

TALLINN UNIVERSITY
INSTITUTE OF POLITICAL SCIENCE AND GOVERNANCE
European Studies Master Programme

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**POST TALIBAN AFGHANISTAN
VIEWS OF AFGHAN ELITES IN EUROPE
ABOUT EU-AFGHANISTAN**

Master Thesis (20 CP)

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ABSTRACT

This master's thesis is a qualitative grounded theoretical method of views of Afghan elites in Europe about policies and activities of the European Union in Afghanistan.

I collected a data of this study through semi-structured interviews with 40 Afghans (33 male and 7 female) in different European countries in 2008. The participants are educated and are experts who have rich experiences in different fields about Afghanistan. Many of them hold high positions such as ministers, governors, leaders of political parties, diplomats, professors, researchers, journalists and writers in Afghanistan.

The aim of this study is to find out what the Afghan elites in Europe think about EU policy and activities in Afghanistan and how they see Post Taliban Afghanistan? And what are their suggestions for policy makers?

In fact, the result of this study focuses on the EU who has been the second biggest supporter of Afghanistan. Since the collapse of the Taliban Regime in 2001, EU and the rest of the international community have been helping Afghanistan. Since then, they have done a lot of work concerning the reconstruction of Afghanistan. Most of the successful achievements are in media, communication, transportation and education. Afghan people mostly mistrust the government and the NGOs, because of the high corruption among them.

Apparently, Afghanistan has encountered serious challenges. EU and the rest of the international community failed in the war against terrorism, counter-narcotics, stability and good governance. Taliban and Al-Qaeda groups have reorganized and returned to battlegrounds. Afghanistan has been suffering from low security, high corruption, lack of good governance and the rule of law and order. As a result, poverty and unemployment rate become high as the reconstruction process has been slow and unfair. Moreover, fundamentalism has increased. Thus Afghans have been worried about their future and they have expected that EU and the rest of the international community should renew their strategy in Afghanistan and assist Afghan people to solve current problems.

Keywords: Qualitative Research, Grounded Theory, Afghan Elite, EU, Afghanistan

Acknowledgment

I would like to thank my supervisor **Professor Dr. Jyrki Käkönen** for his support and guidance during the process of this study. It is my great honour to be his student.

And I thank all the participants of this research, particularly the following ladies and gentlemen for their great aid in finding the contact addresses of other Afghans for interviews: Mr. Huasain Warasy from Belgium, Mr. Hamid Obaidi from Germany, Mr. Hamza Vaezi from Norway, Mr. Humayoun Tach from England, Mr. Asadulla Keshtmand from England, Mr. Hemmat Faryabi from Netherlands, Mrs. Fereshta Hazarati from Sweden, and Mr. Tahir Sharan from England. Certainly without their help it has not been possible to find the educated Afghan women and men for their participation in this research in various European countries within a short period of time.

Finally, I would like to express my gratitude to my professors in both University of Tallinn and University Tampere.

Spring 2009

Hamed Shafae

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CHAPTER ONE

1 Introduction

In fact, after the collapse of the Taliban Regime in 2001, a new period has started in the history of Afghanistan. Thus Afghan people have expected to reach peace, security, justice and a better life. Obviously, about 40 countries and many international organizations including some superpowers such as the USA, EU, Japan, UN, World Bank have been involved in problems of Afghanistan. It seems that people become interested in how Post Taliban Afghanistan functions. It has been controversial that what the international community has done there. What features have changed? And why troops still needed to be sent to Afghanistan?

Afghanistan is a land-locked country situated at the cross-roads between Central and South Asia. It has common borders with Pakistan, Iran, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and China. Afghanistan as a strategic country is a bridge which connects Central Asia to South East Asia and Middle East to China. Afghanistan's 31 million populations are rich with variety of languages and diverse ethnic groups. Its bigger ethnic groups are *Pashtuns* in the south and east, *Tajiks* in the north and west, *Hazaras* in the centre, *Uzbeks* and *Turkmen* in the north.

Afghanistan served as a buffer between the British and Russian empires until she won independence from national British control in 1919. A brief experiment of democracy ended in a 1973 coup and a 1978 Communist counter-coup (US- Department of State 2008).

The invasion of Afghanistan by the Soviet Union Army in 1979 was followed by a decade of clashes between the Soviet troops and Afghan Islamic freedom fighters "the *Mujahedin*". Western bloc with some of the Islamic countries started to support Islamic groups against Afghan government and the Soviet Union. In fact, Afghanistan was the last battleground of the Cold War. As a result, about five million Afghans fled their country and mostly resettled in Pakistan and Iran. Actually, after ten years of war, the Soviet Union lost and left Afghanistan in 1989. After the withdrawal of the Soviet Army and the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, the Afghan Communist Government ruled by the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, fell in April 1992. This was the end of the 14- years- last Cold War battleground from 1978 to 1992 (UN-Security Council 2006, 1). The second period of the conflict started with victory of Islamic radical groups

"Mujahedin", who fought against Soviet Union Army and the Afghan Government. They immediately disagreed on sharing power and commenced to fight against each other. The bloody civil war among Mujahedin factions, with the intervention of Afghanistan's neighbours continued from April 1992 until September 1996. In 1994, Taliban came from Pakistan and controlled the city of *Kandahar*. Taliban a group of Islamic fundamentalists and the product of a network of religious schools, assisted in Pakistan, overthrew government of President Rabbani and took Kabul on 26 September, 1996. Osama Bin Laden, the leader of Al-Qaeda Organization returned from Sudan to Afghanistan in 1996. Bin Laden developed a close relationship with Taliban and supported them against Afghan Mujahedin. (UN Security Council 2006, 2.) This was the beginning of the third period of war and destructions in which Taliban and the Mujahedin have caused as a result of conflicts with each other. Finally Taliban succeeded to rule on 90% of Afghanistan, and only 10% were under the control of Mujahedin until the collapse of Taliban Regime in October 2001 (UN-Security Council 2006, 1-2.) During the period of Taliban Regime, from 1996 to 2001, fighting continued with other Islamic groups "*The Northern Alliance*" in northern part of Afghanistan. Taliban had the closest relationship with Pakistan (Rashid Ahmed 2000,52). Taliban ruled based on the Islamic law "*Sharia*" with their extreme interpretation of Islam (Rashid Ahmed 2000,141-166). They have violated human rights seriously, particularly the rights of ethnic and religious minorities, women and children. Women were banned from attending school and working outside their home. Minorities and children were suffering. ((Rashid Ahmed 2000, 98-132.) Dangerously under Taliban, Afghanistan became a safe shelter for international terrorist groups, especially the centre of Al-Qaeda. After the end of the Cold War, Afghanistan was completely neglected by the rest of the world. During the over twenty years, people of Afghanistan have faced violence, lawlessness, torture, killing, rape, expulsions, displacement, looting and other problems (Barnett Rubin 2006, 1). After the terrorist attacks on 11 September, the rest of the world has understood who are ruling Afghanistan and how dangerous it can be to the world.

The United States accused the Taliban government of harbouring Osama Bin Laden and Al-Qaeda, who Washington blamed for a number of terrorist attacks. About a month after the September 11 attack, an American-led coalition drove out the Taliban government. Since then, a new democratic period has been starting in Afghanistan. After the fall of the Taliban Regime, the EU and the rest of the international community have been in Afghanistan to offer their assistance to Afghan people. EU member states have provided troops under the United Nations and leadership of NATO, humanitarian aids and financial assistance for reconstruction of Afghanistan. In December 2001, Afghan factions meeting held in Bonn under the UN by the support of the EU and the US. They agreed on a

transitional process leading to elections for a ‘broad-based multi-ethnic and fully representative government. The Bonn Agreement was a road map for Afghanistan. The UN-sponsored Bonn Conference established a process for political reconstruction that included the adoption of a new constitution and a presidential election in 2004, and National Assembly elections in 2005 (US Department of State 2008.) On 16 November 2005, the EU and Afghanistan adopted a Joint Declaration, which moved both sides to partnership and close cooperation. According to the Joint Declaration, EU supports Afghanistan for a long period, which includes the aid to policies and economy, governance; security sector and justice sector reforms; counter-narcotics; development; human rights, civil society and refugee repatriation; education and culture (EU⁵ 2008).

During the past seven years, a lot have been achieved, but Afghanistan is still facing serious problems. War is going on. Taliban and Al-Qaeda have reorganized themselves and returned to battlefields. In addition, the production of narcotics has increased. Government of Afghanistan is suffering from high corruption and low incapacity. Billions of dollars have pledged to help rebuilding of Afghanistan, but there are still problems. Afghan people remain poor and the gap between the rich and the poor has been widened. According to the report of the Human Rights Council of the United Nations (2008, 5), Afghanistan is one of the poorest countries in the world, with a poverty rate of 42 per cent and another 20 percent of Afghans are situated slightly above the poverty line, indicating a high level of vulnerability.

1.1 Diaspora Afghans

The role of Diaspora Afghan elite during the three past decades in Afghanistan has been important. Problems of Afghanistan have been linked regionally and internationally. After the invasion of Afghanistan by the Soviet Union, the two West and East blocs including neighbours of Afghanistan were involved in the conflicts. Millions of Afghans left Afghanistan. Western countries with Islamic countries together mobilized these refugees to fight against the Soviet Union. Among these Afghan refugees, the role of elite has been important.

Since beginning of the conflicts in Afghanistan, Afghan refugees have been continuously fleeing to western countries. Hundreds of thousands of Afghan refugees came to Europe, North-America,

Canada, New Zealand and Australia. Most of them belong to the wealthy, urban, educated Afghan elite and middle class, especially from the capital Kabul. Most of the richest Afghans sought refuge in Canada and the USA, and the middle class settled in Europe. Many of them were government employees (Boesen 1990, 160; Centlivres-Demont 2000, 153, 157; Gehrig 1999, 184). I couldn't find the detailed information about the exact number of Afghans who are living in Europe. But according to the participants' interviews, there are around 300000 to 500000 Afghans in Europe and among them are the most educated and expert Afghans. According to research of Marije Braakman (2005,15) between 1994 and 2004, 238 thousands of Afghan people applied for asylum in industrialized countries. Around 50 thousand of them fled to Germany, followed by 36 thousand who sought for asylum in Netherlands. The other important destinations were the U.K., Austria, Hungary and Denmark. However exact figures about the number of Afghans in Western countries are almost impossible to find, one of the reasons is that many of them obtained nationality in the new country of residence.

Afghan elites have been active in Europe and they have been leading Afghan communities in different countries mainly through media, NGOs and mosques. There are also hundreds of Afghan associations, and online websites. Many of them stated that they have been in contact with officials in Europe and they have also travelled to Afghanistan. They publish their articles in the internet and they can contact with Afghans in Afghanistan benefiting from the communication facilities of the internet.

After the fall of the Taliban, Diaspora Afghan elites met in Bonn, Germany and agreed upon political transition starting with Interim Authority (AIA) on 22 December 2001. There is not sufficient information about how many Diaspora Afghan elites have returned to their country, but according to the participants of this research, many of Diaspora Afghan have returned to Afghanistan and currently are active in politics and economy. For instance, some of the top politicians including President Hamid Karzai and many of his cabinet members returned from exile to Afghanistan. Many of those who returned have established private businesses and some of them succeeded in telecommunication, bank, university, and airlines etc.

The increased involvement of the Diaspora Afghans in their country has undoubtedly been stimulated by the international attention, their role in reconstruction projects, in the areas of education, healthcare, science, women rights, humanitarian relief, transportation, energy and water provision are important. It has been possible to mobilize the financial and political resources of

national and international donors, as well as actors such as NGOs, and at the same time to create synergies with the projects of Diaspora.(Bauralina and Bommès *et al*, 2006, 8). According to Hanafi (2006, 3-16) Afghans in Diaspora, primarily sent money to their country, which is very important in development of Afghanistan.

Other important thing is the development of communication in Afghanistan. Internet, mobile phones etc. which has connected people together. Hundreds of Afghans from outside Afghanistan have established their online websites and share their ideas with other Afghans inside their country.

Afghans elites in Europe can play an important role in Europe for reconstruction, democratization and stability of Afghanistan. They have good education in their own country and Europe. They have already integrated in the European society. They have seen Europe and they are a part of the European society. Their home is Europe and the Europeans can trust them more than other Afghans who are not living in Europe. They are good human resources for European Union and its member states. One of the main aims of EU in Afghanistan is security of Europe. Thus, the role of the Afghan elites is important in both Europe and in their origin country, Afghanistan.

CHAPTER TWO

2 The European Union Foreign Policy in Afghanistan

2.1 Introduction

EU is in Afghanistan for helping Afghan people and Afghan Government to fight against common threats such as terrorism, drug trafficking and other challenges.

EU and its member states have been strong supporters of Afghanistan since the collapse of the Taliban Regime. EU has been helping Afghanistan in state-building, democratization, good governance, reconstruction, human rights and economic development.

2.2 Relationship and partnership of EU with Afghanistan

EU is in Afghanistan for security of its citizens to fight against organized crimes such as terrorism, drug trafficking. After the 9/11 attacks on the US and the Madrid and the London's terrorist attacks, EU-member states with the rest of the western countries, feel threats from outside of their territories. One of those dangerous places for the west has been Afghanistan, which has been a safe home for Al-Qaeda and many other Islamic fundamentalist groups such as Taliban.

According to EU, over 90% of drugs in Europe originally come from Afghanistan. Also every year many illegal refugees come from Afghanistan to Europe, which is linked to human trafficking and organized crimes. Significantly, the security of EU is connected to the security and stability of Afghanistan; therefore, EU is in Afghanistan to fight against organized crimes and help people and Government of Afghanistan to reach peace, and stability. Thus, building friendship with Afghanistan through humanitarian aids, reconstruction, exchange of culture, sharing democratic

values are important. One of the aims of EU is democratization of Afghanistan to share the same values in order to stabilize Afghanistan.

Western countries have learnt that the negligence of Afghanistan after the end of the Cold War was a big mistake. It became a safe home for the criminals such as international terrorism and international mafia. It seems that EU with the rest of the international community stay in Afghanistan until they solve problems.

2.2.1 EU- Afghanistan Joint Declaration

On 16 November 2005, EU and Afghanistan adopted a Joint Declaration, which moved both sides to partnership and closely cooperation. Joint Declaration guides policy of EU in Afghanistan and has planned for the interests of both sides. According to the Joint Declaration, Afghanistan needs support to have a free, democratic, stable, accountable, secure country and EU wants to help it based on European values and interests. One of the main interests of EU is security, especially fighting against terrorism, drugs, and illegal immigration. Moreover, the Joint Declaration includes support to political and economic governance, security sector, reform and justice sector reform; counter-narcotics; development, human rights, civil society and refugee repatriation, education and culture. EU and Afghanistan also established a regular political dialogue, with annual meetings at Ministerial level and reaffirmed the EU long-term commitment to Afghanistan. On 30 January 2006, Council of the European Union adopted conclusions welcoming the launch of the Afghanistan Compact on the basis of partnership. (EU ³, 2008.)

2.2.2 The Financial Aid

On the basis of the agreements of the international conferences for Afghanistan, EU and its member states collectively accounted for about 30% of the \$12.5 billion in grants pledged by the international community for Afghan reconstruction. The European Community pledged a further \$2.4 billion for reconstruction assistance to Afghanistan over the coming years (EU ², 2007).

2.2.3 Successful Achievements

European Union and its member states have played a leading role in helping Afghanistan. Many of international conferences for Afghanistan have been held in Europe such as Bonn Conference (2001), Berlin Conference (2004) London Conference (2006), Rome Conference (2007), NATO Conference in Bucharest (2008) Paris Conference (2008) and the Hague Conference (2009). The Bonn Agreements which was the first and the most important conference intended to put in a place a broad-based, multi-ethnic government in Afghanistan. The Bonn Agreements have successfully been implemented by the support and cooperation of the international community.

Since 2001, many important goals have been achieved. The first and the most priority for Afghanistan was state building, because during almost three decades of wars the infrastructure of Afghanistan has been destroyed. Based on Bonn Agreement, the following important plans have been achieved: Adoption of the new constitution in January 2004, presidential elections in October 2004, parliamentary and provincial elections in September 2005 and the inauguration of the new National Assembly in December 2005 (EU⁴, 2008.)

According to the EU report about Afghanistan, at least the following progresses have been achieved in reconstruction, for example, in 2001 only 7% of Afghans had access to primary health care, but now it is close to 80%. During the Taliban Regime, women and girls were not allowed to study and for the boys education system was very low, but now it is functioning well and without discrimination. And over six million Afghan girls and boys are studying. Transport infrastructure has improved with 84% (2,818 km) of the ring road network open to traffic with 59% (1,983km) paved. Afghan refugees were the largest refugee groups in the world, after the collapse of the Taliban Regime hundreds of thousands of Afghans have returned home. Afghan people had democratic presidential and parliamentary elections for the first time. (EU⁵, 2008.)

2.2.4 Security Policy of EU in Afghanistan

Since 1993 under the Maastricht Treaty, EU Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) has been developed because of new challenges. EU plans for promotion and maintenance of stability around the world; therefore, security and defense become an important aspect of the CFSP (EU ⁶, 2008.)

The 9/11 terrorist attack on the US and the terrorist attacks in 2004 and 2005 in Madrid and London brought security to the top of the political agenda of EU and its member states. EU has identified growing security challenges from outside of its territory in the form of international crimes such as terrorism, drug trafficking, and illegal immigration. According to Rees Wyn, as a response to security challenges, EU made the policy in the form of judicial and police cooperation as well as creation of common frontiers. EU also cooperates with the third world countries to fight for these challenges (Wyn 1995, 2006). Thus Afghanistan becomes one of those countries that EU deals with in regard to the security issue. Both of the EU second pillar (CFSP) and the third pillar (PJCC) are working on security in Afghanistan. They train Afghan governmental staff such as police officers and judges to be able to fight against terrorists, drugs and mafia, corruption and other crimes.

One of the serious challenges of Afghanistan is increasing of the corruption of the Afghan government which makes all the development process including: security, rule of law, reconstruction and stability plans slow. Therefore; strategies of counter- narcotics, fighting against terrorism have not succeeded yet.

On 12 February 2007, the EU Council agreed on a mission to Afghanistan in the field of policies with linkages to the wider rule of law. And this mission will be under the European Defense and Security Policy. This shows that policy of EU in Afghanistan is mainly based on security. The aims of the EU Mission are to develop an Afghan police force that respects human rights and operates within the framework of the rule of law. (EU ⁵, 2008.) According to EU-Afghanistan Joint Action, EU established police mission in Afghanistan on 30th of May 2007. EUPOL has been officially launched on 15 June 2007 with some 160 police officers. The EC has launched also a plan for justice reform in Afghanistan (EU ⁵, 2008).

2.2.5 EU- Member States Military Contribution

Almost all of the EU Member States are contributing to the UN -mandated and NATO-commanded International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) in Afghanistan. According to EU (2007), twenty-five EU member states have provided 17,000 troops to Afghanistan. Separately, several member states of EU have contributed to the US-led Operation Enduring Freedom coalition conducting counter-insurgency and counter-terrorism operations in Afghanistan. Additionally, EU- Member States are commanding a significant number of civil-military for Provincial Reconstruction Teams. (EU ⁷, 2008.)

In fact, the role of EU member states in NATO, which leads fighting against terror, is extremely important in Afghanistan. NATO is itself a Eurocentric organization, in which except the US and Canada, the rest of its members are European. 21 members of NATO are member states of European Union.

2.2.6 Why Afghanistan is important for the Security of the West?

Western countries in the NATO Summit in Bucharest mentioned that security of the West is connected to the security of Afghanistan. For the West, the current situation of Afghanistan and its future is a top priority. It also displays a picture of long and wider plans of the Western Allies in Afghanistan and the whole region as Bucharest Declaration clarifies:

"Euro-Atlantic and wider international security is closely tied to Afghanistan's future as a peaceful, democratic state, respectful of human rights and free from the threat of terrorism" (NATO Summit Declaration Bucharest 2008).

2.2.7 Afghanistan-Pakistan and Iran is a region of security risks for the West

In relation to security, one of the strong concerns is that anti-western Islamic fundamentalist groups such as Al-Qaeda may acquire nuclear weapons or other kind of weapons of mass destruction. Therefore; the situation of Pakistan, Iran and Afghanistan as a dangerous region is significant for the security of the West.

2.2.7.1. Pakistan

Pakistan is the only Islamic country in the world, which has nuclear weapons. Some of the most radical Islamic groups such as Al-Qaeda and Taliban have strong bases in Pakistan. They have links to security services, army, police and political parties of Pakistan. The leadership of Al-Qaeda and Taliban are in tribal areas of Pakistan. Pakistan is also a birth place of Taliban and a cradle of almost all Islamic extremist freedom fighter "Mujahedin or Jihadists" groups. Currently, hundreds of thousands of Islamic students are studying in the Islamic schools of Pakistan "*Madrasa*". According to Professor Rostar-Taraki (2008), about 20-30 thousands of Islamic schools are in Pakistan and about 1.5 million students have already graduated from these schools. Taliban fighters also studied in these schools (Rostar-Taraki 2008). The government of Pakistan is playing a double game by cooperation with both sides of the conflicts to achieve its plans. Afghan Government and also NATO and the US leaders have criticized Pakistani government several times saying that terrorist groups are coming from Pakistan to Afghanistan. According to Professor Inderfurth Karl F (2008), security of Afghanistan and Pakistan are inextricably linked. There can be no successful outcome for Afghanistan if Pakistan will not be a part of the solution. According to him, the future stability of both depends on the development of an effective regional strategy to counter and uproot the Taliban and Al-Qaeda sanctuary in Pakistan's tribal border areas. Also French Foreign Minister Bernard Kouchner said the same thing in his visit with Canadian Foreign Minister to Afghanistan in April 2008 that "*violence in Afghanistan could only be stopped with the aid of Pakistan*". (Bernard Kouchner 2008). According to Professor Inderfurth, the Taliban and Al-Qaeda have developed a stronghold in Pakistani tribal areas. It is a safe haven for al-Qaeda and Taliban militants and their activities have grown in recent years. Military action is not enough. Therefore; EU policies and activities are more useful than U.S. For example, the U.S. has already provided about \$5.8 billion from 2002 to 2007 for military assistance to Pakistan to fight against terrorism, but it has not eliminated activities of Taliban and Al-Qaeda in Pakistan yet. On the contrary, their activities have seriously increased and Al-Qaeda and Taliban re-organized themselves. Then military assistance to Pakistan can be also dangerous for changing balance of power in the region, especially against India and Afghanistan. Pakistani government is not honest with Afghanistan and the West. Pakistan as a centre of Islamic radicals is important for EU and the rest of the western allies, because without assistance of the West, Pakistan will shift completely into the hands of terrorist groups.

2.2.7.2 Iran

Iran is a more stable and secured country in the region, but there is a strong concern of the U.S. and the rest of the western countries about the policy of Iran of atomic energy, which may result into getting nuclear weapons. For the EU and the rest of the western countries, this is a serious threat, since Iran has a close relation with many of extremist Islamic radical groups in Afghanistan and also in the Middle East.

The U.S. has blamed Iran several times saying that Iran supports terrorist groups such as Taliban, radical Islamic groups in Iraq, *Hezbollah* in Lebanon, and Palestinian extremist factions such as *Hamas* and *Islamic Jihad*. Governments of Afghanistan and Iraq and many independent media of both countries have also blamed Iran that it is supporting their oppositions. Iran is also seriously trying to produce atomic energy. West has tried to encourage Iran to stop its atomic energy plan, but Russia and China have been backing Iran to have atomic energy. The conflict over Iran's nuclear policy may affect relations between West and Russia and even West and China. As Iran geographically is very strategic and economically full of natural resources such as gas and oil and politically as an Islamic radical against West, it is very important for the West and also for Islamic radicals such as Al-Qaeda who want to establish an Islamic Empire in the region.

CHAPTER THREE

3. Theoretical Framework

3.1. Introduction

Almost all research studies in social and behavioural sciences regardless of disciplines/programs require a rationale or a basis for conducting a research. This rationale or a base is often called theoretical framework (Camp 2001, 1-17). Theoretical framework tells about a great part of the study that identifies literature review categories and directs research objectives.

This chapter takes on a theoretical overview of methodology of this research with a brief discussion of the qualitative research and Grounded theory. Grounded theory has been selected for this qualitative research, because it provides the most efficacious method for this study.

For understanding of my research, first it is essential to discuss how it has developed from a methodological point of view.

3.2 Methodology

Methodology is a way of thinking and studying about social reality (Strauss and Corbin 1998, 3). According to Crotty, informing methodology is a theoretical perspective. Methodology is a strategy, a plan of action, a process or a design lying behind the choice and the use of particular methods and linking the choice and use of methods to the desired outcomes. Methodology is an overarching strategy which governs how a study will proceed, what methods shall be used, and how a process will relate to an outcome (Crotty 1998, 3.) Methodology refers to discussions of how a research should be done. It also deals with logic of enquiry of how new knowledge is generated and how justified. This includes a consideration of how theories are generated and tested and how it relates to a research problem (Blaikie 2000, 8). According to Bell there are two types of methodology,

which are quantitative and qualitative (Bell 1999, 101). Burrell and Morgan (1979) called these two *Nomothetic* and *Ideographic*. According to them, the nomothetic style is concerned with systematic rigour in a scientific and quantitative sense, mostly using in surveys and questionnaires. The ideographic methodology researcher uses qualitative procedures more to examine the world. In this approach, objectivity exchanges for subjectivity. A researcher becomes able to go deeper into the issues with more details and definitions. Thus, the results are obtained by gaining first hand knowledge of the subject.

3.3. Methods

Methods are procedures used by men trying to understand or explain something (Mills 1959, 8). Research methods are a set of procedures and techniques for gathering and analyzing data (Strauss and Corbin (1998,3). According to Crotty, research methods are techniques or procedures used to gather and analyze data related to some research questions or hypothesis (Crotty 1998, 3).

3.3.1 Qualitative Research

There are two major scientific ways of gathering information: *quantitative* methods and *qualitative* methods. Quantitative research is a positivist approach. Positivism based on natural sciences, is premised on the view that science is a value of free activity, which inevitably leads to the truth being discovered (Remenyi *et al.*, 1997, 421-435). Positivist research methods are experiments, structured surveys & questionnaires, birth & death statistics, official records; but Anti-Positivist research methods are participant observation, unstructured interviews, diaries and letters (University of Leicester, 2001).

Quantitative research is a formal, objective, systematic process, in which numerical data are utilised to obtain information about the world (Burns and Grove cited by Cormack 1991, 140). Quantitative research is a deductive approach, which uses data that are structured in the form of numbers or that can be immediately transported into numbers. If the data can not be structured in the form of numbers, they are considered qualitative. In quantitative research, knowledge is gained through

several analytical techniques including: cause and effect thinking, reduction using variables and hypotheses, measurement and observation. The various methods adopted by quantitative researchers include: surveys, experiments, statistical analysis, and numerical modeling (Myers 1997; and Creswell 2003).

Qualitative research is a well established academic tradition in anthropology, sociology, history and geography, which are generally associated with evaluation of the social dimensions of development programmes (Mayoux 2001,3). Qualitative research methods were developed in the social sciences to study social and cultural phenomena. A researcher by using qualitative methods tries to understand people and the social and cultural contexts within which they live. Qualitative researchers are interested in meaning, how people make sense of their lives, experiences, and their structures of the world. Qualitative research is an inductive approach in which a researcher builds abstractions, concepts, hypotheses, and theories from details (Merriam 1988 and Creswell 1999). A qualitative research means any type of research that produces findings not arrived by statistical procedures or other means of quantification. It can refer to a research about persons' lives, experiences, behaviours, emotions and feelings as well as about organizational functioning, social movements, cultural phenomena, and interactions between nations (Strauss and Corbin 1998,10-11). Key contributions by qualitative research can be first exploring issues in depth, highlighting and understanding nature or phenomenon that is not well understood by decision-makers. Its second capacity is to provide an insight into the social world of research participants to understand their own subjective meanings, and how they arise or are constructed (Spencer; & Ritchie; & Liwis and Lucy 2003 ,36).

'Quantitative' and 'Qualitative' research paradigms

Quantitative

*positivist
realist
objectivist/materialist
foundational
experimental*

Qualitative

*naturalistic
interpretivist/hermeneutic
idealist/relativist/constructivist
subjectivist
fallibilistic/anti-foundational
ethnographic*

(Spencer Liz, & Ritchie Jane, Liwis Jane and Lucy Dillon (2003, 47).
British National Research Centre for Social Research

Qualitative researchers use a variety of methods, procedures, and analysis techniques to create unique, question-specific designs that evolve throughout the research process (Crabtree & Miller, 1992, 5). It can be used, for instance, in philosophy, anthropology, sociology, psychology, and linguistics. Its traditions are: phenomenology; ethno-methodology; conversation analysis; discourse analysis; protocol analysis; symbolic interactionism; grounded theory; estrogenic; constructivism; and critical theory (including Marxist and neo-Marxist research, and some forms of feminist research); (Spencer & Ritchie, Liwis and Lucy 2003, 35).

3.3.1.1. Why is qualitative method chosen for this research?

I have chosen a qualitative method for this study, because there is a less knowledge about a topic under investigation. One role of a qualitative research is opening up of an unknown area (Spencer; & Ritchie; & Liwis and Lucy (2003), 36). A qualitative research aims to provide an in-depth understanding of people's experiences, perspectives and histories in the context of their personal circumstances or settings. And data is detailed, rich and complex; is mainly inductive rather than a deductive analytic process, answering 'what 'how' and 'why' questions. (Spencer; & Ritchie; & Liwis and Lucy 2003, 19). According to Strauss and Corbin (1998, 11), one strong reason for doing a qualitative research is the nature of a research problem. My study needs more descriptions and explanations; therefore, my major research questions are mostly "what" and "why". It is difficult to do it with a statistical research. According to Rabinowitz and Berkowitz (2007, 1), quantitative methods are those that express their results in numbers. They tend to answer questions like "How many?" or "How much?" or "How often?" to compare things. A statistical research needs a large number of people to get a result; but my research is about views of Afghan elite in Europe, which is not easy to find many of them, especially in the large Europe during a brief time. This study is about the policy and activities of the European Union in Afghanistan. According to British National Research Centre, qualitative research methods are widely used in policy evaluation. There is an increasingly rich understanding of how they contribute to policy formulation, evaluation and refinement, and of what they bring to policy analysis, understood and judged in a qualitative evaluation research (Spencer; & Ritchie; & Liwis and Lucy (2003, 12). In addition to all mentioned reasons above, I have experience in a qualitative research. According to Strauss and Corbin (1998, 11), there are many valid reasons for doing qualitative researches and one of them is preference and experience of a researcher. Therefore, this study is a qualitative research with a grounded theoretical method.

3.3.2 Grounded Theory

Grounded theory is a method that has been used extensively across a variety of social science disciplines. The basic tenet of this approach is that a theory must be grounded in the data. (Chamberlain, 1995). Grounded theory is a research method that seeks to develop a theory that is grounded in data gathered and analyzed systematically. It is a qualitative research approach that was originally developed by Glaser and Strauss in 1967 (Trochim, 2006). According to Hutchinson, grounded theory is qualitative in its philosophy of science. Its data collection, methods of analysis and its final product offer a rich and complex explanatory schema of social phenomena (Hutchinson, 1988, 126). Grounded theory is an inductive methodology and a general method (Glaser 2008 and Martin and Turner 1986, 141-157). It is a systematic generation of theory from a systematic research. It can be used with either qualitative or quantitative data (Glaser 2008). According to Strauss & Corbin (1990), Grounded theory is inductive rather than deductive. As a qualitative research method, it is a systematic set of procedures to develop an inductively derived grounded theory about a phenomenon (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, 24).

I have chosen grounded theory for this study, because it enables an understanding of an area which requires no preformed concepts of knowledge. The use of grounded theory in this study is to provide the advantage of delving of an unknown area to see what real social problems emerge, as Koskennurmi-Sivonen (2004) stated that the grounded theory is especially suitable for unknown areas. According to Pole and Lampard, grounded theory differs from other qualitative methods for two major reasons: (1) It allows a researcher to make discoveries without prior knowledge; and (2) It is an approach that leaves itself open to a charge of relativism (Pole and Lampard 2002, 206). These two principles of grounded theory offer an appropriate tool for analysis of social phenomena, particularly when there is little known about the situation under investigation.

CHAPTER FOUR

4. Data Collection

4.1. Research Questions and Interviews

In this study, I have collected data through interviews with Afghan elites in Europe. The qualitative research interview is a common method to collect data (Hersjärvi, Remes & Sarjavaara 2000, 192). There are many kinds of interviews. In a qualitative research, there are three basic interviews, open-ended, semi-structured and structured (Hirsjärvi & Hurme 2001, 43-44). I have used the semi-structured interview to collect information. The research questions determine the boundaries of what is relevant (Blaikie 2000, 23-24). I have used three major questions and some sub questions. Both major questions and sub-questions are related to my research objectives. According to Blaikie (2000, 23), it would be better to separate major research questions from subsidiary questions. I have separated them from each other. A social research is about answering research questions (Blaikie 2000, 9). A research question constitutes the most important elements of any research design and directs research activities, in which all other aspects of a research plan have to supply an answer to research questions. In another words formulating a research question is the real starting point of a research (Blaikie 2000, 23-24). According to Blaikie research, questions can be reduced in three main types: "What", "why" and "how" questions. They are related to different research objectives. For example, in general "what" questions search for descriptions; the "why" questions seek for explanations or understanding; the "how" questions are concerned with interventions to bring about a change (Blaikie 2000, 23). My major research questions are “what” questions, because what questions are suitable for inductive strategy (Balaikie 2000, 9-10). My sub questions are “how”, “why” and “what” questions.

The Research Major Questions are:

1. What are opinions of Afghan elites about policies and activities of EU in their country?
2. What are their opinions about situations of Afghanistan after the fall of the Taliban Regime?
3. What are their suggestions for policy makers?

Sub Questions are:

1. Why EU is in Afghanistan and how important is the role of EU in Afghanistan from your point of view?
2. What do you think about the policy of European Union in Afghanistan since 2001?
3. How do you see the activities of European Union in Afghanistan?
4. What is the richness and weakness of EU in Afghanistan?
5. How do you see post Taliban Afghanistan in general?
6. What has changed after the fall of the Taliban Regime?
7. What have been your expectations?
8. What do you think about terrorism, security, narcotics, democracy, human rights, reconstruction, economic changes in Afghanistan? And what have been achieved?
9. If there are problems, what are the solutions in your opinion?
10. How do you see the future of Afghanistan?
11. What are your suggestions?

The method for collecting data is based on a semi-structured interview. First, I thought that open-ended interviews might be better than semi-structured interviews, because they are more natural and a researcher can go deeper into issues; therefore, I have done a testing interview with each of them, but I got better results with semi- structured, because an open- ended interview is longer; an interviewee discusses about certain issues for long time and I couldn't get answers to all of my questions. It has been improper to stop interviewee in every question for limitation and direction of discussions, because most of the interviewees are respected people such as former ministers, diplomats, governors, professors etc. According to Afghan culture, it is important to be polite. Qualitative research methods have been developed in the social sciences to study social and cultural phenomena. Understanding participant's culture is important (Merriam 1988 and Creswell 1994).

I conducted most of the interviews by phone calls, because interviewees are in different countries of Europe. It is also a matter of financial costs. However for the quality of the data and for respecting culture of interviewees and also for the minimizing costs of research, I have decided to use semi-structured interviews. The semi-structured interview is included structured questions and open conversation (Järvinen & Järvinen 2000, 153). According to answers of interviewees, I asked some additional questions to go deeper into the discussion.

In Spring 2008, I started to find Afghans for interviews. I sent information about my research to Afghan Associations. First I found some Afghans in Norway, Germany, Belgium; Netherlands, Sweden and England. With their help, I succeeded to find names and contact information of over one hundred Afghans in Europe with some additional information about their education and activities. However, most of their contact information was just phone numbers or e-mail addresses. Some of these contact information was not valid, but I have succeeded in contacting with most of them. I have chosen the most qualified Afghans from the list. According to Tuomi and Sarajärvi (2002, 74-76), a researcher should choose participants with good experiences for a question under investigation. I have been looking for educated and expert Afghans to be able to analyze policies and activities of EU in Afghanistan and also have knowledge about the situation of Afghanistan. This is the criteria for choosing them. Most of participants are educated with rich experiences in different fields. In addition most of them have been active in politics.

I interviewed 40 Afghan individuals (33 male, 7 female) in different European countries (table 1). They have variety of professions, high education, experiences and they have been active. They also belong to different ethnic groups, because Afghanistan is a multicultural country and it is important to have opinions of diverse ethnic groups, who have experienced civil wars and problems among each other. I also tried my best to find men and women equally to have opinions of both for this research, but only 7 female persons accepted for the interview. There are many reasons that they did not want to participate, for instance, some of them said that they did not know about EU and some of them said that they avoided talking about politics.

I bought a notebook for writing participants' contact information. And I created special e-mail address for contacting participants faster and cheaper through e-mails. The e-mail address was short and easy to write correctly on the phone conversations. There is another reason to collect all information, which was expected to receive through e-mail addresses.

In the notebook I have written down the names of the participants, their contact information, details about what I agreed with each of them, what everyone said to me about his or her participation in the research, and the time of interviews. Before doing interviews, I bought a modern tape recorder to record all interviews. After each interview, I transferred it to my computer and also to an USB to be sure that I will not lose them.

The most important thing in the beginning was to build trust, because most of them are political refugees in Europe; therefore, I offered them information about my self and about my research and why I want to interview them. Additionally, I offered them my post address, phone numbers, e-mail address. Also my skill in Dari language has helped me to communicate with them without any problem and build a trustable base for their participation.

I did two interviews in the middle of spring 2008 for just testing. After this, I did my first interview in June 2008. I have gathered the data during summer and autumn 2008. I have conducted most interviews by phone and recorded them. I took two interviews face to face in Helsinki and one interview via voice chat and recorded them with the permission of the participants. And I sent research questions to the participants before interviews.

I have got permission from all of the participants to record their voices and using their own names for my thesis. I have done interviews with 30 individuals. Just 10 persons rejected voice interviews and they answered the questions in writing (Table 2). They also allowed me to use their names.

4.2 Language

I have done research questions in Dari language, which is an official language of Afghanistan. All Afghans understand Dari language very well. Both a researcher and participants understand Dari language; therefore, I collected the data in Dari. It has been the best tool for understanding and discussion deeply without any language barrier. Both questions and answers have been in Dari language. An exception was a case that a participant received questions in Dari, but because of a technical problem in his computer, he answered them in English. I conducted all interviews with good quality. Time of interviews was according to timetables of the participants. I have done most of the interviews in the afternoon and evening.

CHAPTER FIVE

5 Data Analysis

This study, as I mentioned before, is a qualitative research. I have chosen grounded theory as a research method for analyzing data. Grounded theory is a suitable method for this research, because it is one of the qualitative methods that has been used extensively across a variety of social science disciplines. This research is about EU-Afghanistan since the collapse of the Taliban Regime in 2001. Concerning this research, some information such as reports which were published by policymakers, news from media which is available, but there have been less academic research on topic under investigation.

5.1 Grounded Theory

Grounded theory has been introduced as methodology by two sociologists Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss in their book "The Discovery of Grounded Theory" in 1967 (Strauss & Corbin 1998, 9; Hirsjärvi & Hurme 2001, 164; Silvonen & Keso 1999, 88). When Strauss published his book "Qualitative Analysis for Social Scientists" in 1987, some disagreements started between Glaser and Strauss. These intellectual and methodological differences have increased after Strauss's collaborative efforts with Juliet Corbin (1990, 1998). The differences between the grounded theory of Glaser and the grounded theory of Strauss are, for example, Glaser claims in his theory that a reality exists within a data, while Strauss and Corbin assert that a reality cannot actually be known, but it is always interpreted (Annells 1996, 386). And also the differences between these two theorists are in "generality" and "control" criteria for judgment. According to Strauss & Corbin (1990, 251), generality refers to a systematic and widespread theoretical sampling that builds in conditions and variations that precision and predictive capacity will be greater. Also according to them, a theory should provide control in regard to actions toward the phenomenon. (Strauss & Corbin 1990, 23.) These criteria are not in the Glaser's method. Glaser said in "modifiability," that the theory should be readily modifiable when new data present variations in emergent properties and categories (Glaser 1992, 15). However Strauss and Corbin's criteria of

generality and control give management and strategy which are important in an academic field. Furthermore, according to Glaser, grounded theory is methodology and can be used in both quantitative and qualitative research, but Strauss and Corbin see it as a qualitative method (Strauss & Corbin 1990, 17-18, 24; 1998, 10-11). The methodology of grounded theory is divided into two parts: Straussian inductive-deductive and Glaserian inductive (Stern 1994, 212; Bartlett & Payne 1997, 179–180). According to Glaser, grounded theory is inductive (Glaser 1978; 1992, 1994), but according to Strauss it is more inductive- deductive (Strauss 1987; Strauss and Corbin 1990; 1994; 1998). Strauss and Corbin have written about this as following:

"Moving between induction and deduction: The concept of induction is often applied to qualitative research. Our position is: although statements of relationships or hypotheses do evolve from data (we go from the specific case to the general), whenever we conceptualize data or develop hypotheses, we are interpreting to some degree. To us, an interpretation is a form of deduction. We are deducting what is going on based on data but also based on our reading of data along with our assumptions about the nature of life, the literature that we carry in our heads, and the discussions that we have with colleagues. This is how science has born.) We are not saying that we place our interoperations on the data or that we not let the interpretations emerge. Rather, we are saying that we recognize the human element in analysis and the potential for possible distortion of meaning. That is why we feel that it is important that analyst validate his or her interpretations through constantly comparing one piece of data to another (Strauss & Corbin 1998, 136-137).

5.1.1 Method of Analyzing Data

In collecting data and analyzing, I used grounded theory of Strauss & Corbin's method. Also analysis of this research is close to abduction method for the richness of conclusion of this study. After Glaser and Strauss, researchers have used grounded theory with little suitable changes (Silvonen 2000, 204; Rantala 1999-201-205). A question is about a conclusion of research and its richness; traditionally there are two methods of reasoning of using existing knowledge to draw conclusions, the inductive and deductive approaches. Being purely inductive is critically under question (Strauss & Corbin 1998, 106-107; Haaparanta & Niiniluoto 1986, 61-62). Between induction and deduction is abduction method (Aittola 1982, 18-21; Grönfors 1982, 33-37; Siitonen & Halonen 1997, 251; Alasuutari 1989, 30-31). According to Anttila, a process of the qualitative research can be seen as an abduction conclusion process, in which both theory and practice come in conclusion (Anttila, 2005, 282). Some researchers used in their grounded theory research abduction

method (Strauss 1987, 12; Karila 1997, 31-33; Kääriäinen 1994, 30-31). Induction and abduction, viewed together as processes of production and generalization of new hypotheses (Lukasiewicz 1970, 7 Cited Magnani Lorenzo 2008, 7). According to the abduction approach, generating of new theory is not possible just with data collection on the base of observation. And existing knowledge can be incorrect as well (Grönfors 1982, 33). Abduction method was founded by Charles S. Peirce (1839-1914).

Grounded theory has three steps for analyzing data: Open coding, axial coding and selective coding (Järvinen & Järvinen 2000, 71-72; Strauss & Corbin 1998, 101-180). Open coding is an analytic process to identify concepts and properties through comparative analysis (Pandit, 1996; Strauss & Corbin, 1998; Goulding 2002). The open coding is the first and the most important part of a research analysis. According to Strauss and Corbin (1998, 102-103), without this first analytic step, the rest of the analysis and communication process is not possible.

In this research, I collected data through interviews and analyzed according to microanalysis process, which is a detailed "line- by-line" analysis. According to Strauss and Corbin (1998, 57-58), the microanalysis process is necessary at the beginning of a study to generate initial categories and suggest relationships among categories. It includes open and axial coding and makes use of many analytic techniques and involves very careful examination and interpretation of data. (Strauss and Corbin 1998, 57-58.)

According to Strauss and Corbin (1998, 71) and Tuomi & Hirsjärvi (2003, 111) analysis process of qualitative research is as following:

Listening to interviews and writing them carefully words by words.

Reading and understanding data

Finding concepts and underlining them

Recognizing similarities and differences among concepts

Categorizing concepts according to their properties

Connecting subcategories and building core category

Connecting subcategories and forming concepts.

5.1.1.1 Open Coding

Open coding is an analytic process for identifying concepts and properties through comparative analysis. The aim of open coding process is discovery, naming and categorizing of phenomena based on their properties, dimensions and incidents (Pandit, 1996; Strauss and Corbin, 1998; Goulding, 2002; Douglas, 2003; Gasson 2004).

I started the analyzing process of this study in my first interview and it continued until the end of this work. During and also after every interview, I took a short note about one to three pages, which was a part of analyzing data.

According to Strauss and Corbin (1998, 102-103), "science could not exist without concepts" for developing concepts, a researcher should open up the text and expose thoughts, ideas, and meanings. During open coding, data break down into discrete parts, closely examined and compared for similarities and differences for forming concepts and categories (Strauss and Corbin 1998, 102-103).

After I listened many times to each interview, I wrote it carefully to clarify a text. I read the text word by word, underlined and compared their similarities and differences. Then I have broken data down for identifying concepts and properties. My open coding examination of data resulted in a large number of concepts. In broken down process of data, according to (Strauss and Corbin (1998, 102-103; 105), I took ideas, and meanings of every word and sentence into consideration because a concept is an abstract representation of an event, object, action or interaction that according to Strauss and Corbin (1998, 103), a researcher identifies it from data. Working closely to examine and comparing concepts for their similarities and differences, for instance, events, happenings, objects, and actions or interactions move forward to a next level of coding, is a part of this process. In a conceptualizing or an abstracting part, which is also a first step of theory building, I analyzed every paragraph line- by- line to find concepts and categories. I collected data in Dari language and also analyzed it in Dari, then I translated it into English; therefore, it was easier to find concepts even though it has been a long process.

As Strauss and Corbin (1998, 136-137) said: "we go from the specific case to the general." since finding concepts and categories are necessary and an important step for going to general. I started from reading data word by word, phrase by phrase, every sentence to the whole paragraph and then

to more general to complete the process of theoretical sampling and their meaning. Thus, conceptualizing and discovering categories are the main part of this process.

I have broken data to parts and reconstructed them to form an interpretive scheme according to Strauss and Corbin (1998, 65).

5.1.1.2 Axial Coding

Axial coding is a process of finding relationships between categories and subcategories. (Pandit, 1996; Strauss and Corbin, 1998; Goulding, 2002, Geode and Villers, 2003; Douglas, 2003). The aim of axial coding process is to discover how categories relate to subcategories in term of their properties, dimensions and incidents. In axial coding, categories are related to their subcategories to form more precise and complete explanation about phenomena (Strauss and Corbin 1998, 123-126). In axial coding part, I continued the coding process by integrating categories together to find categories and subcategories according to their relationships. However according to Strauss and Corbin integration is a process, which begins with a first bit of analysis and continues until a final writing (Strauss and Corbin 1998, 143). For example, in this part of analyzing data, from all categories of the research, 9 categories are discovered: Role of EU in Afghanistan; policy of EU in Afghanistan; activities of EU in Afghanistan; weaknesses of EU in Afghanistan; some solutions; NATO; process of post Taliban; stability; and democratization.

5.1.1.3 Selective Coding

Selective coding is the process of integration and refinement of the emerged theories (Strauss and Corbin 143). The aim of the selective coding process is integration of categories at the dimensional level in order to (1) discover a theory, (2) validate the relationship between concepts, and (3) detect any categories which need in further refinement (Strauss and Corbin 143-147). The integration here means that data becomes a theory (Strauss and Corbin 143). In this part, data is integrated to each other and formed a complete story with a core category, categories and subcategories according to their relationships.

I completed the process of axial coding in the selective coding process, because the refinement is a part of a selective coding process. For example, in axial coding I used "stability and democratization" together as a single category, but in the selective coding process, it is separated to two different categories according to their relationships with subcategories. Also there are some other changes in the subcategories, for example, under the category of "stability", I put the following names as subcategories: strategy; war against terrorism; Pakistan-Afghanistan; Taliban; national army and national police; disarmament; counter-narcotics; and corruption.

In a selective coding process, the whole data is integrated together. For example, two main categories: (1) EU in Afghanistan (2) Situation of Afghanistan is formed from other categories and subcategories.

Under the category of EU in Afghanistan, the following names are subcategorized: "Role of EU in Afghanistan; Policy of EU in Afghanistan; Activities of EU in Afghanistan; Weaknesses of EU in Afghanistan: Some solutions; and NATO as a Eurocentric Organization.

Under the category of the situation of Afghanistan, I found three subcategories: (1) Process of Post Taliban, (2) Stability (3) Democratization.

5.1.1.4 Central Category

Discovering of a central category or a core category is an important part of the final integration in the selective coding. According to Strauss and Corbin (1998, 147), the central category of a research must be central to all other major categories that can be related to it. The central category of this research discovers as following:

Views of Afghan Elites in Europe about EU-Afghanistan

CHAPTER SIX

RESULTS OF THE RESEARCH

6 EU in Afghanistan

6.1 The Role of EU in Afghanistan

In analyzing this part “what role EU has in Afghanistan?”, participants offered positive answers. According to the participants’ opinions, after the USA, EU has been the second major activist in Afghanistan. Achievements of the past seven years have been impressive, in which EU has played a significant role. EU role can be seen broadly in political and economic development, reconstruction and military assistance. Almost all of the EU member states contribute to the UN-mandated and NATO-commanded International Security Assistance Force. EU has been working closely with the Government of Afghanistan to rebuild Afghanistan after more than two decades of war. Most of the international conferences about Afghanistan have been held in Europe and hosted by EU. For example, the first and the most important and historical conference for Afghanistan was held in Bonn in 2001.

EU is a global economic power and it can play much stronger role on issues of economic development and reconstruction, democratization, human rights, security and rule of law and counter-narcotics. European countries have good experiences of reconstruction of their countries after the First and The Second World Wars. Reconstruction of Afghanistan for them is easy, which is important in the development of Afghanistan. According to the participants, Europe has rich history of democracy, human rights and freedom. Afghanistan is just in the beginning of a long journey to a modern and democratic state. EU has the opportunity to expand its roles and stand in a position of the first influential agent in Afghanistan.

One of the participants said that EU feels its obligation to help Afghanistan for developing democracy and human rights. Democratization of Afghanistan is a fundamental solution for problems.

After the United States of America, the European Union is the second biggest player in Afghanistan (Vafakesh 2008, 2; Shafai 2008,2; Vaezi 2008,3). Since 2001 EU and its member states have helped Afghanistan by contributing over 12 billions dollar, which means EU has been a strong financial supporter to Afghanistan (Vafakesh 2008, 2).

EU is very strong in economic. It has military power, because most of its member states are in NATO, it has been actively offering in many ways assistance to Afghanistan such as political, economic and military supports. Most of the international conferences about Afghanistan have been held in Europe and hosted by EU; therefore we can say that EU has played a major role in Afghanistan after the fall of the Taliban Regime. (Vafakesh 2008,13, Vaezi 2008, 3.)

Member states of the European Union have very good experiences of reconstruction work from the World War I and II; also they have very rich history of democracy, human rights, freedom and economic development, which are very useful for Afghanistan (Meesaq 2008,3). EU has been active in seven last years in reconstruction of Afghanistan. Significant developments by supporting of international community, especially by supporting of EU have been achieved (Wak 2008,1; Meesaq 2008,3; Vaezi 2008,3; Tach 2008, 4; Vafakesh 2008, 3, 13; Adal 2008, 1; Sistani 2008, 8, Ahmadi 2008,8.)

Activities of EU in Afghanistan show that it is after the U.S., a second player in Afghanistan, but it has capability and opportunities to be the first player in Afghanistan. Comparing US, EU has more chance to be accepted by Afghans (Adal 2008, 1; Wak 2008,1-8; Vafakesh 2008, 8-9.)

It would be good that EU continues to help Afghanistan in economic development, reconstructions, security, democracy and good governance. (Meesaq 2008, 4; Vafakesh 2008, 13; Andishmand 2008, 7-9; Warasy 2008, 2; Tach 2008, 1-2, Sistani 2008, 8.)

EU has been one of the main donors to the Afghan government. Certainly some achievements have been made in areas like education, health and others, but it has failed in areas of security, establishing effective government institutions, fighting opium and terrorism (Sharan, 2008, 8.)

EU initially went to Afghanistan to fight against international terrorism; however, one can argue that EU is in Afghanistan to expand its role in international politics, mainly through NATO. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the role of the NATO was longer certain and ambiguous. The fight against International terrorism has given new opportunity to EU and NATO to expand. At the different layer, EU feels obliged as a member of the international democratic world to interfere in Afghanistan under the new approach of establishing peace through democratization. So one can say that the deterioration in security, international terrorism and so forth outweigh the progress that has been achieved. Afghan people's hope has vanished largely. (Sharan 2008, 8.)

6.1.1 Need for the Presence of EU in Afghanistan

The presence of EU in Afghanistan is understandable and necessary. Terrorism is a serious threat for everyone. It is an international matter and linked to globalization. Afghanistan without support of the international community can not fight against terrorism alone. Terrorism is the enemy of everyone in everywhere; Afghans and non Afghans are all in the same boat. There is no way for losing, because terrorism resumes to power, which is dangerous for everybody. Moreover, the loss of democracy for Afghanistan is a risk of disintegration and division. Also for big powers of the world like EU, US, UN, NATO, it is difficult to lose the battle against terrorists, because of their prestige. According to the participants' views, war against terrorism is a long process. Indeed Afghanistan needs support of EU and the rest of the international community.

EU sees Islamic fundamentalism as a big challenge for its security and tries to stop or reduce it. From my point of view EU policy on Afghanistan is right and necessary (Osman 2008,1). In globalization, terrorism as a phenomenon threats everybody and everywhere. That is why presence of EU in Afghanistan is understandable. Helps of international community support Afghanistan to fight against this threat (Kharoti 2008, 3). Most of the problems of Afghanistan connect to the globalization issue and presence of EU in Afghanistan is for this matter (Ahmadi,2). West is for their own interests in Afghanistan, because terrorism threats them (Adal 2008, 3; Safi 2008, 5-6).

Afghanistan needs definitely supports of EU and the rest of the international community without their supports Afghanistan can not solve its problems alone (Kharoti 2008, 2). Afghanistan needs for its stability and reconstruction EU supports (Wak 2008,1;16; Kharoti 2008, 3; Warasy 2008, 5; Vaezi 2008, 3-4).

Afghanistan and international community are in the same boat. International community is supported Afghan people to build a new democratic Afghanistan and of course it is still weak and needs protection from terrorist threats (Meesaq 2008,16).

Prestige of NATO, EU, US, UN and the rest of the democratic world depends on victory in Afghanistan. Losing of this war, means giving Afghanistan back to international terrorists, which is also a risk for division of Afghanistan after bloody civil wars (Wak 2008, 1-7).

EU as a land of civilization and thought can be very useful for Afghanistan, especially in its democratization and development. There are still some weaknesses in understanding and trusting between Afghans and the Europeans.

Europe is a homeland of modernism, democracy and development of thoughts, but our thinkers mostly have looked at Europe from political and economic viewpoints as colonial

and imperialist. But most important part of Europe is its philosophy that has produced renaissance, humanism, modernism and democracy. Afghanistan needs to study this important part of Europe and use it for its policies (Osman 2008, 1.)

The current situation of Afghanistan has disappointed many Afghans. They are uncertain about the future of their country and think that EU with the rest of the international community has not tried enough to solve Afghanistan problems. According to them there will be still a chance to win, if there is honesty and cooperation.

Presence of EU in Afghanistan seems to be for supporting of the international coalition led by the United States of America against terrorism, but after seven years since 2001, terrorist activities have significantly increased in the region, which is very important question for many people that why it has happened? What EU and the rest of the international community are doing in Afghanistan? Are they really serious in policy of war against terrorism or they have some other aims (Meesaq 2008, 14).

Problems of Afghanistan such as terrorism, narcotics became as international matters. The international community is in Afghanistan to solve these problems. No doubt to be succeeded, if really and honestly international community helps Afghan people in solving these problems (Osman 2008,2).

6.2 Policy

About the policy of European Union in Afghanistan, interviewees have offered five different opinions:

- a) Policy of European Union in Afghanistan has been positive and necessary; Afghanistan needs definitely support of the EU.
- b) Policy of EU in Afghanistan has its richness and weakness, but generally it has been fine.
- c) Official policy of EU in Afghanistan has been positive and useful for both Afghanistan and EU, but what EU has done during the last seven years, has not proved it yet.
- d) Since 2004 it has been good, but after 2004 it has weakened.
- e) EU has followed policies of the US in Afghanistan and policy of the US is not clear.
- f) Lack of a collective action under a single strategy of EU.

6.2.1 Positive Policy of EU and the Importance of EU Support for Afghanistan

EU policy in Afghanistan has been fine and Afghanistan needs definitely supports of EU and the rest of the international community without their supports Afghanistan can not solve its problems alone (Kharoti 2008, 2). EU has been one of very important supporters of Afghanistan; without helps of the EU and its member states it was impossible to reach successes (Vaezi 2008, 3; Ziai 2008, 2-3). Comparing the U.S. policy to EU policy in Afghanistan, it has been better (Kargar 2008, 3; Keshtamand 2008, 6; Tach 2008, 2). Afghanistan needs definitely supports of the EU and the rest of the international community. (Sharan 2008, 4; Warasy 2008, 2; Moradi 2008, 4-5; Wak, 2008, 5,7,13). Supports of EU is necessary for reconstruction and stability of Afghanistan (Dehghan, 2008, 4; Nazar 2008, 6; Obaidi 2008, 5-6).

6.2.2 Policy of EU has been generally fine

Afghanistan is still an unstable country, which shows the weakness of EU as a key supporter of Afghanistan, but there have been also many achievements, which prove the richness of EU.

Interviewees looked at the policy of EU according to their interests, for example, some of them stated that EU supports financially for reconstructions and humanitarian activities. And for some participants, other policies of EU are important. Obviously, according to them the policy of EU has been beneficial for Afghanistan as general.

In my opinion EU has been working for establishment of peace and development in Afghanistan. EU has been supporting us in fighting against poverty and ignorance. I think this is a right policy, because mostly poor and uneducated people join terrorist groups. Educated and civilised people never join terrorist groups (Wak 2008, 4.) Humanitarian aid and combating against poverty and illiteracy is a right policy and hopefully EU continues it (Hendia 2008, 4).

Policies of the international community, especially policies of EU have been positive, in spite of the fact that can not accept them totally, but in general they have been useful (Osman 2008, 1). Policy of EU in Afghanistan has its richness and weakness, but in general the richness part is more (Kargar 2008, 3; Baktash 2008,2-3; Hazem 2008,6). EU has been positively active in Afghanistan; we hope its activities continue. (Razamyar 2008,5; Nabizada 2008,18-19; Ahmadi 2008,6).

6.2.3. What has been done does not prove the official policy of EU

The participants have mostly criticised negatively what has happened during the last seven years after the fall of the Taliban administration. For them, it has been a disappointment. Policy of EU in its official documents is positive and useful, but activities of EU in Afghanistan do not prove it. The

official policy of EU is to combat against organized crimes, but after seven years this has failed completely. For example, Taliban and Al-Qaeda reorganized their cells and have expanded their activities in the whole region. And cultivation of opium has been surprisingly increasing. Now Afghanistan is facing serious challenges.

Some participants said that EU has followed the policy of the US and this has been one of the reasons that EU did not succeed in its policies.

The official policy of European Union in Afghanistan shows beneficial for both Afghanistan and EU, but what has been done during the seven last years after collapse of the Taliban Regime, does not prove it. This has created mistrusts among Afghan people. For example in matters of fighting against terrorism and opium, bringing security, peace and welfare, EU has not succeeded at all. These problems have increased every year. What EU and the rest of the international community do in Afghanistan? Current situations have completely disappointed people and have created mistrust among Afghan people (Sarabi 2008, 3).

EU has followed policy of the United States. The policy of the United States in Afghanistan is not clear and it is difficult to understand. It seems that US in Afghanistan fights against terrorism and narcotics, develops democracy, supports human rights, and helps in reconstruction and rebuilding, but what has happened during the past seven years, show that US is not serious in these issues and perhaps U.S. has some other plans (Meesaq 2008,7). The international community including EU has not succeeded in fighting against terrorism and narcotics. Reconstruction has been very slow, corruption has been very high; there has been lack of good governance (Sistani 2008, 8-9; Faqiri,2008,4; Saifi 2008, 1-9; Enayat Seraj 2008, 2).

6.2.4 Two periods of EU policy

According to the participants, EU had much better policy in Afghanistan until 2004 and most of EU achievements were during 2001-2004, but after joining of new member states to EU and NATO, most of these new members have supported US strongly, which later, resulting in weakening the role of EU in Afghanistan. Moreover, other reasons have been the weaknesses of Afghanistan government, especially after the presidential elections in 2004.

EU policy in Afghanistan has two periods. First period was from 2001 until 2004 and the second period from 2004 till now. In the first period EU had strong and effective policies, but since 2004 when many Eastern European States joined EU and NATO, it has affected significantly on EU policies. These Eastern European States have been strongly supporting United States, which has reduced EU power in Afghanistan and forced it to follow US policies. This was starting of the EU weaknesses in Afghanistan (Maimanagi 2008, 10). EU since 2004 was very active, but after the presidential elections in 2004 and starting of a

weak cabinet under leadership of President Karzai, everything changed negatively (Vaezi 2004, 5, 7-12).

6.2.5. The Weak Policy of EU in Afghanistan

EU has followed a policy of the United States of America. Following the policy of the US has been one reason of EU weaknesses in Afghanistan.

EU has followed a policy of the United States of America (Andishmand 2008, 7; Maimanagi, 2008, 8,11; Osman, 2008,1; Ziai 2008, 6; Baghlani, 2008, 3; Ramyar 2008, 4-6; Hazem 2008,1, Saafi 2008, 3). EU has not its own separate policy. It has just followed a policy of the USA. People of Afghanistan expected that EU plays a central role in Afghanistan and be separate from the U. S. policy (Adal 2008, 1). Policy of EU has been more about strategy of the U.S. in Afghanistan (Meesaq 2008, 7) Also Razamyar 2008; Hazem 2008, 2).

6.2.6 Lack of a Collective Action under a Single Strategy

Policy of European Union in Afghanistan has been fragmented with different voices and strategies. There seems to be a problem of a collective action. EU has been active in Afghanistan mostly through its member states and NGOs. The member states of EU have not worked under a single strategy of EU in Afghanistan. Every member state of EU has had its own national policies in Afghanistan. This has been an effective reason of weaknesses of EU.

There has been lack of collective action under a single strategy of EU; the EU has been active in Afghanistan mostly through its member states (Hazem 2008, 2; Andishmand 2008,7; Sharan 2008, 3-5; Hazrati 2008,1; Maimanagi 2008, 8,9,11; Tach 2008, 8; Ziware 2008, 1; Razmyar 2008, 4-6; Dehzad 2008, 1).

EU has not a strong foreign policy. Each member state of EU in Afghanistan has its own national policies, therefore EU couldn't play a key role in Afghanistan (Rostar-Taraki 2008, 6-8). EU member states are acting on the bases of their own national interests, not mostly under a single strategy of EU (Andishmand 2008,7; Sharan 2008, 3-5; Maimanagi 2008, Tach 2008, 8; Ziware 2008, 1).

EU is a union of twenty seven member states; still externally and internally are not very strong. Almost half of them just some years ago joined EU with Eastern European history and culture. EU Foreign Policy has not been strong; one reason is lack of a single voice. EU in Afghanistan has been active mostly through its member states and NGOs. Some of EU

members are main policymakers in Afghanistan such as industrial countries and some of them are still not agreed on same policies. I can say that the Great Britain is following very suspicious policy in Afghanistan for example British troops turned over Town of Musa Qala in Helmand Province to the Taliban in 2006 in a secret deal with them. Even some people said to me that Britain is supporting Taliban by giving them military supplies and foods. These kinds of double standard policies create mistrust (Osman 2008,1). Britain in one hand is fighting against terrorism and in other hand helping terrorists, for example an Afghan officer told me that American Army filmed British Army when they were helping Taliban in Helmand (Andishmand 2008,7) The United Kingdom has suspicious activities in Afghanistan (Baghlani 2008, 3).

It seems that EU didn't achieve what it wanted. For example, in democratization of Afghanistan, process of nation-state, counter-narcotics, and rule of law has failed. War is going on, there is very weak security, and many parts of the country are under control of Taliban, Afghanistan is the land of opium and mafia. Islamic fundamentalism is becoming stronger than before, there have been violation of human rights especially women rights. Income of middle class Afghans has not improved (Kharoti 2008, 2-3). EU has been weak in achieving its main goals in Afghanistan (Dehghan 2008, 4-6).

6.3 Activities of EU in Afghanistan

In analysing this part about what EU has done in Afghanistan? There were three main opinions. The first opinion is positive and based on the facts of many achievements that have been carried out. EU has done a lot of work and it has been a main supporter of Afghanistan. During over two decades of war and destruction, Afghanistan has been almost completely destroyed. Afghanistan has been depending on foreign aids. Its reconstruction and development needs longer time and more resources. Removing of Taliban from power was one of the most successful achievements. State-building, reconstruction, financial support, providing services such as schooling, health care, development of the civil society and private sector have been all essential and important. EU has been helping Afghanistan since the beginning of this new period. Certainly without help of EU, these achievements would not have been possible.

The second opinion does not deny these achievements, but complains that EU failed in its main goal. It means that EU have achieved some successes, for example, in reconstruction and state-building, but it failed in its combat against organized crimes such as terrorism and drug trafficking. Some of the Afghan interviewees said that EU failed because of using wrong mechanism. Thus in order to succeed, UN should change its mechanism of implementation of policies.

The third opinion is close to the second opinion, but emphasized that EU has used wrong mechanism.

6.3.1 The Necessity and the Significance of EU Activities in Afghanistan

Presence of international community in Afghanistan has been necessary and useful, because firstly, without support of the international community it was impossible to remove Taliban from power; secondly it was extremely difficult to build everything from the beginning after over two decades of wars and destructions. EU and its member states have been active since the beginning of this new period (Warasi 2008, 10).

Without support of EU and the rest of the international community Afghanistan can not solve its problems alone, therefore Afghanistan needed their supports (Kharoti, 2; Kargar 2008, 3-4). EU has been with us since beginning of the post Taliban period with the rest of the international community to help Afghanistan and I think it has offered many supports to Afghanistan, especially for reconstruction and humanitarian projects (Mofid 2008, 1).

6.3.2 Failure of the Main Goals of EU in Afghanistan

Achievements of activities of international community have been removing of the Taliban Regime from power, somehow in process of the state- building, elections, building roads and schools, development of communications, but EU and the rest of the international community has failed in their main aims such as destroying terrorism, bringing security and stability, rule of law and counter-narcotics (Hemmat- Faryabi 2008, 1). The international community including EU has not succeeded in fighting terrorism and counter-narcotics, in bringing peace, security, stability and rule of law (Faqiri, 4-7; Maimanagi 2008, 5-7). A strong role of EU can be seen in the reconstruction of Afghanistan, but international community including EU did not try their best to solve the most fundamental problems of Afghanistan. There are huge numbers of problems and challenges (Saifi 2008,1.; Sistani 2008, 2-5).

6.3.3 Wrong Methods of EU Jeopardize the Achievement of main Aims

This part is important, because interviewees explained what have happened and what shall be done. According to their views, a fundamental solution for fighting against terrorism and other organized crimes is to do with four things: (1) Rising awareness and cultural development through education and mass media. (2) Improving the standard of living against poverty and reform of economic

development. (3) Good governance by supporting democrats not fundamentalist Muslims. (4) EU should involve Afghan Government in policymaking and decision making. Doubted, according to some interviewees, Afghanistan is under invasion. An invasion of sovereignty of Afghanistan does not mean that EU allows the Afghan authority to take a wrong direction; definitely, Afghanistan with EU and the rest of the international community are in the same boat. The participants have been expecting that EU will bring changes in Afghanistan.

Policies of the EU and the rest of the international community on organized crimes such as terrorism, drug and mafia have not succeeded, because, they have used wrong methods. For solving a matter first we should know its reasons, why it happened, finding its reasons is important to solve it fundamentally. International community has fought against terrorists, but not against terrorism. It is like a grass that someone cut it, but again it grows. This process continues until cutting its roots. The same thing has happened in fighting terrorism. Taliban were removed from power, many of them were killed or arrested, everybody thought that everything finished, but after few years they reorganized and have returned back to the battlefields, now many parts of the east and south of Afghanistan are under control of Taliban. Their position inside Pashton's tribes is much stronger than before. The method of killing, arresting can not destroy terrorism until cutting their roots. Terrorism is an idea, it is impossible to destroy it only by force. In my opinion as an Afghan and a physician its fundamental solution is combating poverty and ignorance. Education and economic development and also development of mass media are the right solution. This is of course a long process, but it is a right solution (Moradi 2008, 3-4.)

By using force only as mostly US has done until now, it seems difficult to uproot terrorism or reduce fundamentalism. People should feel benefits of democracy in their life by growing their economic, social welfare and cultural development then it is possible to reach stability and democracy (Osman 2008,2; Kharoti 1; Faqiri 4; Meesaq 2008,14).

I think it is better to use less military power and more humanitarian aids and economic development (Sistani 2008, 6; Dehghan 2008, 8-9).

West supported Islamic fundamentalists, not Afghan democrats. After fall of Taliban Regime, Fundamentalist Islamic Groups with supports of the West returned to power. West has chosen a wrong partner and therefore didn't succeed in its policies. One solution is to choose a right partner (Ramzyar 2008, 1-4).

Our expectation is that EU effectively involves in solving current problems, because Afghan Government is still weak and corrupted. EU has let Afghan authorities do what they want, this has given an opportunity to criminals to use democracy for their interests and be in power (Ahmadi 2008, 1). I think, if EU pays its attentions to main problems there is a chance to win (Zia 2008,6).

6.4 Some Solutions

6.4.1 Empirical Lessons of the Past for Bringing about Reforms

EU has failed in many of its policies in Afghanistan. It is urgently and necessarily needed to think and find solutions; otherwise, it will be late and even it is a risk of the loss of a ground against war, but there is still a chance to win over difficulties.

The international community including EU has still chance to win (Wak 2008, 7-8). Finding answers to question "why their policies didn't succeed in Afghanistan" help them to find solutions. It is very important to look at past seven years and check what plans have achieved with what quality and how much? And what plans have not succeeded and why? Looking at the past with analyzing of the current situations would be raw materials for the future plans. Without this procedure there will be repetition of the same mistakes. (Nabizada 2008,11-12).

6.4.2 Next Afghan Generation and Fundamentalism

During the seven past years, about 20 thousand of Islamic fighters were disarmed by Afghan Government and International Coalition Forces. Thousands of them have been employed by Afghan Government through the ministry of education as school teachers. They are not professional teachers and such practice affects the quality of education, but it is more important to integrate them in civil sectors so as to avoid the danger of the growth of fundamentalism among them in future. Those Islamic fundamentalist fighters can produce hundreds of thousand fundamentalists. Absolutely, it is a red light to the future of Afghanistan. EU supports the education sector in Afghanistan financially but does EU know who teach there and what they teach at these schools? Thus, for democratization, security, peace and development of Afghanistan next generation of Afghans are important.

In fighting crimes and teaching good things, role of education is important. It is very necessary to know who teaches and what to teach. In democratization and fighting crimes, role of a good teacher is more important than a role of police or an army officer. What makes us to be worried is that after the fall of Taliban thousands of Islamic fundamentalist fighters disarmed by the NATO and most of them have employed by ministry of education as school teachers. This affects very much on quality of education and also is a serious risk of producing Islamic fundamentalism among next generation of Afghans. (Moradi 2008, 3-5).

Role of education in the future of Afghanistan is important. It should be supported, but it is also important to know what to teach to the next generation of Afghans (Wak 2008,1-7).

6.4.3 The Choice of Correct Mechanism and Honest Partnership

According to the participants, two factors are powerful for EU to succeed in Afghanistan. First, the choice of a correct mechanism for implementation of policies; and the second factor is the role of honest partners. These two factors pave the way towards success and also minimize financial and human costs.

The participants have emphasized that the role of education, mass media and other cultural development and younger generation of Afghans are important for democratization of Afghanistan.

EU and the rest of the international community have chosen wrong local partners (Wak 2008,6; Ramyar 2008, 1-5; Nazar 2008, 1,8). EU has listened to those Afghans, who are fundamentally against Western values such as warlords and leaders of Islamic groups, it has been weakness of EU (Wak 2008, 6; Ramyar 2008, 1-5; Kharoti 2008,4; Adal 2008,5-6, Nazar 2008, 1,8). Friendship with warlords is like playing with a snake, friendship with wolf and trusting fox (Nazar 2008, 1, 8).

Policies of EU and the rest of the international community on organized crimes such as terrorism, drug and mafia have failed, because, they have used wrong methods. For solving a matter first we should know its causes, why it has happened, finding its reasons is important to solve it fundamentally. They have fought against terrorists, but not against terrorism. It needs to uproot (Moradi 2008, 3-4).

Changing Afghan culture is much important than changing a despotic regime. Most of the current problems in Afghanistan are linking to the Afghan culture such as violation of human rights, women rights, children rights, crimes, drugs, terrorism (Kharoti 2008, 2-3).

Choosing local Afghan partners based on their education and work experiences and additionally sharing the same democratic values with them are key factors of victory in Afghanistan.

Afghanistan needs honest foreign partners and also International community needs honest Afghan partners. Choosing wrong partners will be risk of losing time, money, life and aims; it is exactly what has happened after seven years of trying to solve problems of Afghanistan. Right partners of the West are those people who are sharing with the Western people same values. Thousands of Afghans, mostly very educated people are living abroad among them are people who have democratic values. Many young Afghans have graduated from university and looking for jobs (Wak 2008,1-7.)

6.5 NATO

EU has not its own army, but 21 state members of EU are in NATO. Almost all of the EU member states have contributed to the UN-mandated security assistance to Afghanistan under the command of NATO; therefore, role of EU in security of Afghanistan has been important.

NATO in Afghanistan is under control of the United States of America (Ziwari 2008, 1). NATO is a Eurocentric Alliance except U.S.A and Canada the rest of its members are European. 21 of its European members are EU member- states; therefore we can count it as EU force. Currently 25 EU-member states have forces in Afghanistan under command of NATO. However *NATO has not succeeded in fighting against terrorism and bringing security and rule of law, even Mr. Francesc Vendrell EU Special Representative for Afghanistan* has accepted this unsuccessful fact in his interview with BBC (Vafakesh 2008, 3-4). NATO has failed in its policy on war against terrorism and issue of security in Afghanistan (Ramyar 2008, 4-6, Faqiri 2008, 5, and Nabizada 2008 1-9).

6.5.1 Why NATO has not succeeded?

According to many of the participants' opinions, Pakistan is a grown-land and safe land for terrorism. Government of Pakistan has played a double game with both sides. Officially, it has been with international coalition against terrorism, but secretly Pakistan has supported terrorist groups. For solving this problem, there should be enough pressure on Pakistan to stop supporting terrorism.

Terrorists' camps are in Pakistan. Army and intelligence services of Pakistan are supporting terrorist groups against Afghanistan. Roots of terrorism are in Pakistan. International coalition forces didn't destroy these camps and also there have not been enough pressures on Pakistan to stop supporting of terrorism (Wak 2008, 3,5,6; Dehzad 2008,4; Nazar 2008,3;Vafakesh 2008, 7; Sistani 1008, 8;Nabizada 2008, 6, 19-18; Safi 2008,5;Warasi 2008,5;Shafai 2008,2;Mofid 2008, 3; Ziwar 2008i,2). Thousands of Islamic Schools are in Pakistan and about 1/5 million students have already graduated from these schools and some of them support Taliban in war against foreign troops (Rostar-Taraki 2008).

International coalition against terrorism should change its strategy and methods, because those strategies and methods which they have used during the last seven years, have not solved problems (Moradi 2008, 6-7).

6.5.2 Leave My Country

One of the participants in her interview said that all of these nice words such as peace, democracy, freedom, human rights have been used just for keeping people busy and deceiving them. Western countries are not honest in implementation of these policies. Afghanistan is in a critical situation. War, insecurity, corruption, poverty and high level of unemployment have brought Afghanistan to a difficult situation. Afghan people have no security. They do not have jobs; what they can do with these nice words, which are not even implemented. According to her, what has happened within these last seven years has been a big disappointment; therefore, she asks international coalition forces to leave Afghanistan and let Afghan people be alone. Although some other participants are also worried about the current situation of Afghanistan, they did not say that international coalition forces should leave Afghanistan.

West is not honest with Afghans. Using some nice words like democracy, human rights, freedom and ..., can not help to solve problems of people who are suffering from starvation, unemployment. I am against any intervention of the NATO and the US in Afghanistan. This might be not acceptable for most of people, but it is my opinion. Foreign troops are not helping us; they kill civilians, which is not acceptable. I just ask them to leave my country (Enayat-Seraj 2008,2).

6.5.3 We Supported EU but We have been Forgotten

Many of the participants in their interviews have critically described the current situation of Afghanistan and according to them, majority of the silent people of Afghanistan have been supporting international community. These majority of people mostly non-Pashtons and international community have neglected them, especially in reconstruction and aid distribution, and in consequence, this negligence has created anger among these people. According to them, most of the money has been used in South and East of Afghanistan. This is not fair and even such a conduct has encouraged violence. It is better to do reconstruction in peaceful areas in order to demonstrate a good example of stability to witness for those who fight and create violence. Thus, in this way they will learn from the model that if they live in peace they can support reconstruction and economic development.

Afghanistan is a multi-ethnic society. Pashton, Tajik, Hazara and Uzbek are the bigger ethnic groups. After fall of the Taliban, Hazaras, Uzbeks and Tajiks have supported international community, but have been forgotten by international community especially in reconstruction and aid distribution. For example Hazaras are the third biggest ethnic group in Afghanistan; they have fully supported international community against terrorism. During the last seven years in their land has been peace and security. They didn't let Taliban to come to their areas. Hazaras are poor, but they have not produced drugs, unfortunately Government of Afghanistan and the international community didn't have any reconstruction project in Hazaras' land. All attentions have been paid to the South and East of Afghanistan to prevent terrorist activities, most of monies were spent there, but terrorism and production of drug have increased there. Billions of dollars were spent in Afghanistan. About four thousand kilometre roads have been built, but central town of Hazara people in Bamyán is still without asphalt. We have completely forgotten by international community. Afghan Government discriminately and unfairly has done reconstruction. Majority people of Afghanistan who have been living in peace are not happy of this unfairly reconstruction and aid distribution. But still we support international community in war against terrorism (Nabizada 2008,5). International community has forgotten the majority silent Afghans. They paid attention mostly to those who have fought against them (Andishmand 2008; Vafakesh 2008; Warasy 2008; Hazem 2008; Hemmat -Faryabi 2008; Vaezi 2008; Sharan 2008.)

7 The Situation of Afghanistan

7.1 The Process of Post Taliban

The Post-Taliban Afghanistan is different from Afghanistan under the rule of Taliban. Most of the participants said in their interviews that the collapse of the Taliban Regime was a great event. It was very interesting to listen and read every interview. I was expected to get various opinions in this part, but then the result has not been too different. After the fall of the Taliban Regime and the entrance of the international community to Afghanistan, Afghan people have been optimistic and had expectations for quick changes and development. They did not expect that Taliban could be reorganized and would be a threat again against security of Afghanistan.

Post Taliban Afghanistan could be divided into three periods. First as a golden period since the collapse of the Taliban Regime at the end of 2001 until presidential elections in 2004; second as a silver period from 2004 to 2006 and the third as a bronze period from 2006 to the present time.

According to the participants, the first period was a period of trust and optimistic expectations for the future: end of war and suffering, and moving forward to build a new democratic Afghanistan.

Representatives of different Afghan ethnic groups agreed on an Interim Authority in December 2001 in Bonn. A broad based multi-ethnic government started to rule Afghanistan with full support of the international community. Afghan people started to build houses, shops, hotels, banks, and businesses. About a million refugees returned to their country. Local people were sure about peace, security, cultural and economic developments. Private sector, civil society, mass media, political parties, schools, universities were built and prospered; and therefore, it has been a golden period in the history of Post Taliban Afghanistan.

During the second period, those activities were reduced. People were restless about reorganization of Taliban and their activities. After four years of the new period, Afghan people were not pleased a lot, as if they were in the first period because Taliban activities were increasing badly, process of reconstruction was slow, and people were worried. The positive thing which happened in this period was the presidential and the parliamentary elections. This was the first time in the history of Afghanistan that women and men were taking part in the democratic elections.

According to the participants, the third period has been a period of losing hopes and great expectations. Taliban fighters moved from their homes to towns and villages in the south and east to other parts of Afghanistan freely. They threatened Kabul. Afghan Government has been weak and corrupted. Many of the leaders and commanders of Islamic groups have got opportunity to be in power. Taliban has been that much strong that Government of Afghanistan and international community have tried to negotiate with Taliban and other Islamic fundamentalist armed groups for peace and sharing power, but they have rejected their demand and have continued to fight.

The Post-Taliban Afghanistan was started with very high hopes and expectations for quick changes and development. Fall of despotic Taliban Regime was a great event. Women have started to share in the social, cultural, political and economic activities. Around 2000 non-governmental organizations and many political parties and private companies have established. People were started to build houses, shops, hotels, *hundreds of thousands of refugees* returned to Afghanistan. This was a golden period in which everything started to move forward from private sector, civil society, mass media, political parties, schools, universities etc. After the presidential elections these activities were started to reduce. Now Taliban fighters are around Kabul. They are controlling many parts in south and east including many main roads of Afghanistan. There are two possibilities, either Government of Afghanistan and international coalition forces are weak against Taliban or there is a secret plan to bring Taliban back to power (Vaezi 2008,1-2.)

During 2001-2004, it was a good time in the Post- Taliban period, since then situations started to get worse (Ziwar 2008, 1).

The Post-Taliban Afghanistan had its successes and unsucesses. It was good that international community has paid attention to problems of Afghanistan, this is a good opportunity and we should support it. In my opinion West under leadership of the U.S did many mistakes in past in Afghanistan. After the fall of Taliban they have done again mistakes (Osman 2008, 3-5).

The Post Taliban Afghanistan is very different from Afghanistan under Taliban. Many necessary and positive things have been done such as the collapse of Taliban Regime, adaptation of new constitution, presidential and parliamentary elections, functioning of mass media, civil society, reconstruction of roads, schools, national army and national police etc, but after 2004 some serious challenges such as security challenge and activities of Taliban and corruption have increased (Hazrati 2008,1; Warasi 2008, 1-3; Nabizad 2008, 1-7; Wak 2008,1-2; Baktash 2008,2).

Government of Afghanistan and international community have failed in war on terrorism, rule of law, security, counter-narcotics and combating corruption (Nabizada 2008, 6-7; Shafai 2008,1-2; Faqiri 2008, 6-7; Razmyar 2008, 1-5; Vafakesh 2008, 1-9; Andishmand 2008, 5-7; Sharan 2008, 3-5; Enayat-Seraj 2008, 2-4; Baghlani, 2008; Maimanagi 2008; Hemmat Faryabi 2008; Rostar-Taraki and many others).

Why it has happened that most of the superpowers in the world in a coalition of about 40 countries failed in bringing stability to Afghanistan. In answering this question, Sharan, one of the interviewees who worked in a British research team in Afghanistan, blamed Afghan Government saying that:

" I think the political situation in Afghanistan since the collapse of Taliban has been disappointing for a number of reasons. The weak and inability of the Afghan Government led to the preservation of the old political structure, with its own old elements of warlords, patron-client relations. Security situation has deteriorated in the South; Taliban is reaching the doorstep of Kabul. This is mainly to do with corruption within the government and people's disappointment with this regime. People in the south prefer the Taliban because they are better in bringing justice, resolving disputes and order through their harsh methods than the corrupt government officials. A dispute requires lost of bribe which most people can not afford"(Sharan 2008, 4-5).

7.1.1 Bonn Agreement

After the invasion of Afghanistan by the United States of America, in response to the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, and the collapse of the Taliban Regime, a number of Afghan leaders

and representatives of different groups were invited to Germany for negotiation on re-establishment of the State of Afghanistan. This international conference was called "The Bonn Agreement". The Bonn Agreement was a roadmap for Afghanistan, in which agreed on some certain important plans and mechanism of their implementation. The meeting was held in December 2001 by international community and hosted by Germany. In Bonn Agreement, it was agreed on a broad- based multi-ethnic Afghan Interim Authority followed by a Transitional Authority for two years, organizing *Loya Jirga* which is a grand traditional assembly for adopting new constitution and deciding on important political matters, then organizing presidential and parliamentary elections and rebuilding of the justice system.

The participants criticized the Bonn Agreement differently. Some called it undemocratic and an illegal process, some of them said that it was not bad at that time according to that situation. Two of the participants were witnesses, because they were present in the Bonn Meeting and explained what happened there.

Some of them said that basic principles of democracy were violated in Bonn Agreement. They offered an example that participants in Bonn Meeting agreed to vote for choosing a chairman for the next Interim Government of Afghanistan. There were two candidates Hamed Karzai and Professor Sattar Sirat. Dr. Sirat won the elections, but surprisingly the looser candidate Mr. Karzai was appointed for the post of chairmanship, because the winner was not from Pashton's tribe.

In the Bonn Meeting was decided to have a broad based multi-ethnic government for Afghanistan, since then its important plans implemented according to agreed schedules. It was a historical meeting for Afghanistan after more than two decades of civil war, which started with Soviet Union invasion in 1979, followed by rule of Islamic groups of Mujahhedin and Taliban and lack of national government, but in Post Taliban period after presidential elections in 2004 and starting of a weak cabinet, situations have been deteriorating (Vaezi 2008,1). Bonn Agreement was held in a critical situation of Afghanistan and I think it was not bad (Shafai, 2008, 3).

Bonn's plans were implemented quickly, but not very well (Ziwari,2008, 3). Many things were imposed in Bonn Agreement; they brought to power those people who were not capable (Nazar 2008,1). Democracy was violated in the Bonn Agreement which was held by the international community including EU. There were two candidates for chairmanship of the Afghan Interim Government Mr. Sattar Sirat and Mr. Hamed Karzai. Sirat got 11 votes and Karzai 2 votes, but Karzai with 2 votes against all basic principles of democracy accepted as chairman of Interim Government of Afghanistan, because he was belong to Pashton' Tribe. This was first step of process of the democratization of Afghanistan by international community (Nazar,2008, 1; Hemmat Faryaby 2008,7; Ziwary 2008, 3, Adal,2008, 1-3; Maimanagi 2008,11,12). A wrong and undemocratic theory was used in Bonn Agreement (Ziwari, 2008,3).

Bonn Meeting was illegal, because representatives of people were not present in the meeting. Some warlords, leaders of Islamic Fundamentalist Groups and supporters of monarchy were invited to the meeting (Baghlani 2008, 1-2; Adal, 2008,1-3; Hemmat Faryaby 2008, 7; Maimanagi, 2008-6-7). According to this illegal agreement they organized two traditional Loya Jirga meetings for adaptation of new constitution. This was also undemocratic and illegal. The Loya Jirga adopted new constitution. After the adoption of the constitution, illegally 52 articles of this constitution were changed by President Karzai and his team. This is a non democratic process from beginning and now we can see its results (Baghlani 2008, 1-2).

7.1. 2 Current Situation of Afghanistan

The West including EU failed in war against terrorism, and could not bring about stability and democratization in Afghanistan. There are many serious challenges. Afghans have been disappointed of the deterioration of the situation in Afghanistan. Afghan people expected that the biggest army such as NATO and U.S. Army with the support of about 40 countries bring law and order in Afghanistan. Afghan people think that security during Taliban Regime was much better than now. There is deterioration of the security, lack of good governance, high corruption, drug production and trafficking have been increasing, war is going on, fundamentalism has been activated, and Taliban are both in the government and in the battleground fighting against international coalition forces. Majority of Afghans are poor. Unemployment rate is high; hundred thousands of people are addicted. Millions of Afghan refugees are still in Pakistan and Iran, due to bad security and high unemployment they do not return to Afghanistan. Ahamdi is one of the participants said that "I don't understand what coalition forces are doing in Afghanistan? Are they really fighting against terrorism?" Obviously, according to participants' views, international community has failed in Afghanistan in issues of war against terrorism, security, rule of law, and counter- narcotics.

Plans of the EU and the rest of the international community for democratization, war on terrorism, peace, security, rule of law, counter- narcotics, rebuilding, returning of refugees, human rights and women rights have not succeeded yet. Security is getting worse, Taliban and Al-Qaeda has reorganized, production of narcotics is increased, Afghan Government is very corrupted, reconstruction process has been very slow and unfair, social problems such as poverty, unemployment, amount of addicted people to narcotics, suicides, kidnapping, even prostitution and other crimes and problems have increased. Discrimination and tensions between ethnic groups have restarted (Hemmat Faryabi 2008,2; Warasy 2008, 11-12).

Now Taliban are everywhere, in the government, parliament, judicial organization, in national police and national army, in secret services, even in the palace of president, not only in Afghanistan, but also in Pakistan (Faryaby, 2008,1; Warasy,11-12). Taliban have influenced on policymaking of both countries. Taliban are reorganized, not only by supporting of Pakistan, Saudi-Arabia and Iran, but also surprisingly by financial support of the international community to the Financial Ministry of Afghanistan. The Financial Minister of Afghanistan is chairman of Afghan Nation Party "Afghan Mellat", which is a far- right party supporting hegemony of Pashton's Tribe which Taliban also belong. His idea has been against a multicultural Afghanistan and has continuously tried to maximize hegemony of own tribe and share Taliban in the government (Faryaby, 2008,1). Generally situation of Afghanistan has been deteriorated (Vaezi 2008, 2; Sistani 2008, 4-7; Sarabi 2008, 3; Hazrati 2008,1;Hazem 2008,1; Dehqan 2008, 5,6; Kharoti 2008, 4-7).

7.1 3 Estimation of the Future of Afghanistan

According to the participants, Afghanistan is encountering serious challenges. Government of Afghanistan is paralyzed because of corruption and disability to overcome its internal problems. Ethnic conflicts have restarted. Based on the participants' views, Taliban have their supporters inside the government. They have influenced policies of government. Islamic Taliban's is returning to Afghanistan. Fundamentalism has increased. The government of Afghanistan is now in control of fundamentalists. Afghan people are uncertain about the future of their country. Everything depends on policy of the international community. EU is in Afghanistan to combat against organized crimes, but vice versa they have been increasing. This condition is complicated and ambiguous.

Estimation of future of Afghanistan in current situations is very difficult (Hendia 2008, 1-2; Hazarati 2008, 1). There are some very strong challenges such as weakening of security, returning of Taliban, corruption in the government, *strengthening of hegemony of Pashton's Tribe in the government, regional tensions, economic crisis etc, which make us really worry about future*(Hemmat Faryabi 2008, 12). *Fighting is going on and nobody knows when it ends* (Hazarti, 2008, 1). *According to present situation Taliban will return back to power. Future of Afghanistan depends on policy of the international community, do they save it from terrorist groups or give it back to them. Prestige of NATO and the international community depends on victory in this war* (Warasi, 2008,12). *Government of President Karzai is very weak and corrupted* (Sistani 2008,12). *Situation is getting worse and people are worry about their future* (Nabiza 2008,10). *People are disappointed of deterioration of situations* (Shafae2008, 2). *There are only two possibilities: victory of democracy or disintegration and division of Afghanistan, there is not third option* (Kharoti 2008, 5).

7.2 Stability of Afghanistan

7.2.1 Introduction

Afghanistan is still an unstable country. There are many crucial challenges, which are mostly linking to each other. War against Taliban and Al-Qaeda is going on. Terrorist groups have re-equipped and have expanded their actions. Islamic fundamentalism has increased. Afghan government is weak. Discrimination and ethnic conflicts have restarted. War, insecurity, corruption, lack of good governance, increasing of production of opium, poverty and other problems have effect on other issues like on the process of reconstruction, economic development and rule of law. In fact, the international community lacks a united strategy in Afghanistan. Thus, many problems of Afghanistan are both regional and international.

7.2.2 Strategy

According to the participants, there has been lack of a collective action and a united strategy in Afghanistan. Many countries including EU member states have their activities in Afghanistan. These countries have their own national policies and do not necessarily act under a united strategy. According to the interviewees, this has been a weakness of international community. Lack of a single strategy and the significance of following it, is a key issue for victory. The interviewee, Mr. Meesaq suggests that Afghan government with EU and the rest of the international community can establish a high council for studying, planning, cooperation and following a single strategy. Representatives of Afghan government and international community can work together in this council to lead a collective action.

The European Union's policy in Afghanistan has been very fragmented with different voices and strategies. There has been lack of collective action. Because of this problem European Union has not been able to speak in one voice and come up with a coherent development strategy (Sharan 2008,2).

Keeping this situation will cost a lot. For solving current problems, international community needs to renew its plans according to experiences of the past seven years. I think building nation-state and good governance are important (Shafai 2008, 2). Policies and activities of the last seven years should be studied again for new strategies (Saifi 2008, 9; Nazar 2008, 9). Fighting corruption, bringing criminals to justice, employment of educated and

professionals and bringing law and order help stability of Afghanistan (Saifi 2008, 9). It is necessary to renew plans (Hemmat- Faryabi 2008, 2).

Afghanistan for its stability and development needs a single strategy with international community (Wak 2008,7). One of the main problems has been lack of a single strategy (Osman 2008,2; Tach 2008,4; Nabizada 2008,6). There has been disagreement on Afghanistan among great powers. (Baktash 2008, 3). Policy of the international community in war against terrorism has not been clear, for example there has been disagreement between the U.S. and the UK (Hazem 2008, 2). There has been lack of single strategy in fighting against terrorism (Dehqan 2008, 5-6). EU for achievement of its policy on war against terrorism needs a single strategy and collective action (Warasy 2008, 8).

7.2.3 War against Terrorism

7.2. 3.1 Definition of Terrorism

According to some of the interviewees, definition of terrorism from a legal point of view is under question. There is not a single definition in international law about terrorism; therefore, every state can recognize its oppositions as terrorists.

There is not a single definition of terrorism. What is now called terrorism, is mostly idea of President Bush that he called it fist crusades war and then changed it to international war on terror (Baghlani 2008,1). There is not an exact definition about terrorism in the international law. Everyone can call its enemy terrorist, now many states use this word for punishment of their enemies (Rostar- Taraki 2008, 5.)

7.2.3.2 Great Dream of Al-Qaeda

The Al-Qaeda Organization had planned to establish an Islamic Empire in the South and Central Asia for its greater and further aims (Baghlani 2008, 4).

7.2.3.3 Current Situation of War against Terrorism

All of the participants stated that security in Afghanistan is getting worse. Taliban and Al-Qaeda fighters have returned to the battleground. They are controlling many areas in Afghanistan and also

in Pakistan. Even they threat Kabul. Apparently, international community has failed to destroy terrorism.

Situation of Afghanistan during the past seven years has been unstable and has getting worse (Rostar- Taraki 2008, 2; Wak 2008, 1,3). Terrorist activity has not decreased, but increased (Sarabi 2008, 3). Security situation of Afghanistan is very weak, even in Kabul, if somebody goes out of his home he is not sure to come safely back (Dehghan 2008, 5-6). People are worry about security issue (Dehzad 2008,3). Policy of security and peace in Afghanistan has failed (Meesaq 2008, 1). Taliban and Al-Qaida have reorganized and came back to battlefield, now Government of Afghanistan and the international community want to negotiate with Taliban to share them in to power. This is weakness of the U.S and NATO (Razmyar 2008, 2). Taliban's attacks have increased (Nabizada 2008, 6). Taliban fighters have reached in doorstep of Kabul (Sharan 2008,3-5). Policy of the West in war on terrorism, establishment of peace, security, rule of law and combating against narcotics and corruption has not succeeded (Faqiri 2008, 4-7).

7.2.3.4 Deficiency of International Community in Bringing Stability

Some of the participants have criticized that international community has not tried seriously with a far-sighted vision to solve problems; thus, they grow and expand. Some of the participants said that it is hard to believe that world's great powers such as US, NATO, EU, and UN, with about 40 countries and with worldwide support, have been incapable to overcome a small group of terrorists.

War of Iraq has affected the situation of Afghanistan badly, because US paid more attention to Iraq than Afghanistan.

Security is the most important challenge, which has affected general condition of Afghanistan. For Afghans security is the top priority.

If the EU, the U.S and the rest of the international community wanted to solve problems, no doubt that they could succeed. Seven years has been enough time, especially with very worldwide coalition and supports. Also people of Afghanistan have supported them. They have had power to succeed. It is very hard to believe that they have been weak against a small group of terrorist. I am sure that it was possible to arrest Bin Laden leader of Al-Qaeda, Mulla Omar leader of Taliban and other leaders of terrorist groups. They have had power to stop production of narcotics and bringing law and order, they have had power to change economic situation of Afghanistan, there are many questions such as why and how Taliban and Al-Qaeda fighters re-equipped and re-organized, why general situation of Afghanistan has been deteriorated? (Meesaq 2008,10). It is a question that why world superpowers such as U.S, NATO, EU, UN and the rest of the international community have not succeeded in war against a small group, which was destroyed in 2001, but now Taliban

came back and they are serious challenge for security of Afghanistan (Saifi 2008, 4). Western Countries have power to solve problems of Afghanistan if they want (Adal 2008,6). Terrorist camps in Pakistan should be destroyed and their leaders in Pakistan should be arrested (Amirzada 2008, 7).

It was weakness of the international community that Taliban and Al-Qaeda re-organized. They have used drug's money for their costs (Sistani 2008, 8).

Iraq's War has affected significantly in war on terror in Afghanistan, because before Iraq's War security in Afghanistan was much better than now (Sistani 2008, 8).

Security is the most important challenge, which has affected on other situations (Wak 2008, 2,7; Sistani 2008,12). First priority is security (Rostar-Taraki 2008, 4).

7.2.3.5 The influence of Stability of Afghanistan on the Region

According to the participants, most of the greatest challenges of Afghanistan have a link with neighbor countries of Afghanistan; therefore, regional cooperation is important for the stability of Afghanistan and its neighbors.

Organized crimes such as terrorism, drug trafficking are regional and global problems. Security and stability of Afghanistan depends on stability of its neighbors. During the Cold War conflicts many countries of neighborhood of Afghanistan had their interferences in Afghanistan, which is somehow still continuing. Also different ethnic groups of Afghanistan have their relationships with ethnic groups of neighbor countries. Apparently, this region is socially, culturally and politically constructed.

Since beginning of the Cold War's conflicts in 1978 neighbors of Afghanistan had their interferences in Afghanistan. Also during thirty years war millions of Afghans have moved to live in neighbor's countries mostly in Pakistan and Iran (Rostar- Taraki 2008, 3). Since invasion of Afghanistan by the U.S Army, Afghanistan has turned to a new battlefield (Nazar 2008, 1). Neighbors of Afghanistan support illegal armed groups. International community should stop it (Ramzyar 2008, 2).

Afghanistan is a multicultural country. Its ethnic groups have their relationships with nation and ethnic groups of neighbors. Afghanistan neighbors have had their interferences in Afghanistan, therefore cooperation of neighbor's states is key issue for stability of Afghanistan (Nabizada 2008, 1, 18-19).

7.2.4 Pakistan-Afghanistan

7.2.4.1 Terrorism as a Method of Wealth and Power

Security of Afghanistan depends on the security of the region. It is interdependence. There are regional problems and conflicts such as *Durban Line Agreement* between Pakistan and Afghanistan, conflicts of India with Pakistan. And Iran is against US.

Pakistan is using Taliban and other Islamic fundamentalists as a power against Afghanistan and India. For Pakistan, terrorism is a way of getting rich and obtaining power; therefore, the U.S. has supported billions of dollars to Pakistan to fight against terrorism. Terrorism is a great business for Pakistan to get wealthy. Thus as a way of income, Pakistan takes advantage of terrorism to become richer.

Drug is another regional problem. Drug trafficking is under the control of regional and international mafia; security and stability of the region is not in favor of drug dealers' policy. According to the participants, there are many serious challenges for the stability of the region.

Thousands of Islamic Schools "*madrases*" produce fundamentalism. Fundamentalists, mafia, war, drugs, weapon marketing are connected together.

Pakistan is birth place of Taliban and many of other fundamentalist Islamic groups. After events of September 11, Pakistan immediately announced its support to international coalition against terrorism. According to New York Times Magazine, Pakistan in reaction to support of India to Afghanistan, has kept Taliban for balance of power. This shows that problem of Afghanistan is a regional problem. According to New York Times a retired officer of Pakistan has told that after event of September 11, leaders of Pakistan came to this conclusion that keeping of Taliban is the best way of getting rich to develop Pakistan (Vafakesh 2008,7). Taliban re-organized by Intelligence Service of Pakistan "I.S.I". Also Iran has supported Taliban against U.S Army to keep West busy in Afghanistan (Vafakesh 2008,8). Pakistan by keeping Taliban active gets benefits. Terrorist groups' camps are in Pakistan and they come from Pakistan to Afghanistan (Nabizada 2008, 6). Terrorism, corruption and drug trafficking are regional problems (Nazar 2008,3). Pakistan was established on the bases of Islam after its disintegration with vast of India. Currently in Pakistan are about 20 to 30 thousands of Islamic schools. From these Islamic schools about 1.5 million students have graduated. These schools are main supporters of Taliban; therefore war on terror never ends (Rosta-Taraki 2008). Security of Afghanistan depends on destruction of terrorist's bases in Pakistan. Without destroying these bases in Pakistan, it is impossible to have security and peace in Afghanistan (Wak 2008, 5). Security of Afghanistan depends on policy and cooperation of Pakistan. Pakistan had played a double game in issue of war on terror, in one side has been with international coalition against

terrorism and in other side has supported terrorists groups. There must be strong pressure on Pakistan to stop this playing game (Dehzad 2008, 4). EU and U.S know that roots of terrorism are in Pakistan, they get train and equipments from there. International community didn't push enough Pakistan to stop it (Sistani 2008, 8). Afghanistan never reaches peace without destruction of terrorist's camps in Pakistan (Safi 2008, 5). Training camps of international terrorist including Taliban are in tribal areas in Pakistan (Hazrati 2008,1).

International community with one voice pushes Pakistan to stop supporting Taliban (Wak 2008, 5,7; Keshtmand 2008,3). It is very clear that Pakistan supports Taliban, without supporting of Pakistan, Taliban can not continue to fight (Warsay 2008,5). In Pakistan Army is strong. Power is mainly in the hand of Army. That is why politicians are weak and can not stop terrorism, because Army and Intelligence Service of Pakistan are main players in issue of terrorism, that is why President Bush asked in his meeting with Prime Minister of Pakistan Gilani in August 2008 that "Who controls I.S.I the Intelligence Service of Pakistan" (Shafai 2008, 2). Taliban gets supports from Pakistan (Hazem 2008, 2; Mofid 2008,3; Ziwari 2008, 2). U.S and NATO have not a clear policy on Pakistan, which is safe land of Taliban and Al-Qaeda Organization (Tach 2008, 4).

7.2.4.2 The Durand Line Agreement

Some of the participants discussed about *Durand Line's Agreement*, which was agreed upon between Afghanistan and India under British Colony in 1893. After independence of Pakistan, Grand Assembly of Afghanistan declared it invalid. Since then, Pakistan and Afghanistan are in tensions. According to the participants' opinions, Durand Line Agreement will positively affect on the policy of Pakistan to reach a solution.

Problem of Afghanistan with Pakistan on *Durand Line should be solved; otherwise* Pakistan doesn't change its strategy of supporting Taliban against Afghanistan. According to Afghanistan the agreement of Durand Line was temporary and that area which is about 2/3 of Pakistan should be given back to Afghanistan, this is a question of surviving and existing for Pakistan, with out solving this problem Pakistan will continue to support terrorists and anarchy in Afghanistan(Hemmat- Faryabi 2008,5-6). Solving Durand Line's problem with Pakistan and destroying roots of terrorism in Pakistan help security and stability in Afghanistan (Wak 2008, 5,15). I read my self this agreement when I worked in Foreign Ministry; I think it is an easy way to solve this problem with Pakistan according to international law under mediation of the international community (Adal 2008, 4, 7-9). Solving problem of Durand Agreement with Pakistan will help security and stability in Afghanistan (Faryabi, 2008; Baghlani 2008; Warasy, 2008; Andishmand 2008; Ziwari 2008; Mofid 2008,2; Hazem 2008, 2;). For stability and development of Afghanistan two things are necessary to be done, first solving Durand Line's Agreement with Pakistan and second keeping politics and religion separate from each other (Kharoti 2008, 2).

7.2.5 Taliban

The participants explained how Taliban Movement has been established. According to them, Taliban is a foreign project for political, military and economic aims of those who established it. Taliban are Islamic Students in Pakistan. The Taliban Movement has been founded and trained by Intelligence Service of Pakistan then they were sent to Afghanistan in 2004. Taliban are mixed Afghans and Pakistanis. According to participants, Pakistan with some of the western countries supported Taliban for their interests. Taliban are mostly next generation of Islamic Mujahedin, who fought against Afghan government and the Soviet Union Army during the Cold War conflicts by the aid of the West. Some of the participants criticized that West has used Islamic fundamentalist groups for its political agendas.

Removing of Taliban from power was a positive achievement according to the most of the participants.

The collapse of the Taliban Regime in 2001 was a great achievement (Meesaq; Sarabi; Warasy; Hazem; Dehzad; Razamyar; Wak; Dehghan; Tach; Hazarati; Shafai, Vaezi).

Taliban was a military project of Pakistan with support of some Western Countries (Vafakesh 2008,7). Intelligence Service of Pakistan established Taliban Movement (Razmyar 2008, 1). Pakistan has been birth place and safe home of many of fundamentalist Islamic groups such as Islamic Mujaheddin and Taliban. West under leadership of the United States of America has supported both Islamic Mujaheddin and the Taliban. These groups mostly have used by Pakistan and the West for their strategic aims. For example Islamic Mujaheddin fighters were supported by the West against People's Democratic of Afghanistan and the Soviet Union's Army during the Cold War, then they used Taliban against Mujahhadin Groups, again they used Islamic Mujahheddin Groups against Taliban in 2001 to end Taliban Regime(Rasamyar 2008,1. Taliban Regime collapsed in U.S attacks by support of Islamic Mujaheddin "The Northern Alliance"(Hemmat-Faryabi 2008,1; Ziware 2008,3,7).

Taliban were mostly Afghans Islamic students in Pakistan. During this time Afghanistan was at civil war between different Islamic Groups. Pakistan, Saudi- Arabia and UK sent Taliban to Afghanistan. During this time Unocal Company, which was a Union *Oil Company* of California, wanted to build the Trans-Afghanistan Pipeline to run it from the Caspian area through Afghanistan to Pakistan and Indian Ocean, therefore the Unocal opened an office in 2006 in Kandahar (Sistani 2008, 1.)

Pakistan supported Taliban to win in Afghanistan, but Taliban didn't want to be controlled by Pakistan, I met many times some leaders of Taliban in their trips to Europe, they told me that they want to be more independent from Pakistan. For example Pakistan was against destruction of Buddha Statues of Bamyan, but Taliban destroyed them, another example is that Pakistan wanted that Taliban to hand over Osama Bin Laden to U.S, but Taliban didn't

accept it (Rosta-Taraki 2008,5-6). International community should be strong against Taliban, otherwise Taliban doesn't understand something else (Amirzada 2008, 7).

7.2.6 National Army and National Police

According to the participants, Afghanistan needs a strong national army and national police to fight against terrorism and to bring law and order to the country. If Afghanistan has strong army and police forces it can take main role in fighting against Taliban. It minimizes human and financial costs of the international coalition. This is a fundamental solution for stability of Afghanistan. The best solution is that international community helps Afghan government to build its own security forces.

NATO, US and EU help Afghanistan to build its national army and national police, and let them to fight Taliban. This is better for them, because it reduces their human costs (Sistani 2008, 9). Afghanistan should have strong national army and national police (Wak 2008, 15; Vafakesh 2008, 8; Dehghan 2008, 6,7; Safi 2008, 4; Baktash 2008, 2; Rasmyar 2008,8; Tach 2008,3).

The National Army and the National Police of Afghanistan should be supported. The National Army and the National Police of Afghanistan take main role in fighting against Taliban. International coalition forces support them when they need. These prevent currently increasing public anger against coalition forces, because of civilian casualties in their military operations and also it reduces casualties of the coalition forces in fighting (Moradi, 2008, 6; Kharoti 2008, 3).

7.2.7 Disarmament of Illegal Armed Groups

According to the participants, the project of disarmament of illegal armed groups has almost succeeded, but still the work needs to be completed. Many individuals and also some groups still have weapons and they should be disarmed.

Some of the participants have blamed President Karzai saying that he wants to give weapons to his own tribe in South and East of Afghanistan to create a private army "*Arbakey*" for the purpose of fighting against terrorism, but in reality it is a project of arming one tribe against others. This issue, according to the interviewees, is dangerous for security and unity of Afghanistan. They said that the

best solution is to support only National Army and National Police of Afghanistan and avoid creating a tribal army.

The process of disarmament has been almost succeeded, but it should be continued to complete (Sistani 2008, 3). There are still some illegal groups who have weapons, they should be disarmed (Wak 2008, 1,13). Disarmament of those people who have illegally weapons is necessary for security (Ramyar 2008,8).

Karzai wants to build a Tribal Army "Arbakai" in the South from Pashton's ethnic group, in fact he disarmed other ethnic groups in the North, but now has planned to give armaments to his own ethnic, this is not good for security of Afghanistan, and this is a dangerous plan. (Amirzada 2008, 8).

7.2.8 Counter-Narcotics

Afghanistan is the biggest producer of opium in the world. Production and trafficking of narcotics are prohibited according to Constitution of Afghanistan. Drug trafficking is an organized crime. EU is fighting against it. The illegal narcotics trade is a primary threat to the stability of Afghanistan. It links to terrorism, mafia, corruption and insecurity of Afghanistan, which are currently serious challenges and key barriers to the development and stability of Afghanistan. Mafia is a third power in Afghanistan. A percentage of the production of opium was almost to a zero level at the end of Taliban Regime but now Afghanistan is the world biggest drug producer. The policy of the international community in Afghanistan is to uproot drugs, but it has surprisingly been increasing to the level of the world's biggest producer.

Counter-narcotic's policy has failed. Since the collapse of the Taliban Regime, production of drugs has significantly increased. There are many questions that are difficult to find answers for, such as NATO, EU, US whether they have power to stop production of opium or not. But since their presence in Afghanistan, narcotic problem has been increasing. Here, asking: who brings thousands tons of drugs to Europe and to the rest of the world? Some of the participants argued that West is interested in drug business.

The problem of narcotics has become an insulation knot in Afghanistan. Policy of the West on counter- narcotics has not succeeded. Since fall of the Taliban Regime in 2001 production of narcotics has increased (Sarabi 2008, 4). Drug's smuggling is an organized crime, which is a part of globalization and it is an international matter (Ahmadi 2008,8). Production of narcotics has increased. Drug has links to terrorist groups and mafia in

Afghanistan. Thousands of Afghans have already addicted to drugs (Vafakesh 2008,2). Government of Afghanistan has been saying that cultivation of opium has decreased, but generally it is the same as before, because in the some parts of the country it has decreased, but in other parts it has increased (Shafai 2008, 1). Afghan farmers didn't get financial help to have alternative livelihoods (Dehzad 2008, 2-3). International community including EU has not been serious to fight against drugs and stop production and smuggling of drugs (Vaezi 2008, 4). Most of drugs in Europe come from Afghanistan and I think EU can help Afghanistan in fighting against drugs, for example by offering alternative livelihoods to Afghans' farmers (Warasy 2008, 8). In matter of counter-narcotics Government of Afghanistan and the international community both are responsible and answerable, they didn't cooperate together in this issue (Baktash 2008,1). There has been a double standard policy on counter-narcotics for example in the South and East of Afghanistan nobody has stopped production of drugs, but in other parts of Afghanistan it has forced to stop, it is a serious question why it is like that? (Hazen 2008,4.) Drug's problem has directly influences on other major problems such as terrorism, mafia, corruption, anarchy and insecurity. For stability and development of Afghanistan it is one of the first and most priority to fight against drugs (Tach 2008, 2,12). Production of drugs and its smuggling should be stopped (Dehghan 2008, 9-18; Razmyar 2008, 5). Afghanistan is completely in the hand of Western Countries. They have army and all powers to stop drugs, but why it has increased, especially after the invasion of Afghanistan and presence of the U.S and NATO? It is possible that they are interested in drug's trade (Adal 2008,2). We should ask that who brings drugs from Afghanistan to Europe and to other parts of the world (Adal 2008,2; Saifi 2008, 4).

7.2.8.1 Who Bring Drugs to Europe?

The participants in the interview said that illegal drug trade is in the hand of international mafia, which broadly has links with Afghan government and also with foreign countries. They argued that foreigners have been involved in illegal drug trade and they smuggle it to other countries. Afghan farmers get a small amount of money enough to produce opium, but foreigners buy it. Those who buy it also transfer it to other countries.

2/3 of total narcotics are produced only in Helmand Province, which is under the control of UK and US. Only UK has 7000 troops in Helmand, but they do not stop the production of opium.

According to documents, about 90% of drugs in Europe come from Afghanistan. Who brings it to Europe? In the end of the Taliban Regime production of opium was very low, but after the fall of the Taliban Regime it has been increased every year. My question is that why EU and the rest of the international community have not stopped production and trafficking of narcotics? Terrorism, instability and drugs have linked to each other. Production of narcotics has increased. I don't know why it has increased? It was supposed to be reduced and destroyed (Saifi 2008, 4). In drug's smuggling, army and police of both

Afghans and foreigners have involved, they do it, not Afghans' farmers. People are poor and produce opium, but foreigners bring it from Afghanistan to other countries. If they don't buy it nobody produce it (Baghlani 2008, 3). About 40 countries are in international coalition in Afghanistan, but they couldn't stop production of drugs, it is very interesting and questionable (Dehzad 2008, 2). In the last seven years mafia has influenced on Government of Afghanistan (Dehzad 2008, 2). Afghans farmer just produce narcotics, but its smuggling to Europe does by foreigners (Andishmand 2008, 13). International Mafia gets benefits of drug's money, they give very little of it to Afghan farmers (Saifi 2008, 12). Some people in Government of Afghanistan became very rich in very short time, many suspect that they have connection to drug's business (Sistani 2008, 12-13). Drug's mafia has its strong influences on Afghans' Government (Ziai 2008, 1). Afghans' farmers produce narcotics, but foreigners buy it and smuggle it. I suspect very much that Europeans do it, for example Province of Helmand is under control of the Great Britain. According to United Nations, Afghan Government and media, about 2/3 of total narcotics produce in this province. There are 7000 British soldiers and they seeing that everywhere farmers produce narcotics, but allow them to do it. Why drug's production just has increased in this province? Afghanistan has 34 provinces, but why just Helmand produces 2/3 of total productions. It is also clear that narcotics links to terrorism, which means counter- narcotics is a part of fighting against terrorism. It is organized crime and policy of EU is against organized crime, but British has allowed farmers to produce drugs (Adal 2008, 3-3). Why duty of counter- narcotics has given to British (Warasy 2008, 6).

7.2.9 Corruption

The participants in their interviews argued that the capacity of the government of Afghanistan is low. Government is corrupted. Corruption is also high among NGOs and foreign countries in Afghanistan. Billions of dollars have been contributed to Afghanistan by the international community. This huge money has mostly been spent by foreign countries and NGOs but less by Afghan government. However, according to the participants, the results of spending this huge amount of money are unsatisfactory. The interviewees' opinions are that Afghan people have been expecting to have a democratic and a responsible government, but they have been disappointed by hopeless results of the process of democratization. They blamed that there have been lack of surveillance and balances in which the role of judiciary and parliament, and informally civil society and media are important. But it seems except media, the other three: Government of Afghanistan, international community in Afghanistan and NGOs have been weak or corrupted.

After fall of the Taliban, billions of dollars have given to Afghanistan by international community. With this huge amount of money people were expected that their lives get

better, but it seems that they have disappointed. A very small group became rich, but majority of people are suffering of absolute poverty (Vafakesh 2008, 2). Afghan Government is weak and corrupted (Vafakesh 2008, 2; Hazrati 2008,1). Corruption is very high in the government (Ziwari, 2008, 3). Billions of dollars were given to Afghanistan, but its results are not very much. It was suppose to use this money for reconstruction, economic development, improvement of security, counter- narcotics, but people don't feel or see these things (Meesaq 2008, 1-2). If they spent just 10% of money which has been given to Afghanistan for sure people today had different economic situation (Saifi 2008, 13). In corruption both Afghan Government and foreigners who are in Afghanistan have been involved, therefore it is difficult to estimate whether rule of law and security improve in the future or not (Shafai 2008,2). A lot of money came to Afghanistan, but there has been lack of accountability. Money mostly has been spent by donors itself or NGOs, just a small part of it has been given to Afghan Government, and therefore in corruption both international community and Afghan Government are responsible (Rasmyar 2008, 5.)

Government of Afghanistan is corrupted (Dehghan, 2008, 6; Osman 2008, 3; Nabizada 2008, 8-11; Kharoti 2008, 3; Safi, 4-5; Faqiri 2008,4-7)

One aim of international community in Afghanistan has been to help Afghan's people to establish a democratic government and supporting stability and rule of law, but now it is given different picture to Afghan people. It is clear that corruption in the government is high, but what is role of international community in Afghanistan? (Tach 2008, 10). Afghan Government has said many times that a small amount of money which was contributed by international community has been given to Afghan Government, but most of that money has been spent by civil society and foreign countries (Ziai 2008, 7.)

I think for stability two things should be done: Firstly, criminals should not be anymore in the government as currently they are in very high positions, secondly, implementation of law and punishment of criminals especially drug's mafia (Warasy 2008,1-2). Good governance and rule of law are very weak in Afghanistan, it should be supported (Dehzad 2008,2).

My plan for stability has three parts. Part one is that all those criminals who have killed people in the past thirty years should not be anymore in government. They should be brought to justice. These people will be in my estimation about 1000 to 2000. If this is not possible to bring them to justice, then give them general amnesty with international guarantees in one condition that they should not be anymore in the government. Part two, Afghanistan under international community should solve its problems with Pakistan, which is *Durand Line. That is why Pakistan is supporting Taliban*. Additionally it needs to build a wall in this common border with Pakistan. Third part for stability of Afghanistan is that for development and reconstruction every province of Afghanistan be given to one foreign country. This brings more security and stability and development (Adal 2008, 7-9.)

7.3 Democratization

7.3.1 Introduction

Actually democratization of Afghanistan has been controversial. The participants discussed about state-building, freedom, rule of law, human rights, development of media and civil society, reconstruction and economic development. Also they debated about key obstacles to the process of democratization and stability of Afghanistan such as corruption, fundamentalism and low capacity of government.

Problems of Afghanistan, which somehow also link to globalization, fundamentalism and international terrorism, are difficult and complicated. Afghanistan is still unknown to the West. Western democracy is new for Afghans and it is still a question whether it functions or not, especially with the weak security, high corruption and Islamic fundamentalists who are in power. Besides, international mafia has been involved in drugs and weapons in Afghanistan.

Problem of Afghanistan is the most difficult one, which also became an international problem. This problem is very difficult and has many sides and many players (Osman 2008,1). Afghan Society is very difficult society. Many political systems such as despotic regimes, absolute kingship, monarchy, people's democratic, Islamic Regime, absolute Islamic Regime and now western style of democracy experienced there, but no one has succeeded there (Meesaq 2008, 8-9). Western countries have thought that Afghanistan is like South Korea, Japan or like some countries in the Persian Gulf that they can stay there for a long period, but it is not. It is very different from other countries; therefore this war will be a very long one (Rostar-Taraki 2008, 5). Problems of Afghanistan are complicated and have internal and external players. For its solution first step is that international community changes its local Afghan partners by supporting educated and democrat Afghans; second step is that they work closely together to achieve a single strategy (Wak 2008, 1-8).

7.3.2 Democracy

7.3.2.1 Political Development

After the collapse of the Taliban, a broad- based multi-ethnic government has been established. Women and minorities have shared in the government. Over 100 political

parties have been established. Millions of children without gender discrimination have started to study. Media and civil society has developed very much. A democratic constitution was adopted. But it does not mean that Afghanistan is now a democratic state. Democratization of Afghanistan is a long process. Many warlords and criminals, even drug dealers and mafia have been in power. In fact, now the whole system is corrupted.

Democracy politically has developed, for example there is now political pluralism, and for the first time in history of Afghanistan people have taken part in democratic elections. Millions of children both girls and boys are studying in schools (Kharoti 2008, 1). In Post Taliban Afghanistan many necessary and positive steps were taken such as collapse of Taliban Regime, adaptation of new constitution, presidential and parliamentary elections, functioning of mass media, civil society, reconstruction of roads, schools (Meesaq 2008, 1; Hazrati 2008,1-2; Warasi 2008,8-9, Nabizad 2008, 1-5, Wak 2008,1-2; Baktash 2008,2). Establishment and registration of over 100 political parties was a positive step to political freedom (Meesaq 2008, 1). In this new period people have seen democracy at least they can compare with the old systems (Shafai 2008,1). In the past, for example when my father was king, he wanted to bring democracy, but he lost his aim, I don't know what will happen this time (Hendia 2008.2).

7.3.2.2 Media

One of the successful achievements during the past seven years of Post Taliban is a development of mass media. Hundreds of websites, newspapers, radios and television channels have been established. But during Taliban era, free media was banned.

Development of media is one of the most successful achievements in Afghanistan, after the fall of Taliban Regime. In fact it has been a key element for development of democracy and awareness of people (Warasy 2008, 8-9.) Media has been developed very much. Now there are hundreds of online websites, newsletters and tens of radios and television's channels (Shafai 2008, 1). Media has significantly developed in the recent years in Afghanistan (Kharoti 2008, 1; Nabizada 2008, 16; Hendia 2008,4; Enayat-Seraj 2008,8; Nazar 2008,3). Communications such as internet, telephone, post have developed (Ziai 2008,12).

7.3.2.3 Civil Society

Significantly, civil society has been developed. Now there are over 2000 NGOs in Afghanistan. The role of civil society in reconstruction and providing services has been important. In fact, without

civil society there will be serious problems, because the capacity of the government and its activities is still low and limited. Thus civil society has been in danger due to corruption and lack of accountability, which is the weakness of Afghan government and foreign donors.

Civil society has been developed very well; recently there are over two thousands of non-governmental organizations (Vaezi 2008, 1-2). Also many private companies such as private universities, private schools, private air lines, private banks, and private media have been established (Ziai 2008, 7; Warasy 2008, 8-9; Meesaq 2008,1; Vaezi 2008, 1-2).

Corruption has been high in the NGOs with lack of checks and balances (Osman 2008, 3; Razamyar 2008, 4; Vafakesh 2008,9; Tach 2008, 3,17; Nabizada 2008,6; Sistani 2008,5).

7.3.2.4 Challenges and Deadlock of Democracy

There are many serious challenges and problems such as war, disparities and conflicts among different ethnic groups, violation of human rights, Islamic fundamentalism, and lack of good governance, corruption and narcotics.

Definitely, successful achievements in political developments, media, civil society, private sector and schooling cannot be continued without rule of law, security, peace and stability, which are still fragile and unstable. According to the interviewees, it seems that Taliban may return to power, which means that all of these achievements will be demolished. Islamic fundamentalist groups such as Mujaheddin and some of Taliban members are already in the government of Afghanistan. They have been key barriers against democratization of Afghanistan. Now political negotiations are going on with Taliban to bring them back to power. Return of Taliban may help to achieve peace and security but with the cost of freedom, democracy, human rights, women rights, minority rights and most seriously, the risk of rebuilding a state of terrorism and return of international terrorism to Afghanistan, because Taliban has been a close ally of Al-Qaeda.

West has done mistake in the past and is doing the same mistake by supporting of the fundamentalism (Osman 2008,3-5). Fundamentalists are against democratic values. They are decision makers in the government and it is impossible that they let democracy to develop (Osman, 2008, 3-5; Maimanagi 2008,5). West supported fundamentalists. The West has not supported Afghan democrats. After fall of Taliban Regime fundamentalist Islamic groups with support of the West returned back to power, West has chosen a wrong partner and didn't succeed in its policies (Razmyar 2008, 1-3.)

Process of democratization was almost well functioned since collapse of the Taliban Regime in 2001 until presidential elections in 2004. After the presidential elections many factors have been weakened process of the democratization. For example decision makers were mostly either ethnical supporters who have been trying to support their own ethnic groups, or fundamentalist Muslims. Most of them were unprofessional with low education and capacity. Among them have been drug dealers and other criminals. Some very few democrats and educated people in the government could not change situation. (Vaezi 2008, 2-4, Warasy 2008, 3-5.)

Now Taliban are everywhere, in the government, parliament, judicial organization, in national police and national army, in secret services (Faryaby, 2008,1; Warasy 2008,11-12). Taliban are even in the palace of president, not only in Afghanistan, but also in Pakistan. Taliban have influenced on policymaking of both countries. Taliban are reorganized. (Faryabi-Hemmat, 2008,1.) Generally situation of Afghanistan have been deteriorated (Vaesi, 2; Sistani, 2008, 4-7; Sarabi 2008, 3; Hazrati 2008,1;Hazem 2008,1; Dehqan 2008, 5,6; Kharoti 2008, 4-7).

According to present situation Taliban will return to power. Future of Afghanistan depends on policy of the international community, do they save it from terrorist groups or give it back to them. Prestige of NATO and the international community depends on victory in this war (Warasi, 2008,12.)

Afghanistan is a multicultural country with different ethnic groups. These ethnic groups with different languages and religions are not integrated in a single nation; therefore there is mistrust between these ethnic groups, between people and government, between political parties etc. geographically Afghanistan is divided between different ethnic groups, but main division is between South and North of Afghanistan. There is big risk of disintegration and division (Kharoti 2008 4.)

Afghan Government is corrupted with lack of good governance and rule of law, many of warlords, drug's dealers, fundamentalists have been in high position of government (Maimanagi 2008, 6; Vaezi 2008, 2-4; Hemmat- Faryabi 2008, 1-3; Hazem 2008,1; Baghlani 2008, 6; Nabizada 2008, 6-8; Faqiri 2008, 6-7 Kharoti, 2008 1; Obaidi 2008, 11).

The process of democratization of Afghanistan has reached deadlock (Osman 2008,2). Democracy cannot be exported, especially into a society such as Afghan Society where have been a lot of problems. Afghan Society has not history of democracy, most of people are not educated, Islamic fundamentalism has been very active with strong roots; society is based on ethnic tribes. Development of democracy in the West has been taken 2700 years to reach present situation, but still in some parts of Europe it is not working. I think democracy in Afghanistan reached deadlock (Osman 2008,2). Afghanistan is a tribal society. Democracy doesn't accept tribe and tribe doesn't accept democracy, for example in democracy individual is important, but in tribal society individual is nothing (Kharoti 2008,1). Democracy cannot be imposed from abroad to succeed. Democracy is new for Afghan's people. Afghanistan is still a tribal society, in which democracy is not yet valuable (Faqiri 2008,4).

7.3.2.5 Transition of Presidential System to Federal System

After the fall of Taliban Regime, a new constitution was adopted. According to the new constitution Afghanistan has a presidential system. Many participants explained that the current presidential system in Afghanistan is different from the presidential system in other countries. In Afghanistan, the role of president is very powerful. Obviously, the single power of the president does not match with the reality and nature of a multi-ethnic society of Afghanistan. This system supports hegemony of one ethnic group. It is more a despotic system rather democratic. Consequently, Afghanistan has witnessed many notorious civil wars in its history because of injustice. *Federal system* might be a roadmap to democracy, peace, development for Afghan society. Most of the participants, who argued about the single ruling of one president, have strongly supported federal system. A smaller group supported *parliamentary system*.

Afghanistan is a multicultural society, with bloody history. One of main reasons of conflicts has been injustice. Power was mostly in the hand of one ethnic group. Now people want social justice, freedom and peace. Without social justice conflicts will never end. Democracy is the only solution for problems of Afghanistan. But after fall of the Taliban Regime, some people from Pashton's Ethnic group worked on special political system to be somehow democratic, but the more important for them was to keep powers in the hand of Pashtons. They brought a kind of presidential system, which is not in other countries. According to this model all powers are in the hand of president. This is a wrong system and can not solve problems of Afghanistan. Power should be divided. In my opinion federalism is the best solution; second option is parliamentary system (Hemmat- Faryabi 2008, 2-3.)

The current presidential system is not good for Afghanistan. It keeps power under control of one person. In the past Afghanistan had despotic regimes and now it should change to a democratic system. The best system for Afghanistan is federalism (Maimanagi, 2008,8). The presidential system of Afghanistan is a despotic system and federalism is the only system that helps to reach social justice and development of democracy in Afghanistan (Hemmat Faryabi 2008, 2-3). It is good to be a federal system, in which ministry of defence and foreign policy be under authority of central government (Safi 2008, 7; Baghlani 2008, 6). According to social and cultural structures of different ethnic groups in Afghanistan best system is a federal system (Vaezi 2008 17). Afghanistan has been divided between different ethnic groups. Four groups are the biggest: Pashton in the South and East; Tajik in West and North, Hazara in the Centre, Uzbek and Turkmen in the North. I think federalism is a good system for Afghanistan (Warasy 2008, 16-17).

Afghanistan needs a balance of power between central government and local authorities (Nabizada 2008, 13). I think current presidential system should be replaced by a parliamentary system (Mofid 2008, 4; Ziwari 2008, 5).

In my opinion at least in current situation presidential system is good, because we need a strong central power, but government must give more possibilities to rural areas and municipalities (Dehzad 2008, 2).

7.3.2.6 How can democracy be developed in Afghanistan?

Development of democracy is possible in Afghanistan, because majority of Afghans have accepted it. Many of the participants said that democracy is the best system for Afghanistan. For development of democracy, the participants proposed different ideas, for example, some of them said that economic and cultural development along with social welfare will help to bring democracy, because in this way, social problems such as poverty, unemployment and illiteracy can be eradicated. Many believed that development of democracy is a long process. Some of them criticized that without rule of law it is impossible to gain democracy and currently Afghanistan is suffering from this problem. Some of the participants said that Islamic fundamentalists are in the government and they are against democracy, for example, many journalists sentenced to death, just for writing an article about Islam. For developing democracy, officials in the government should be themselves democrats. Afghans in Europe can play a significant role in development of democracy and state- building in Afghanistan.

It is possible to develop democracy in Afghanistan step by step through economic and cultural development and social welfare, but by using force it is impossible (Osman 2008,2). West has trying to develop democracy in Afghanistan by force, which is not possible (Rostar-Taraki 2008, 5). People of Afghanistan are poor and mostly illiterate or low educated; for them economic development is first priority. Development of democracy needs to be together with economic and cultural development (Meesaq 2008,14).

Rule of media, civil society and education are very important for development of democracy (Vaezi 2008, 13; Warasi 2008,8-9; Nabizad 2008, 1-5, Baktash 2008,2; Nazar 2008, 3).

Democracy is the only option for integration, peace and unity of Afghans. (Kharoti 2008, 5).

Without rule of law and good governance it is not possible to develop democracy (Warasy,2008,8; Keshtamand 2008, 4;Ziwari 2008,2;Mofid 2008,6,Meesaq 2008,2;Vafakesh 2008, 9-10;Rostar-Taraki 2008, 7;Obaidi 2008, 3).

Sharing people in the government, especially in rural areas by giving more possibilities and financial supports to municipalities and to other local authorities (Nazar 2008, 6;Meesaq 2008, 14;Nabizada 2008, 7;Warasy 2008, 9).

Democratization of Afghanistan needs decision makers who believe in democracy, therefore warlords, fundamentalists, drug's dealers and other criminals should not be anymore in power (Razmyar 2008,5-6;Sistani 2008, 5;Dehghan 2008, 18).

In Europe and other countries outside Afghanistan are a lot of educated and qualified Afghans, employment of them according to their education and experiences help in having good governance and development(Wak 2008, 6;Sistani 2008, 9; Nazar 2008, 7;Meesaq 2008,13; Safi 2008, 5;Kharoti 2008, 3).

Hundreds of thousands of Afghans are living in Europe, among them are the most educated and experts Afghans. For example in UK according to British Government (2008) have been 80000 Afghans (Tach 2008,18). In the Netherlands are about 40000 Afghans (Hazem 2008, 3). In Germany are living about 90000 Afghans (Nazar 2008,7). Afghans who are living in Europe are very important human resources for Afghanistan and for EU in reconstruction, democratization and capacity building in Afghanistan (Warasy 2008, 2; Adal 2008,11).

7.3.3 Rule of Law

According to the interviewees, there have been serious problems such as corruption, drugs, insecurity and lack of good governance. Afghan government has still been weak. Judicial power and police departments have not been functioning well. There has been lack of cooperation between legislative, executive and judicial powers.

Incapacity and lack of good governance has affected economic and political development of Afghanistan. Government is not powerful enough to ensure security and rule of law; therefore, the process of democratization has been slow. According to the interviewees, government is weak in urban areas and power is mostly in the hand of warlords or in some parts that are under the control of Taliban.

Ability and capacity of Afghan Government and its judiciary, police and other departments are that much weak that we can not call it government. Corruption is very high; law is just existed on the paper. You can pay and get illegally what you want. Even in Kabul there is not security. There are terror, kidnapping and many other problems. No body listens to poor people. Officials are mostly warlords and they live as kings. International community just watches these problems. Where is rule of law, democracy and accountability? (Warasy 2008,8.) Corruption, insecurity and terrorism have connection with drugs. There is not rule of law, for example brother of President Karzai has been accused many times by Afghans' and international media as a main drug's dealer (Hazem 2008, 1). Government doesn't implement law, even many decisions of the Parliament of Afghanistan have not been implemented. For example current Minister of Foreign Affairs has got *non-confidence vote by parliament, but illegally is still working by support of President. Is it rule of law and democracy? Democracy without existing of law is nothing* (Ziwari 2008,2). *There is not rule of law in Afghanistan* (Meesaq 2008, 2). *Warlords in the government don't respect law* (Rostar-Taraki 2008, 6). *Judiciary and police are both very corrupted. Who can implement*

law? (Vafakesh 2008, 9-10). One of the major problems has been lack of cooperation and sometimes problems between parliament, executive power and judicial power (Dehghan 2008,9).

7.3.4 Freedom

Taliban Regime was based on Islamic Sharia Law with their extreme interpretation of Islam, but since the fall of Taliban Regime, freedom has been one of the most successful achievements. Women are free to take part in social, cultural, political and economic activities. During Taliban women were not allowed even to go out of their homes. Now millions of children both girls and boys are studying. Ethnic and religious minorities have shared in the government and their rights have been guaranteed by law. The interviewees have stated that one of the most important achievements in post Taliban Afghanistan is freedom of the press. During Taliban Regime there was just one radio and one newspaper and both of them belonged to Taliban, but now there are hundreds of newspapers, magazines, websites, radios and television channels.

In addition, development has occurred in communication such as internet, telephone, and post rapidly. According to the interviewees, local people in Afghanistan have been able to contact with each other through internet, phone and sometimes post facilities. Many Afghans from Europe, the U.S. and the rest of the world have influence on Afghanistan through media, especially online media. Thus media has connected them to express and share their opinions.

According to the interviewees, currently the government has started to control media. Thus freedom of press has been seriously under threat, for example, some journalists sentenced to death or imprisonment.

After fall of Taliban Regime development of media is one of the most successful achievements in Afghanistan. In fact it has been a key element for development of democracy and awareness of people (Warasy 2008, 8-9.) During Taliban Regime there was just Radio Sharia and a newspaper, both of them belonged to Taliban (Ziai 2008,12). Now there are hundreds of online websites, newspapers and tens of radio and television's channels (Shafai 2008, 1). Media has significantly developed in the last seven years in Afghanistan (Kharoti 2008, 1; Nabizada 2008, 16). There is freedom of press, but it is very serious risk, if someone talks or write about Islam (Nazar 2008,3). Currently some people in the government are trying to control the media; this is a serious risk to freedom of thought and press (Warasy 2008, 8-9). Freedom of press is now under pressure of some

fundamentalist Moslems in government (Dehghan 2008, 11). Government is trying to limit freedom of press (Faqiri 2008, 4). Media is under risk of getting control by some religious people in the government (Nabizada 2008 13).

Freedom is at serious risk, for example a young journalist Parwiz Kambakhsh recently has first committed to death sentence and then it was reduced in Supreme Court to 20 years in prison in accusation of copying an article from internet about women rights in Islam. Many of human rights groups have tried to help Kambakhsh, but it didn't help. (Vaezi 2008,2.)

7.3.5 Nation- State

Afghan society is highly diverse in having many ethnic groups, but it has been weak because of historical conflicts and mistrust. There have been discrimination and ethnic conflicts. After the fall of the Taliban Regime and starting of a new period, Afghan people have been expected to work for nation-state building, but for some reasons the endeavour has failed. According to the interviewees, working on nation- state in Afghanistan is extremely important for peace, stability and unity of Afghan people.

Afghanistan is a very multi-ethnic and multicultural country. Because of discriminations and undemocratic system it has not developed (Meesaq 2008, 3). Afghanistan is a multi-ethnic country and in any decision making this matter should be taken into consideration (Osman 2008,2). Afghan Society is very rich in having different ethnic groups, but it is also a risk of disintegration. For unity these ethnic groups and independence of Afghanistan it needs to do two important things: Integration through process of nation-state and having an international guarantee (Wak 2008, 6). Until now nothing has been done in issue of nation- state (Baghlani 2008, 2). Afghanistan is a society of different ethnic groups, still it is far from being a single nation. After fall of Taliban it was expected to start nation- state's building, but discriminations have started from government, which divided people (Hazem 2008,2). After collapse of the Taliban Regime people of Afghanistan were positively stepped to field of unity, but after presidential elections in 2004 discrimination has started from palace of president and his team, which negatively has divided people (Vaezi 2008, 3). In reality problems of Afghanistan have been linked to different ethnic groups. We need to work intensively on process of nation-state, which is not an easy job in Afghanistan (Osman 2008, 2). It seems that international community including EU has not interested to help Afghanistan in process of nation-state, which is one of the key factors in establishment of peace and stability of Afghanistan (Hemmat- Faryabi 2008, 5).

7.3.6 Human Rights

According to the interviewees, during thirty years war in Afghanistan human rights have been seriously violated. Most of the victims were civilians, mainly women, minorities and children. Armed groups and also the government in different periods have violated human rights. After the fall of the Taliban Regime, people of Afghanistan have been expecting support from international community to bring criminals to justice, but it did not happen. Many of warlords and other criminals with backgrounds of violation of human rights have moved back to government. They passed amnesty law in the parliament to be safe in future. EU and the rest of the international community have not been serious in the promotion of human rights. Also insecurity and lack of rule of law have affected on human rights' development negatively. But still, the positive step is that human rights have been guaranteed by the constitution of Afghanistan. A human rights' commission was established.

Human rights has been seriously violated during past thirty years in Afghanistan, for example Northern Alliance killed about 2000 Taliban fighters in Mazari Sharif, then in the second attacks Taliban were succeeded to take control of Mazari Sharif and killed 9000 Hazara minority (Sistani 2008,7).

After starting of new period in post Taliban Afghanistan, some positive actions have been taken for development of human rights for example human rights guaranteed by the constitution of Afghanistan, a human rights commission established and it has been working actively (Hendia 2008, 2, Mofid 2008, 6). Human right in the cities has somehow developed, but not in the countryside (Rostar- Taraki 2008, 6). Women rights have been improved, but still there are many challenges, especially in rural areas (Ahmadi 2008, 9-10; Safi 2008, 7). Human rights still is under many risks and serious challenges; there is not rule of law, security (Sarabi 2008, 5). Human rights has not developed as it was expected, sometimes government it self has violated human rights, inside government are many people who are against human rights (Meesaq 2008, 2-3). About human rights, security, war on terrorism and development of democracy I shall say that these words have been used just namely, in reality there are very few who really believe and work honestly on these issues (Maimanagi 2008, 10). Western Countries use human rights against their enemies, but they are not honest to support it (Enayat-Seraj 2008, 7-8). West has not a clear policy on human rights in Afghanistan (Amirzada 2008, 7).

7.3.7 Aid and Reconstruction

After the fall of the Taliban Regime, international community has started to re-build Afghanistan. In fact, since 2001, a lot has been achieved, but comparing the amount of money, which has been contributed by international community, the results of reconstruction have not been satisfactory. It is not clear if military costs of coalition forces have been counted as financial aids to Afghanistan or not. Many of the participants complained that reconstruction work was unfair and slow. Most of the money of reconstruction has been spent on South and East. But little was spent on peaceful and secured areas.

Many of the participants criticized that according to Afghan government most of the reconstruction budgets were given to NGOs by foreign donors directly. Then, Afghan government could not control it; therefore, quality of work, which was done by NGOs, has been poor and there has been lack of accountability.

According to the interviewees, it would be more successful, if Afghan government offers reconstruction work of every province to one of the foreign countries. Some of them suggest that money of reconstruction should be provided to Afghan government, not directly to NGOs.

According to the interviewees, international community should pay more attention to security; empowering rule of law, counter-narcotics, and reconstruction and economic development.

Based on the opinions of the interviewees, most of the successful achievements are media, transportation, telecommunications, schooling, civil society, and health.

Since 2001 international community has worked broadly to re-build Afghanistan. For example implementation of the Bonn Agreements such as elected government, adoption of new Constitution, presidential and parliamentary elections, working on rebuilding of the national army and national police, establishment of over 100 political parties, development of media, civil society, education, health service, telecommunication, building roads, disarmament of illegal armed groups, some progress in private sector. (Meesaq 2008,1; Dehghan 2008, 1-3; Warasy 2008, 1-2; Tach 2008, 2-4.)

During past seven years billions of dollars were given to Afghanistan, but comparing the amount of money its results has been little. Also the quality of work has been very low (Saifi 2008,7; Baghlani 2008,2; Ziware 1-2; Tach 2008,3, Sharan 2008,3-6; Andishmand 2008).

According to Government of Afghanistan most of the money for reconstruction has been given to NGO's. There has been corruption and lack of checks and balances. It would be better to give main role of reconstruction to Afghan Government (Osman 2008, 3; Razmyar 2008, 4; Vafakesh 2008,9; Tach 2008, 3,17; Nabizada 2008,6; Sistani 2008,5).

Reconstruction during seven years has been slow and unfair. Most of the reconstruction money was used in the East and South of the country. Other parts of the country were secure, but for some reasons less paid attention to reconstruction of these regions. Residents of these regions are very disappointed (Vaezi 2008, 3,6; Vafakesh 2008,16; Nabizada 2008, 18-19; Warasy 2008, 5; Hazem 2008, 2; *Ziwari 4; Dehzad 2008,3, Dehghan 2008,8, Sharan 2008,5*). From 18 billions dollars 16 billions of it was used in the South, only 2 billions used in other parts of Afghanistan, which is very unfair (Amirzada 2008).

Aid contribution and reconstruction work has been unfair. For example about 3000 kilometer road built in other parts of Afghanistan, but in Province of Bamyan, which is main province of Hazaras there is not any asphalt road. *What shall we call it, "discrimination" or what? This is not equality and fair (Vaezi 2008, 5-6)*. Aid has been distributed very unfairly on the basis of false assumptions such as the belief that there is a strong relationship between aid and security. This has meant that certain provinces in Afghanistan receive more aid than others. For instance, the U.S AID has allocated almost 80 % of its aid to three provinces of the south (Sharan 2008, 5).

Aid distribution by the EU has failed to make a significant impact in Afghanistan. The current approach of channeling aid through NGO and subcontractors have largely failed because the EU and other donors do not know the exact amount of aid coming to the country, keeping it secret, duplicating the implementation of the aid. Often aid has been given to those projects that make a quick impact and visible projects, rather than long term and sustainable projects. (Sharan 2008,5.)

It would be more fast and more successful and competitive if reconstruction of each province be given to one foreign country (Nazar 2008, 8-9; Hazem 2008, 3, Vafakesh 2008, Dehghan 2008, Adal 2008).

One of the most important priorities is economic development. People are poor and want to see changes in their lives (Wak, 2008, 10-11; Meesaq 2008,16; Razmyar 2008, 6; Nazar 2008, 8). Absolute free market, which has brought from the most advanced countries such as the U.S is not good for Afghanistan, it would be better to use a mixed system of free market and governmental (Dehzad 2008,3; Meesaq 2008,3-4; Faqiri 2008,7; Obaidi 2008, 10-11; Ahmadi 2008, 3; Amirzada 2008,8, Tach 2008; Razmyar 2008; Rostar-Taraki 2008; Keshtmand 2008, Vafakesh 2008; Kargar 2008, Faqiri 2008).

CHAPTER EIGHT

8 Objectivity, Validity and Reliability

In a qualitative study, a researcher must show that results are authentic, make sense and are not affected by the researcher's presence and actions or subjective ideas, because in a qualitative research there are some risks, if a researcher is not aware of these rules or don't follow them. I have followed research rules.

A research project usually has three parts: design, data collection and analyzing of data and reporting. For having a good research, all of these three parts are important. I followed the design of my research by taking part in the research seminars and discussions with my supervisor and reading research books. In data collection, first of all, I had enough time for this research. I started it in spring 2008 which means that I have done it within one year. Finding qualified Afghans was important to have good results in this research; therefore, I sent a letter with detailed information about the research to Afghan Associations, media, individual activists from different countries in Europe. I found over hundred names of qualified Afghans for interviews. After communication process, many of them agreed to participate in the research project. The criteria for choosing participants are to be educated, having knowledge about Afghanistan and EU activities in Afghanistan. Their experiences and current activities are also important for consideration.

Another significant issue that ensures the validity of this research is that participants are from different Afghan ethnic groups because Afghanistan is multi-ethnic society and there have been tensions between these ethnic groups. It is actually because of mistrust and ethnic conflicts. It is important that various ethnic groups to participate; otherwise, the quality and even validity of the research might be low and unfair. If participants are just from one ethnic group or even from few ethnic groups, the result of the research may not be acceptable at least for those ethnic groups that are absent or not aware of it. Due to this fact, I haven chosen participants from different ethnic groups both male and female for my project.

I have offered detailed information to the participants about the research. Recorded all interviews with high quality and saved them in two pieces. I have written each interview clearly and carefully and saved them in double copies. I have done the interviews in Dari language, which is the official language of Afghanistan and I have also done the analysis in Dari then translated it into English. Both, the researcher and the participants shared the same language and there was not any language problem.

As objectivity refers to the relative neutrality of the research, I tried to avoid the effects of my subjective views on the case. According to Strauss and Corbin (1998, 58) a researcher should try to be objective as much as possible. I analyzed data according to qualitative research and method of grounded theory and tried my best to be objective as much as possible, therefore I gave more space to data to speak and I used name of every interviewee and date and page number to be everything exact.

The participants offered me permission for recording their voices and using their own names. I collected enough data, because 40 participants have taken part in the research and successfully I collected over 400 pages. I continued the process of collecting data until no more new concept left behind. All materials and recorded tapes, memos are available in my research project file. As of my being a researcher of this study, I am sure the result of this research is authentic.

CHAPTER NINE

9 Conclusion

To sum up, I have used grounded theory for collecting and analyzing data. Grounded theory is a method that has been used extensively across a variety of social science disciplines (Chamberlain, 1995). This study is a qualitative research. According to Hutchinson, grounded theory is qualitative in its philosophy of science. Its data collection, methods of analysis and its final product offers a rich and complex explanatory schema of social phenomena (Hutchinson, 1988, 126). As a qualitative research method, it is a systematic set of procedures to develop an inductively derived grounded theory about a phenomenon (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, 24). I used the grounded theory for this study, because it enables an understanding of an area which requires no preformed concepts of knowledge. The idea was to find out what Afghan elites in Europe think about EU-Afghanistan. I systematically gathered and analyzed data through the research process with rich results. Grounded theory differs from other qualitative methods for two major reasons: (1) it allows a researcher to make discoveries without prior knowledge, and (2) it is an approach that leaves itself open to be charged of relativism (Pole and Lampard 2002, 206).

The three major research questions are opinions of Afghan elites about policies and activities of EU in Afghanistan. Furthermore, their opinions about the situation of Afghanistan and also about their recommendations for policymakers have been highly important. This qualitative grounded theory gave rich and successful results to research questions.

EU in Afghanistan: Since the fall of the Taliban regime in 2001, EU and its member states have been active in assisting Afghanistan. EU roles can be seen broadly in political and economic development, reconstruction and military assistance.

EU has been one of the main political supporters of Afghan Government. Most of the international conferences on Afghanistan were held in Europe such as Bonn Conference (2001), Berlin Conference (2004) London Conference (2006), Rome Conference (2007), NATO Conference in Bucharest (2008) Paris Conference (2008) and Hague Conference (2009).

According to the participants' opinions, the role of EU in reconstruction of Afghanistan has been tremendously important. EU and its member states have supported Afghanistan by catering billions of dollars. After the U.S, EU has been the second biggest financial donor to Afghanistan.

Almost all of EU Member States have contributed military forces to Afghanistan. NATO as Eurocentric organization has played a leading role in maintaining security and war against terrorism. EU has been active in state-building, reconstruction, democratization, human rights, security, good governance and counter-narcotics.

EU policy in Afghanistan has not been strong enough. There has been a lack of a united, single voice and collective action. EU played a much stronger and a better role during 2001-2004 in Afghanistan. Joining of the East and Central European Countries to EU and NATO in 2004 and their strong supports to U.S policy, has been weakening the policy of EU in Afghanistan and forced EU to follow the U.S policies. EU has been mainly active through its member states and NGOs. Some of EU member states have been more active and some less. There has been also a lack of cooperation between them. Moreover, another serious issue has been high corruption in NGOs.

Currently, policy of EU in Afghanistan is weaker than before, but EU has supporters among Afghans. Thus, EU has good opportunity to expand its activities.

According to results of this research, many achievements have been carried out in Afghanistan since the fall of the Taliban, but still there are many serious problems. EU and the rest of the international community have failed in war against terrorism, counter-narcotics and also in bringing stability in Afghanistan such as security, good governance, empowering rule of law, human rights which have been the most important aims of EU in Afghanistan. EU and its member states are in Afghanistan and paying high financial and human costs for the security of EU citizens to protect them from outside threats according to Treaty of European Union Article 29, in which EU is obliged to provide high level of safety to its citizens.

Definitely, Afghanistan needs support of EU. Without help of EU and the rest of the international community, Afghanistan can not solve its problems alone.

Situation of Afghanistan since 2001: Since the collapse of the Taliban regime, Afghanistan with the support of EU and the rest of the international community has succeeded in some of its aims, but also has failed in many of them. The successful achievements have been as following:

Collapse of the Taliban regime: According to the participants in this research, the first and the most successful achievement is removing of the Taliban from power. Under the Taliban regime, Afghans did not have any freedom. Women used to be deprived from their rights to study and work. Even they were not allowed to go outside of their homes without a male relative. Minorities have faced serious discrimination and punishments. Children were not allowed to play according to their wishes. There was serious violation of human rights. And Afghanistan has been a safe land for many of Islamic fundamentalist groups and international terrorists including Al-Qaeda.

Afghanistan under Taliban regime was a hell for its residents and a serious threat to the security of world.

Democratization: After the fall of the Taliban administration, democratization has been an important plan of the international community to reach peace and stability in Afghanistan. This is a best solution, because Afghanistan is a multicultural society, with a bloody history and tearing conflicts among different ethnic groups. The process of the democratization of Afghanistan during the seven past years has had some good achievements. The most successful achievements were in media, communication, and education. Also some progress in civil society, private sector and state-building.

State- building: The first and the most important and necessary step was to build a state. For this purpose, international community organized an international conference in 2001. Representatives of different Afghan groups were invited to the conference and they agreed on a broad-based multi-ethnic interim authority for a period of six months, followed by a transition period of two years and then democratic elections. Women and minorities have shared in the government. This conference was called **The Bonn Agreement**. Many of the interviewees criticized it negatively as an undemocratic process, but according to some of them this was a good start.

Bonn Agreement has been successfully implemented, but has resulted in increasing of Islamic fundamentalism, corrupted government, increasing of drug production, lack of good governance, insecurity, slow process of reconstruction and multiple social problems.

Constitution: A constitution was adopted by Loya Jirga "Grand Assembly" under the international community. Human rights, rights of women and minorities have been guaranteed by the constitution. According to the constitution, drug cultivation, production and its trafficking are prohibited. This constitution according to many of the participants has been the best constitution in the history of Afghanistan. Some of the participants criticised that some parts of the constitution was changed illegally after the adaptation.

In the constitution is mentioned that Afghanistan is an Islamic State and nothing can be done against Islam. And some of the participants consider this article as a barrier to progress. According to many of them, the current constitution needs some reforms.

Many of participants supported a federal government and complained that the current presidential system is not good for Afghanistan.

Elections: Based on the constitution, presidential elections were held in 2004 and parliamentary and provincial elections were in 2005. Different candidates participated in elections and competed together in free and democratic atmosphere. Women took part in the election as well and about 40% of the participants in elections were women.

Many of the participants criticized that mechanism of elections was wrong, because it offered opportunities to those criminals who violated human rights to resume to power. Many of warlords, leaders of Islamic fundamentalist groups, drug dealers passed through parliamentary and provincial elections to power; therefore, the golden period of Afghanistan (2001-2004) ended here and since the elections, the silver period started and moved to current bronze period in 2006, which means that a situation of Afghanistan has been deteriorated.

Mass Media and Communication: One of the successful achievements during the past seven years of Post Taliban is the development of mass media. Hundreds of websites, newspapers, radios and television channels have been established. Also communication such as internet has been developed successfully. On the contrary, during the Taliban, free media was banned strictly.

Civil Society: Civil society has been developed well. Over 2000 NGOs have been working along with the government and private sector to develop Afghanistan. The role of the civil society in reconstruction and providing services has been important. In fact, without civil society there will be serious problems, because the capacity of the government of Afghanistan and its activities are still

very low and limited. The civil society has been deteriorated due to corruption and lack of responsibility, which is weakness of Afghan government and foreign donors.

Education: About 7 millions girls and boys are getting their education without discrimination. During Taliban era, girls were not allowed to study and even for boys education was level was low. According to the participants, the current education system is old-fashioned and faces many challenges. For example, it is suffering from unprofessional teachers, lack of materials, and in many urban areas students have not school to study. In many provinces, children can not study, because of insecurity. During the past seven years, hundreds of schools have been burnt by Taliban. One of the serious risks for the future of Afghanistan and the world is that thousands of Islamic fundamentalist fighters after their disarming have been employed as school teachers. This is a serious potential factor for growing fundamentalism among next generation of Afghans. Furthermore, it affects on education level and mental health of students, because most of them were at war for many years and probably most of them are not professional teachers which does not meet pedagogical quality. It is important to know what kind of curricula should be taught to prevent growing of fundamentalism among next generation of Afghan people, as well employment of well trained teachers at schools.

Health Care: Public health services have increased during the seven past years. Many hospitals and health centers have been built. Children have been vaccinated.

Private sector: According to the interviewees, private sector has done some improvements, for example, several private banks, airlines, television channels, universities and factories have been established. But the participants were not satisfied with absolute free market and they stated that it has created a lot of problems. Unemployment is high; the gap between rich and poor has increased. A small group became rich rapidly, but majority of Afghans remain poor. According to the participants, they would rather have a mixed system and move from transition process to a free market step by step.

Human Rights: During thirty years of war in Afghanistan, human rights have been seriously violated. Most of the victims were civilians, mainly women, minorities and children. Armed groups and also the government in different periods have violated human rights. After the fall of the Taliban regime, human rights have been guaranteed by the constitution of Afghanistan. Also an independent human rights commission was established, but many of those who have violated human rights in the past have moved back to power and have had highest positions in the government structure. They were also barriers to the process of development. For respecting human

rights and rule of law, those who have violated human rights should not be any more in power. Criminals should be brought to justice. Besides, cultural and social development is highly required. Role of education, media, government and civil society is important for the prosperity of human rights.

Reconstruction and Aid Contribution: EU and its member states have been active in reconstruction work in Afghanistan. A lot has been achieved, but comparing the amount of money, which have been contributed by EU and the rest of the international community the results of the reconstruction have not been high, although good work has been done in building roads. Thousands of kilometers of roads have been built during seven years which is important for transportation and economic development.

Many of the participants complained that reconstruction work was unfair and slow. Most of the reconstruction works have been carried out South and East of Afghanistan. According to them, in other peaceful and secure regions, reconstruction has been slow and little. This has already frustrated residents of those regions.

Problems and Challenges: Afghan government with EU and the rest of the international community have failed in war against terrorism, counter-narcotics, establishment of peace, security, rule of law. Security is getting worse, Taliban and Al-Qaeda has been reorganized. Fundamentalism has increased. Cultivation of poppy has been increasing; Afghan government and civil society have been corrupted. Reconstruction process has been slow and unfair, social problems such as poverty, unemployment, violence like suicides, kidnapping, even prostitution and other crimes have been increasing. Discrimination and tensions between ethnic groups have restarted. According to the participants, reasons behind these problems have been: (1) weak and corrupted government (2) Executive power, legislative and judicial powers have been in the hand of warlords, fundamentalists and drug dealers. (3) Lack of united strategy and single voice and also lack of coordination among international community and Afghan government. (4) Pakistan has continuously supported terrorist groups. Terrorism for Pakistan is a way of getting rich and having power in the region. According to New York Times (26.3.2009) *"American officials told The New York Times this week that Pakistan's military intelligence agency continued to offer money, supplies and guidance to the Taliban insurgency in Afghanistan as a proxy to help shape a friendly government there once American forces leave."*

The U.S has offered about 7 billion dollars to Pakistan to fight against terrorism during the past seven years. What has Pakistani government done? Activities of terrorist groups in Pakistan have been increasing. It is a risk that fundamentalist groups control Pakistan. Security problems of Afghanistan such as terrorism and drug trafficking are regional and international problems. Afghanistan never reaches peace, security and stability without cooperation of Pakistan and uproot of terrorism in Pakistan.

Recommendations:

1. For a united strategy, close cooperation and coordination, studying and planning a high council should be established. Experts from Afghan government and international community should all together work closely in this council.
2. Studying of the past seven years to find mistakes and weaknesses and bringing reforms for the future plans.
3. Destroying terrorism in Pakistan. Additionally talk with Pakistan on Durand Line Agreement to solve problem of Afghanistan with Pakistan under mediation of international community.
4. Reforms in the government of Afghanistan by employing educated Afghans, experts, democrats for the purpose of good governance, empowering rule of law, respecting for human rights, combating against corruption, terrorism and drugs.
5. Afghan refugees in Europe are good human resources for EU for the success of Afghanistan.
6. Supporting of Afghan National Police and National Army to be capable to bring law and order to the country. This is a fundamental solution for the security of Afghanistan. According to the participants, it is necessary to bring reforms in side Afghan police and army, because corruption is high in side these two authority forces.
7. Judicial power of Afghanistan needs reforms and support.
8. Reducing fundamentalism by supporting Afghan democrats. According to the result of this research, fundamentalism has been increasing and Islamic fundamentalist groups have controlled Afghan government and its forces, media, education, mosques and economy.
9. Financial support for economic development and reduction of poverty and social problems.
10. Supporting media, education and civil society for democratization and nation- state, especially for the future of Afghanistan, role of next generation of Afghans with almost 70% of whole population is extremely important.
11. Statistic of population of Afghanistan and reforms, especially in municipalities and provinces.

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LIST OF APPENDIXES

Table 1 (Participants)

<i>AGE AVERAGE</i>	<i>MALE</i>	<i>FEMALE</i>	<i>TOTAL</i>
<i>25-30 years</i>	<i>1</i>		<i>1</i>
<i>30-40 years</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>7</i>
<i>40-50 years</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>7</i>
<i>50-60 years</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>18</i>
<i>Over 60 years</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>7</i>
<i>Totally</i>	<i>33</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>40</i>

Table 2: The duration of interviews was from 25 minutes to 1:49 minutes.

<i>Length of the interviews</i>	<i>Totally</i>
<i>25-40 min.</i>	<i>5</i>
<i>40- 50 min.</i>	<i>3</i>
<i>50-60 min.</i>	<i>7</i>
<i>60-70 min.</i>	<i>7</i>
<i>70- 80 min.</i>	<i>3</i>
<i>80- 110 min.</i>	<i>5</i>
<i>Totally</i>	<i>30 Persons</i>

Table 3 Personal information of participants of this research

No	Personal information of the interviewees	Country of residence	Date of interview
1	Adal, Ghulam Haidar: Doctor in International Law. Former official of Afghan Foreign Ministry.	England	9 Dec. 2008
2	Ahmadi, Farida: Master in Social Science. Political activist, ex- leader of Afghan Women's Movement	Norway	6 Dec. 2008
3	Amirzada, Haroon: Doctor in history. Professor, researcher and writer.	England	9 October 2008
4	Andishmand, Ekramodin: Teacher, writer, former head of production of Radio Kabul.	Netherlands	25 Dec. 2008
5	Baghlani, Mohammad Bashir: Lawyer. Former Minister of Justice in Afghanistan	Germany	25 Dec. 2008
6	Baktash, Meena: Master in political science. Journalist in Radio BBC/Dari Service.	England	30 Dec. 2008
7	Dehghan, Ebrahim: Engineer, former governor of Parvan Province in Afghanistan.	Germany	8 October 2008
8	Dehzad, Basir: Professor, former head of International Department of Law in Kabul University	Netherlands	7 Dec. 2008
9	Enayat- Seraj, Leila Rishtya: Writer. Founder/director of Project of Afghan Art for peace.	Switzerland	29 Dec. 2008
10	Faqiri, Mohammad Hashem: Physician and journalist	Finland	23 Sept. 2008
11	Hazrati, Fereshta: Writer, journalist, founder of Afghans' Women Network.	Sweden	3 Dec. 2008
12	Hemmat-Faryabi, Mohammad Akbar: Doctor in political science and law. Writer. Chairman of Afghanistan's Cultural Federation of Turks.	Netherlands	28 Dec. 2008
13	Hazem, Hafizolla: Engineer. Chairman of Afghan Associations' Union in the Netherlands.	Netherlands	6 Dec. 2008
14	Hendia, Princess the daughter of former Afghan King Amanolla Khan, activist in humanitarian aids.	Switzerland	16 Dec. 2008
15	Kargar, Mohammad Akbar: Writer, former lecturer of Faculty of Social Sciences of University of Kabul, former director of Radio Afghanistan	England	27 Dec. 2008
16	Kharoti, Dastagir: Writer, political activist, former Afghan diplomat to Bulgaria,	Denmark	15 Sept. 2008
17	Keshtmand, Asadolla: former Afghan Ambassador to Iran, political activist.	England	5 Dec. 2008
18	Maimanagi, Besmilla Turdighai: Doctor in natural science, professor and political analyst.	Denmark	4 Dec. 2008
19	Meesaq, Abdul Karim: Former Financial Minister of Afghanistan, mayor of Kabul, writer and poet.	England	5 October 2008
20	Mofid, Nasrin: Bachelor in literature. Women rights activist, member of Afghan researchers in Europe	Germany	28 Dec. 2008
21	Moradi, Samad Ali: Physician and journalist.	Finland	30 Sept. 2008
22	Nabizad, Mohammad Ewaz: Writer, former Afghanistan's Vice-Minister for Ethnic and Tribes	Netherlands	30 Dec. 2008

	Affairs, former Governor of Bamyan Province.		
23	Nazar, Zarif: Economist, journalist, director of Radio Free Europe for Afghanistan	Czech Republic	29 Sept. 2008
24	Obaidi, Hamid: Engineer, journalist, writer, former official of Afghan Ministry of Foreign Affairs.	Germany	6 October 2008
25	Osman, Akram: Doctor in law and political science, writer and political analyst, former chairman of Afghan Writers Association.	Sweden	15 Sept. 2008
26	Razmyar, Dawood: Former Afghan Ambassador to Soviet Union, former chief of city of Kabul, political activist.	Finland	28 Oct. 2008
27	Sarabi, Abdul Wahid: Doctor in economic. Former Vice- President of Afghanistan, Minister in different ministries, professor, head of faculty of economic & vice- rector of University of Kabul.	Germany	17 Nov. 2008
28	Safi, Sami Rafi: Master in educational psychology, musician and poet.	Germany	21 Sept. 2008
29	Saifi, Mir Bahaodin: Doctor in natural sciences Professor, former Vice- Minister of Ministry of Higher Education of Afghanistan.	Finland	29 Oct. 2008
30	Sharan, Timur: Researcher in University of Cambridge.	England	8 Sept. 2008
31	Shafai, Asadolla: Journalist of Radio BBC/Dari Service, writer and translator.	England	4 Dec. 2008
32	Sistani, Mohammad Azam: Researcher and writer, former head of department of social science in Afghan Academy of Science.	Sweden	14 Sept. 2008
33	Tach, Houmayoon: Engineer, journalist, chairman of Afghan Mohabat Association.	England	1 Nov. 2008
34	Taraki, Mohammad Osman Rustar: Doctor in law and political sciences, professor and writer.	France	24 Dec. 2008
35	Vafakesh, Dor Mohammad: Master in journalism, writer and journalist.	Netherlands	25 Sept. 2008
36	Vaezi, Hamza: Sociologist, writer, researcher and political analyst.	Norway	1 Dec. 2008
37	Wak, Ghulam Ahmad: Doctor in history. Professor and former head of Faculty of Education of Nangarhar in Afghanistan	Finland	16 Sept. 2008
38	Warasy, Husain: Writer, Member of Central Committee of Civil Movement Party of Afghanistan	Belgium	16 Sept. 2008
39	Ziai, Fereshta: Writer, women rights activist, vice-chairman of Afghanistan's Cultural Federation of Turks.	Sweden	8 October 2008
40	Ziwari, Said Akbar: Doctor in social science, researcher, journalist, former Afghan diplomat to The Great Britain	England	6 Dec. 2008