taken for security reasons. , was asked, they considered Khaled Payandah's claim to be correct and pointed out these points:

Army only once deliberately sent 350,000 on paper and this number was shown to America and the world, but until the end, the money came to the government account, but this number was never available. In the last five years, the finance minister is right.

The number of martyrs and others who were given jobs reached thousands, in which this issue was hidden.

At the beginning of training in military training centers, the number of clients was high and the same number was recorded and reported. At the end of the training and after reaching the units and then during the job process, 50 percent was reduced, but the same number was shown to the foreigners during the logistics supply and salaries of the ministry and the government.

The young and patriotic employees of the national security and special units and what they saw was that; The police and security forces are currently working for foreigners in the West or are still in the country. It refers to the involvement of the country's political and military authorities in vacations to Dubai and... and the downing of 21 helicopters in the last one and a half years, which are related to the above claims and related to terrorism in the presence of coalition forces. The struggle also complains about misuse of resources [9].

In addition, the Afghan National Army and all security and defense forces have faced a widespread weakness of motivation and morale in the past twenty years. This weakness and pain that was never controlled had various causes:

Extensive corruption in the government and security and defense forces, from the minister to the commanders of the units, had destroyed the motive of war in these forces.

Instead of creating a motive for war and national responsibility, people joined the national army and police for work and salary, which was a force to get rid of unemployment and poverty in exchange for salary.

The mute and unstable policy of the first level government officials regarding the war of the Afghan security and defense forces as the heads of state and the supreme commanders of the armed forces, the motives of these forces in all the years of their governments And the spirit added to the problem.

Ashraf Ghani's change in the leadership of the army and defense and security institutions and various commanders and the ability to change and appoint security and defense forces under his control, in defense of the army and security institutions. And it hurt the confidence and morale of the war for the state.

The political differences between the ruling political system and the government in the two periods of the presidential elections, after which a political agreement was reached between Ashraf Ghani and Abdullah, had a bad effect on the morale of the national army and the defense and security forces. The results of these differences and controversies, which did not end even after reaching an agreement, weakened the military and security institutions, and they acted with indifference, indolence and defeat in their duties.

The lack of air support from the Afghan defense and security forces in the war, especially after the Doha agreement, was the final blow to the disintegration and moral defeat of the army and salaried forces and the forces without national, religious and national motives [10].

Another domestic factor was the differences between the polities, the triple powers of the state were divided between the same polities. They used to criticize each other and there was competition between them. These affairs have also caused a shock to Afghanistan's status in the international arena [10].

Politicians have expressed different opinions about the fall of the republic: like former President Mohammad Ashraf Ghani told General Carter in an interview that the first reason for my departure was to prevent the destruction of Kabul. Kabul was once destroyed and turned into a battlefield during the Mujahedeen's power struggle. Two different groups of the Taliban were approaching Kabul from two different directions, there was a strong possibility of a large-scale war between them, as a result of which the five-million-strong city of Kabul would be destroyed and people would suffer. My father was clear about this, I did not want to be the second Assad [Bashar al-Assad].

Second; By staying, I was legitimizing a bloody coup. It was a coup, not a political coup. The Taliban violated all their agreements and statements [and entered Kabul by force].

third; I did not want to legitimize a coup, but I wanted to pave the way for a basic political settlement in the future. Taliban domination over Afghanistan did not bring peace and national unity. What we need is real peace and national unity.

And the last argument; I did not want the ESE of Pakistan to fulfill its ambition and humiliate the republic and force me to give a statement. Or even worse, he would start an investigation of an Afghan president. All this became true with my stay.

But the main reason I left the country was that our security forces had collapsed. All the [security] ministers and the national security adviser came and informed me that their forces were dispersed and could not defend Kabul. I can answer your question about why we reached such a situation and what caused it.

United States Secretary of State Anthony Blanken said in his last interview to the American "CBS" television that according to the plan, it was decided that President Ghani would hand over power to the government led by the Taliban. He said that a day before the departure of former President Ashraf Ghani from Afghanistan, he spoke to him on the phone and pressured him to "make sure that I agree with the plan to transfer power to the new government led by the Taliban. «We were trying to implement it. Mr. Blanken said that the arrival of the Taliban was not sudden and was planned in advance. Get out» [11].

Zalmay Khalilzad, the former US Special Envoy for Afghanistan Reconciliation, says that the Doha Agreement provided an opportunity for intra-Afghan talks, but both the Emirates and the Republic should be blamed for the failure of these talks. Mr. Khalilzad said in a special interview with Voice of America that the distance between the two sides has failed the intra-Afghan talks. He said about the departure of Mr. Mohammad Ashraf Ghani from Kabul that the Taliban and the United States had agreed that Taliban militants would not enter

Kabul and that the Afghan government would send a competent delegation to discuss the establishment of an inclusive government. It is known that Mr. Mohammad Ashraf Ghani has gone to Uzbekistan and then to the Emirates. At that time, President Ghani had repeatedly said that he would complete his term and asked the Taliban to gain power through elections. Mr. Khalilzad called the Doha agreement an excellent opportunity considering the situation. He said that there are many reasons for the downfall of Afghanistan's system. He said that the war in Afghanistan was not going well compared to the previous years and the second thing is that according to him America was facing difficult conditions and wanted to reduce its presence there because the costs were high. Another reason for the downfall of Afghanistan's system was the possible dependence of Afghan forces on America. He said: "Did we create an army that was psychologically and operationally very dependent on America? «Did the [Afghanistan] army not believe in the cause they were fighting for? They fought as long as America was there, you fought for America» [11].

However, Mr. Mohib said in an interview with the Voice of America in mid-December 2021 that all groups, including Afghanistan's international partners, civil society activists, and the media, are responsible for the collapse of the republic. Mr. Mohib also said in this interview that he had reached a final decision with the former Afghan president that if the war reaches Kabul, then Mr. Ghani and his government should consider the war «lost» and according to him, when the Taliban in Kabul reached the doors, it was decided that Mr. Ghani should leave Kabul. Mr. Mohib told American Voice in this interview that Mr. Ghani's decision to leave Kabul is not just about a few days or the last period, but was the result of the events and trends of the past three years. He said that Mr. Ghani's decision to withdraw from Afghanistan was 100 percent in favor of Afghanistan. In addition to the opponents of the departure of President Ghani and his colleagues from Afghanistan, some supporters of the former President of Afghanistan also supported the decision of Mr. Ghani and his close friends through social media. They argued that if Ghani had not done this, Afghanistan would have been more destroyed than Ukraine today [12].

The last Minister of Defense of the ousted government of Afghanistan Bismillah Khan Mohammadi says: The situation has been bad for months. . It seems that Mr. Mohammadi made these statements in response to the claim of the ousted President Mohammad Ashraf Ghani, which he said in a conversation with the BBC, that the fall of the government was an accidental event.

But the last Minister of National Defense in Mr. Ghani's cabinet, Bismillah Mohammadi, claimed in a special article to the Kabul 8 Sobh newspaper that when he was last selected for this job, the lines of the Afghan army had already been defeated. He also said in this article that the Taliban had subdued more than 100 districts and the most courageous commanders of the security forces had lost their energy to fight. The army also challenged the command.

The war in Afghanistan has become a business, a big scandal and the people do not want peace and tranquility in Afghanistan for their personal interests. Because in peace they lose and in war they gain. Some are politicians. Some of them were inside the government and some of them were fighting against the government. In

the last 18 years, 2.1 trillion dollars (10,200 billion dollars) have been spent on the current Afghan war. And the annual expenditure of this war is 6.66 billion dollars. Of this 6.66 billion dollars, about 4 billion dollars go to Afghanistan's security and defense sector. From 5.3 to 4 billion dollars, this is the gratuitous contributions that are being made to Afghanistan. The rest of the money is spent on logistics and transportation companies, and other areas such as technical and consulting by domestic and international companies. So, if the war had ended, these people could not earn this income, that's why they wanted the war to continue in the country [12].

Apart from this, bigotry was another phenomenon that is the main factor in creating a gap between the government and the people. As a result of prejudice, the government loses its legitimacy among the people. Bias reached its peak during the era of President Ashraf Ghani and took a kind of official form. Ethnic bias was clearly present in the government apparatus and political institutions. The officials of all government institutions, ministries and even academic places were appointed on the basis of race and language. Ministries were divided among the chiefs of the tribe.

Another domestic factor in the fall of the low level of education is that education is being stopped in Afghanistan, schools are being closed and burned, this is not a coincidence. It reaches the highest levels of humanity and when someone is equipped with humane values, the spirit of patience, tolerance and good life is strengthened in him and such people are not easily ready to fight unconsciously against someone. Therefore, before the physical enemies of Afghanistan start a basic war in a region, they should prepare a mental environment for the war and take into account the vast human power for the war [13].

President Ashraf Ghani's carelessness also played a role in the downfall of the republic. Because he did not implement any program for Afghanistan's self-determination politically and militarily until the end. And there were many incidents that happened inside, Ashraf Ghani was not aware of them or he did not inform himself. Ashraf Ghani was not aware of this attack until two days, and also when the republic fell and Ashraf Ghani left the country. After the fall, Ashraf Ghani in his first interview with the BBC said: I instructed Hamdullah Mohib and PPS chief Mr. Koche to prepare to go to Khost, but Mohib told me that Khost and Jalalabad has also fallen. All this means that President Ashraf Ghani was indifferent to the affairs, even he was not aware of the important events at the level of the collapse of the province.

Instead of system-centeredness, individual-centeredness was another reason for the downfall of the republic. During the 17-year period of the republic, no system was created to strengthen the foundations and pillars of the government. And to end the dependence on foreigners, and within the framework of this system, the affairs of the government can move forward. In other worlds, that is, in the developed world, there is a system and all the affairs are carried out within the framework of this system. If anyone comes to the top of this system; It only implements what the system tells it to do [14].

The last factor can be considered the inability of the central government, which could not take effective measures against all illegalities, corruption, tyranny, etc.

Weak security, failure to fight internal corruption, and drug trafficking led to the Taliban regaining power.

Discussion

As a result of this research, it was found that there were domestic and foreign political factors for the fall of the 20-year republican system. Instead of leaving the internal political rivalry to the Shah and cooperating with each other for the political stability and development of the country in the framework of duty, they were also competing with each other for the government possibilities and worse, they were weakening each other. He was trying. The political classes saw the conflict as a business because most of the rulers and ethnic minorities thought that if the war continues, then they get privileges, but if the war stops and the political system is strengthened, they will lose their benefits. Most of the politicians in power were biased, their activities and services were focused on their own people or group, they had no commitment to the development of the country and the provisions of the laws. The low level of people's knowledge, Afghanistan was engaged in war for almost five decades, so the education level of the people is very low and the majority of the population is illiterate. Fight it forward. Giving priority to personal interests instead of national interests on the part of the rulers, the rulers did not pay any attention to the protection of national interests and the performance of national responsibility, they only thought about how they could stay in power, what How to accumulate a lot of wealth, how to transfer his wealth outside the country and do business there. In spite of the fact that President Muhammad Ashraf Ghani was mostly trying for the political stability and development of the country, but he was also very careless, he did not pay serious attention to the elimination of the country's political crises and its factors. Many great events had taken place in the country, which shook the legs of the political system, but the president was not aware of it, and the president did not take any action on the alternative of the West until the end, when he did not even think about it. Q: If the interests of the United States in the region are obtained through the support of Afghanistan, will they still support Afghanistan politically, economically, and militarily? How long will Afghanistan depend on Western aid? What are the political alternatives for Afghanistan in the region at what cost? In addition, President Muhammad Ashraf Ghani had given power to an ineligible group that had extensive involvement in corruption, but the president did not take measures against this group until recently. The government system was based on the individual. It was necessary to try to make the political system stand on the system instead of the individual. Or transferring from one organization to another regardless of career or expertise. There was tyranny at the regional and central levels, the tyranny was higher than the rule of law, they did not pay attention to the central government and the leadership of the country, until some governors considered themselves emperors of a zone rather than a province. The central government did not respect its orders. 99% of the parliamentarians were exempted from the law in the name of immunity, they were involved in all illegalities, kidnapping, smuggling and others. The inability of the central government against all these factors is included in the domestic political factors of

the collapse. The role of America and Pakistan in the external political factors of the collapse of the Republic of Afghanistan is of key importance.

Conclusion

The United States of America had two faces in Afghanistan; On the one hand, he supported the ruling system politically, economically and militarily, but on the other hand, he did not allow the political system to strengthen and self-establish itself due to its illegal interference. He placed corrupt, violent and incompetent people in high positions on the basis of ethnic balance and various other pretexts. He created grounds for corruption within the system, and he had invented various circles within the government to seriously support the corrupt. From this side, he practically provided the conditions for the downfall of this political system, he opened a political office for the Taliban in Qatar, negotiated with the Taliban separately from the ruling system of Afghanistan, and signed an agreement with them that the power would be transferred to the Taliban. The provisions of this agreement were not shared with the ruling system and some of the annexes of this agreement are still unknown. As a result of this agreement, the United States of America withdrew its support for the republican system in such circumstances that the republic did not have financial and military support for the conflict, nor did it fill the void created by the absence of the United States. The republic collapsed in less than two weeks and the Taliban took power. Throughout its history, Pakistan has pursued a policy of interference and chaos in Afghanistan, and in this 20-year period, it had provided all the facilities to the Taliban in its territory, so that the ruling political system in Afghanistan It may not be stable or it may be thrown away. They finally succeeded in their goal again and the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, which started its journey in 2001, collapsed in 2021 and the political power went to the hands of the Taliban.

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2021 ЖЫЛЫ АУҒАНСТАН ИСЛАМ РЕСПУБЛИКАСЫНЫҢ ЫДЫРАУЫНЫҢ САЯСИ ФАКТОРЛАРЫ

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Аңдатпа. Бұл зерттеудің мақсаты Ауғанстандағы 20 жылдық жүйенің күйреуіне себеп болған саяси факторларды анықтау. Осы зерттеулер аясында 2001-2021 жылдар аралығында Ауғанстанда билікте болған Ауғанстан Республикасының жүйесі бірқатар ішкі және сыртқы саяси факторлардың негізінде күйреді. Саясаткерлер арасындағы келіспеушілік, қақтығысты бизнес ретінде қарастыру, теріс пікір, халықтың білім деңгейінің төмендігі, билеушілердің ұлттық мүдденің орнына жеке мүддені бірінші орынға қоюы, президенттің немқұрайлылығы мен Батыстың баламасы. Оларға күш салмау, қабілетсіз сайлау округіне билік беру, мемлекеттік жүйені нығайтуға жұмыс жасамау, орталық биліктің озбырлығы мен дәрменсіздігі жатады. Күйреудің сыртқы саяси факторларына Пәкістан мен Америка Құрама Штаттарының рөлі жатады. Америка Құрама Штаттарының Ауғанстанда екі жағы болды; Ол бір жағынан билеуші жүйені саяси, экономикалық және әскери жағынан қолдаса, екінші жағынан, оның заңсыз араласуынан саяси жүйенің күшеюіне, өзін-өзі құруына мүмкіндік бермеді. Екінші жағынан, ол осы саяси жүйенің күйреуі үшін жағдайларды іс жүзінде қамтамасыз етті, ол Ауғанстан Республикасының қорғауындағы Талибан қозғалысымен келіссөздер жүргізіп, олармен келісімге қол қойды, нәтижесінде ол республикалық партияны қолдаудан бас тартты. жүйе бұзылып, Республика ыдырап, тәліпгер билеп алды. Пәкістан өзінің бүкіл тарихында Ауғанстанға араласу және хаос саясатын жүргізді және осы 20 жыл ішінде Ауғанстандағы саяси жүйенің қалпына келуі үшін өз аумағындағы Талибанға барлық мүмкіндіктерді берді. Ол тұрақты болмауы мүмкін немесе лақтырылуы мүмкін. Бұл зерттеуде 2021 жылы Ауғанстан Республикасының ыдырауына қандай саяси факторлар себеп болды деген сұраққа жауап берілді. Сипаттамалық және аналитикалық әдісті қолдана отырып, осы факторлардың күйреуіне қалай себеп болды деген гипотезаны зерттеуге әрекет жасалды.

Тірек сөздер: Ауғанстан, 20 жылдық жүйе, саяси факторлар, мемлекеттің күйреуі, сыртқы күштер, Америка, Пәкістан, Талибан

ПОЛИТИЧЕСКИЕ ФАКТОРЫ РАСПАДА ИСЛАМСКОЙ РЕСПУБЛИКИ АФГАНИСТАН 2021 ГОДА

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Аннотация. Целью данного исследования является выявление политических факторов, стоящих за крушением существовавшей 20 лет республиканской системы в Афганистане.

В рамках данного исследования будет установлено, что афганская республиканская система, находившаяся у власти в Афганистане с 2001 по 2021 год, рухнула на основании ряда внутривнутриполитических и внешнеполитических факторов. Разногласия между политиками, отношение к конфликту как к бизнесу, предрассудки, низкий уровень информированности населения, приоритет личных интересов правителей над национальными, равнодушие президента и альтернативность Запада. К ним относятся: отсутствие усилий, передача власти некомпетентному избирателю, отсутствие работы по укреплению государственной системы, тирания и некомпетентность центральной власти. К внешнеполитическим факторам коллапса можно отнести роль Пакистана и США. У Соединенных Штатов в Афганистане было два лица, с одной стороны, он поддерживал правящую систему в политическом, экономическом и военном отношении, но с другой стороны, не позволял политической системе укрепиться и самоутвердиться за счет ее незаконного вмешательства. США практически обеспечили условия для крушения этой политической системы, вели переговоры с талибами под защитой Республики Афганистан и подписали с ними соглашение, в результате чего Республика Афганистан отказалась от поддержки республиканской системы, республика рухнула, и талибы захватили власть. На протяжении всей своей истории Пакистан проводил политику вмешательства и хаоса в Афганистане, и за этот 20-летний период он предоставил талибам все возможности на своей территории для восстановления политической системы в Афганистане. Он может быть нестабильным или может быть выброшен. В данном исследовании дается ответ на вопрос, какие политические факторы стали причиной распада Республики Афганистан в 2021 году. С помощью описательно-аналитического метода предпринята попытка рассмотреть гипотезу о том, каким образом эти факторы вызвали распад Республики Афганистан.

Ключевые слова: Афганистан, 20-годная система, политические факторы, распад государство, внешние силы, Америка, Пакистан, Талибан

Статья поступила 17.01.2023