



A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF NATION-BUILDING PROCESSES IN INDIA AND AFGHANISTAN

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Abstract: The first step in building a nation-state is nation-building, through which collective stability and peace can be achieved. This process has been carried out in different ways across various countries. The Republic of India, as a diverse nation with significant ethnic, religious, and cultural pluralism, has successfully undergone the nation-building process despite facing numerous social and political transformations. On the other hand, Afghanistan, which shares notable historical and cultural similarities with India in terms of ethnic and cultural diversity, has yet to achieve the same level of success in this regard. Instead, it remains entangled in instability, ethnic tensions, and sectarian conflicts. The question is: what methods did India employ in this context? Strategies such as soft power, democracy, pluralism, and a flexible political structure have facilitated nation-building in India over a long-term period.

A comparative study of the processes and challenges faced by both countries, along with the adoption of these mentioned approaches, could potentially help address Afghanistan's issues. The aim of this research is to utilize India's experiences to find solutions for Afghanistan.

Keywords: *Nation-building, Process, India, Afghanistan.*

INTRODUCTION

In addition to the fact that nation building is the way to achieve stability and modern structures. It is also considered the key to the development and it is with this in mind that this process has always been a priority in the public arena of society and countries have taken different and difficult paths in the field, which has left many experiences in the field. If in the past periods, the traditional and forced method of nation-building from the top down was common, the kings and rulers of the countries used the method of forced assimilation to unite the people and create a common political identity under the title of nation-building. Because they are different varieties. They considered linguistic and religious ethnicity as a destabilizing factor against their sovereignty and integrated them under the identity of their religion, language and ethnicity, even with violence and killing. Build a homogeneous nation. Due to this, the world has seen instability and bloody wars.

The Republic of India has also experienced this kind of nation-building under the rule of Ghaznavids, Mughals and British colonialism, the country of Afghanistan, especially during the rule of Amir Abdul Rahman Khan. He has unpleasant memories of this type of nation-building; If Amir with ethnic thoughts and resorting to killing people. The integration of non-Pashtun ethnic groups in the culture, identity and language of Pashto took place, the series of these actions has prevented nation building in this country until now. But fortunately, in the current situation, these beliefs and methods have mostly been moderated. Countries have chosen reasonable and modern trends in the field, even in most cases, their own people have taken a step forward in realizing this, and India is an example of that. Because the people and leaders of this country, such as Jawaharlal Nehru and Mahatma Gandhi, in the presence of British colonial pressure on this country, fought for the unity of the people and the creation of the country. They started independently in a peaceful way from among the masses of the people, and in the end, by informing the people and uniting them, they were able to end the colonialism and take over the independence of their country, and then through the lens of laws and the creation of a political structure, they made reforms in the field of to exist.

1. RESEARCH OBJECTIVE

The primary objective of this research is to implement a modern method of nation-building and, overall, to establish a diverse state-building structure in Afghanistan by drawing on the soft and democratic experiences of the Republic of India. Another goal is to introduce fresh concepts through the generation of new information, particularly for the younger generation of Afghanistan, enabling them to take positive steps in this regard by emulating modern nation-building methods. Bridging ethnic and linguistic divides, addressing social inequalities, and mitigating other social challenges to pave the way for stability and lasting peace in Afghanistan are additional objectives of this article.

IMPORTANCE AND THE NEED OF THE RESEARCH

Afghanistan has been experiencing war, violence, immigration and most importantly internal disputes and the failure of official structures for several decades. One of the main reasons for the persistence of these challenges is several. The division and differences between the tribes and the inhabitants of this land are mainly about the issues of identity, ethnicity and language. This challenge even thwarted the efforts of the international community for the progress of this country, in the current situation where Afghanistan lacks a legitimate system. Discrimination and inequality has reached its peak, there is a need to implement nation building as a cornerstone of political, social and economic progress as an urgent necessity, the best option is to use the trade of India with its many historical commonalities and various cultural and linguistic diversity. The present research can inspire this move important.

2. RESEARCH BACKGROUND

Various valuable studies have been conducted on the subject, and numerous theories have been proposed. For instance:

- James Francis Dobbins, a prominent American diplomat and chair of the Bonn Conference on Afghanistan, authored *Nation-Building in Afghanistan Post-Taliban* (translated by Arif Sahar). Published in 2004, the book highlights the opportunity for modern nation-building in Afghanistan following the 2001 U.S. military intervention and the fall of the Taliban. Dobbins argues that the U.S. nation-building operation in Afghanistan, like in other countries, began from the top down with tools of positive pressure. Key indicators included ensuring security, reconstruction, humanitarian aid distribution, and governance. He attributes the failure of this process to the simultaneous U.S. invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq, overconfidence in the American administration, and insufficient funding. The shortcoming of this work is its exclusive focus on America's role, neglecting internal factors that play a fundamental role in this process.
- Mohammad Ikram Andeshmand wrote *State-Nation Building in Afghanistan* in 2015. The author raises questions such as: Are we a nation? Do we have a national state and identity? What constitutes national interests? He identifies ethnic issues, the neglect of national interests by past rulers, discrimination, and inequality as primary challenges. However, a significant critique of this work is its idealistic approach and lack of practical application.
- Mirwais Balkhi's *American Nation-Building: A Comparison of Iraq and Afghanistan* (2019) examines U.S. military intervention as the starting point of nation-building in these countries. He addresses questions like: Why is nation-building important? What is American nation-building? Should nation-building occur in these two countries? Does nation-building meet the needs of the people in these regions? Balkhi argues that the failure to realize this process stems from conflicts between the ideologies of those implementing it and the intellectuals and politicians of the two nations. While comprehensive, the author could have provided a more detailed analysis of the strengths and weaknesses of American nation-building, particularly in Afghanistan, based on internal perspectives.
- In India, impactful studies on nation-building have also been presented. For example, Narayan, in his 2015 book *Nation-Building in India*, argues that the historical struggles of the Indian people and their unity under the country's leaders had a more constructive effect than legal measures or federalism. He emphasizes that initial economic deprivation, social issues, and lack of resources acted as unifying forces and were more influential than modern phenomena. However, this research's purely historical approach overlooks recent achievements in this field.
- Another work, *Pluralism and Democracy in India* (2015), also discusses nation-building. Wendy Duenger notes that establishing a strong state and stable nation in India is directly attributed to pluralism and democracy. She emphasizes that India's inclination toward democracy predates nation-building and that nation-building initially relied on democracy, which later institutionalized the country's diversity. The limitation of this study is its peripheral focus on nation-building.

- This research specifically addresses nation-building in Afghanistan, striving to draw on successful examples and proven modern nation-building methods for application in both popular and official contexts in the country.

3. RESEARCH PROBLEM AND QUESTIONS

Nation-building, as a critical action for fostering stability and solidarity among a country's inhabitants, has yielded significant advantages in the Republic of India as a successful model. The first notable outcome has been the reduction of religious, linguistic, and cultural tensions in this populous country. This achievement has enabled its people to think collectively about national interests and the unity of India. The country's economic and social development, industrial growth, and technological advancements have been facilitated by the presence of this value.

Afghanistan, despite having favorable geographic location, climate, natural resources, and a smaller population compared to India, has failed to realize proper nation-building. Consequently, its people remain divided, focusing on ethnic, religious, and linguistic disputes rather than national interests and progress. Afghanistan's uncertain status in the international community and the absence of a legitimate national government further underscore this condition.

The primary recommendation for overcoming the current situation—especially regarding unifying the people—is to draw from India's experiences. India has successfully achieved nation-state building without bloodshed or violence.

However, the core research question arises:

What are the processes and methods of nation-building in the Republic of India, and what is their applicability to Afghanistan?

6. RESEARCH HYPOTHESIS

It is hypothesized that the process of nation-building in the Republic of India involved a bottom-up approach in the form of nation-state building, overcoming significant political challenges over an extended period. Key elements of India's nation-state building include collective and purposeful struggles by political leaders and the public against British colonialism, the implementation of democracy, pluralism, federalism, and education.

Afghanistan, despite sharing a similar experience of resistance against colonialism, has never achieved the necessary unity among its people, nor has it experimented with a grassroots, diverse political structure. Pluralism has historically held no significant place in the country. Past coercive nation-building efforts, including modern externally driven methods, have consistently adopted a top-down approach and have failed to achieve desirable outcomes.

7. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This research will adopt a library-based and comparative approach, presented in an analytical and descriptive manner. It will rely heavily on India's experiences for insights and guidance.

8. RESEARCH STRUCTURE

The organization and presentation of the discussion will proceed as follows:

1. Nation-Building Methods

Nation-building is vital for a country's stability and progress; without it, achieving peace and development is unimaginable. This process holds a crucial position in the international system, as many global insecurities directly stem from the absence of nation-building.

Methods of nation-building vary, and the question arises: What methods exist, and where do India and Afghanistan fall within this framework?

- There are distinctions between nation-building, state-building, and various types and methods of nation-building.
- Broadly, two general methods exist: **internal** and **external** nation-building.

INTERNAL METHODS:

- **Nation-State Building:** People and political institutions unite to create a state peacefully, coercively, or through revolutionary means.
- **State-Nation Building:** A pre-existing state builds a nation from the top-down for its legitimacy and survival.

EXTERNAL METHODS:

- The state is established by external forces, such as international organizations (e.g., the UN) or major powers, based on international norms, democracy, or other justifications.

This study examines the methods applied in India and Afghanistan.

1.1 THE REPUBLIC OF INDIA

India has undergone significant political and nation-building transformations since its founding. India's nation-building was dual-faceted, involving both bottom-up, people-centered movements and top-down approaches by the state.

1.2 HISTORICAL STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE:

- The movement for independence began with British colonization through the East India Company, later transitioning into direct colonial rule.
- Unified and purposeful resistance was spearheaded by leaders like Lokmanya Tilak and Mahatma Gandhi, who mobilized people across diverse linguistic, ethnic, and religious backgrounds.

- Achieving independence in 1947, the grassroots movements laid the foundation for modern nation-building.

1.2 POST-INDEPENDENCE STATE-LED NATION-BUILDING:

Post-1947, the Indian government embarked on nation-building from the top-down, enacting the Constitution and forming a modern state. Key measures included recognizing all fundamental rights, promoting pluralism, ensuring economic and social welfare, and advancing political and civil progress.

Today's unity among India's diverse population, encompassing a collective Indian identity, Is a testament to the success of these approaches?

1.3 AFGHANISTAN

Afghanistan has experienced various political and historical upheavals:

1. EARLY NATION-BUILDING EFFORTS:

- Beginning in the 13th century, Afghanistan adopted top-down coercive methods, particularly under rulers like Amir Abdur Rahman Khan. These methods involved violent assimilation efforts, largely aimed at suppressing ethnic, linguistic, and religious diversity.

2. POST-2001 NATION-BUILDING EFFORTS:

- The U.S.-led intervention in 2001 introduced modern nation-state building through constitutional reforms and international support. However, these externally driven, top-down approaches failed to unite the Afghan people. Presently, under Taliban rule, Afghanistan lacks any coherent nation-building or state-building strategies. Ethnic, linguistic, and religious divisions, alongside gender inequalities, exacerbate challenges to nation-state building.

2. PROCESS AND CHALLENGES IN NATION-BUILDING

Nation-building involves specific stages, criteria, and challenges that must be addressed for success

- **Processes:** Define steps, standards, and milestones for achieving national unity.
 - **Challenges:** Identify obstacles and difficulties, both internal and external that hinder progress.
- Understanding these dynamics is critical to ensuring successful nation-building in both India and Afghanistan.

2.1 ANTI-COLONIAL STRUGGLES AND INDEPENDENCE:

- **India:** Unified resistance across diverse populations culminated in independence in 1947, fostering a collective identity.
- **Afghanistan:** Despite shared colonial experiences, Afghanistan's resistance lacked cohesive, unified leadership, limiting its capacity for effective nation-building.
- This structure emphasizes comparative insights and lessons from India's success, offering pathways to potential nation-building strategies for Afghanistan.
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1-2. THE UNIFIED STRUGGLE OF THE AFGHAN PEOPLE

During the mid-19th century, Afghanistan became a focal point for colonial powers, particularly the British Empire, as part of the "Great Game" rivalry with Tsarist Russia. The British sought control over Afghanistan's strategic Hindu Kush mountain ranges to counter Russian expansion. The first Anglo-Afghan War erupted in 1839 in the southern province of Helmand, marking the beginning of a series of conflicts that continued until the second war in 1878, which ended in 1880.

In the second war, the British launched an invasion with a formidable army of nearly 60,000 soldiers. However, the Afghan people—united across ethnic, religious, and gender lines—resisted with extraordinary vigor, defeating the British forces in battles across Maiwand (Kandahar), Ghazni, Kabul, Nangarhar, and other regions. Despite these victories, the Afghan population failed to maintain their unity post-war and did not consolidate as a cohesive nation capable of political or social progress.

British interference and conspiracies persisted. Under Amir Abdur Rahman Khan, British influence was deeply entrenched. Notably, he ceded significant authority to the British, such as signing the Durand Line Agreement in 1893 and determining Afghanistan's northern borders with Tsarist Russia in 1873 under British oversight. His reign institutionalized ethnic and cultural divisions, fostering resentment among various Afghan communities.

During the reign of Amir Habibullah Khan (1901–1919), although there were advancements in education, economics, and publishing, there was no meaningful progress toward nation-building. Habibullah compelled Afghan Hindus to wear distinctive clothing to differentiate themselves from the Muslim population and reaffirmed colonial agreements made by his father with the British.

The third Anglo-Afghan War began when Amanullah Khan ascended the throne in 1919. Afghanistan launched an offensive, ultimately forcing the British to negotiate a ceasefire and sign a peace agreement. Amanullah Khan declared Afghanistan's independence from British colonial rule, winning unprecedented support from the country's diverse communities. His agenda for equality, justice, and reforms was initially embraced by all, with significant progress made in infrastructure development, education, and foreign relations. For the first time, Afghanistan adopted a constitution outlining the features of a modern state, emphasizing equality, individual freedoms, and other values crucial to nation-building.

However, Amanullah Khan's approach to nation-building combined traditional methods with coercive policies. For instance, his "Naqelin Law" forcibly relocated ethnic groups to regions like Qataghan, disrupting communal harmony. Such top-down, coercive approaches undermined efforts to unify the population, resulting in widespread discontent.

The main challenge was the imposition of state-driven nation-building without fostering organic unity among the population. The Afghan people had temporarily united against British aggression, largely motivated by religious solidarity rather than a shared national identity. After achieving military victories, they failed to sustain this unity in political and social spheres. Key obstacles

included limited political understanding, a lack of national maturity, and widespread illiteracy, which left the populace vulnerable to internal and external conspiracies.

In contrast to India, which consolidated its independence with a clear national vision, Afghanistan's nation-building efforts remained incomplete. Despite the shared experience of resisting British colonialism, Afghanistan's ethnic, linguistic, and religious diversity became sources of division rather than strength. The population often succumbed to internal strife and external manipulation, undermining the process of nation-building and fostering ongoing hostility among its communities.

2-2. DEMOCRACY

Democracy is fundamentally a modern process of nation-state building. In this form of governance, people, empowered by various freedoms, become an integral part of the ruling structure. They consciously come together through parties, institutions, elections, and other civic mechanisms to make decisions and reach public consensus. This process fosters social cohesion and shared values among individuals. Democracy brings together actors and citizens with diverse ideas and perspectives into unified teams and structures.

One of the most constructive ways democracy facilitates nation-state building is by enabling the people to establish a legitimate and consensual government. This institutionalizes social relationships, replacing traditional ones. In a democratic system, the rational integration of ethnic, linguistic, and religious diversity around shared interests becomes possible, fostering stability and permanence in society. Eliminating discrimination, ensuring equality among citizens, respecting majority consensus and national unity, recognizing fundamental freedoms, and promoting individual participation in public administration are among the principles respected in democracy. These principles aim to bridge ethnic and linguistic divides through harmony and contribute to nation-building.

2-2-1. THE REPUBLIC OF INDIA

According to India's constitution, its political system is a parliamentary democracy. Democracy in this region gained greater prominence after its people achieved independence. However, its origins can be traced back to the establishment of the Indian National Congress, formed during British colonial rule with the goal of achieving an independent government and pursuing non-violent policies. Some scholars argue that India's independence itself was a product of its historical democracy. The influence of democracy on nation-building in India is evident both before and after independence through various methods.

The Indian people, having endured oppressive regimes under the Aryans, Mughal rulers, and the British, maintained their unity and created shared structures to collectively address challenges such as despotism and colonialism. Thus, the initial requirement for nation-building in India emerged through democracy, in the form of institutions, movements, and widespread participation. For instance, one historic anti-colonial gathering aimed at achieving Indian independence drew an extraordinary participation of 50 million people. This movement, embodying the essence of democracy, marked the beginnings of modern nation-building in the country.

As a result, democratic institutions and the unity of the people strengthened even before the formation of the state, playing a crucial role in its establishment. After the adoption of the constitution and the creation of the state, democracy became the central principle of India's political system, with subsequent structures emerging through democratic processes. According to the 1950 constitution, both the central government and local administrations are based on elections and the will of the people. The formation of political parties, civil and social organizations, as well as the guarantees of freedom of expression, thought, and equality—key components of democracy—have had a direct impact on India's nation-state building.

The primary challenge with this model is its lengthy timeline. In India, the democratic process took nearly a century to fully develop. Soft approaches inherently require more time. In countries like Afghanistan, however, such strategic patience is absent, and given internal instability and external interventions, creating similar conditions and timelines for democracy-driven nation-building is unlikely.

2-2-2. THE COUNTRY OF AFGHANISTAN

Afghanistan has mostly experienced authoritarian and non-democratic regimes, with traditional approaches to nation-building. However, signs of democracy have appeared at various points in its history. The earliest instance can be observed in the constitutionalist movement of Afghanistan during the years 1908–1909. This movement sought to weaken the traditional power of the monarchy and govern based on constitutional law. However, it faced harsh opposition from the autocratic ruler Habibullah Khan, and before it could lead to the foundation of nation-building, it was suppressed. Many of its members were arrested, tortured, and executed.

The next wave of democracy as a gateway to nation-building emerged during the 1960s under the rule of Zahir Shah. For the first time, he appointed a prime minister from outside the royal family. Reforms were also introduced in the constitution, recognizing freedoms such as expression, the formation of political parties, social organizations, religious practices, the free pursuit of political activities, the prohibition of exile and torture, and the protection of home and housing. During this period, nation-building began to emerge slowly beneath the framework of the monarchy, similar to how nation-building in India began under colonial rule. However, this process was interrupted by Daoud Khan's coup, as he adopted a one-party system and authoritarian governance.

The third and most recent twenty-year period of democracy began with U.S. military intervention in 2001. During this time, the constitution acknowledged freedoms such as the formation of political parties, civil and social organizations, and elections, freedom of expression, assembly, protests, the promotion of justice and equality, and other fundamental rights of citizens. Legislative and human rights institutions were established as part of the democratic framework. This period aimed to promote nation-building in line with the American model of state-building, which focused on security, humanitarian aid distribution, state power consolidation, political participation, and the introduction of democracy.

However, unlike in the Republic of India, democracy during this period did not significantly contribute to nation-building in Afghanistan. The elements of democracy—such as equality among citizens, elections, the formation of political parties and social organizations, and the rule of law—became entangled in ethnic, linguistic, and religious biases. In other words, state-building and

nation-building through the lens of democracy were undermined by inequality, discrimination, lack of the rule of law, and ethnocentrism. Conversely, democracy in India, even before independence, transcended religious, ethnic, and cultural divides, creating a foundation for grassroots nation-building and fostering unity among its people. The primary challenges to nation-state building through democracy in Afghanistan extend beyond ethnic issues. These include unfavorable social conditions, poor economic circumstances, cultural shortcomings, low levels of awareness and education—especially in rural and local areas—and, more broadly, the absence of a conducive internal environment.

3-2. PLURALISM

Based on the definition, characteristics, and types of pluralism, this modern concept seeks to allow individuals, groups, ethnicities, religions, speakers of different languages, and various cultural and social diversities to live with equal citizenship rights in a single country or society, free from violence. In essence, this phenomenon strives for multiculturalism, harmonizing and uniting diverse elements, promoting a peaceful coexistence without war or bloodshed. The psychological aspect of pluralism is that diversity is beautiful, and humans are born into different families, regions, cultures, languages, religions, and ethnicities. These differences are inherent to our nature. Standardizing or eradicating these differences, apart from being impossible, only increases violence and destroys beauty. Therefore, the solution is to live together peacefully despite our differences and to share our common resources. On the other hand, nation-building is the process of uniting different individuals and groups within a country to achieve political stability, implement reforms, and eliminate violence. Therefore, the primary and shared goals of pluralism and nation-building are to reconcile different cultures, ethnicities, languages, and religions. The question, however, is how pluralism as a process has played a role in nation-building in India and Afghanistan. Overall, pluralism is a modern process of nation-state building, as nation-building seeks to unite people within society, and similarly, pluralism insists on accepting diversity and minorities. As a result, pluralism is seen as a fundamental method of nation-building that accelerates the process.

1-3-2. Pluralism in India

Pluralism and diversity in the Republic of India are astonishing. The geography, religions, cultures, languages, ethnicities, traditions, and customs in this country are incredibly varied. The charm of Indian society lies in its diversity, which is an inherent characteristic of the community. In this highly populated country, there are phenomena and rituals that are not seen anywhere else in the world. The world's perception of this land is based on its diversity, which has become a unique identity tied to India in the modern world. The historical background, multiple religions, cultures, languages, ethnicities, and customs place India in a special position. This position has had diverse effects in various fields of the country.

The religious landscape of India is also diverse and is often referred to as the "museum of religions." Despite the presence of multiple religions, no single religion is officially recognized in the country. India also has many languages, with Tamil being the oldest. According to 1991 statistics, more than ten thousand languages and dialects are spoken in India, none of which have been designated as the official national language. This diversity has a significant impact on nation-building in India. Various ethnicities and communities live in India, and its population constitutes 17.31% of the world's total. Indian culture, as an ancient civilization, is equally exciting. Religious practices in India are diverse, with animals being considered sacred and worthy of worship. Certain birds and reptiles receive special protection, and particular animals like snakes, elephants, mice, and especially cows, hold a special place in society and are worshiped in some regions of the country. The people of India also exhibit ethnic diversity.

In this regard, Afghanistan shares similarities with India but does not fully align. When we assess the impact of pluralism on nation-building with a modern perspective, we realize that pluralism, by accepting differences, is a positive process for nation-state building. The challenge of pluralism in itself, and in relation to nation-building, is relatively minor. In a pluralistic society, achieving common goals takes time, and it is necessary to approve a multi-faceted law, establish different criteria for languages, and respect diverse cultures. However, the challenge of pluralism in the intersection with nation-building is that nation-building tends to promote unity and integration, while pluralism embraces differences and diversity, making forced harmonization unacceptable.

3-2. PLURALISM IN AFGHANISTAN

Although Afghanistan has a relatively small geographic area, it shares many similarities with India in terms of diversity. This country is made up of various cultural, ethnic, religious, linguistic, and identity groups. Given its long history, geopolitical position, and the fact that its geography has been a crossroads for great civilizations and a hub for cultures and languages, Afghanistan has developed many customs, traditions, and rituals. The country's tumultuous history has led to the rise and fall of cultures, customs, religions, and civilizations, resulting in widespread identity, cultural, and historical transformations. These characteristics make Afghanistan the second most diverse country in Asia after India, creating a vibrant "rainbow" of diversity.

There are various religions and denominations in Afghanistan, including Muslims, Hindus, and Sikhs. Among Muslims, there are several sects such as Shia, Sunni, and other smaller branches. This division and the different interpretations reflect the diversity of thought in religious beliefs and practices. Additionally, followers of non-Islamic religions live in the country. Although challenges have existed in this regard, ethnicities, languages, and cultures have further added to the colorful diversity of Afghanistan. From a linguistic, ethnic, and cultural perspective, Afghanistan is the first Asian country, and the thirty-seventh country in the world, in terms of diversity. The latest constitution of Afghanistan recognizes the country's major languages. Culturally and ethnically, Afghanistan, like India, is a diverse and multicultural country. The people of Afghanistan adhere to distinct traditions and rituals. This diversity is rooted in historical transformations, ethnic and cultural shifts, and the coexistence of multiple ethnicities, languages, and identities, which has created a country of immense beauty and diversity at the heart of Asia.

Afghanistan is home to several ethnic groups. In broad terms, there are two major races, Caucasian and Mongoloid, with some accounts listing four racial groups: Caucasian, Mongoloid, Baloch, and Semitic (Arab). The country is also rich in artistic, cultural, and ancient heritage. However, unlike India, Afghanistan does not have cinema, music, or dance as major cultural elements. With this in mind, Afghanistan is not only diverse in terms of culture, language, ethnicity, religion, and art but also in terms of geography, natural resources, landscapes, food, clothing, and animal and plant species, making it one of the most diverse countries in the world. The challenge of pluralism in Afghanistan lies in the need for appropriate structures and capacities to accommodate various cultures. While historically, there has been a unified administrative and political system, a single legal framework, and standardized policies, the impact of pluralism on the nation-building process is evident. Pluralism cannot succeed without nation-building, and vice versa. Nation-building, which is directly linked to state-building under the concept of nation-state-building, focuses on uniting a

community and may overlook or suppress natural differences. For example, in a multicultural, multi-religious, multi-identity, and multilingual society, if one specific language is elevated as the official language while ignoring other languages, national unity will be undermined among non-official language groups. This can lead to conflict and confrontation instead of peaceful coexistence, as seen in the experiences of many countries, including Afghanistan. On the other hand, if we emphasize differences, neglecting national cohesion, political unity, and a common political stance, we risk facing a crisis of national identity and political fragmentation, which can be devastating, particularly in the face of external threats.

Therefore, pluralism, which seeks to respect diverse cultures and identities, is fundamentally about fostering a sense of citizenship belonging. It brings individuals closer to their personal identities and linguistic ties. Many scholars consider pluralism an excellent method for nation-building and emphasize the need for coordination among these diverse groups. The necessity for pluralism emerged when the methods of forced cultural assimilation and integration, which were part of traditional nation-building practices, led to negative consequences in Afghanistan and the wider world. As a result, pluralism is considered the most solid approach to nation-state building.

4-2. POLITICAL STRUCTURE

The political structure includes both the public institutions within the political system, such as the government, and those outside of it, such as political parties, unions, and others. These structures operate under the fundamental laws of society and engage in various activities. Governments and political systems themselves are divided into various forms, but the main focus, given the broader question of this discussion, is to examine the influence of political structure on the nation-building process in India and Afghanistan. Before addressing the specific questions raised, it is important to understand whether nation-building is a task that the political structure must perform as part of its responsibility, or if the existence and shape of the political structure, considering the social and traditional contexts of society, facilitates the nation-building process. Political parties, as the core body of a political structure, mostly playing the role of opposition, also hold significant value in the nation-building process. If nation-building is viewed as the responsibility of the political structure, then the governing political structure will initiate the process from the top, following a pre-determined plan and implementing it downwards. This type of nation-building has been observed frequently in Afghanistan, where both traditional and modern methods have been applied in several stages.

However, when the political structure is seen as a facilitator of the nation-building process, the focus is primarily on the form and nature of the political system. For example, in India, after gaining independence, a federal system was created, under which the nation-building process was carried out as part of the soft model of nation-state-building. In this approach, in addition to the political system, individuals and groups, enjoying their legitimate freedoms and independence, also play their role in the process. On the other hand, in the hard model of nation-state-building, the state seeks to achieve this goal unilaterally, often resorting to force.

1-4-2. INDIA

India, based on the initial provisions of its constitution, adopted a federal political structure. According to this, a system of distributed power in the form of a parliamentary republic governs the country. India consists of 28 states, each of which, under the constitution and the principle of federalism, has legislative, executive, and administrative powers. Another aspect of India's political structure is its political parties. More than 700 political parties operate at the national, state, and regional levels, with the largest being the Congress Party and the Bharatiya Janata Party. The role of the political structure in the nation-building process in India is prominent and has a historical foundation. Prior to independence or the establishment of a clear political system, the process of unification and integration of the people of India was initiated by the Congress Party in 1895. This effort succeeded, and the people of the country united without regard to ethnic, religious, or linguistic differences, laying the foundation for the positive legacy of the nation-building process. Therefore, the political structure in India, both within and outside of power, is predominantly nationalistic and has played a crucial role in the process of nation-state building. Even today, political parties in India have a constructive influence in shaping public opinion and exert indirect oversight in the process.

The main and executive part of India's political system, according to its constitution, includes both federal and state/local governance, which holds a valuable position in the nation-state-building process. Initially, this structure helps in nation-building because, in the first step, it ensures better participation of people in power, governance, and other public matters. It is more compatible with the aspirations of the people. The federal structure represents a new path for state-building, or in other words, an efficient and modern political model for regions that have moved past authoritarian and monopolistic phases. This model is often chosen by countries with larger geographical areas or where different cultures, ethnicities, and religions coexist. In such a country, a centralized structure with a uniform educational system, unified legislation, a specific language, and a standardized judicial system would be a form of forced homogenization, which contradicts the principles of nation-building and could create an unsafe and violent environment over time.

India, being a diverse country in terms of culture, customs, language, ethnicity, and religion, has chosen the federal structure, which best facilitates nation-building. The reactive role and governance of the federal structure in India's nation-state-building process are also prominent, with the rule of law being a key factor. The federal government of India prioritizes maintaining order and upholding the rule of law, and it safeguards these principles effectively. The stability and progress of the country are closely linked to this principle. Additionally, the development of democracy, infrastructure, and economic progress are other achievements of India's political system, which has improved the economic situation in the country and served as a source of hope for its citizens. The realization of justice, equality, and the protection of fundamental freedoms has further reinforced the stability of the state and the unity of the nation in a singular political identity.

There are also challenges facing the country in this regard, such as separatism and the government's handling of religious issues. In the northeastern parts of India, separatist groups like the Khalistan movement, Assam, and Kashmir pose a significant concern. Although India is a 72-nation country, any progress or advantage gained by one of these groups towards separatism could quickly spread to other regions, leading to a major challenge against the political system. This is because India's federalism is territorial, granting a degree of autonomy to movements and ethnic groups, which creates a favorable environment for separatist movements.

2-4-2. AFGHANISTAN

Afghanistan has experienced various political and legal structures, each of which has played a role in the process of nation- and state-building. The country's extensive experience with political structures and systems of nation-building has largely followed a traditional top-down approach. Few periods can be found where actions were initiated from the bottom up. Monarchic rulers were essentially incapable of understanding the importance of uniting the people and building the nation through civil methods, and in many cases, they intentionally ignored this issue to continue their own power or for ethnic and marginal reasons, even suppressing such thoughts and movements. One of the first movements that emphasized the equal participation of all people in the power and governance of the country was led by Tahir Badakhshi. His theory on political structure advocated autonomy for regions where the people had distinct cultural, religious, and ethnic characteristics. In fact, he supported a geographical federal structure, understanding the diverse cultures, which ultimately led to his nation-building ideas. Similarly, Abdul Ali Mazari viewed federalism as the best option to ensure the participation of all ethnicities, religions, and political groups in the public power. Abdul Latif Pedram, within the framework of the National Congress Party, also saw the federal system as a suitable response to the needs of the people and to solving the country's challenges. These were efforts to unite the people through the creation of a flexible political structure. However, no organized or defined movement by political parties or any significant part of the population has been made to establish a fundamental societal structure or to create a grounded social framework. The root cause of the failure to form such a structure lies in ethnic nationalism and religious and linguistic superiority. Selfishness, lack of tolerance for diversity, and resistance to valuable processes have directly hindered the unification of the people.

Despite the fact that structures outside of the government, although not equipped with democratic power or inclusive nature, could not influence the nation-building process, in India, popular structures emerged even before the establishment of the state, creating unity. Afghanistan, even during its democratic period, has never experienced a federal system like that in the Republic of India. In this country, the political structure with a soft, flexible, and open nature allowed conditions to be created from the bottom up and facilitated the nation- and state-building process with an operational and executive character. However, in Afghanistan, during its last period of democracy, which offered good opportunities for creating a diverse political structure in line with ethnic, religious, and cultural diversities, this principle was not accepted. The basic law of the country established a political system as a republic, Islamic, independent, and indivisible, with a centralized administrative structure, unified legislation, and a presidential system. In this setup, the president was granted the position of head of all three branches of government, the highest authority. This type of structure, a legacy of the era of despotism, oppression, and the pursuit of inequality, limited the opportunities for diversity and nation-building. Although the government did not prioritize nation-building, it was also unsuccessful in its efforts to establish the rule of law, ensure equality among citizens, create stability and security, build infrastructure, and reduce poverty. As a result, the nation-state building process, despite the support of the United Nations and the Americans, did not succeed.

The fundamental challenge in Afghanistan's nation-building process through its political structure is observed in two key areas: first, the lack of a popular structure that includes political parties, civil society organizations, and unions to unite and lay the foundation for nation-building. Such a structure did not emerge with its essential democratic values. The one-party systems and non-democratic governments, as well as the political parties and organizations during the democratic period, were not formed on the basis of national and diverse principles. The majority of these parties and organizations were ethnic, religious, or had undemocratic, ethnically-oriented, or familial affiliations. In contrast, in India, the nation-building process began with national parties like the Congress Party, and the state was established through this framework.

The formal political structure in Afghanistan, as the second part of the discussion, has not been successful in realizing the nation-building process due to various factors, facing challenges in this regard. First, these structures were not created with a democratic nature. The last constitution, ratified in 2003, was accompanied by allegations of fraud, and the electoral processes lacked transparency. Another problem arose from the influence of ethnicity on the formation of these structures and the manner in which they governed. Electoral teams were ethnically composed, appointments were biased, and value-based governance gave way to ethnic favoritism and corruption. Even in protest movements, national demands were not raised. The expectations of rule of law, stability, and ease of life for the people, which are key indicators of nation-building, were also unmet.



CONCLUSION

After the evaluations and comparisons of the concepts and contents, the results are obtained as follows:

- In a general summary, it can be said that the method of nation-building in India was first experienced from the bottom in the form of nation-state building peacefully and without violence, and after the formation of the general structure, this method was implemented from above by the government has taken. The process of nation-building in India passed through traditional and compulsory stages during the six-century rule of the Ghaznavids and the Mughals in the 19th century, and during British colonization, popular movements were formed, leading to a new and civil approach to nation-building under the guidance of insightful and visionary leaders. Ultimately, the people of India united under the large Indian identity, achieving solidarity and independence, and formed a politically stable state.
- The other side, Afghanistan has experienced forced nation-building in its bloody form after the 13th century, popular movements and new methods of nation-building that are in the form of demands to create equality, ensure social justice, and recognize basic rights and freedoms. People and constitutionalism emerged was Faced with a harsh authoritarian method, these trends were overthrown. The last effort of the international community with the direct presence of the United States of America after 2001, which led to the ratification of the constitution, the formation of a republican government, the recognition of fundamental

rights and freedoms, and the promotion of education and other civil and political institutions, unfortunately did not bear fruit, and now this country is under the rule of the Taliban group. It lacks a constitution and a legitimate system, and there are no signs of a new nation or state-building in it.

- In general, the nation-building process of India includes criteria and indicators such as the joint struggle of the people of this country against the British colonialism provided the basis for their unity and solidarity. Democracy as the second criterion is also the condition of social cohesion, value solidarity, the recognition of various basic freedoms and soft governance, and has a direct and valuable impact. The nation and state building process of this country has had, pluralism, political structure and education standard are also other golden principles that have facilitated the nation and state building process in Indian society. If diversity is the opportunity to accept different religious and ethnic groups, language and culture, and in the same way the political structure of India which includes various parties, civil institutions and the federal form of the political structure of this country has also played a key role in this process, the educational system of India has also reflected the cultural values of the country. It also contains the examples and incentives of nation-building, which include social equality, providing justice, critical thinking, respecting the diversity of local contexts, and preserving the ancient traditions of this country.

- Although Afghanistan had the same fate as India, but in the nation and state building process it has not been successful, if after gaining independence from Britain through armed war, the people of this country have not achieved the necessary unity and alignment, similarly, other opportunities for nation building that were facilitated by the emergence of democracy in this country are also under the influence of social inequality. pluralism, discrimination, lack of rule of law, poverty and corruption have been placed and not extracted properly, pluralism which has provided the ground for peaceful living of different cultural, religious and ethnic species in India and paved the way for nation building, but in Afghanistan due to the low diversification capacity Among the people, this principle has not helped the process of nation-building effectively, the political structure that has had a direct impact on the nation-state-building process of India; But in Afghanistan, even though there are no powerful and national parties and this country has not experienced a pluralistic political structure; The role of this criterion in nation and state building has not been effective.

- In order to build a national identity and a stable government in Afghanistan, it is necessary to create national movements spontaneously from the strata and elites of the country. After understanding the important issues such as national identity and interests, the necessity of unity and interdependence, ensuring equality and social justice, like the country of India, to create a pluralistic, democratic and inclusive political system in accordance with national and international values. The primary step of this action should be awareness, national mobilization and approval of the constitution to provide the basis for permanent peace and progress in this country.



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