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RESEARCH ARTICLE

CHALLENGES OF TALIBAN GOVERNANCE

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ABSTRACT

Taliban's return to power in 2021, was an important internal and international matter. Afghan society, after 20 years of living under the rule of weak but secular governments, currently is experiencing an ideological rule by Taliban. This paper is not dealing directly the huge problems which Afghan people are facing, but try to clarify the arena of governance of Taliban. This group, has many problems, inside and outside of it's apparatus, in domestic and international area. The causes of it's re-rise is not here our purpose. Now it's on the real politics arena, and one of the most important issue is: what challenges are they facing? How can they overcome on this challenges? Which possible trends is appearing there?

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INTRODUCTION

Less than a month since USA announced withdrawal from Afghanistan, in August 2021, Taliban came back to power. This ex-insurgent group is now on the way to an established state. Each status of these activities, has it's own requirements: Work as a rebel group is differ from an state. What are these requisites of Taliban's governance? Which challenges does Taliban face now? Which Trends are possible?

A Short History: Afghanistan has a history full of up and down, a vicissitude history (see: Ewans, 2002). If we try to find a turning point towards next tremendous events, we may say that was the overthrown of Zahir Shah by Daoud Khan, a kin and minister of him, in 1973. He abolished the monarchic system and established a presidency in Afghanistan. Daoud era has many pros and cons (see: Ewans, 2002, pp. 110-137). Then a continuous of instability began. Following a period of USSR backed communist parties who took power, The former USSR began a military intervention to Afghanistan and after a long war was forced to withdraw. The Afghan combatant different groups, so-called Mujahedin- Took power in Kbul.

They, then, entered in long dispute and internal war that yet is no't completely stopped. Nearly, at 2016 Taliban, who was supported by Pkistan, and some Arab states of Persian Gulf region, overcame on the main part of Afghanistan and established it's political structure named by them as 'Emarat e Islami'(Islamic Emirate). A writer in that period wrote:' The Taliban are a social movement and tribal militia running a country. Perhaps at no time since the Wahhabi movement in Saudi Arabia in 1920s has a similar situation existed in the Islamic world. Such a situation does not readily lend itself to the kind of structural-functional or institutional analysis of governance that has become standard in political science since 1960s. With the Taliban, there are few meaningful governmental structures and little that actually functions "(Goodson, 2001, p.115). After 11/9 issue, USA overthrown Taliban, because of it's support of Al-Qaeda, who was the designer and accomplisher of that accident, and started USA forces deployment in Afghanistan. USA also like UK and USSR failed in it's military intervention in Afghanistan and at the last year of Trump administration signed an agreement known as 'Doha Agreement". Trump was not re-elected and it's Democrat rival who entered White House declared that will withdraw all American troops from Afghanistan by Sep.

11.2021 at the early months of his administration (see: Washingtonpost). Biden started withdrawal, a decision that was criticized strongly before its be done (see: atlantic council) and then is believed contributed as the main factor to Tliban's return to power and brought a strong wave of criticism to him, inside and outside of USA (see: foreign affairs). This withdrawal which completed by USA Air force, on 30 August 2021, after three weeks of Taliban entrance to Kabul, marked the end of 2001-2021 war in Afghanistan.

Challenges

Security challenges: Once Taliban was an insurgent group, they tried to destabilize the country and had in their apparatus a special part for this issue. Now they are in power. We can say then the first and most important function of a state is preparing security and safety inside it's territory. When a government can do this, it gains legitimacy and in failure it loses it. So, when Taliban was doing suicide and other attacks, they tried to destroy the foundation of the regime and now they are in power and need secure Situation to be able for governing and attain legitimacy. But the question is: A group which had a high record in destabilization of state, and the commander of it's suicide attacks is now the commander of the Capital's police, and has had strong relations with the Groups like ISIS-K and Al-Qaeda, how and when can stabilize the same country?.

Since Taliban arrival in Kabul, world have seen many suicide attacks on civilians, including Kabul Airport, and Shiite's mosques, religious sites and gathering, even the Taliban's stronghold is not secure. ISIS-K has undertaken the responsibility for many of these attacks on civilians. Why other groups like ISIS-K do these attacks? I think, one of the reasons, is ideological view of them that justifies this bloody tasks. Another reason is rivalry among rival groups in expanding their territory, and the third is that: Taliban is now in power and ISIS is out of it and the priority of the first is security and of the latter is insecurity. So, what is the probable scenarios for security situation in Afghanistan in short and middle term? The first, is that we will see a struggle among Taliban and ex-friend groups like ISIS-K and the unsecure status will continue. The second, is that Taliban dominates on the others and bring a stability. In both, one of determining factor is that: Does this group can succeed in political field or not?

Socio-cultural Challenges: Afghanistan, is a country of multi-ethnicity and multi religion structure. Tajik and Pashtun are the most populated ethnic groups and their languages, Persian with Dari slang and Pashtu, that some believed is a changed slang of Dari, are two languages of the country with most speakers. Afghanistan's 2004 constitution recognizes 14 ethnic group: Pashtun, Tajik, Hazara, Uzbek, Baloch, Turkmen, Nuristani, Pamir, Arab, Gujar, Barahui, Qizilbash, Aimaq and Pashai. According an estimation in 2017, the percentage of speaking of each language is: Afghan Persian or Dari(official) 78% (Dari functions as lingua franca), Pashtu (official) 50%, Uzbek 10%, English 5%, Turkmen 2%, Urdu 2%, Pashayi 1%, Nuristani 1%, Arabic 1%, Balochi 1% (see: World fact book). Beside, social gaps in the society of Afghanistan is not limited to language split, there is also religious fracture, for- example among Muslim believers as: Sunni, Shiite, Ismaeeli, and others, also there are adherents of other religions.

The country has a mosaic (tessellate) social structure. Taliban doesn't have any clear social policy to deal with social diversity and appear to go towards social unification. They have banned former social freedoms that women and youth enjoyed. Immigration now is an international and domestic problem, and has many causes, some of them are related to race and ethnicity (see: Joppke, 1999). If governance is based on ethnic observations, there is so many problems (see: Monk, 2002), including injustice, that at the final stage forces people to immigration. Now, I'm writing this article (Nov. 2021) and after several months after Taliban's return, the people still leave country to neighbor countries like Iran and Pakistan. Dealing with this problem needs first an inclusive social policy that recognizes all ethnic and religious groups as the same citizens of the country, and a suitable and affordable economic situations that prepare the context for maintenance of people in country, both are dependent on the revised approach of governance of Taliban. Moreover, Taliban as other political groups has it's own benefits in governance, but it is an ideological and fundamental group, that tries to implement it's reading of Islam and jurisprudence ("Shariaa") as the religion of state. In a country with this diversity rate of socio-cultural structure, and in a modern era with rising of political knowledge, this pattern of rule makes many troubles.

Political Challenges: Such a diverse social structure, needs a very right and deliberate political structure. Arend Lijphart, a Dutch scientist of Politics, has the term "consociational democracy", to explain the mechanisms of political stability in societies with deep social cleavages. Through government by an elite cartel, a democracy with a fragmented political culture was established, e.g., Austria, Belgium, the Netherland" (Mclean, p.107). This indicates that in a differentiated society, like Afghanistan, for political stabilization, it's of great importance to establish an inclusive political structures which can represent all socio-cultural and political parts of the society and maintain political stability. Taliban, in early days of their return to power, repeated many times that will constitute an inclusive government. As I twitted at those days, this promise yet is not done. They declared a government of their own members, and only some sub-ministerial directors were appointed from few ethnic group. More over, there is an essential fundamental tasks, we can name it a constitutional action, e.g. , they should constitute a real constitutional assembly through participation of all different parts of the country, political, ethnic and religious, and compose a new constitution or at least accept the former 2004 constitution. Evidences show that Taliban doesn't incline to enter in such process and most of the leaders of political groups are in jail and there is a 'national resistance front', lead by Ahmad Masoud".

Taliban has not attained international recognition, due to these exclusive political trend and strict social policy towards social groups, specially women and youth. There is no official diplomatic relations with Taliban (except Pakistan). The government of Taliban needs international recognition to become able for entering international relations and any matter, including economic and trade exchanges,, all depends on this issue. From a point of view we can say that the problem of Afghanistan has become an international conflict, and resolution of this kind of dispute requires many remedies, that peace-keeping and civil society building has been enumerated as two of them(see:Hauss,2001,pp. 26-31). For Afghanistan to reach a nearly stable situation, a key factor is to make a foreign

policy that try for reconciliation the disputes with neighbors and superpowers This needs many other policy, including resolve of border disputes, for-example with Pakistan, and water share with Iran, and humanitarian issues with USA and EU. Beside, many thousands of experts and educated people of Afghanistan following the return of Taliban left the country. Many others are banned from working. Management of a country is not possible without expert forces.

Economic Challenges: Afghanistan is an underdeveloped country and it's little structures has been destroyed during more than four decades of aggression and domestic war. It's a land-locked country and it's mines and natural reserves is not discovered or exploited. It has in parts of it's territory, capabilities with good labor forces to work in agricultural field, but during the recent years, specially the eastern part was a field for cultivation of narcotics. It was said that Taliban's main source of revenue is in this part. International organizations had plans for alternative cultivation, but didn't succeeded. The good water source arrives eastern part of the country and was disputed between Afghanistan and Iran, and was blocked at the last years to reach Iran. Will be Taliban able to increase the outcome of agricultural sector to attain revenue and recover partly the economy?.

An estimation of Afghanistan Population in 2021, shows 39,835,428, and it's growth rate before this recent conflict was estimated to reach 2/40%, but now it seems that be destroyed(see: World Population Review,). Afghanistan administration was depended on international donations in it's public services, which now after returning of Taliban, mostly is stopped or freed. The national security advisor of USA said: once the attitude of Taliban is not changed, we can not give them money (BBC World News, nov.8.2021) , and the Food Program of UN said that in next six month there is a possible starvation for about 23 million people of Afghanistan (see: BBC World News, November 8,2021).

CONCLUSION

Taliban, due it's strong and insistent members and the occasion following the USA withdrawal, triumphantly returned to power. Every insurgent group after victory faces some difficulties, but it appears that the problems of Taliban is more, partly due it's strict ideology and some to the unique circumstances of Afghanistan. I think resolving of these problems is depend firstly to a revision in it's reading of political issues, for example about women's education, and second to conforming an inclusive government and rather a comprehensive political structure.

The later will pave the way for international recognition, establishing diplomatic relations and then releasing of the blocked funds and new international donations. But, at the moment, there is no clear evidence about any of them. I think we must wait and look at the new process that history shows: most of the ideological groups have passed several instances to attain enough rationality for good governance. Till that period, the opportunity costs will be increasing and the group, people and Afghanistan's neighbors must sustain these huge and different costs.

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