

The Role of Political Parties in Consolidating Democracy and Good Governance in Afghanistan

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Abstract: *Political institutions and organizations in today's world play an essential role in the political processes of countries. In the present age of democracy, it has become a system accepted by most countries in the world, and political parties are considered to be the instruments of democracy and the most important institution influencing political processes. On the other hand, one of the fundamental goals of democracy and democratic systems is to create a responsible, transparent and corruption-free government with a high level of participation imaginable; well, to include the above-mentioned concepts, a basic task that cannot be achieved without systematic and effective political party activity. The close connection between the concepts of political party, democracy, and good governance makes us believe that political parties are certainly effective in consolidating democratic values, establishing and accelerating the process of good governance. But the extent and quality of this impact varies from one state to another with different factors in mind. Afghanistan is a country that has been experimenting with democracy for years, and it can be said that it has failed so far and that political parties as the most important symbol of democracy have failed to play the role they need to promote democratic beliefs and efficient government.*

Keywords: Political parties, Democracy, Good governance, Participation and Corruption

1. Introduction

In today's world, democracy has become a favored system for most nations. Democracy for establishment and consolidation in a society has numerous institutions and components, one of which are political parties. In every society, political parties are among the fundamental foundations for the functioning of democracy and the establishment of effective and popular government; but it should be kept in mind that for many reasons their level of authority and influence varies from one society to another. These political-grassroots institutions have grown in size over the years, so that after 2001 and the establishment of democracy in Afghanistan, we have experienced a multiplicity of parties in Afghanistan. But given that Afghanistan is still far from being a truly democratic space; the political parties have not yet been formed in accordance with the principles of democracy. Afghanistan has been one of the countries that have made significant efforts to consolidate democracy after 2001 and after the Bonn Conference and to build a new government based on good governance elements and indicators, but now that we are in a period of 19 years After the Bonn Conference, Afghanistan has not been successful in institutionalizing democratic beliefs and building good governance and is not moving in the right direction. The reason for this failure lies in various factors, including the inefficiency of Afghan political parties. Therefore, since consolidating democratic values and creating a corruption-free, accountable government with a high level of public participation is an essential issue in any society, especially for Afghanistan, in the current context, The major parties to the realization of these concepts are the political parties, Therefore, the main purpose of this research is to examine the role of Afghan political parties and how they function in consolidating democracy and good governance in Afghanistan. In addition to the solutions to implementing the elements of good governance in Afghanistan, We will examine the obstacles to the democratization of Afghanistan.

1.1 Main objective of the research

The main purpose of this study is to find out what role political parties have played in strengthening democracy and good governance in Afghanistan.

1.2 Sub objectives

- a) Understand the political parties and their performance in Afghanistan
- b) Understanding democracy and its challenges in Afghanistan
- c) Understand the concept of good governance and its challenges in Afghanistan

1.3 Research Methodology

The method used in this study is a descriptive-analytical one using document analysis in the field of administrative offenses and punishments. The library method was used to collect the necessary information by using written sources such as books, laws, regulations, bills, procedures, treatises, and scientific articles. Researchers have also tried to utilize up-to-date legal and administrative literature and discourses by using reputable scientific websites.

1.4 Political Party

The political Party is the Most Important Political Organization in Contemporary Democracies To many democratic scholars, in the end, is nothing more than partisan competition. An election without the competition of political parties does not make sense. To this credit, the political party itself is also a concept of competition. Only in bipartite or multi-party systems does the concept of the party apply. A political party is, in the general sense, a gathering of people who share some ideas on issues and want to work together to achieve common goals. Edmund Burke defined the political party: "It is a delegation of people united to pursue national interests by joint efforts based on certain agreed political principles"(17: 343).

1.5 Major political party's activities

Although political parties are defined by their primary task (reaching political positions and taking over power), their impact on the political system is fundamentally broader and more complex. There is no need to explain that the generalization of party functions has risks. Constitutional parties that operate in electoral competition have described the strongholds of democracy; In fact, the existence of such parties is often seen as the benchmark of a healthy democratic system. On the other hand, the monopoly parties of the regime have described most of the tools of political manipulation and control. However, a number of general functions of the political party can be identified, including:

- a) Electoral competition for victory;
- b) Formulating public policies;
- c) Criticism and criticism of the government;
- d) People's political education;
- e) Mediation between the government and the people;
- f) Facilitate the work of parliamentary government;
- g) Brings together like-minded people. (17: 350)

2. The background of the political parties in Afghanistan

Undoubtedly, political developments and factors have been the most influential factor in creating social transformations in terms of their important role in determining cultural direction and human life management. In our country, political transformation begins with reformist movements whose history begins. According to Mir Gholam Mohammed Ghobar, it comes from the reformist efforts of SayyidJamalluddin and Amir Shirali Khan between 1862 and 1878. However, their petition for reform was abolished by the British invasion (18: 716), and the reform movement remained under the leadership of SayyidJamalluddin and remained unsuccessful until the early twentieth century. But the spirit of reformism still remained, which began again with the efforts of reformers and intellectuals after the death of Abdul Rahman Khan in 1901. The history of political parties in Afghanistan can generally be examined in six stages:

1) The first constitution (1901 - 1909 AD)

The reform movement in Afghanistan, or the first constitution, has come up with three approaches or three approaches:

- a) The court liberals, led by Mohammad Wali Khan Badakhshani, Mir Zamanuddin Khan and Miryarbik Khan, who did not have an overthrow and demanded reforms within the royal system.
- b) Individual intellectuals who continued to operate outside the Democrats and liberals.
- c) Democratic intellectuals outside the court who, with the establishment of the Habibiya High School in 1903, came together to lead their own reforms and came together in the form of a party (Jamiyat Seri Milli) and demanded that the royal regime be transformed into a democratic system. And then they became known as the first constitutionalists; with the interest shown by Habibullah Khan in the reforms, the Saraj al-Akhbar newspaper was published under the leadership of MawlawiAbdulRauff in 1906 and stopped shortly

thereafter. The first constitution, which began in 1901, ended in 1909, with the execution and imprisonment of its leaders. (27: 205/206)

2) The Second Constitution (1919-1929)

The Second Reform Movement begins with the murder of Habibullah Khan in 1919 by a young member of the Second Constitutional Movement. Amanullah Khan, seated on the throne using this second constitutional movement, released the first constitutional remnants from prison and began to take over the leadership of the second constitutional movement, with King Amanullah Khan himself leading the constitutional movement. Second, it became a government agency. Although unprecedented in Afghan history, social, legal, and educational reforms have had many valuable effects on the country's development. Such as upgrading education, modernizing the country's architecture and infrastructure, expanding medical and health services, drafting Afghanistan's first constitution and abolishing the Azara's slavery and creating the Afghan press such as: Siraj al-Akhbar, Faryad, Etfah Islam, And establishment of Amani and Amaniyah high schools. (27: 297/313) The Second Constitutional Movement ended and collapsed with the fall of Amanullah Khan in 1929 (18: 805).

3) Third constitution (1950 - 1952)

The third constitutional movement, a turning point in the history of evolution in Afghanistan, was founded during the reign of Mohammad Zahir Shah from 1933 to 1973 under the leadership of King Mahmud Khan. These developments were the result of the Shah's statements on democracy and the promise of reform, the passing of a municipal law in 1947, according to which municipalities came through secret elections. And in 1949, at the time of the Council elections, there were new amendments to the Council of Representatives Election Code that aroused popular enthusiasm after years of despotism. With the formation of the Shura, some thirty freedom-loving demanded a constitution, and after conflicts and opposition, eventually the law was passed in 1950, followed by nongovernmental publications such as The Nedayekhalq, Nilab and Aeina were released in Kabul and political circles were formed such as (VishZalmian) (Watan) (Nedayekhalq). The political philosophy of all three circles was to strengthen the foundations of democracy based on the constitutional monarchy, and the Pashtun Freedom League was added to these circles in 1951 to bring Davood Khan to power. At the same time as the events that prompted the political upheaval, the government's repressive policy since 1950 has also led to the imprisonment of Sayyid Ismail Balkhi, EbrahimKavsouvar, Khajeh Mohammad Naeem Khan, Mohammad Aslam Khan Jaghto, Mir Ali Gohar Khan Ghorband, GhorbanNazar Khan. Andkhoy and Mohammed Ismail Vakil started from Srahparsa. And a year later, in 1951, freelance magazines closed one after another. And in the Shura's elections, the secret electoral law was again repealed and, as in the past, freedom-loving thinkers were banned, members of the political circles were suppressed and imprisoned in 1952, and democratic efforts were suppressed and tyranny re-established (19: 718). / 733)

4) The period of constitutional monarchy or the constitutional decade (1973 - 1964)

This period was accompanied by the dismissal of Sardar Daud Khan from the top of the royal dictatorship and a revision of Zahir Shah's dictatorial policy. The new constitution was also known as the Constitutional Decade because of the signing of the new constitution in October 1964, provided for the establishment of a constitutional monarchy, the law limited the king's broad powers and cut the royal family's hand in interfering with state affairs, guaranteeing individual immunity and fundamental freedoms. The holding of the Meshrano Jirga on August 26 and the Wolesi Jirga on September 12, 1965 raised the standard of democracy in the country (19: 791/787). New political parties emerged in this decade: 1) Democratic Khalq, 2) Jamieyat social democrat afghan, 3) the National Unity Party, 4) the Progressive Democratic Party, 5) the New Democratic Party, 6) the Parcham Party. (19: 796/792 and 819/820) 7). During this period, among the political parties, the Democratic People's Party was more opposed to the government. Party leaders used the students as a tool against the government and incited them. In a demonstration held by students in 1341, the government suppressed and killed three people, and the People's Democratic Party used the incident to increase the number of casualties and incite people against the government. The party generally opposed the government. And on the other hand, Islamic parties responded to the activities of the People's Party in the structure of two opposing factions in the same decade when Hezbollah, led by Mawlawi Qalaband, was started during the reign of King Mahmoud Khan and then in 1964, it was renamed the Jamieyat Islami Afghanistan, which was led by professors of the Sharia faculty such as Mawlawi Niazi, Burhanuddin Rabbani, Abdul Rasul Sayyaf, Tavana, Menajuddin Ghez, Younis Khalis and Qazi Hedayat. (19: 821)

5) One and a half decades of the communist era (1978 - 1992)

During this period, radical Marxist and anti-religious actions by the government led to uprisings from Darae Suf, and Azarajat against the government in 1979, and then spread to other parts of Afghanistan. It was at this time that Sebgatullah Mujadadi issued a fatwa for jihad. The uprisings in the provinces reached to Herat. In 7/1979, the uprising in Kabul began in response to the arrests of Shiya scholars such as Ayatollah Sarwar, Wayez, Afshar, Nasser, Alam, etc. and these uprisings were severely suppressed by the government (16: 253/256). The essence of this partisan tyranny with its Marxist glamor and its anti-religious nature, which was also backed by foreign power, provided the basis for resistance, and the jihadist parties were formed during the period of resistance and jihad, and brought about fundamental changes to overthrow government and change. The Communist system followed.

6) Post-2001 period

There is no doubt that the Jihad period played a significant role in strengthening the spirit of cooperation, empathy, and resistance to life's disadvantages among the Afghan people, and provided the basis for public participation in the administration of the country. Excessive and monopolistic aftermath in Afghanistan destroyed all the achievements and

victims of the Jihad era and provided the basis for hatred, violence, backwardness, and ethnic slogans. Jihad and earlier parties in Afghanistan have not been established through democratic mechanisms and foundations to establish and maintain democratic behavior in Afghan society. These parties were initially created for jihadist purposes and then continued with ethnic identity and with the goal of securing tribal and tribal power. In fact, political parties in Afghanistan, based on ethnic solidarity, are formed on the basis of a single person and have no connection with the parties introduced in the democratic system.

Major weaknesses of Afghan political parties

- Tribal and community structure
- Mass society
- The weakness of the political elite
- Personalization of power
- Weak political culture
- Legal restrictions
- Bad record
- Organizational weakness

Definition of Democracy

Democracy is derived from the Greek term "demokratia" which itself is a combination of (demos) means people and (kratein) means to rule; thus democracy means rule by the people. The earliest interpretations of democracy have been found in the works of ancient Greek thinkers and politicians. Pericles, a prominent Athenian ruler, called the Athens political system democratic in that it was governed by a majority, and Aristotle saw the democratic system as a system that would allow all citizens to participate politically in society (6: 116). Anyone's definition of democracy can reveal his or her attitude. Abraham Lincoln believes democracy is "the rule of the people, by the people, by all, for all." (17:295)

The concept of good governance

Good governance is one of the most used and key words in global development policy. It is said that the term was first used in economic literature by William Sun in 1979, and since 1980, the term has become more widely used. In 1989, the World Bank devoted its annual report to Good Governance, thus expanding the term to a prominent place in literature. Numerous definitions of good governance are provided. According to one of these definitions, good governance is to perform the duties of government in a corruption-free manner, without discrimination within the framework of existing laws. This definition demonstrates that good governance emphasizes the quality and performance of governance.

Democracy and good governance in Afghanistan

The existence of political parties in any country that believes in the values of democracy and democracy is considered to be essential and obvious. Political and democratic parties are integral to each other. Afghanistan is also one of the countries that have been experiencing democracy with many ups and downs for many years. Good governance is the process by which government agencies strive to manage public affairs through sound and efficient management, manage public resources, and protect the rights of individuals. Good governance emphasizes the quality and

performance of governance. Governance with this new approach has been used in Afghanistan for the first time since the fall of the Taliban regime. At the Bonn Conference, which was set up in 2001 to create a new political system and government in Afghanistan, there were discussions on democracy, human rights and the rule of law in Afghanistan, which form the basic principles and principles of good governance. To what extent Afghanistan has failed the test of adherence to democratic values, and to what extent the Afghan government and society have been successful in adapting to good governance components, which requires reflection and research. Examine good governance and the fate of democracy in Afghanistan.

Bonn Summit and Democratization of Afghanistan

The democracy-based system is accepted all over the world today, and even countries where there is actually a "dictatorship" claim respect for democracy. After the fall of the Taliban in Afghanistan, the UN Security Council issued a resolution on November 14 in 2001, it approved the establishment of the interim administration through an inter-Al-Afghani conference, with the United States previously having relations with former Afghan King Mohammed Zahir Shah, who is in Rome, Italy's capital (3: 249). It was on this basis that the Bonn Conference was established with the active role and presence of US representatives to form a joint government between the United Front and supporters of former King Mohammed Zahir Shah. Members of the United Front headed by Muhammad Younis Qanoni arrived in Bonn, Germany. The agreement laid the foundation for a democratic transition for Afghanistan. The Agreement for the Future of the State proposes three stages in the process of transition to democracy and stability:

- 1) Interim Administration - Emergency Loya Jirga;
- 2) Transitional Government - Constitutional Loya Jirga;
- 3) Permanent Government.

Hamid Karzai arrived in Kabul on December 22, 2001. A week later, he surrendered power to Burhanuddin Rabbani, and, under the Bonn Agreement, took over the Emergency Loya Jirga. Hamid Karzai, along with UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan, created a 19-member commission to hold the emergency Loya Jirga, which was opened in June 2002 by Mohammad Zahir Shah. At this meeting of elders, he was re-elected head of state at the Transitional Administration for another year and a half. According to the Bonn Agreement, the Emergency Loya Jirga had three main tasks: 1- Appointing the head of the transitional government; 2- Determining the type of system; Karzai was at the head of the government in the country, when the entire state system in Afghanistan was shattered and destroyed. Security was not an essential pillar of democracy in Afghanistan. Inevitably, "security is essential to the existence of democracy and democratic institutions. The above-mentioned developments have paved the way for the creation of democracy for the first time in its modern and fundamental form and have raised serious hopes for the formation of a legal system in the country. The modern world undoubtedly put democracy at the core of their work and claims to uphold its principles; the nascent Afghan government was bound to create both the foundations and the framework for democracy and its institutionalization in Afghanistan. (2: 130/135)

The Challenges of Democracy in Afghanistan

As evidenced by the historical evidence and experience of the evolution of democracy, the realization and development of democracy inevitably requires the provision of previous cultural, social, political, economic, moral, and so forth. That is to say, without development in these areas, it would be difficult and even impossible to establish democracy. So, if a society wants to import democracy as a commodity across borders without achieving comprehensive development in the super-circuits, it will no doubt get a positive and acceptable result from democracy, and the government will have to impose democracy on the people. (2: 170) Afghanistan is a country that has faced various challenges in the rise and fall of democratic values in traditional Afghan society, some of which are: Lack of political and security stability - economic obstacles - ethnic and tribal thinking Elections a tool for ethnic trades (2: 145/148)

Political parties and democracy in Afghanistan

Democracy is based on regular political parties that have a grassroots base. Political parties in democratic societies bring together people who share a common view on different issues. Individuals are not individually capable of influencing government affairs, but they will be able to do so when brought together. Perhaps one of the achievements of Mr. Karzai's government in favor of democracy is a plurality of political parties. Of course, there are political parties formed under Mr. Karzai's system of more than 30 political parties, but they may not have the smallest crop of Afghan people. Therefore, the existence of such parties not only does not contribute to democracy, but the ethnic and linguistic structures of the parties in Afghanistan have created a serious challenge for democracy. In a system that does not have democratic political parties and the government does not respect political parties, it cannot be called a democratic state. In the first world countries, political parties play a decisive role, and the process of governing is led by political parties with the support of the people. People will not be re-elected for the second time in case of abuse or weakness in the administration of the country. Thus, the formation of political parties will consolidate the state-building process, prevent political and social fragmentation, and accelerate the movement towards democracy and, most importantly, the movement towards nationhood. Colonial governments, which can soon hire people to fulfill their goals, will end this process if the parties actually come to power. There have been no regular political parties in Afghanistan throughout history, and such parties have not yet been formed, and one cannot be optimistic about the successful future of democracy in the country until popular political parties are formed (2: 150/152).

Political parties and good governance in Afghanistan

The term governance, also referred to in some texts as "good governance", means providing a just, timely, and proportionate service to the resources of a government, through its public administration of a system, with the specialized principles of management and leadership.

Governance, in the Afghan administrative law literature, also means the flow of decisions or policy making and the

timely implementation of the programs resulting from these decisions. This includes local government and national governance. The wisdom and logic of government constitute the consolidation of the organic relationship between politics and the resources of a system. That is to say, the policies of a system that can serve the citizens of the state through the public administration of human and economic resources are called "good governance".

Good governance reinforces the relationship between government and the market, government and citizens, government and the private sector, government and the social sector (civil society), government and the political sector (political parties), and government and the international community, in which political parties are consolidated. Institutionalized and popular can play a very key role, as outlined below:

Political Parties and its impact on political participation

Partnerships take place through stages and each stage brings together institutions through which people can engage in social, economic, and political affairs and engage in activities. The most important of these stages is the transition to political participation, the most important of which are political parties. Parties are now seen as one of the criteria for democratization, which demonstrates the great importance of this institution in participation. In other words, the absence of parties in a political system indicates that the system is not democratic (20: 62). Maurice Duverger believes that between nineteenth-century democracies, whose members of parliament were elected individually and individually, and democracy the current one, which relies on complete organizations and voter organizations and voters, is a big difference. In his view, a regime without parties can only serve the leaders and serve their interests (11: 397/422).

Parties expand the community into traditional institutions and act as a link between social forces and the state. Unorganized political participation becomes corrupted by mass movements, and the lack of political organization falls to the level of political jirga. Elections without parties reinforce the status quo and are a tool for conservatives to give legitimacy to traditional structures and leadership. But elections with parties provide a mechanism for political mobility within an institutional framework. Political parties prevent political participation from deviating from the normative paths and push it to the electoral path. In other words, a strong party system can, first, expand political participation through politics, thereby thwarting or redirecting abnormal or revolutionary political activities; and secondly, directing the involvement of newly mobilized groups. Which did not reach the system (13:64)

The impact of political parties on the accountability of the political system

One of the features of democratic governments is its responsiveness. But the question is who or who should answer. Accountability exists at both the macro and micro levels, but the other side of the question needs to be looked at more precisely: if governments are not going to respond, are they able to pressure the government to respond individually, or to organized groups? Like political parties?

The role of the parties, as mentioned, is to expand and organize political participation, with the increasing population in societies now becoming more natural as it is the parties and organizations that represent the public opinion, or part of the public opinion, by the administrative approach to the pressure tool. , Within the law, to put pressure on governments to respond. When governments refuse to answer, they actually disregard the principles of democracy and, as a result, they can no longer be called a democracy. When people do not want their answer, or the means of questioning, we are faced with a form of participation that is called "passive participation" (13: 65/66). In non-democratic systems with a hard culture, instead of parties and legal groups, influential groups, or powerful clans, put pressure on the government or eventually regulated but restricted groups such as militias and militias, but not for democratic accountability. Rather, addressing one's own and group's interests, as Huntington says, is more prevalent in governments where ineffective political parties are dominated by the interests of the individual, family and jirga. (33: 107).

Thus, the accountability of the political system can be realized in two dimensions. One on the part of the government which is required and the other on the part of the people, which is done through political parties and culture (13:66).

Challenges of Good Governance in Afghanistan

The process of implementation of governance has faced many challenges in the current situation in Afghanistan. Despite some efforts towards effective governance, governance in Afghanistan is still ineffective. Some of these challenges are:

- Lack of broad support for reform
- Lack of serious attention to problems and controversy
- Lack of safety
- Not paying attention to public opinion
- Poor supervision and inspection
- Undermining opposition factions in arms
- Not paying attention to long-term goals
- Weak political culture
- The existence of armed opposition groups
- Poverty

But alongside these challenges, the government needs some background in order to build good governance in Afghanistan, some of which are:

- a) Catering Capacity (Management)
- b) Strategize the implementation plans of Afghan public administrations
- 3) Establish continuous and active mechanisms.
- c) The formation of regulatory mechanisms
- d) Economic and social security. (44: 35/38).

3. Conclusion

Afghan society is made up of different groups and sometimes with conflicting interests. These conflicting interests lead to the formation of social challenges, government mismanagement, spreading corruption and lack of transparency; lack of effective functioning of the political

institutions and mechanisms in place to manage and manage these challenges day by day, more than ever before. Democracy in Afghan society has led the crisis. Good governance reinforces the relationship between government and the political sector, ie political parties - and against the wisdom and logic of good governance is based on public participation, government accountability and transparency - which are the most important public political institutions in the realization of these political parties. Unorganized participation, in the form of mass and dispersed movements, deteriorates; and lacking public participation, organization falls to the level of authoritarian and authoritarian jirga. The existence of efficient and well-planned political parties can lead to a degree of government accountability that cannot be achieved by the individual and dispersed functioning of the masses. The post-2001 period could be the third democratic period in Afghanistan, given the democratic periods of 1947 to 1952 and 1963 to 1973. The Bonn Conference Agreement, signed in 2001, addressed democracy, the rule of law, the fight against corruption and good governance. But 19 years after the establishment of modern democracy and good governance based on the components of good governance in Afghanistan, much of the potential of the democratic forces that lies in political parties to reflect political diversity is still unused and even overlooked. The political parties of Afghanistan as a mirror reflecting the political will of the people have failed to play an effective role in the allegory and practice of democracy and the success of the good governance process in the country and serve as useful bases for the power of the people to build a popular system, Law-abiding, corruption-free and accountable to the people have not. The reason for this failure can be traced to the weakness of the Afghan political parties in various dimensions and the lack of sufficient oxygen in the Afghan political space for the survival of strong, truly democratic and popular parties. Real political parties bring to life a spirit of democracy; they can bring it to the pinnacle of success. Therefore, the young and well-educated generation of Afghanistan must be responsible for creating a democratic political environment and a responsible and accountable government in order to create inclusive national parties with modern and national perspectives. It is only in the face of such foundations that we can free ourselves from the trap of ethnic organizations and individual-centered political space that is a major threat to the future of the country.

4. Suggestions

Whereas any research can include suggestions. Therefore, my suggestions in this research for strengthening democracy and good governance in Afghanistan are as follows:

- a) Raising people's literacy
- b) Increase the level of political culture
- c) Political elite compromise
- d) Fair and transparent elections
- e) Creating a strong opposition in Afghanistan
- f) To balance the ideas of politicians and political currents
- g) Observing human rights

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