

# An assessment of the performance of the political parties in Afghanistan

*Uma avaliação do desempenho dos partidos políticos no Afeganistão*

*Una evaluación del desempeño de los partidos políticos en Afganistán*

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## Abstract

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The formation of political parties in Afghanistan has been based on the traditional ethnic and tribal structure. In Afghanistan, the influence of parties in institutionalizing and consolidating democracy has been somewhat weak. By referring to the memory of the history of Afghanistan, we find that this country has been full of ethnic and religious tensions and conflicts. This research aims to assess the historical trajectory and contemporary performance of political parties in Afghanistan. Specifically, it seeks to analyze the evolution of political party formation since 1947, categorizing it into four distinct regimes: the Kings regime, Communism regime, Jahadi parties, and the democracy regime. The study endeavors to understand the dynamics of political party proliferation during the democracy regime. The research employs a purposive sampling technique to select participants, consisting of 21 members from various political parties, 12 University Professors with expertise in political science, and 6 Political experts affiliated with media houses. A questionnaire was distributed among these three distinct categories to gather comprehensive insights into the historical context and contemporary landscape of political parties in Afghanistan. Through qualitative and quantitative analyses, the study aims to discern patterns, trends, and the overarching performance of political parties in the country.

**Keywords:** Afghanistan. Assessment. Political Parties. Performance. Government.

## Resumo

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A formação de partidos políticos no Afeganistão tem sido baseada na estrutura étnica e tribal tradicional. A influência dos partidos na institucionalização e consolidação da democracia tem sido um tanto fraca. De fato, ao nos referirmos à história do Afeganistão, descobrimos que este país tem sido marcado por tensões e conflitos étnicos e religiosos. Esta pesquisa objetiva avaliar a trajetória histórica e o desempenho contemporâneo dos partidos políticos no Afeganistão. Especificamente, busca-se analisar a evolução da formação de partidos políticos desde 1947, categorizando-a em quatro regimes distintos: o regime dos reis, o regime comunista, os partidos jahadis e o regime democrático. O estudo se esforça para entender a dinâmica da proliferação de partidos políticos durante o regime democrático. A pesquisa empregou uma técnica de amostragem intencional para selecionar os participantes, consistindo de 21 membros de vários partidos políticos, 12 professores universitários com experiência em ciência política e 6 especialistas políticos afiliados a empresas de mídia. Um questionário foi aplicado entre esses participantes de três categorias distintas para reunir insights abrangentes sobre o contexto histórico e o cenário contemporâneo dos partidos políticos no Afeganistão. Por meio de análises qualitativas e quantitativas, o estudo visa discernir padrões, tendências e o desempenho geral dos partidos políticos no país.

**Palavras-chave:** Afeganistão. Avaliação. Partidos políticos. Desempenho. Governo.

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## Resumen

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La formación de partidos políticos en Afganistán se ha basado en la estructura étnica y tribal tradicional. En Afganistán, la influencia de los partidos en la institucionalización y consolidación de la democracia ha sido algo débil. Al referirnos a la memoria de la historia de Afganistán, encontramos que este país ha estado lleno de tensiones y conflictos étnicos y religiosos. Esta investigación tiene como objetivo evaluar la trayectoria histórica y el desempeño contemporáneo de los partidos políticos en Afganistán. específicamente, busca analizar la evolución de la formación de partidos políticos desde 1947, categorizándolos en cuatro regímenes distintos: el régimen de los Reyes, el régimen comunista, los partidos jahadíes y el régimen democrático. El estudio se esfuerza por comprender la dinámica de la proliferación de partidos políticos durante el régimen democrático. La investigación emplea una técnica de muestreo intencional para seleccionar a los participantes, que consta de 21 miembros de varios partidos políticos, 12 profesores universitarios con experiencia en ciencias políticas y 6 expertos políticos afiliados a medios de comunicación. Se distribuyó un cuestionario entre estas tres categorías distintas para recopilar información integral sobre el contexto histórico y el panorama contemporáneo de los partidos políticos en Afganistán. A través de análisis cualitativos y cuantitativos, el estudio pretende discernir patrones, tendencias y el desempeño general de los partidos políticos en el país.

**Palabras clave:** Afganistán. Evaluación. Partidos Políticos. Desempeño. Gobierno.

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## 1. Introduction

Afghanistan, which recently achieved democracy for a short period from 2002 to 2021, political parties have a long history dating back to the early 20th century. Political parties have existed and been active in Afghanistan since.<sup>3</sup> During the reign of Zahir Shah in 1933-1944, political parties were officially included in the constitution and the parties were permitted to activity. According to the legal definition of this period, a political party was an organized group of people who gathered to gain political power. Under the Freedom of the Press Act of 1964, political parties in Afghanistan were given the legal green light to operate. There was a low level of educated class from three different political parties in the mid-1970s Afghanistan.

In Afghanistan, 2001 is a turning point for political parties. After this year, political parties have been able to act openly. It was precisely after these years that political parties started their activities legally. Despite many shortcomings, they became a reality in Afghanistan's politics after 2001. Contrary to popular belief, parties also had a following in rural areas, although formal organization there was at a low level. However, this does not mean that the parties' supporters have been lost. A number of parties, particularly those that are ideologically identifiable with their political historical currents (Islamists, leftists, ethnic nationalists), have proven to be relatively stable to varying degrees. In fact, parties and currents have proven to be

<sup>3</sup> <https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/download/article-file/3187043>

more stable than other forms of political organizations such as councils, jirgas, coalitions or civil society institutions involved in politics, which are sometimes more influential but mostly short-lived. The role and performance of political parties in Afghanistan, especially in the 2014 elections, had provided a stimulus for change in the parties, presenting more than a simple collectivity have a common goal. Changes in party behavior include greater access to educated urban Afghans through greater use of communication technologies, greater influence among the youth in general, greater alignment of parliaments with parties, cohesive voting blocs, more space for women, greater and earlier preparation for elections, and greater participation in the debate at the national level. Unfortunately, these changes were temporary and more opportunistic than strategic and not long-term (Larson, 2015). Although political parties and civil society of Afghanistan made several attempts to amend the election law but this attempt was unsuccessful. A new bill that combined the SNTV and the list of political parties was presented to the parliament in 2013 and contained a hybrid election system. The suggestion was ultimately rejected, although they predicted that any kind of change in the electoral system might make it more difficult for legislators to be re-elected. (Larson, 2015). According to Thomas, all the organized efforts of parties in Afghanistan have been to gain power. Political parties in Afghanistan were considered the biggest threat to democratization from the time they were formed until the Taliban regained power. Because the Afghan political system stems from the fact that the dominant forces still maintain armed militias. Basically, they should have involved themselves in the peaceful political competition of ideas and building their potential voters. As an often-used Afghan expression puts it, parties must become "truly national (Thomas, 2006). This article attempts to take systematic review on the evaluation of the regular functions of political parties after 2001 in Afghanistan. Also, trying to brief review on the formation of political parties in Afghanistan, political ideas and organization in elections and government formation, and the role of political parties in the country's legitimacy's political system.

## **2. Literature review**

I want to briefly describe the historical background and formation of political parties in Afghanistan. First -During the period of Habibullah Khan, the constitutionalists started their political activities under the title of libertarian tendency and rejection of absolute tyranny. In this period, two important political parties were formed who wanted constitutionalism: "Jamiat Milli

Seri" and "Seri Darbar Party". Consequence and their activities in the intellectual and political history of Afghanistan are called "first constitutionalism" and "second constitutionalism".

Also the other two constitutionalist parties are "Watan" and "Nadai Khalq", each of which emerged during Zahir Shah's reign. "By 1950 Watan" party and "Nedai Khalq" party were two political-social process that came under the title of party for the first time in Afghanistan and started their activities. After the establishment of these parties that many political parties were formed in Afghanistan. From parties related to political ideologies to national and nationalist parties; from religious movements to jihadist parties and movements that entered the field of Afghan politics in the 1980s and 1990s. These three political parties were short-lived and in 1952, during the last years of Shah Mahmood Khan's presidency, they were suppressed and some of their leaders were imprisoned, in this period the nature of regime was kingly (Dawlatabadi, 1992).

Second Left wing parties and political process: The People's Democratic Party was led by Noor Mohammad Turki in (1967-1979) and later by Hafizullah Amin (1979) and then by Seyyed Mohammad Gulabzoi (1979-1990). This party was made up of non-elite Pashtuns. The leaders of this leadership party wanted to be in charge of the leadership of the masses, they started their activities to create political, economic and social changes. But they did not reach to their goals.

By 1967, this political party was divided into Groups. The first group was named Khalq lead by Noor Mohammad Traki and Parcham branch was under the leadership of Babrak Carlmal (Andishmand, 2004).

In the spring of 1967, the Karmal wing with the publication of a magazine called parcham officially announced the division and split of the People's Party. After that, the Noor Mahammad Tarki wing named Khalki and the Carmel wing named Parchami became famous. The two parties, Kalq party and Parcham party, which each considered themselves the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, they continued their party and political activities (Touhid; Noory, 2016).

New Democratic Party (Shole-e Javid): Another leftist party that emerged in 1968 was the New Democratic Party. This party was founded by Dr. Abdur Rahim Mahmoudi, later known as Shole-e Javid. Unlike the two factions of Khalq and Pracham who followed Moscow's line. Shole-e Javid followed From Marxist ideas Beijing Line (China). From the New Democratic Party or Shole-e Javid, many groups branched out, including we can mention the following: Jafakshan Party, Revolutionary Group of the People of Afghanistan, People's Liberation

Organization, Afghanistan (Sama), Javid Group, new Watan Prastan Movement, Liberation Organization (Sarkha), Pikar Organization of the struggle for saving Afghanistan, supporters of the revolutionary movement and several other organizations and groups (Farhang, 2010).

Third: ethnic nationalist parties and political process: Among these types of groups and political process in Afghanistan, some political parties with ethnic nationalist tendencies also emerged. Of course, the number of these factions is very large, for example, we can mention currents such as the Afghan Social Democratic Party, the Union of Pashtunistan, and the National Movement of the New Generation of Hazare and Setam Milli.

Fourth: Islamist political parties: Islamist political parties and factions emerged in response to the influence and spread of communist ideas and the formation of left groups and parties in Afghanistan. But they were also influenced by political movements and trends in the Islamic world, such as the Muslim Brotherhood (Ekhwanoll Mulimen). These groups and factions belonged to two major religious groups, Sunni and Shia. Here, the most important Islamist groups and factions will be discussed.

### ***2.1. Jamiat isalmi political party***

The Islamic Jamiat of Afghanistan is one of the most powerful political parties in Afghanistan and is from the Tajik nation, which was inspired by the Egyptian Ekhwanul Moslimen in 1957 and started its activities under the leadership of Burhanuddin Rabbani. This party, which has had a direct impact on the lives of Afghan people in the contemporary history of Afghanistan, and after the fall of Najibullah's government, was recognized as the ruler of Afghanistan in international forums.

This party wants to establish a parliamentary system based on Islamic demands and dismantle the presidential system in Afghanistan. Apart from Panjshir, Badakhshan, Parwan, Takhar, Jawzjan, Samangan and Balkh, Jamiat Islami Afghanistan has traditionally had a very strong influence in the provinces of Herat, Kandahar, Helmand, Badghis and Ghor and has many members in these areas. Political, cultural, economic, military and religious personalities were and are among the members of this party. The leader and important members of this party are: Burhanuddin Rabbani, Ahmad Shah Massoud, Mohammad Qasim Fahim, Abdullah Abdullah,

Salahuddin Rabbani, Ahmad Zia Massoud, Atta Mohammad Noor, Mohammad Ismail Khan, Yunus Qanoni Mohiuddin Mahdi.<sup>4</sup>

## ***2.2. Hizb-e-Islami***

Hizb-e-Islami is a political-military organization of the Pashtun people in Afghanistan, which was founded in 1977 under the leadership of Golbedin Hekmatyar, and two years later, it was divided into two main branches by the split of some members of the party led by Yunus Khalis. The main party became known as Hizb-e-Islami Golbedin Hekmatyar and the branched factions under the leadership of Yunus Khalis was also known as Hizb-e-Islami Khalis.

Hizb-e-Islami Golbedin Hekmatyar was one of the most powerful organizations of the Afghan Mujahideen during the Soviet war in Afghanistan and received a lot of aid through Pakistan from the United States, Saudi Arabia, and other anti-Soviet countries. With the victory of the Mujahideen and the fall of the communist government of Afghanistan in the spring of 1371, the forces of this party occupied parts of the city of Kabul.<sup>5</sup>

## ***2.3. Wahdat Political party:***

This party was formed in the summer of 1989 from the combination of most Afghan Shia jihadist groups in Hazaristan. Abdul Ali Mazari, the most famous secretary general of this party, after the overthrow of Najibullah's government in 1992, was able to strengthen the position of this party as the strongest Shia party by entering Kabul and settling in the Shiite areas, Yekavalengi, 1993. This party had representatives from Shiite regions, especially Hazaristan, in the parliament and the government before the Taliban. Also, one of the two vice presidents of Afghanistan was elected from the Islamic Unity Party in the previous regime. Sarwar Danesh, Mohammad Karim Khalili and Mohammad Mohaghegh are famous leaders of this party (Dawlatabadi, 1992).

## ***2.4. Hizb-e Harkat Islami:***

The Harkat Islami political Party is one of the Shiite parties of the Mujahideen of Afghanistan. This party was formed in April 1357 by a group of Afghan Shia clerics living in the seminary of Qom under the leadership of the late Ayatollah Asif Mohseni to fight against the then government of Afghanistan. The Islamic movement was the only important flow of the Shia

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<sup>4</sup> <http://afghandata.org:8080/jspui/handle/azu/5779>

<sup>5</sup> <https://www.sid.ir/paper/1011801/en>

Mujahideen of Afghanistan that refused to join the Afghan Islamic Unity Party of the Hazaras. The Harakt Islami political Party was a collection of small groups such as: Defense of the Mihrab, Nation, Shiism, and Koran and Atrat, militant clergy, Freedom Organization, Call of Justice. It was led by Ayatollah Asif Mohseni, then Seyyed Mohammad Ali Javed, the head of the Central Council, and Shahid Gholamhasan Kashfi was responsible, Seyed Hossein Anuri and Seyed Asadullah Masrour were the commanders of this party (Khawati, 2011). Finally, many political parties started their activities in Afghanistan. Political Parties such as the Mahaz Milli Afghanistan, Etedhad Milli Afghanistan, Harakat Inqilab Islami Afghaistan and Jibhai Nijat Milli Afghanistan ec...

### ***2.5. Jonbish Milli political***

The Jonbish Milli political party was founded in 1992 under the leadership of Abdul Rashid Dostum. This political-military organization, which is usually called the movement in Afghanistan, is mostly composed of Uzbeks and Turkmens ethnics from northern part of Afghanistan and has been active for many years. This party controlled large parts of northern Afghanistan, centered on Mazar-e-Sharif. In the spring of 1992, the Jonbish Milli forces captured Mazar-e-Sharif, and quail after that, together with other Mujahideen groups, they entered Kabul, overthrew the government of Dr. Najibullah, and captured the Kabul airport. After that, the Mujahideen military groups occupied each parts of Kabul city and engaged in civil wars with each other (Andishmand, 2004).

### **3. Objective of the study**

The main purpose of this research is to find out the performance of political parties in Afghanistan, and we also want to know the role of political parties in realizing democracy and participation in elections after 2004 to 2019.

1. To examine the general assessment of the performance of political parties among respondents.
2. To know the main performance of political parties in Afghanistan.
3. To know the satisfaction and dissatisfaction with the performance of political parties in Afghanistan.

#### ***3.1. Research questions***

1. What was the basis for the formation of political parties in Afghanistan?

2. Have the performance of political parties in Afghanistan contributed to Afghanistan's political unity and stability?
3. What was the reason that the political parties could not become president in the four rounds of Afghanistan's presidential elections?

#### **4. Hypostasis**

According to the functioning and contribution of the parties in the political and social arena, it can be said that the parties are capable of carrying out this activity and can work side by side with the government to develop political, social and cultural affairs and improve the country's situation, but these are still they could not perform their role properly. It is assumed that due to some problems and limitations such as: lack of suitable context, lack of role by the society in this field and the type of attitudes towards this organization, their role is weak.

#### **5. Methodology**

This article has been structured mainly with combination of quantitative and qualitative components .The questionnaire method was used to obtain the data required for this research. The questionnaire of this research was prepared in the Likert format and the questionnaire was purposefully distributed among 38 respondents, 21 of respondents were members of political parties, such as Jamiat Islami political party, Wahadat Political party, Harakat Islami Party, Democratic People's Party of Afghanistan, 12 of respondents were university professors, and 6 of respondents were experts in political issues. The questionnaire was distributed to the respondents through Google Form. The statistical population of this research consisted mostly of people who were between 25 and 50 years old. Of course, it should be noted that ten percent of the respondents of this research were women.

#### **6. Analysis and discussions**

The study shows that 84% of the respondents agreed with activating and mobilizing citizens to participate in political decisions. Similarly, in terms of activation and mobilization of participation to participate in political decisions, almost 50% were just good. Considering that many political parties have emerged in the last twenty years, but with their intervention in power and governance, the majority of people are still not satisfied with the performance of parties in the field of legitimizing the system. Similarly, the performance of political parties in the context of national integration, conflict management, and internal conflicts seems to be unsatisfied by



approximately 52 to 62 percent of people. In the same way, 52 respondents were not satisfied with the struggles of political parties for the sake of equality and the realization of democracy. Finally, the activities of the political parties did not try to create a democratic, logical, and legal environment and promote political ideas in cooperation with the government. According to Michel, the political party is founded in most cases on the principle of the majority and is always founded on the principle of the mass. The result has been presented in Table 1.

**Table 1:** Public performance of the political parties

<b>Factors</b>	<b>Scale</b>	<b>F</b>	<b>%</b>
Activating and mobilizing citizens to participate in political decisions.	Strongly agree	1	3
	Agree	32	84
	Neutral	3	8
	Disagree	1	3
	Strongly disagree	1	3
Balancing opposing demands and turning them into general policies	Very good	1	3
	good	20	52
	I don't know	2	5
	Bad	15	38
	Very bad	1	3
Legitimization of political systems	Strongly agree	2	2
	Agree	11	29
	Neutral	9	24
	Disagree	15	39
	Strongly disagree	1	3
National integration and cohesion	Very good	2	5
	good	9	24
	I don't know	2	5
	Bad	23	61
	Very bad	2	5
Conflict management	Strongly agree	0	0
	Agree	9	24
	Neutral	9	28
	Disagree	20	52
	Strongly disagree	0	0
Struggle for equality and brotherhood	Very good	2	5
	good	9	24
	I don't know	5	13
	Bad	20	53
	Very bad	2	5
Monitoring the government and clarifying	Very good	2	5
	good	4	10
	I don't know	20	52
	Bad	6	16
	Very bad	6	16
political environment for the masses	Very good	2	5
	good	11	29

	I don't know	4	11
	Bad	19	50
	Very bad	2	5
<b>Total</b>		38	100%

**Source:** interview, 2023

In addition, questions have been asked, "What is the most important specific performance of the political parties? Of course, some factors were present in the questions. The respondents stated the following: performance of political parties as intermediaries between people and government, 29 percent are very good; on the other hand, 45 percent have been evaluated as not good mediators. 81% of the respondents stated that the performance of political parties in the context of directing public opinion towards good governance was dependent on ethnic and tribal biases. The performance of trans-ethnic parties has not been. Similarly, they have acted ethnically in the arena of introducing electoral candidates. By confirming this issue, "according to Shafayi (2015), with the political developments in the last three to four decades of Afghanistan, the discussion of parties and groups that were founded by ethnic groups, ethnic thoughts, and acted ethnically is very wide-ranging." Finally, 79 percent of respondents seem to be satisfied with the way political parties criticize the performance of the government. The details are shown in the table below.

**Table 2: Specific performance of the political parties**

Factors	Scale	F	%
Intermediary between people and government	Very good mediator	10	26
	Neutral	11	29
	Not good mediator	17	45
Leading citizens' public opinion towards the government	Traditional norms	3	8
	Ethnic discrimination	31	81
	Religious trusts	1	3
	Democratic behavior	3	8
Criticism of the government	Agree	30	79
	Neutral	5	13
	Disagree	3	8
Introduce of electoral candidates	Fair competition	4	10
	Unfair competition	12	31
	Ethnic competition	22	56
	Democratic competition	1	3
<b>Total</b>		38	100%

**Source:** interview, 2023

The data shows that most of the respondents, 76%, are somewhat satisfied with the performance of political parties in Afghanistan. Only 21 percent are satisfied. For reasons such as believing that the performance of political parties is not in accordance with international standards, during the establishment of their parties, they have not considered trans-ethnic criteria and the interests of all people. The witness to this issue was clearly seen in the presidential and parliamentary elections. According to Thomas Johnson, the presidential election candidates did not have any significant support outside of their own ethnic and linguistic group. In the same way, the political parties have not been able to provide favorable opportunities for the political and social lives of the people in the last twenty years. Finally, 50% of the respondents stated that the performance of political parties has had less effect in the context of civic knowledge and public awareness. The details are shown in the table below.

**Table 3: performance of political parties in Afghanistan**

Factors	Scale	F	%
How satisfied are you with the performance of political parties in Afghanistan?	Satisfied	8	21
	Somewhat satisfied	29	76
	Dissatisfied	1	3
Was the performance of political parties according to the international standards of parties?	Agree	11	29
	Natural	6	16
	Disagree	21	55
Did the political parties use the opportunities for the benefit of the people during these twenty years?	More	6	16
	Partly	22	58
	Less	10	26
What was the effect of the performance of political parties on the civic knowledge and awareness of the people?	Never	0	0
	Very effective	2	5
	Effective	13	34
	Natural	1	3
	Less effective	19	50
<b>Total</b>		38	100%

Source: interview, 2023

## 7. Role of Afghan Political Parties in the Previous Presidential Elections

The first ever presidential election of Afghanistan which took place on October 9<sup>th</sup>, 2004 was a comprehensive election. With the support of international communities particularly United Nation Mission in Afghanistan this election was valuable and more than 70% of the eligible population of Afghanistan participated to the election. This election resulted to the presidency of Mr. Hamid Karzai an independent candidate of the process. Three other candidates of political

parties including Mr. Younus Qanoni, Mr. Mohammad Mohaqiq and General Abdul Rashid Dostum achieved second to fourth positions respectively.

Considering the election results, role of political parties seems to be important to the process of 2004 election. Although the independent candidate succeeded in this election but still more than 40% of votes were cast in favor of political parties. Since the two vice-presidents of Mr. Hamid Karzai were also representing political parties and specific ethnic groups; it can be claimed that political parties already had role in the successfulness of Mr. Hamid Karzai.

Ethnicity plays a major role in the politics of Afghanistan as a traditional society. Most of the political parties with traditional leaders represent ethnic-based politics of Afghanistan and a vast majority of their members also encompasses of the same ethnic group. Considering this, the second, third and fourth Political Parties Candidates of this election represented Tajiks, Hazaras and Uzbek ethnic groups.

Coming to the presidential election of August 20<sup>th</sup>, 2009 we are witness of decrease in the role of Political parties. More than 60% of the voters in this election voted for independent candidates and again one of the independent candidates (Mr. Hamid Karzai) won the election and became the president of Afghanistan. The second candidate who was representing a coalition of political parties achieved 30.5 % of the votes. Comparing to the election of 2004, although the role of political parties decreased still, they played a major role in the election process of 2009.

The 2014 presidential election of Afghanistan was different in many aspects. The participation of the eligible voters got decreased and was only 58% and in the first round of this election none of the candidates were able to achieve 50+ votes of the voters. In the first round of this election Mr. Abdullah Abdullah who was a candidate of the political parties; stood on the first position of the candidates and achieved 45% of the votes. In the second round of this election again an independent candidate with support of two vice-presidents who were representing political parties and ethnic groups achieved about 56.5 % of the votes. Looking to the data it could be concluded that political parties representing traditional society of Afghanistan based on ethnic politics played considerable role in the results of the election.

The 2019<sup>th</sup> presidential election of Afghanistan which finally resulted to the political crises in this country shows the increase in the role of political parties in the election process. About 45% of the voters were announced to be voted for the representatives of the political

parties. Although, the result was announced for the favor of an independent candidate but this result was not accepted and validated by the national and international supervision organizations.

Overall, looking to the results of the four presidential elections of Afghanistan; the important and major role of the political parties can be explored. Political parties representing traditional society of Afghanistan with ethnic based characteristics of Afghan politics have played major role in the results of the four different elections. Although this role play varies in different elections; but still a major proportion of the voters received awareness, got mobilized and took participation due to political activities of the political parties. Although none of these elections resulted to the victory of dependent candidates to the political parties; but still the role of vice-presidents who were representing the political parties and ethnic groups in Afghanistan could not be ignored. Taking in account the traditional society of Afghanistan; it could be claimed that traditional political parties and traditional political leaders played major role in the past four presidential elections of Afghanistan in an ethnic based political atmosphere of Afghanistan. Finally, according to Afghanistan's election law, both men and women who were above the age of 18 were eligible to vote. Voting is not mandatory in Afghan law and is optional. In these four rounds of Afghan elections, political parties had the right to campaign freely, but the campaign expenses had to be prepared by the political parties themselves.

**Table 4:** Summary of the results of the Afghan presidential election on 2004

Factors	Percent	Votes
Independent candidate	55,4%	4,443,029
Party's candidate (Afghanistan Nawen)	16,3%	1,306,503
Party's candidate( Wahdat Islami Mardom Afghanistan)	11,7%	935,325
Party's candidate (Jonbish Milli Islami Afghanistan)	10,0%	804,861
Party's candidate (Congra Milli Afghanistan)	1,4%	110,160
Independent candidate	1,1%	91,415
Party's candidate( Hambastagy Milli Afghanistan)	1,0%	80,081
Party's candidate( Etehad Islami Afghanistan)	0,8%	60,199
Independent candidate	0,4%	30,201
Independent candidate	0,3%	26,224
Party's Candidate (Jibha Milli Afghanistan)	0,3%	24,232
Independent candidate	0,3%	24,057
Party's candidate (Jamiat Islami Afghanistan)	0,2%	19728
Independent candidate	0,2%	18082
Independent candidate	0,2%	16054
Independent	0,2%	14242
Independent candidate	0,1%	11770
Independent candidate	0,1%	8,373
Total votes		8128940

Correct votes				8,024,536	
Invalid votes				104,404	
<b>Summary of the results of the Afghan presidential election on 20 august 2009</b>					
Independent candidate	49,67		2,283,907		
Party's candidate ( <u>Jibha Milli Afghanistan</u> )	30,59		2,406,242		
Independent candidate	10,46		481,072		
Independent candidate	2,94		135,106		
Independent candidate	1,03		47,511		
Party's Candidate ( <u>Jonbish Solh Afghanistan</u> )	0,64		29,648		
Independent candidate	0,47		21,512		
Independent candidate	0,43		19,997		
Independent candidate	0,41		18,746		
Independent candidate	0,40		18,248		
Party's Candidate ( <u>Congra Milli Afghanistan</u> )	0,34		15,462		
Independent candidate	0,31		14,273		
Independent candidate	0,29		13,489		
Independent candidate	0,23		10,687		
Party's Candidate ( <u>Azadagan Afghanistan</u> )	0,22		10,255		
Independent candidate	0,20		9,286		
Independent candidate	0,16		7,197		
Party's Candidate ( <u>Adalat wa Tarqi Afghaistan</u> )	0,14		6,284		
Independent candidate	0,13		6,190		
Independent candidate	0,11		6,043		
Independent candidate	0,10		4,550		
Independent candidate	0,10		4,528		
Independent candidate	0,10		4,472		
Independent candidate	0,08		3,518		
Independent candidate	0,07		3,221		
Independent candidate	0,07		3,180		
Independent candidate	0,07		2,991		
Party's Candidate ( <u>Congra Milli Afghanistan</u> )	0,05		2,457		
Independent candidate	0,05		2,434		
Party's Candidate ( <u>Mahaz Milli Afghaistan</u> )	0,05		2,346		
Independent candidate	0,05		2,198		
Independent candidate	0,04		1,679		
Total votes				4,823,090	
Corrects votes				4,597,727	
Invalid votes				225,363	
<b>Summary of the results of the Afghan presidential election 2014</b>					
Second round		First round		Party	Candidate
Percentage	votes				
43,56%	3,461,639	45%	3,973,141	Jamiat Islami Afghanistan	Party's candidate
56,44%	4,485,888	31,56%	3,084,547	Independent candidate	Independent
		11,37%	750,997	Independent candidate	Independent
		7,04%	565,207	Independent candidate	Independent

	2,75%	181,828	Independent candidate	Independent
	1,75%	103,636	Independent candidate	Independent
	0,46%	30,685	Independent candidate	Independent
	0,23	15,506	Independent candidate	Independent
Total votes		12 Million votes		100%
100%		7,180,849	Votes used	
55%		6,604,546	Correct votes	
3%		576,303	Void votes	
42%		5 Millions	The number of non-voters	

**Source:** Independent Election Commission (Afghanistan)

## 8. Conclusions

As a result, it can be said that there are many arguments about the emergence of political parties in Afghanistan. Regarding the formation of political parties in Afghanistan, there are many factors, including two major factors that played a role in the formation of political parties in Afghanistan. One is an external factor and the other is an internal factor. Of course, only the mentioned factors did not play a role in the formation of political parties in Afghanistan. Rather, there were other factors in the formation of political parties in Afghanistan. Ethnicity is one of the other elements in the formation of political parties in Afghanistan. The effects of this element can be traced from the very beginning of the parties. Likewise, it was clearly seen in the formation of political parties that were established after 2004. The performance of political parties in Afghanistan has been more ethnic since the beginning of the formation of political parties until after 2020-2004. Trans-ethnic and inclusive parties that include all the ethnic groups of Afghanistan have been less. There are many proofs and evidence about this kind of political party performance in Afghanistan. One of the main evidence of this claim is the four rounds of Afghanistan's elections. All political parties have performed ethnically from the 2004 elections to the 2019 elections. Another important point is that due to the number of political parties in Afghanistan, none of the political parties in Afghanistan alone could win the elections. This multiplicity of political parties caused the dispersion of people's votes. They provided the ground for the independent candidate to win the election. Most of the respondents confirmed that the performance of political parties in the elections was somewhat weaker. Also, political parties have not unitedly played the role of the opposition after the defeat in the elections.

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