

Changing Trends in American Policy towards Pakistan & Afghanistan

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ABSTRACT

In the current world politics, the South Asian Region particularly Pakistan and Afghanistan are at the American security agenda and facing a grimy situation. Both countries share same religious identification, cultural heritage, civilizational linkage, historical affiliation and above all common borders. These common borders have become a source of trouble and instability in the region. The continued war on terrorism and infiltration through porous border, has distorted the situation and Pakistan is labeled as the Safe Havens of Al-Qaeda and ruminants of the Taliban regime. While Afghanistan too has been blaming for rising violence that includes the attacks on the US and NATO forces. American drone attacks in FATA are deteriorating the security situation. At the same time, Obama Administration has unveiled a new strategy for the region to defeat Al Qaeda and to place Pakistan at the center in the war against terrorism and for countering Bin Laden's network as well. At this juncture of history, Turkey (a member country of NATO), along with Saudi Arabia and U.A.E, has come up to act as a go-between the two neighbors to soften the tense bilateral relations. A tri-lateral Summit among Pakistan, Afghanistan and Turkey was held on April 1, 2009 in Ankara to achieve this goal. This summit came in the backdrop of President Obama's new strategy for Pakistan and Afghanistan and preceded NATO's Summit and US President's visit to France. It is for the first time that the military intelligence and chiefs of both the countries, jointly attended the summit which might lead to the manifestation of the commitment to work in a smooth manner and emphasized for the elimination of extremism and terrorism collectively. This paper will attempt to analyze the role of Turkey as a mediator focusing on Ankara Process and Obama's Administration's concerns and expectations for regional peace. What should be Pakistan's policy in this scenario, either it will be independent towards Afghanistan for maintaining security and safety of the region or not.

Introduction

In this rapid changing world, Pakistan and Afghanistan are facing a critical situation. By the change of the governments and administrations, policies are being

reviewed. America has reviewed its policy towards Pakistan and Afghanistan as it fears that next attack on US prestige is likely to emanate from Pakistani tribal area (Mahmood, 2009, April 3). Both countries are at the security agenda of the world politics and facing a very hard situation due to this shift. The political analysts are predicting Pakistan's position on the verge of disintegration as Taliban challenges have not been pushed back. Pakistan is beyond redemption. America is suggesting a working group of China, India, Russia, Saudi Arabia and also Iran, despite its un-friendly relations with it. On contrast, there are statements of American administration about India that it has been making a 'very positive contribution' towards Afghanistan's development (Iqbal, 2009, April 6). This state of affairs has cropped up in the wake of Obama moment in the history of American democracy. According to Mazari (2003: 15), "The US National Security Strategy will be based on a distinctive American Internationalism that reflects the union of its values and national interests. The US now feels that it has the power and influence to shape the world, including internal dynamics of weaker states". But before going into current phase of history, it is pertinent to look into the policies adopted by the US in the past, how it took shifts when ever the threat rose to its security and interests.

Carter Administration

American foreign policy took a new turn with Jimmy Carter in White House in 1976 and main architecture of US policy towards Afghanistan was Zbgniew Brzezinski¹, the National Security Advisor to President Jimmy Carter. America showed a cold shoulder to Pakistan for the imposition of Martial Law. At the same time, it criticized Pakistan for making agreement with France for the provision of atomic reactor. But the Russian invasion in Afghanistan in December 1979 and Iranian revolution (February 11, 1979) changed the regional situation and highlighted the geographical importance of Pakistan. The Soviet intervention realized America of its interest to give aid to Pakistan and it offered an aid package of \$ 400 million, which was rejected by the then Pakistani President Zia-ul-Haq. Pakistan refused to become a victim between the two powers. The US supported the Afghan Mujahideen during this period without ever looking into their principles or credentials. In a study on terrorism, Michael Laden (2007: 37) views, "If we had been more fully involved in the war against the Soviet Union in Afghanistan, we might have taken steps to dismantle the Mujahideen network, or penetrate them, or remove the most dangerous weapons like Stinger missiles. This never happened".

Reagon Era (1980-1988)

The foreign policy of the Reagon Administration was the one characterized by a strategy of "Peace through Strength" following by a warming of relations with the

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Soviet Union, and by a peaceful end to the Cold War² when Gorbachev, the last head of the state of the USSR, rose to power (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Foreign_policy_of_the_Reagon_administration). This policy was known as 'Reagon Doctrine'³. Under this doctrine, very hard steps were taken towards the anti-communist government in Afghanistan. In his 1985 State of the Union Address, Reagon presented the crux of the Doctrine: "Our mission is to nourish and defend freedom and democracy, and to communicate these ideals everywhere we can... We must stand by our democratic allies. And we must not break faith with those who are risking their lives... to defy Soviet-supported aggression" (Fry, Goldstein & Langhorne, 2002:414). During Afghan war, military aid of \$ 3.2 billion was given to Pakistan for five years (Kux, 1996: 18). Pakistan became funnel to supply the aid to Mujahiddin fighting in Afghanistan that resulted in the defeat and withdrawal of Soviet troops. In the aftermath of it, Pakistan had to suffer the 'Pressler Amendment'⁴ (August 1985) as President refused to provide the required certification on that year that Pakistan 'does not possess a nuclear explosive device.'

Clinton Era (1993-2001)

The Clinton era has been much criticized for being too much obsessed with Osama. But as far as Clinton's own views are concerned, he declares himself one who created first comprehensive Anti-terrorist operation led by Richard Clarke. In a memoir of Clinton, he explores that when he told George W. Bush about Osama bin Laden, being the greatest threat to US security; it was not taken by him seriously (Warikoo, 2007: 112-113). The efforts by the Clinton Administration to launch a covert commando operation from Pakistan to enter Afghanistan and arrest Osama bin Laden also did not work out. During Clinton's era, he had encouraged Pakistan to built up a pressure on Taliban in order to remove them. It was by the very fact that the then Pakistani Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif agreed to allow the US to train Pakistani forces in order to find Osama who was charged by the US of bombing of the US embassies in Kenya and Tanzania on August 7, 1998 killing 224 people and wounding 4500. The US alleged the Taliban for harboring the terrorists and installing their camps in Afghanistan. It claimed to have strong evidence against Osama's involvement in the bombing of the US embassies. In retaliation, the US targeted Afghanistan on August 20, 1998 at Khost and Jalalabad camps. The US cruise missiles caused 20 casualties and 30 wounded. The US claimed that Bin Laden was present in the camps but escaped before the attack (*The Frontier Post*, 1998, August 21). The US Defence Secretary, William Cohen denied that the attacks were motivated by domestic political consideration but these were carried to protect the Americans from terrorist activities (Ibid).

In July 1999, Taliban regime was declared as a, "State Sponsor of Terrorism" that was followed by UN⁵ resolution 1267 (1999), in October 1999 (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Foreign_Policy_of_the_clinton_Administration). The

Security Council⁶ adopted another resolution 1333 on December 19, 2000 reaffirming its previous Resolution in which the Security Council strongly condemned the Taliban for sheltering and training of terrorists, drug trafficking and human rights violations. The Security Council noted that the Taliban had failed to comply with resolution 1267 and they did not cease the provision of sanctuary and training to international terrorists and refused to turn over of Osama to a third country where he would be arrested and effectively brought to justice. The new resolution was imposed when the Taliban did not comply with the resolution. (“United Nations Security Council Resolution 1333(2000)”, adopted by Security Council at its 4251st meeting on December 19, 2000)

The resolution imposed an arm-embargo on the Taliban, which included a prohibition on providing military weapons, training or advice. Next was the freezing of all funds and financial assets of Osama Bin Laden and his organization, Al Qaeda.

A comprehensive policy for the second term of Clinton was drafted. It was a strategy for eliminating threat from the jihadist network of Al Qaeda status and prospects. (<http://www.gwu.edu/~narchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB147/clarke%20attachment.pdf>). It outlined a method to roll back Al Qaeda over a period of 3 to 5 years. This policy paper was forwarded to the incoming Bush administration (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Foreign_Policy_of_the_clinton_Administration).

Bush Era (2001-2008)

South Asia particularly Pakistan and Afghanistan has been the focal point of American policies during the eight years of George W. Bush. On June 1, 2002, in an address to United States Military Academy at West Point, Bush stated “We are in a conflict between good and evil, and America will call evil by its name” (Singer, 2004 :1).

Pakistan had always been a key supporter of Taliban along with Saudi Arabia, as part of their ‘Strategic depth’ objective vis-à-vis India. The core interest of Pakistan had always been the quest for stability in Afghanistan as both the countries have religious and ethnic similarities across the borders.

Post-Terrorist Attacks of 9/11

Every new threat brings in new challenges and that in turn calls for re-examining and re-thinking of the old ways, both at the state or non-state levels (Fayyaz, 2009: 67). The incident of 9/11 brought a Hobson’s choice for the Muslim nations particularly Pakistan and Afghanistan to fight a war against terrorism. Indeed a great power game started between US and the rest of the world. This is in accordance with the iron rule in the International Relations as political analyst of Russia, Sergei Rogue stated: “Even if you do something in your own interest, you

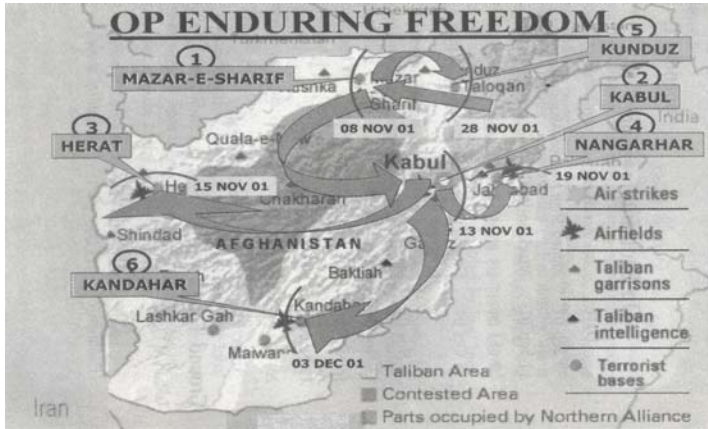
must charge a price from your ally” (Ram, 2004: 69). Before any investigations, America pledged that these attacks were master minded by Al Qaeda network. It was declared to Pakistani government by the then American President George W. Bush, “either you are with us or with the terrorists” and “those who would harbor terrorists would meet the same fate” (Warikoo, 2007: 110). America redefined its policy and showed interest to re-engage Pakistan. It wanted to root out Al-Qaeda from the region which posed an ultimate threat to US security. As a result, Afghanistan once again became a challenge and provided an opportunity to Pakistan to play the role of US ally, as India was among the first few nations to offer the US its support of all types. The Indian move prompted Pakistan to join the international coalition, rather than oppose it or drag its feet. On September 19, 2001, the then Pakistani President Musharraf said that he was joining international coalition. Justifying his u-turn, he emphasised that he was saving his country’s sovereignty, its nuclear arsenal and keeping intact the policy of supporting the freedom struggle in Indian held Kashmir. He further explained that he tried to persuade the Taliban to hand over Osama Bin Laden. It was surprising decision because grimmy situation was confronting Pakistan. As compared to Zia, present situation was entirely different as the US was direct target of attack and wanted to retaliate at any cost, so Pakistan had to drop its support for the Taliban and had to lease three air bases to the US for its operation. Pakistan worked during the Afghan war in 1980 but now the situation is more complex. It helped to drag the country out from a failing state with a near bankrupt economy to being a valiant figure in the war against terrorism.

It goes beyond saying that America itself had contributed in making these terrorists. On November 7, 2001, the US forces made an attack on Afghanistan which resulted in an interim government, Hamid Karzai as the head (December 22, 2001), under Bonn Agreement, held on November 27, 2001. It eliminated the political control of Taliban over Afghanistan. Pakistan had to take a shift in its policy towards Taliban. The campaign of Operation Enduring Freedom⁷ (OEF) was started by America (Map 1 & 2).

Map 1



Source: The New Afghanistan: Pawn of America? By Major Gen. Samay Ram, Manaas Publications, New Delhi, 2004, p. 79



Source: *The New Afghanistan: Pawn of America?* By Major Gen. Samay Ram, Manaas Publications, New Delhi, 2004, p. 90

At this point, America felt the need of having an alliance with Northern Alliance⁸. Although America had great influence on Northern Alliance and was offered a share in the interim government in 2001 yet Pakistan was not appeased at this. The US forces at some occasions made attacks with in the territory of Pakistan, killing the innocent civilians. In June 2004, Pakistan was made Non-NATO ally⁹ of US, making things possible for Pakistan to purchase advanced military technology. Pakistan had to face adverse consequences and the then Pakistani President, Musharraf remained at risk of being attacked and such attempts were made from Jihadi groups. Two failed attempts were made on his life respectively in May 2002 and December 2003.

Obama Strategy

The accession to power by Barrack Hussain Obama as 44th President of US is not only a great change for Americans but for the whole world as well. The war in Afghanistan is the central point regarding security in South Asia which he pointed out in his oath taking ceremony. He said: “We will begin to responsibly leave Iraq to its people, and forge a hard-earned peace in Afghanistan” (Obama, Pakistan and Afghanistan, 2009). So it can rightly be assessed that his presidency shall prove a significant test for Pakistan and it means a continuous engagement with Pakistan (Mahmood, 2009, January 23). Soon after it, Richard Holbrooke was appointed as Obama’s special envoy. He executed a new Afghan policy and a day later, he ordered drone attacks. He hosted separate delegations from Pak-Afghan region in March 2009 and stated that the worsening of the situation, regarding the security issues in Afghanistan and Pakistan will be dealt by US as single issue. He stated, “All those who have a real influence, all involved with Afghanistan and Pakistan whether we like it or not” (Daily Times, 2009, April 3). There are few arguments that if America is in favor of having peace in Afghanistan, then it must review on

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the selection of Holbrooke because he is considered to be an extremist himself. His past record shows certain things:

1. He always sided with the military action despite diplomatic expertise.
2. Dayton Agreement¹⁰ was made when there were NATO¹¹ forces in Bosnia Herzegovina. This peace agreement was in fact made under guns (Ritter, 2009, January).

Pakistan has a crucial role to play in the new American policy, which is indicated from the statements of US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, “the nuclear-armed nation posed a ‘mortal threat’ to world security” and I think the Pakistani Government is basically abdicating to the Taliban and to the extremists”(The News International, 2009, April 23). America also decided to triple the economic aid but it is conditioned to root out Taliban at any cost. Strategically, Pakistan is in dire need of saving its borders both from North and West, though not having geographical depth against India. As far as the conflict in Afghanistan is concerned, the strategic importance of Pakistan can not be set aside due to the following two reasons:

1. Route for NATO & American Supplies

It gives the easiest route for NATO and American supplies that come in at Karachi and find way to Afghanistan through Chaman and Landi kotal.

2. Support needed from Pakistan Army

The US needs a support from Pakistan Army to deny the Afghan Taliban sanctuary on Pakistani territory.

On March 27, 2009, Obama administration unveiled a new strategy for Pakistan and Afghanistan or Af-Pak, an abbreviation given to two countries by the Americans (Yusafzai, 2009, April 4). These are new trends in policy and it would be better to say that the new American presidency has revised its policy. It will bring into test when implemented and executed. Although from Pakistan’s perspective, it seems a positive shift yet there are certain suspicions and concerns. This policy has come up with the sole determination of defeating Al Qaeda and to crush Bin Laden’s net work. It seems that it has an unlimited time frame to bring them into an end. In this regard, one must look into the statement of US Defence Secretary, Robert Gates which he gave during a briefing at Pantagon that FBI¹² took 17 long years to catch Unabomber Theodore Kaczynski (Hussain, 2009, April 23). The US war is continued in the name of Al Qaeda and Taliban which has proved to be a quagmire and now it has shifted to major cities of Pakistan along with its tribal areas from 2 to 3 % (*Daily Jang*, 2009, April 11). The goals of new American strategy are to “Disrupt, Dismantle and Defeat” Al Qaeda in Pakistan and Afghanistan and prevent their return (Lodhi, 2009, April 4 & Noorani, 2009, April 4). Under this new strategy, America announced to send further 21,000 troops to Afghanistan which obviously carries great concerns, fears and threats for Pakistan and as well as for Afghanistan. Apparently it seems that it

will prove a soaring throat for Pakistan's border and Afghanistan is emerging as a key challenge to NATO. Since 2003, NATO forces are fighting in Afghanistan. The European nations have shown resentment over sending more troops to Afghanistan rather they have pledged funds for the reconstruction effort at the so-called "Big Tent" meeting on Afghanistan held in Hague on March 31, 2009 (Islam, 2009, April 4).

In G-20 summit, Obama mentioned, "Obviously we are very concerned about extremists and terrorists who have made camps in border regions of Pakistan and Afghanistan" (*The News International*, 2009, April 3). Today Pakistan has been declared, "Safe Heavens" (Lodhi, 2009, April 4) for terrorists and America is stressing repeatedly that if Pakistan is not going to take action against those, then America has the option to do it by itself. It might lead Pakistan towards an enlarged state of war into western border. But who is the real culprit? What is going to be the future of this region? At what level, Pakistani government will cooperate to US in Afghan war? Will it be with out prevarication? Will Pakistan be ever able to formulate its own independent foreign policy? Will this region remain the victim of Drone attacks? These are the questions that every one has in his mind. The chaos and anarchy in Afghanistan has been an important cause of the insecurity and tension that is being spread in Pakistan. The situation in FATA¹³ is the ultimate repercussion of the security collapse in Afghanistan. The peace agreement in Swat has further aggravated the situation for America. A nearly completed study by the US Central Command is expected to say that nuclear armed Pakistan, not Iraq, Afghanistan or Iran, is the most urgent foreign policy challenge facing Obama (Ezdi, 2009, February 26) what is happening in Boneer, Swat, is dangerous. It is clear threat to the integrity of Pakistan and its survival. These elements must be handled carefully and effectively. America might have its overt and covert interests but in real sense, they have become a permanent threat to Pakistan and it is in Pakistan's interest to fight those elements high handedly.

Apparently, American president's approach towards Pakistan seems positive but it will be done on few terms that set the yardstick on Pakistan's performance against the terrorists that threaten stability in Afghanistan and the safety of International community (Curtis, 2009, March 28). Obama administration is adhered to the hope that Pakistan's military will control the dangers which are also posing threat to Pakistani society.

On the other side of the fence, Pakistan faces a serious increase in the drone attacks into Balochistan and in tribal border areas. During last months, they are aggravating the security situation in the region. It shows a clear detestation of US against Al Qaeda but these drone attacks are not the solution to the soaring problem.

Ankara Process-April 1, 2009

At this juncture of history, NATO's Muslim member country and America's best friend in the Islamic world, Turkey, hailed as a "Critical Ally" by Obama. (The News International, 2009, April 7). It is ready to act as a mediator between the two neighbors i.e. Pakistan and Afghanistan, in order to normalize the bilateral relations. In this context, Turkey launched a diplomatic initiative for the revival of the relations. As far as Pakistan and Afghanistan are concerned, Turkey has long standing ties with both countries of the region despite the fact:

1. Turkey has a little force in Afghanistan, a part of NATO contingent working with US troops.
2. It is one of only two key Muslim countries that have cordial relations with Israel.

Turkey was among those countries which immediately accepted Pakistan after its inception. Both countries had an alliance, "Baghdad Pact" along with Iran and Iraq but after a military coup in Iraq in 1958, Iraq separated itself from this pact. After that it was named, Central Treaty Organization¹⁴ (CENTO). In the past, Turkey has hosted two high level meetings, one in 2007 and the other in 2008. This trilateral summit is the third one that Turkey has hosted in the last three years, known as "Ankara Process". This meeting was held just one day after an International Conference at Hague (Netherlands) on 31st March, 2009, where more than seventy nations had met to reinvigorate the international efforts to stabilize Pakistan and Afghanistan's lawless western region. This summit also came at the heels of US President's new strategy for both countries and precedes NATO Summit in France and visit of Obama to Turkey. This summit is important as the intelligentsias of both countries have attended the trilateral summit. Positively speaking, it shows a bottomless commitment to work together. The cardinal issues discussed in this meeting were about the security along the snagged borders of Pakistan and Afghanistan and to combat the drug trafficking stemming from Afghanistan. The focus of the summit was peace, security and prosperity in the region (The News International, 2009, April 2).

Indian Factor

India shares no border with Afghanistan, despite that it has been actively busy in maintaining its influence by supporting anti-Pakistani elements and perception. It supported all the successive governments in Afghanistan till Taliban rose to the horizon of Kandhar. While talking about Pak-US-Afghan equation, the Indian factor can not be negated. Pakistan has serious concerns on India's role in Afghanistan since 1947 when both countries got independence from British rule and were greatly intensified by the Soviet Union's policy of encouraging Daoud government to lay claim to Pakistan's territory. Indian support for communist

regime in Kabul in the decade of 1980s was a continuation of the same policy to encircle Pakistan (Ezdi, 2009, February 26). In Afghanistan, Pakistan always found a strategic depth against India. Afghanistan has been a focus of Indian foreign policy. India has been exploiting the factor of 'Ethnicity' in Pakistan. The separation of East Pakistan in 1971 was crystal example of Indian assistance to Mukti Bahni to divide Pakistan. In the decade of 1980's and 1990's, Punjabi and Sindhi identities were fostered by Indian Intelligence agencies as it has now taken a new shape of the Pashtuns and the Balochs. During the Taliban regime, India had very close ties with their rival Northern Alliance and in the post-Taliban period, India can be viewed as actively involved in the reconstruction projects of Afghanistan. Today India has opened many consulates in Afghanistan. The sheer scale of cloak and dagger operations, where RAW¹⁵ is rejuvenating its old bondage with KHAD¹⁶ and extending its tentacles to eastern Afghanistan provinces contiguous to Pakistan's borders, the situation is troublesome to say the least (SCAPEL, 2005: 87). Mainly, India has three broad based goals:

1. India wants to marginalize Pakistan's influence in the region and in the global politics at large.
2. India aspires to have strong linkages with Central Asian Republics¹⁷ (CARs), as they are going to be the future oil economy for the region and the world at large.
3. The economic development and role in construction of Afghanistan may carry the hidden objectives of the above mentioned aspects.

Although General Karl Eikenberry, has praised India's 'positive' Contribution in Afghanistan and its 'generosity' (Iqbal, 2009, April 6) yet there are few hard facts:

- **Russian Invasion**

During Russian invasion, India had sided with Moscow, against the American interests in the region. It shows a diplomatic and fake kind of Indian 'friendship' with Afghanistan.

- **Insurgency in Balochistan**

India is trying to create insurgency and a kind of war like situation in Balochistan. As India has been 'generous' enough by providing an economic assistance of 1 Billion \$ to Afghanistan, it has opened the ways for misusing the Baluchs against Pakistan. It seems that the regional policy of India is followed by Kautilian's philosophy, "Neighbors are regarded as enemies and an enemy's immediate neighbor as a friend" (Kautilya, 1992). Therefore, India is taking an advantage of the differences between Afghanistan and Pakistan over Durand line¹⁸.

Challenges Ahead For the Region

America has long term engagements in the region. Afghanistan has a history and geography as it has resisted every invader since Alexander. Allama Iqbal, the great national poet, philosopher and thinker was right in saying:

آسیا بیک پیکر آب و گل است
ملتِ افغان در آن پیکر دل است
از فساد او فساد آسیا
در کشاد او کشاد آسیا

(اقبال، ۱۹۷۸: ۲۶-۲۵)

(Asia is just a part of the world. Afghanistan nation occupies the place of heart in that. The turbulence in Afghanistan is turbulence in Asia. Peace in Afghanistan is peace in Asia).

As long as there is foreign occupation, the distortion will continue towards Pakistan. At this stage of history, if the foreign policy of Pakistan is not going to be sovereign, the institutions like police and army will be kept targeted and drone attacks will be a day to day activity. Pakistan has no threats from Taliban. They represent rural Pushtoon culture, how can they get control with a population of about 160 million?

Today America looks towards going beyond transactional relationship and to have non-governmental groups, think tanks and alliances in its strategy for countering terrorism in Afghanistan and Pakistan. US Military maps do not show the countries like Afghanistan and Pakistan but a Eurasian land mass with air bases and arcs of coverage (Shah, 2008, July 22). America has its own interests in the region as there is a threat in the offing that a situation might prevail like cold war period and Russia may gain the status of super power. In this connection, China's role as upcoming super power can not be negated. On one hand, America wants to contain Russia and China and on the other side, it has to face Iran. US looks Afghanistan as a gateway for Central Asia. Central Asia's Russian-built railway has become an unlikely focus of new US military strategy for Afghanistan (Coleman, 2009, March 2). American administration is going to dictate the time and resources to Pakistan. Thus the country is at crucial point, being the only nuclear state in the Islamic world. The US needs Indian help to keep Pakistan a weak state. Thus if India is to be brought into Afghanistan, a weaker and localized Pakistan better suits US interests (Quraishi, 2009, January 5). The success of the regional approach to Afghanistan greatly lies on the good activities of India in the region. The drone attacks, a strategy that was used for Iraq also, being practically implemented for Pakistan. Afghanistan looms a serious security threat with

Taliban but the road to improvement starts in Pakistan and the route is as winding as the Khyber Pass¹⁹. It goes beyond saying that many extremist elements have regrouped themselves in the tribal areas of Pakistan. Whether Al Qaeda is hidden in Pakistan or not, still it is posing a serious threat to even a common man in Pakistan. Due to the lack of counter-strategy, the wave of extremism is rising high. The writ of Pakistani government is being challenged with every passing day. The rhetoric in Washington against Pakistan is increasing day by day and the statements from Afghanistan are assuming threatening proportions (Shah, 2008, July 22). Pakistan being at a critical juncture, should understand the nature of this war because it is between the two conflicting world views. It has far-reaching implications for us and its outcome hinges the future of what is left of Pakistan (Mir, March 27, 2009). Although Obama administration has a plan to have investment in Pakistan, yet it is the high time to ponder and adopt a regional security perception. At the end of the NATO Summit, Obama spoke, "I informed our allies that despite difficult circumstances, we are going to put more money into Pakistan, conditional on action to meet the terrorist threat". He added further, "We want to bring all of our diplomatic and development skills to bear towards strengthening Pakistan in part because they have to have the capacity to take on Al Qaeda with in their borders" (The News International, April 5, 2009). Since 2003, NATO has led international security forces in Afghanistan and gradually, its strength is getting increased. US President has appealed directly to alliance head of governments for more help in dead lock NATO campaign to defeat Taliban insurgency in Afghanistan (Islam, April 4, 2009). By having more troops of NATO an allied forces in Afghanistan will rise up to the level of 1, 20,000.

Conclusion

Today the current trends in US policy seems detrimental to the extent for this region. Pakistan and Afghanistan are becoming vulnerable because of their own political and democratic structures. The hidden factors behind the extremism and aggressive behaviors are not always the same in different areas. Thus it is not a wise act to deal all of them at different places. Pakistan is facing rise in militancy, suicide attacks, armed resistance in tribal areas. Swat, Lal Masjid incident are such examples.

As far as Swat Peace Accord is concerned, America should not have grave concerns over that. It should not be in any case connected with Afghanistan as Swat has no boundary linkages with it. If she can help out Ireland to root out the rebellion expanded over years, then why not this practice can be applied to Pakistan. The problems are enormous but not insurmountable. A persistent problem, spread over a long span of time needs a long term collective commitment and vision. It will not come to an end unless the tactics of short terms military arrangements and deals are made. So there is need to be done few things:

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- The beginning should be from the basics. What we need is to have rule of law. The lack of deterrence is making things worse. A clear distinction must be made between the political and religious Taliban.
- The flow of funds to the militants must be curtailed.
- America wants to have better relations with Pakistan. It is our war and we should not take money from America. For that reason, serious economic reforms are needed because aid is not going to help us.
- As the new American President has pushed for Muslim diplomacy, Turkey can play a very conducive role in the region. It is unique in the sense that among two Muslim countries, Turkey is the one having genial relations with Israel.
- America has the option of regional approach, including Pakistan, India, Central Asian Republics (CARs) and even China and Russia along with at some points perhaps Iran too.
- US should adopt an exit strategy for Afghanistan.
- Drone attacks must be stopped; otherwise it will certainly hamper the road to peace.
- Pakistan must make clear to Obama administration that it should play a role to stop Indian presence in Afghanistan as it adds fuel to the fire.
- An approach of sagacity has to be adopted to differentiate between Taliban of Swat and Waziristan (Seven belts of whole tribal area), political and religious Taliban and Talibanization, radicalism and fundamentalists.
- The term Af-Pak should not be used as it disservice to both countries and to the policy at large.
- In the war against terrorism, Pakistan should not have commitments on the stake of its national interest. It should adopt a pragmatic approach and all the agencies of the state should get involved in it.
- Kashmir issue has to be resolved as India is actively involved in creating mistrust and a situation of anarchy in the problems related to Pak-Afghan tensions and in Balochistan. In this regard, may be some viable options propounded by Pervaiz Musharraf, the ex-Pakistani President can become the basis of settlement. India's Afghan policy must also be revised for the peaceful settlement in the South Asian conflicts. India-Afghanistan or India-US links should not grow at the expense of Pakistan. RAW is making havoc through its conspiracies and is raising the terrorism in Pakistan via Afghanistan.
- The process of killing Taliban will not eliminate the factor of 'Talibanization'
- The trust of Pashtuns in Afghanistan must be regained.
- The privileged culture of Army has to be abandoned.
- Last but not least, We see that Taliban have made those powerful who have been poor, dejected in Swat and Waziristan, so Pakistan needs at large an investment on equal level educational system because what it faces today is

the pitiable condition of human development. If at this point, the relationship between Pakistan and US deteriorate, it will create enormous problems for the South Asian region because the stability of this region greatly depends on combating the threats that are common.

Notes

1. A Polish-born American political scientist, geo-strategist and statesman who served as United States National Security Advisor to President Jimmy Carter from 1977 to 1981.
2. The continuing state of conflict, tension and competition that existed after World War II between the Soviet Union and its satellites and the powers of the Western world under the leadership of the United States from the mid-1940s to the early 1990s.
3. It was a strategy orchestrated and implemented by the United States under the Reagan Administration to oppose the global influence of the Soviet Union during the final years of the Cold War. While the doctrine lasted less than a decade, it was the centerpiece of US foreign policy from the mid-1980s until the end of the Cold War in 1991. Under the Reagan Doctrine, the US provided overt and covert aid to right-wing guerrillas in an effort to "rollback" Soviet-backed left-wing governments in Africa, Asia and Latin America. The doctrine was designed to serve the dual purposes of diminishing Soviet influence in these regions, while also potentially opening the door for capitalism in nations that were largely being governed by Soviet-supported Marxist governments.
4. The US Congress passed the "Pressler Amendment," in August 1985 requiring the president to certify that Pakistan does not have nuclear weapons every year. The amendment was championed by Senator Larry Pressler (R-SD). If the president does not issue such certification, Pakistan cannot not get any foreign aid from the US.
5. An international organization whose stated aims are to facilitate cooperation in international law, international security, economic development, social progress, human rights and achieving world peace. The UN was founded in 1945 after World War II to replace the League of Nations, to stop wars between countries, and to provide a platform for dialogue. There are currently 192 member states, including nearly every recognized independent state in the world. Its headquarter is in New York City.
6. It is one of the principal organs of the United Nations and is charged with the maintenance of international peace and security. Its powers, outlined in the United Nations Charter, include the establishment of peacekeeping operations, the establishment of international sanction, and the authorization of military action. Its powers are exercised through United Nations Security Council Resolutions. There are 15 members of the Security Council, consisting of 5 permanent members (China, France, Russia, United Kingdom, United States), and elected members.
7. The official name used by the US government for its contribution to the war in Afghanistan, together with three small military actions, under the umbrella of its Global War on Terrorism (GWOT). It was originally called, Operation Infinite Justice.
8. A military-political umbrella organization (composed of Tajiks, Uzbeks, Hazaras & other minorities like Turkmen & Nuristanis) created by the Islamic State of Afghanistan in 1996 supported by Iran and India.

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9. A designation given by the United States government to exceptionally close allies who have close strategic working relationships with American forces but are not members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. This status does not automatically include a mutual defense pact with the United States. It does confer a variety of military and financial advantages that otherwise are not obtainable by countries not in NATO.
10. The General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina, also known as the Dayton Agreement, Dayton Accords, Paris Protocol or Dayton-Paris Agreement, is the peace agreement reached at Wright-Patterson Air Force Base near Dayton, Ohio in November 1995, and formally signed in Paris on December 14, 1995. These accords put an end to the three and a half year long war in Bosnia, one of the armed conflicts in the former Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia.
11. A military alliance, also called "the (North) Atlantic Alliance", established by the signing of the North Atlantic Treaty on 4 April 1949. The NATO headquarters are in Brussels, Belgium. This organization constitutes a system of collective defense whereby its member states agree to mutual defense in response to an attack by any external party.
12. The primary unit in the United States Department of Justice, serving as both a federal criminal investigative body and an internal intelligence agency. The FBI has investigative jurisdiction over violations of more than 200 categories of federal crime. Its motto is "*Fidelity, Bravery, Integrity*," corresponding to the "FBI" initials. The FBI's headquarters, the J. Edgar Hoover Building, are located in Washington, D.C.
13. Those areas which are outside of the four provinces of Pakistan, bordering Afghanistan, comprising a region of some 27, 220 Km² (10,507 Sq. miles).
14. Its original name was Middle East Treaty Organization METO, also known as Baghdad Pact. It was adopted in 1955 by Iran, Iraq, Pakistan, Turkey and the United Kingdom. It was dissolved in 1979.
15. It was founded in 1968. Its formation was initially motivated by reports of Pakistan supplying weapons to Sikh militants, and providing shelter and training to guerrillas in Pakistan India's foreign intelligence agency. RAW has become an effective instrument of Indian national power and has assumed a significant role in carrying out India's domestic and foreign policies.
16. *Khadamat-e Etela'at-e Dawlati* (Persian 'اطلاعات دولتی خدمات') (English: "State Information Agency"), almost always known by its acronym KHAD (or KhAD), is the main security and intelligence agency of Afghanistan. It also served as the secret police during the Soviet occupation. KHAD has continued to operate after the fall of the Soviet backed government in 1992 and acted as the intelligence arm of the United Front or "Northern Alliance" during the Civil war in Afghanistan (1996–2001).
17. Geographical region, covering the territory of five nation-states: Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan & Uzbekistan. These republics were part of the Soviet Union before gaining their independence in 1991.
18. It is a boundary line between Afghanistan & Pakistan, having a length of 2,640 Km. This line is remembered with the name Sir Mortimer Durand, the Foreign Secretary of the British Indian Government. It was demarcated by the British and signed into a treaty in 1893 with the Afghan ruler Amir Abdur Rehman Khan. The treaty was to stay into force for a 100-year period.
19. The Internationally reputed pass that connects Peshawar with Jalalabad (Nanagarhar Province). It lies in Hindukhush and Kabul River coming from Afghnistan, flows with inthis pass. Throughout history, it has been an important trade route between Central Asia and South Asia and a Strategic military location.

Its total length is about 56 Km, out of which 40 Km is in Pakistan and 16 Km is in Afghanistan.

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