

America's New Afghan or Pakistan Policy

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ABSTRACT

The new Afghan policy is articulated to achieve military victory as it is characterized with increasing military operation and escalation in aerial strikes in border areas of Pakistan and a new surge of 30,000 US troops to Afghanistan, seems a part of the strategy. It is important to note that for the first time, a timeline for the evacuation of NATO troops along with an exit strategy for the American forces has been given, following up the American presidential elections in November 2012. Although the interests of both Pakistan and US coincide yet Washington is not satisfied with Islamabad. This paper aims at discussing the US agenda in Afghanistan and its implications for Pakistan. It will look at the real intentions of US- whether it really wants to defeat Taliban or dismantle Al-Qaeda or both and is the new strategy likely to be effective? Surely it will be decided in the times to come, as it is not possible to predict about forestall future. The fundamental questions are about the success of this strategy as America could not win the war in last eight years, how could it assert its success by sending more troops? It seems that Obama's new Afghan policy is indeed the formulation of its policy for Pakistan which is to come into effect from 2010. The policy carries many aspects of fears and dangers for Pakistan. It is doubted that the increased US troops is to build more pressure on Pakistan. Is it not likely that America is creating this situation under proper planning and is pushing Pakistan in this warfront? As this policy is a vivid picture of an endless conflict in the South Asian region, the paper is an effort to analyze and explore the covert groundwork through notorious organizations like black water and other foreign elements, which are organized by them to create chaos and confusion in Pakistan. What are their hidden designs? Why the number of high ranking US officials, NGOs, delegations, security agencies, diplomats and 'spies' have increased all of a sudden? These all aspects will be discussed in the paper.

KEY WORDS: US, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Af-Pak Strategy, Al-Qaeda, War on Terror, Black Water, Taliban, UNOCAL, 9/11

Afghan Policy- December 1, 2009

Two months after becoming American president, Obama, on March 27, 2009, while speaking at West Point Military Academy announced “a Comprehensive New Strategy for Afghanistan and Pakistan”, known as “Af-Pak Strategy” , in which, he said:

“As President, my greatest responsibility is to protect the American people... We are in Afghanistan to confront a common enemy that threatens the United States, our friends and allies, and the people of Afghanistan and Pakistan who have suffered the most at the hands of violent extremists. So I want the American people to understand that we have a clear and focused goal: to disrupt, dismantle and defeat in Pakistan and Afghanistan, and to prevent their return to stronger, smarter and comprehensive strategy” (http://www.whitehouse.gov/the_press_office/Remarks-by-the-President-on-a-New-Strategy-for-Afghanistan-and-Pakistan/).

After his claim of ‘a careful policy review’, after passing eight months, on December 1, 2009, he announced a new policy for Afghanistan. Gen James L. Jones, Obama’s National Security Advisor, declared: “We have strategic interests in South Asia that should not be measured in terms of finite times. We are going to be in the region for a long time”.

Obama has explained three key measures outlining his mission:

1. A military surge within Afghanistan to defeat Taliban
2. A civilian surge to build up the capacity of all-round governance in Afghanistan
3. An effective partnership with Pakistan (<http://www.cbsnews.com/stories/2009/12/01/politics/main5855734.shtml>).

Though Obama’s objectives are designed in military terms to deny a safe heaven for , reverse the Taliban’s momentum and strengthening the Kabul government’s security forces yet nothing was said about broader goals like spreading democracy, protecting human rights or assisting in women’s education. The nation he was interested in building, he explained, was America (Newsweek, 2009, December 4).

History of great nations is replete with precedents when they lost their way by getting caught up in imperial missions far from home that crippled their will, focus and strength (Newsweek, 2009, December 4). American President Obama has played his last card on Afghanistan. He has conceded it to a surge but connected it with time frame of 18 months’ withdrawal. It seems a part of his re-election campaign but nothing is new in Afghan policy which may carry importance. The war which America could not win in the last 8 years, how could it be won by

sending 30,000 more troops, particularly when analysts are giving their clear verdict of failure of US in Afghanistan? Many often American Generals have pleaded guilty about their failure. It can be assessed from Graham E. Fuller's statement, a former CIA Station Chief in Kabul and a former Vice Chairman of the CIA's National Intelligence Council, that 'US troops are regarded as an occupying force, "an affront of Afghan nationalism"; the war is not winnable and should not have been started in the first instance and "Strategic Failure" was inherent in venture' (Dawn, 2009, December 12). Obama administration has no better choice in Afghanistan because time has changed and now battles are not to be fought with military might and force. In changing situation, triumph and success is likely to be achieved by correct strategies to be adopted at right time. Wars are won with commitments, passions and on the basis of ethical and moral principals with high aims and objectives beyond the materialistic approach. Sending more troops mean, an increase in number of the Taliban and the Afghans entering into Pakistan. It is merely a tactic to satisfy its depressed soldiers because by the time the troops reach Afghanistan, their exit will start. American claim to strengthen Afghan National Army and police within a time span of 18 months is to live in a fool's paradise. The people who could not establish Afghan army and the institution of police in last 8 years, how would they be able to formulate it with in a few months. Obama had described Afghanistan as a "war of necessity" and expected that "Over 18 months our troops will begin to come home" (Ibid).

According to Craig Murray, a former diplomat of Britain and human rights activist, "The purpose of war is to protect UNOCAL's¹ interest. UNOCAL, an oil giant, wanted to carry gas from Turkmenistan across Afghanistan to Pakistan. This pipeline project could be constructed if all Afghan factions would accept and cooperate in it. There are designs of this pipeline, and the deployment of US forces in Afghanistan, as against other NATO² country forces in Afghanistan, will undoubtedly be in a position to guard the pipeline route. 'It's what it's about. It's about money, it's about oil, it is not about democracy. The Trans-Afghanistan Pipeline is slated to be completed in 2014, with \$7.6 billion in funding from the Asian Development Bank' (http://centurean2.wordpress.com/2009/12/12/trans-afghanistan-pipeline-unicol-and-karzai_-former-uk-ambassador-cia-sent-people-to-be-%E2%80%98raped-with-broken-bottles%E2%80%99/). Murray further says that Obama's claim that "Our cause is just" ultimately rests on the extraordinary claim that, eight years after the invasion, we are still there in self-defence. In both the UK and US, governments are relying on the mantra that the occupation of Afghanistan protects us from terrorism at home. Our cause is unjust. We are responsible for the deaths of tens of thousands of civilians in Afghanistan and Pakistan, and for the further of radicalisation of Muslim communities worldwide. That threatens a perpetual war - which is of course just what the military-industrial complex and the security industry want. They have captured Obama.

(http://www.craigmurray.org.uk/archives/2009/12/obama_is_wrong.html).

Iraq and Afghan Wars' Cost to the US

The war in Iraq was a choice and in Afghanistan a necessity (Dawn, 2009, September 15). The war in Afghanistan is costing more loss as compared to the advantages. According to Robert Murray, "The easiest way now for the Americans is to buy this American-based oil company Unocal, company and hand over it to Afghanis." America has so far spent 1 trillion dollar on Iraq and Afghan wars and now \$ 30 billion are being spent annually. Newsweek has portrayed a very pathetic picture of the sole Super Power. It has published an article, "How Great Powers Fall" by Niall Ferguson. Beneath this heading, an over turned picture of White House is given and below that it is written, "Steep debt, slow growth, and high spending kill empires-and America could be next."



Picture 1

Source: Newsweek December 07, 2009

More than 95 banks of America have been closed and 3 million employments have been finished. One million dollar annually is being spent on one American soldier. (Daily Jang, 2010, February 4). According to the US Army Medical Department's 2008 mental-health report, at least 13% of US troops in Iraq and 17 % of US troops in Afghanistan are taking antidepressants, anxiety medication, or sleeping pills. (<http://thephoenix.com/boston/news/78044-soldiers-committing-suicide/>). This report presented a horrible picture of depression among American soldiers. The monthly expenses on war in Afghanistan are \$ 3.6 billion and it is like a whip on American economy. A few questions are very much pertinent to be answered. When Russia left Afghanistan and there were signs of the establishment of an Islamic state in Afghanistan, who was the real player behind the scene who made the Afghan inhabitants fight with one another. It was America which knew that if Afghanistan, Iran and Turkmenistan became united as Islamic states, they

would rise to a big power and resultantly, this unification will have effect on the policies of Middle East. This situation would have created dangers for Israel and this was the core reasons behind the bitter truth that America did never let establish a stable government in Afghanistan. America wants to reach the rich Central Asian States (CARs)³, having an access through Afghanistan. Many years before 9/11, on June 23rd, 1998, Dick Cheney who was the then Chief Executive of Halliburton⁴, the world's second largest oil services company, said while discussing the importance of Oil Reserves in Caspian Basin, in a seminar organized by Cato⁵ Institute, libertarian think tank headquartered in Washington, D.C.,

“[We] oftentimes find ourselves operating in some very difficult places. The good Lord didn't see fit to put oil and gas only where there are democratically elected regimes friendly to the United States. Occasionally we have to operate in places where, all things considered, one would not normally choose to go. But, we go where the business is”. While emphasizing the importance of the Caspian Basin, he further added that:

“I can't think of a time when we've had a region emerge as suddenly to become as strategically significant as the Caspian.

It's almost as if the opportunities have arisen overnight”

(<http://www.historycommons.org/context.jsp?item=a062398cheney&scale=2#a062398cheney>).

Dick Cheney had also pointed out the Caspian Region as an alternative route for oil and gas due to instability in the Gulf. Before 9/11, a delegation of Afghan government (Taliban) visited US to have a dialogue with American government on the extraction of oil. But these dialogues were failed on the distribution of royalty. All this has also been shown in a Hollywood movie, *Fahrenheit 9/11*⁶ by Michael Moore. According to a report of BBC, published on December 04, 1997, and is available on its website with the title of “Taliban in Texas for Talks on Gas Pipeline” which indicates, “A senior delegation from the Taliban movement in Afghanistan is in the United States for talks with an International Energy Company that wants to construct a gas pipeline from Turkmenistan across Afghanistan to Pakistan. A spokesman of UNOCAL said that Taliban were expecting to spend several days at the company's headquarters in Sugarland and Texas. UNOCAL has agreements with Turkmenistan to sell its gas and with Pakistan to buy it. But, despite the civil war in Afghanistan, UNOCAL has been in competition with an Argentinean firm, Bidas⁷, which is a large independent oil and gas company of Latin America and was the first Western company that started the task of exploration of Ireland gas in Turkmenistan. (<http://search.bbc.co.uk/search?go=homepage&scope=all&q=Taliban+in+Texas+f+or+talks+on+gas+pipeline>).

In the words of General Stanley McChrystal, Commander of NATO forces in Afghanistan, “I think all wars must end in a political settlement. And I believe that

this must be an Afghan political settlement that Afghans feel comfortable about” (http://www.pbs.org/newshour/bb/asia/jan-june10/mcchrystal2_05-13.html).

There have been reports that:



Those arms weapons which have been overtaken from the extremists, fighting against Pakistan Army, are the same which American army is using against and the Taliban in Afghanistan. The definite worrying point at issue is that after the meeting of Pakistani President and Indian Prime Minister, who said in a joint press note, released on November 25, 2009 that both countries will practically cooperate in demolishing the safe sanctuaries of terrorists in Pakistan. All this is alarming for Pakistan. We have been saying continuously for last 8 years that America is fighting this war to gain control over oil and gas enriched Central Asian States, which will possibly cross through Afghanistan and Pakistani Province, Balochistan. We have been saying since many years on different TV channels that America wants to sustain its armed control over Afghanistan by dropping Taliban regime. But it will not eliminate the power of Taliban because if the threat of Taliban diminishes, then the local friends of America in Afghanistan will ask her to leave (Daily Jang, 2009, December 8).

Comparing Afghanistan & Vietnam in Relation to US Military Intervention

America is reiterating the tragedy of Vietnam in Afghanistan. When American Generals felt that they were facing defeat, they found its justification. US Administration first of all, declared that the army of North Vietnam is entering

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Eastern provinces” published in Guardian, which states that, “The primary focus of US war strategy in Afghanistan could shift towards the Eastern provinces bordering Pakistan and away from the South of the country where British forces are heavily engaged under a plan being finalized by commanders. The additional US military pressure along the Eastern border would cause concern in Pakistan, where US aerial drone attacks on and Taliban targets in Waziristan and the Pakistan’s army’s US-driven spring offensive against Pakistani Taliban in Swat are blamed for growing instability”

(<http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2009/sep/13/us-military-policy-fghanistan>).

A British Officer has rightly observed that the Afghans are never at peace themselves, except when they are at war (Ahmar, 2006: 3). Eugene Robinson has written in an article that, “It never made sense to think of the fight against terrorism as a "war" because it's not possible to defeat a technique or an idea by force of arms. George W. Bush chose a path towards a more or less permanent state of costly, deadly, low-level war. Barack Obama should have taken a different course” (The Washington Post, 2009, December 4).

Impact on Pakistan

Admiral Mike Mullen, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, has himself acknowledged the reports of U.S. intelligence and all independent observers that Al-Qaeda is in Pakistan, as is the leadership of the hard-core Afghan Taliban (That's why it's called the Quetta Shura, Quetta being a Pakistani city). All attacks against Western targets that have emanated from the region in the past eight years, have emanated from Pakistan and not from Afghanistan. Even the most recently foiled plot in the United States, which involved the first Afghan but he had origin in Pakistan. Yet the US spends \$30 in Afghanistan for every dollar in Pakistan (The Washington Post, 2009, October 12). Leaks suggest that Obama “signed off” on a plan by CIA to expand its activities in Pakistan “that calls for more strikes against militants by drone attacks (and)... sending additional spies to Pakistan” (The News, December 15, 2009). Pakistan has suffered the loss of \$ 35 billion and according to some estimates \$ 40 billion in this 8 years’ war (Daily Jang, 2010, January 8). Afghan Policy of America is in fact the announcement of that Pakistan’s policy which is to come into effect in 2010. It is fraught with dangers and fears for Pakistan. Few people think that American army is being increased for exerting pressure on Pakistan. American Commandoes have started saying that ‘Afghan Shura’ in Balochistan shall be attacked through drones. The sovereignty of Pakistan will be challenged in both ways, be it surgical strikes or drone attacks. The Guardian has reported that, “Fighting along the Pakistani side of the border appears to be spreading” (Guardian, 2009, September 13).

In the beginning, the strategy was known as Af-Pak strategy, both countries might be treated separately but with one challenge. This term was rejected by Pakistani President, Asif Ali Zardari. In an interview with Financial Times, Mr. Zardari said that, "Afghanistan and Pakistan are distinctively different countries and can not be lumped together for any reason" (Financial Times, 2009, September 10). If we review the situation, it becomes clear that the situation of Pakistan is worse than Afghanistan. As the new strategy unfolds, Pakistan would be in a middle of things to come. On April 6, 2009, Admiral Mike Mullen said in a dinner given by the US ambassador to Pakistan, Anne W. Patterson that, "the focus of new Afghan policy is "Pakistan.", as so far Pakistan has suffered more" (Daily Express, 2009, April 7).

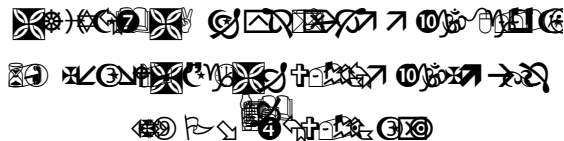
The implications for Pakistan of further military escalation are absolute and unquestionably worsening. Pakistani border areas have been declared the epicenters of terrorist activities by US which will lead to an insurgency in the people of those areas. Intensified fighting in Afghanistan, far from diminishing the threat of more instability in Pakistan-being marshaled out as a spurious rationale by the US officials in a curious version of the old domino theory. It will enhance it (The News, 2009, December 7). Gen (r) James Jones, who had personally brought Obama's letter for Mr. Zardari, carrying the demand that either Pakistan should take action against the centers of terrorists or otherwise US will take the step. Whatever the policy might have repercussions for Afghanistan, Pakistan will definitely have severe effect. According to an estimate, Pakistan has lost almost 80,000 civilians and 2,900 soldiers in terrorism related violence between 2003 and 2009. As an increase in American troops will not only lead to more violence in Afghanistan but resultantly this militancy will penetrate into Pakistan. This new surge will be appointed along with Lake Halmand to Kunner and the areas of NWFP⁸, FATA⁹ and Balochistan will directly come under its effect. According to US, the leadership of Al-Qaeda lies hidden in Balochistan and thus drone attacks are being considered the need of the hour. Shamsi Airbase¹⁰, called Bandari (a small Air Force's airfield and air station located in Balochistan, Pakistan), about 200 miles (320 km) southwest of Quetta near the town of Washki and Jackobabad Airport (Jackobabad, Sindh) are already under US occupation.

The demand of 'Do More,' drone attacks on Pakistani land by US and the killing of innocent civilians will compound as flimsy security situation. The expansion in drone attacks is fraught with perils. Today America is doing this and tomorrow, Iran will demand to make actions against Jandullah in Balochistan and then India will ask to trial Lashkar-e-Tayebba. Americans are training Pakistani police in Sihala, Rawalpindi (Punjab) and the way American embassy in Islamabad is being extended, it seems that it shall be converted into mini-Pentagon. Richard Halbrooke's talk with Fareed Zakaria was aired on December 06, 2009 on CNN¹¹, in which he said that, "The goals are more counterterrorism than counterinsurgency, more military than broadly political. The thing that

Pakistan needs, is to completely redefine its interests -- not be focused on India, but in fact, be focused on what the US president obama called the cancer within its society, the rising jihadist insurgency there, and not be focused on controlling the political space in Afghanistan as strategic depth against India, and therefore is a place to have its own Taliban to manage that. (<http://transcripts.cnn.com/TRANSCRIPTS/0912/06/fzgps.01.html>).

It looks that there are some hidden forces and conspiracies which are trying their utmost to prove this war as Pakistan's. Technology is being provided to militants but the question is why? What are their motives? Why they want to destabilize Pakistan. North Carolina-based Black Water (now called Xe-Services¹²) has emerged in the recent months. It has been reported that the agency has been hired as a part of the programme to assassinate leaders of and to assist in CIA's predator drone programme in Afghanistan and Pakistan (The Nation, 2009, December 11). According to Jeremy Scahill's report in the Nation, these special Blackwater cells also had bases in Karachi and other parts of Pakistan, from which they ran their operations. He writes that, On Thursday (January 20, 2010), US Defence Secretary Robert Gates confirmed that Blackwater is operating in Pakistan" (The Nation, 2010, January 22).

America entered in Afghanistan after 9/11 and today the vehicles of American commandoes and diplomats can be seen from Karachi (city of Sindh to Dera Ghazi Khan, a city of Punjab, Pakistan). Those people can speak Pashto and Arabic. There have been reports that many Americans are residing in Islamabad.



A European Embassy has taken permission for Anti-gunship by the government of Pakistan. Heavy arms were recovered from the embassy's vehicles. It was found through investigation that the number plates of vehicles were fake (Daily Express, 2009, December 6).

On one hand, America takes Pakistan as an ally but on the other hand, the American detective organizations through their detective contractors are trying to create a situation like Iraq and Afghanistan in Pakistan, by getting concessions through Pakistani diplomatic agencies. It has been reported that the officers of American consulate in Karachi have been wandering in different areas of Sukkur (Sindh) without any security information and permission from the relevant quarters (Daily Jang, 2009, November, 15, 16).

The failure framework of "war on terror" illustrates one of the enduring lessons of the modern interwar years that the search for a replacement for the Cold War's doctrine of containment proved not only elusive, rather due to its

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Peshawar. America is buying 1500 acres in Petaro, a small town near Hyderabad in Jamshoro district, Sindh (Daily Jang, 2009, October 5).

It is important to note that America as stakeholder with other regional powers is gaining two kinds of benefits out of this situation:

- US wants to roll back Pakistan's nuclear program;
- US wants an exit from Afghanistan which is not possible without the help of Pakistan because Pakistan and Afghanistan are considered to be facing the same situation. Since Germany and UK are major stakeholders in new Afghan Policy, they can not even step forward unless Pakistan is there.

Dr. Maleeha Lodhi, former ambassador of Pakistan to United States points out four risks for Pakistan, if military presence is on its border:

1. It could produce a spill over of militants and fighters into Pakistan and an arms flow across the border.
2. It will enhance the vulnerability of US-NATO ground supply routes through the country as supply needs increased exponentially. Protecting these supply lines will overstretch Pakistani forces, at present engaged in quashing Pakistani Taliban.
3. The surge could also lead to an influx of more Afghan refugees which can destabilize Balochistan in particular.
4. It could also provide a spike in violent reprisals in mainland Pakistan, already being rocked by the bloody backlash from the military operations (The News, 2009, December 7).

Ultimately, the absence of cohesive US strategy towards Pakistan beyond urgings to take the threat of the Taliban seriously is reflective of an omission that is likely to impose. On the other hand, there lies a window of opportunity for Pakistan in this policy, a blessing in disguise, to shape the strategic environment in Afghanistan, close festering sources of terrorism in tribal areas and most remarkably regain broad-based influence with Washington. The theory of 'safe heavens in Pakistan were largely promoted to deflect attention from the American failure to nab Osama bin Laden and Dr. Ayman Zawahiri' (The News, 2009, December 5). Till 2004, had almost nothing to do with Pakistan; terrorism in the mainline Pakistan till 2004 was not their handiwork. Obama has described partnership with Pakistan as the 3rd prong of his strategy that he says is "Inextricably linked" to success in Afghanistan (Ibid). The loss what Pakistan suffered in the war against terrorism, is in billions and what Pakistan had been offered in the name of aid is merely \$ 705 billion. What Pakistan needs today is not only to lessen its continuing pain but should also make certain that a stable and prosperous Pakistan does not remain at risk economically and politically to various vicissitude, we are facing presently.

Role of India as Foreign Intrusion

A new character has become evident in Afghan conflict which was underhand before and that is India. India is obsessed by thinking that her limited war theory can help her in winning war on Eastern border, by indulging Pakistan on its Western borders. She plans to have surgical strikes over Pakistan and wants to make Pakistan another Cambodia. India has shown its concerns for not having consulted on America's new Afghan policy. The main reason that lies behind Indian apprehensions is that when Obama unveiled the first Afghan policy, it named India as the member of a new contact group on Afghanistan. But on the same hand, Gen McChrystal has warned that, "Increasing Indian influence in Afghanistan is likely to exacerbate regional tensions and encourage Pakistani countermeasures" (The News, 2009, December 12). This Indian role in Afghanistan will create hurdles in achieving goals related to America's Afghan policy. The drone attacks will make Balochistan a soft target for India. How strange it is that Pakistan is sacrificing for Americans and Europeans but Obama takes Mr. Manmohan Singh, the Indian Prime Minister, into confidence about Afghan policy. After 9/11, Indian interference has increased in Afghanistan. America has in fact provided opportunity to India to get involved in Afghanistan so actively. India is trying to maintain influence in those areas which are adjacent to Pakistan. It has also been now revealed that RAW is giving training for anti-Pakistani activities (Daily Jang, 2009, December 9). For many years, America has been trying to convince Pakistan that India is not its real enemy but the terrorists, so it should deploy its army on the Western border, instead of having on Eastern border. Indian role can not be even negated in FATA, Swat, Malakand and Balochistan. Ayaz Mir, a columnist has written in his article that,

As much as arms are being recovered in the area of FATA and Swat, that is Indian. There are 52 Indian training camps on Pak-Afghan Border (Ibid).

The overt Indian involvement has forced America to concede that Pakistani apprehensions are based on facts:

The overt Indian involvement has forced America to concede that Pakistani apprehensions are based on facts:

India is not only interfering in Balochistan & tribal area but has also increased the dangers for Pakistan by including Atomic Submarines in its fleet. America should compel the government of Kabul to restrain India against anti-Pakistan activities and should force her to abandon its unnecessary mission (Nawa-e-Waqt, 2009, October 4).

US has also signed about 14 civil nuclear agreements with India. Principally, India does not fall in the category of stakeholder as far as Afghanistan is concerned but America is involving her in all issues. India is fighting the war of American interests which becomes evident by reading this statement:



After the incident of 9/11, when America attacked Afghanistan on October 7, 2001 with cluster bombs and daisy cutters, a high official of Russian Army at that time had forbidden US to attack Afghanistan. Afghanistan is a dreadful quagmire where there is only one way to get down but there is no passage to withdraw. But America was overwhelmed by pro-Israeli and pro-Indian thinkers and was influenced to attack Afghanistan and to use Pakistan in such a way that its economy may be ruined. In this way, Pakistani strength may be shattered so that India may be made chief of the area and then it may be used against China (Daily Jang, 2009, December 8).

There are two main objectives of Indian involvement in Afghanistan.

- On one hand, India is misusing Baloch nationals who are presenting Afghanistan and Balochistan and the activities of Taliban and for its own objectives in order to shift the war to Pakistan. The importance of Balochistan can not be set aside due to its geo-strategic position, as being rich in natural resources). India is giving training and financial assistance to the separatist elements in Balochistan. In an article published in Indian Express, it is written that, “Our response to questions about the activities

the name of terrorism, then this resistance will extend not only towards Pakistan but also to the Middle East. India itself will not remain protected. This unconventional resistance will be then uncontrollable. According to a report, currently 26 Indians are working as high officials in the US State Department. The number of Indians working in different departments in US administration and judiciary has reached to 2.5 million and this number is increasing day by day (Daily Jang, 2010, January 8). Indian Interior Minister, Mr. Chadam Padam has himself confessed that the terrorists, who are involved in the terrorist activities in Pakistan, have got the support of a few elements in India (The News, 2009, September 15). Even Mike Mullen has admitted that Pakistan's apprehensions about Indian involvement can not be brushed aside. An ex CIA Station Chief in Pakistan, Millet B. Arden has said that Pakistani people think that Afghanistan is turning into an Indian cantonment. It is not hysteria but a real danger (Nawa-e-Waqt, October 4). The visit of Indian Prime Minister Mr. Manmohan Singh to America in November 2009 showed that America is a great supporter of India for its desire of assuming the role of great power.

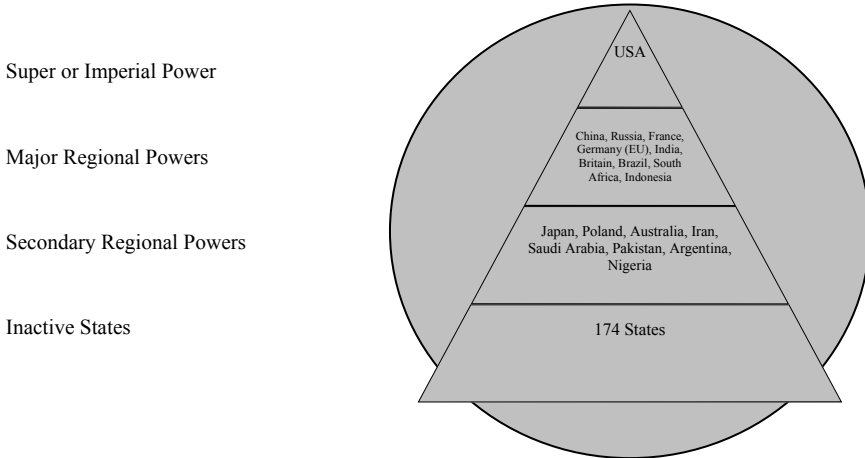
During last 8 years, India has invested so much in Afghanistan in the name of reconstruction and rehabilitation which extends to 1.5 billion dollars. This is the reason that it does not want to leave Afghanistan at any cost. More than 18 or so Indian consulates and trading missions are working in Afghanistan. India is the 5th largest donor country to Afghanistan. It is supplying 1 million tons wheat per annum to Afghanistan. In July 2002, when Afghan government was facing a budget crisis, India was the one which deposited \$ 10 million in the account of Afghan government. It deposits more than \$ 0.2 million annually in Afghan Reconstruction Fund. For the last 5 years, India is providing medicines that cost \$ 67 million. Even it would not be wrong to say that the whole Afghan transportation system is under the Indian control. There are 69% employees in Afghan Airline Ariana who are Indians. India is already giving training to Afghan civil bureaucracy. Russia has made agreements with India to provide Atomic civil and defence technology and US is already providing her atomic civil technology. Today Mossad has spread its roots in Afghanistan. Israeli interest in Afghanistan is doubled, since the Islamist government has been established in Iran (The London Times, 1988, June 19).

US considers China as its rival in Asia. US power continues to envelop 193 sovereign and independent states of the world in a circle of a diplomatic system. Within this invisible circle, there is a pyramid of power, which ranks these states according to their capacity to play the diplomatic role. Hafeez Malik (2008: 27) has mentioned 4 vertical categories of the independent states of the world:

1. Super or Imperial Power;
2. Major Regional Powers;
3. Secondary Regional Powers;
4. Inactive States.

According to him, 18 states possess varying degrees of leverage in the world diplomacy. The rest simply follow the lead of the major powers, especially that of the US.

World Diplomatic System



Source: US Relations with Afghanistan and Pakistan-The Imperial Dimension by Hafeez Malik, Page 27, Oxford University Press 2008.

Today China has become a necessity of America because it is the world's largest booming economy which can help America to come out of its economic recession. The great poet and thinker, Allama Iqbal had long ago predicted:



Chinese have awakened after a deep slumber; springs of Himalayas have started to rise (Iqbal, 2005: 451).

China is an old friend of Pakistan and both have common interests too. The great land of China is devoid of sea and Pakistani ports are the shortest route to have a link with the outside world. Moreover, silk route extends to Middle East and the US, while crossing through Central Asia, China and Pakistan. America is annoyed over Iran's investment in Logar province of Afghanistan, located in the eastern zone, southeast of Kabul. Today there is a global threat of re-emergence of Cold war. Russia is gaining strength once again after retreat of American and its allied forces from Afghanistan. The Central Asian Republics (CARs) have already started cooperation with Russia after analyzing the European and American role in this region.

London Conference-January 28, 2010

During January 2010, there was a trilateral conference in Islamabad, involving Iranian, Pakistani and Afghan foreign ministers. It was followed by a tri-lateral Pak-Afghan Turkish Summit in Istanbul, Turkey. This meeting was followed by a gathering of Afghanistan's six neighbors and International stakeholders in Istanbul. An important point in Istanbul deliberations was the exclusion of India from Afghan related meetings which is a great shock for India (The News, 2010, February 10).

The conference was convened by British Prime Minister Gordon Brown and 70 countries of the world participated in this conference which was organized by United Nations, Britain and Afghan government. In this conference, both good and bad Taliban, a term coined by US were brought under discussion and a fund of \$ 50 billion was established. It was decided in this conference, that those Taliban who were included in NATO's black list, would be excluded. This list includes the names of 500 Taliban and institutions which was demanded by Hamid Karzai. Debts of \$ 1.6 billion have been remitted. Arabs, Russia and China are supporting this. These countries want a speedy evacuation of foreign troops as they are being directly affected by the destability of Afghanistan. Iran and Afghanistan boycotted this conference. Though parties could not reach to a proper conclusion yet it has become obvious that both Taliban and foreign forces have formed an opinion that the war can not be won through fighting. Taliban have rejected the proclamation of this conference, as they want withdrawal of foreigners from their country before they take part in any kind of negotiations. An amount of \$ 500 million has been offered to Taliban for reconstruction. So far the Conference carries few good points as:

- All leaders in the conference were agreed to support Afghan government in its efforts to involve Taliban in the mainstream politics. It is conditioned with the fact that Taliban must disintegrate from;
- A "Peace and Reintegration Fund" of \$ 1.5 billion has been allocated;
- The conference has opted for a regional solution, involving the key regional countries that can begin to take responsibility for regional stability in the wake of US withdrawal.

Conclusion

The exit strategies are easier to design than to execute. Very often they morph into endurance strategies. US has failed in Afghanistan. Its closest ally and friend, Britain is showing its resentment against this war. Canada has not only refused to send more troops but also rethinking to call back, the already sent troops to

Afghanistan. This new policy was being considered as the first provisional step to wind down the post 9/11 era.

Gulbadeen Hikmatyar is another important factor in Afghan politics. After spending long years in exile, he has re-established Hizb-e-Islami which is also making actions against NATO forces. US administration is indirectly in contact both with Taliban and Gulbadeen.

There are two things very obvious while fighting a war:

- When the wars spread among local people, victory becomes very difficult;
- When the opinion of local people turns against the warriors, it is impossible to win the war.

Obama's Afghan policy has opened new horizon of tensions for Pakistan. US administration thinks that:

1. Pakistan is sanctuary for Osama and leadership of Al QAEDA, which is hidden there;
2. Pakistan's nuclear assets can fall into the hands of extremists which is a matter of great concern for the security of Western countries;
3. There are certain people in Pakistani army, especially among intelligence agencies who have a soft corner for and Taliban and they have become a hurdle in taking any kind of action against the militants.

During last 8 years, 850 American soldiers have been killed in Afghanistan while the number of casualties among Pakistani army is much more. An absence of some vivid plan towards the region shows a little reassurance for Pakistan, as what kind of role it will have to play as an American ally. It is a confused policy as it is neither a time table for withdrawal nor a deadline for exit. On one hand, America thinks it necessary to have an exit from Afghanistan but intends to send more troops. Pakistan is an ally and frontline state but it has been treated like an enemy. America has brought Hamid Karzai to power but not letting him powerful. It wants a stable Pakistan but is having severe apprehensions about its atomic programme. The policy in any case has to be reviewed by the end of 2010.

What began after 9/11 to root out terrorism is ending into major strategic failure. The money which is going to be spent on American army, if spent on the reconstruction of Afghanistan, the situation can be changed. Today most of the Americans are of the opinion that a futile war against terrorism has torn American economy badly. Even the Liberals are annoyed over Obama's decision to send more troops to Afghanistan. If Obama administration thinks that by putting a military pressure, they would be able to bring Taliban on table, then they live in a fool's paradise. In order to separate Taliban from, the policy needs to be reviewed. The assessment of the situation in this policy has been wrong in a situation when the policy makers are constantly in a state of denial. Though the interests of Pakistan and Afghanistan seem same in the 'war against terrorism' yet the situation handling in Afghanistan is a far cry.

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The missing factor in Afghan strategy is the political, like in Iraq. It seems more a military strategy and less apolitical plan. An increase in troops will worsen the situation and it will lead to a spillover of belligerents in Pakistan's tribal areas. This war is totally at a loose end. Rather than increase, US should change its strategy. The core objective of defeating can be met only by taking Taliban on board. Both Al Qaeda and Taliban have to be treated discretely, by political and military means. The military escalation will push them closer and impede the main goal. Not only Taliban, but other groups in Afghanistan must also be brought at negotiation table, only then US will be successful in establishing the armed force and maintaining peace in Afghanistan. Despite playing a front line role in US war against terrorism, Pakistan has been blamed by America for being a safe heaven for terrorists. The point which is to think, was it Pakistan that created them? Who is Osama Bin Laden? Neither a Pakistani nor Pakistani national but a Saudi. US has itself brought him into limelight. Pakistan must undertake strategic SWOT Analysis, i.e; our Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats and should be confident enough about its geography, the supply route to NATO troops. It is an unannounced war which is being imposed on Pakistan

As Pakistani army is making military operations against extremists, the same should be done by NATO forces. But when Pakistani military started operation, America closed its post on Pak- Afghan Border. No one even tried to find out its reasons. It is the high time that Pakistani leadership refuses to accept American policies. Even if few people are caught from Pakistan, the whole country and nation can not be blamed for that. Pakistan should seek to curtail the negative fall out and try to convince US to adapt its strategy to accommodate Pakistan's concerns and apprehensions. It is high time that America should listen to Pakistan because unless Pakistan's doubts are not removed, chaos and confusion will prevail in the region. Pakistan should not give its route to NATO forces, as 80% supply is from Pakistan.

The real problem is that Pakhtoon nationals of Afghanistan are neither happy nor satisfied with the current state of affairs. When America talks of Taliban, it takes them as religious movement. Nationalism is the basis of Taliban and ethnic Pushtoon factor is very much dominant in it. Being an ally in war again terrorism, Pakistan should revisit its policy and reanalyze the constraints over Pakistan. It should adopt a pro-9/11 policy as neighbors are never changed. It is America that has to go back one day. If the situation prevails in the same way, they can never be defeated by the US military might because it is paradoxical to seek out talks with Taliban leaders while making efforts at the same time to take their lives. In a real sense, this war is being fought with Pakhtoon blood. Unless all the ethnic and linguistic groups along with Taliban are not invited to form a government, their ideology can never be defeated because it is all about winning hearts and minds. They should be given local power in Pakhtoon areas. The sooner it is comprehended, the better it would be; otherwise, the surge in all respects is likely

to fail. Because at the end of the day, the civilians will have to take charge of Afghanistan. Thus it is very crucial for America that it may chalk out a political approach which should be aimed at Afghan National Reconciliation. Pakistani nation will have to think over the cruel and bitter reality, who is providing the suicide jackets to the bombers? The use of air strikes and artilleries have given birth to hatred and vindictive approach. It has already reached Lahore, Multan, Mian Channu and Dera Ghazi Khan, the incident of Parade Lane Mosque in Rawalpindi where 40 people were killed along with 17 children and 85 were injured. In Peshawar, one blast takes place in average which kills hundreds of innocent citizens. Is it happening in Afghanistan's markets or mosques? Is it not the truth that some other covert force presenting Pakistan a more dangerous and terrible state on the globe? Pakistan is being proved as Afghanistan under a global agenda in order to make justifications for American forces in the region. Now it is the time to let American administration know that Pakistan should also be considered as an atomic power under NPT and agents of Black Water should be thrown out. It is the need of the hour that Pakistan must save its sovereignty because the country is going to be entangled in a long war. God forbids, America is creating such situation after proper planning to make NWFP and Balochistan battlefields and when the rest of country will be victimized too, then which way the wind will blow? On one hand, terrorism will go high and on the other hand, there will be a massive flow of refugees. The economy will deteriorate and billion of dollars will be spent in the name of security. Then where from, the resources shall flow and this entire situation will give a severe blow to the developmental projects. Pakistan should not forget how it had been dealt in the past by America after Soviet defeat in Afghanistan; otherwise it should be ready to put up with more throbbing in the foreseeable future. Pakistan should adopt the policy of deterrence, development and dialogue. Currently Afghanistan is having 90,000 soldiers in its army. The greater number among these is not fully trained. Pakistan wants to get this responsibility but India has reservations over it. It is the desire of India that the responsibilities for the establishment and training of Afghan army may be handed over to her. Russia and France have already refused to send its troops in Afghanistan.

New Afghan policy has brought both Pakistan and America on a new turn. Both countries will have the negative consequences and implications. It is Pakistan which can play a role in an honorable exit of American forces from this region and play a role of mediator between Taliban and America. Though geographically we have Hobson's choice, yet in the new Vietnam, Pakistan would have to protect itself from being another "Cambodia". In order to contain Indian role Pakistan should review its foreign policy and try to build up and improve its relations with China. Pakistan should review on its decision of giving passage and supply line to NATO forces. It should demand US to bring to end the Indian role in Afghanistan.

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Iran and Central Asia should also play an effective role in bringing peace to war-torn Afghanistan. It will by and large be in the benefit of CARs itself.

Direct dialogues should be made with Mullah Omar and Gulbadenn Hikmatyar. Through political means, such coalition government may be formed with the cooperation of neighboring countries which could take care of the security of the neighbors.

Afghanistan should take initiative to boost up its economy, while making progress in agricultural sector, establishing industrial zones, by growing fruits and exporting it. A free zone can be established at the side of Pak-Afghan Border. To meet the apprehensions of Afghan nationals, civil institutions should be strengthened. Corruption and narcotic drugs should be abandoned.

The nexuses between RAW and Afghan Intelligence Agencies must be broken. It is a complex selection that requires intricate negotiations between Afghan themselves.. All stakeholders, including Pakistan, Afghanistan, India, Russia, China and Iran in the South Asian region are going to adopt such policies which could help in maintaining their strong bargaining position. Among these countries, the role of Saudi Arabia is most pertinent and crucial. It is playing the role of mediator between Taliban and America. All these regional actors and big powers need to reassess their policies and open up trade corridors to change the perceptions. Pakistan should take a tilt towards China, Russia, Turkey and Central Asia.

The realities about political environment of Afghanistan today have changed. The neighbors should think that a situation may not arise that may lead to civil war in Afghanistan. Taliban and al Qaeda should be dealt separately.

Last but not least, the day America and its allied forces will vacate Afghanistan, it shall be a first step forward towards the regional peace and stability and it must happen for the future of peoples. When Russia vacated Afghanistan, there was only one super power left. Now Afghanistan is encircled by the interests of Russia, China and India. To be more precise, today the vacuum is being created for three powers.

Having so many draw backs and flaws, the policy carries few positive features too. For the first time, US has decided to adopt a regional approach and for the first time, China has been taken as a stakeholder. Thus it is a good omen because India's role will be restricted when China is there. US administration is agreed to deal with Taliban and separately. Though Pakistan has been blamed as a safe heaven for terrorists, still negotiations with them can not be made by excluding Pakistan. It depends upon Pakistan now, how it gets advantage of its geographical position in this region. The boundaries of the countries and neighbors are never changed. Because a day will come when America has to go back. Pakistan and Afghanistan are to stay here. It is in American interest, if Pakistan and Afghanistan keeps on fighting. At random, it used Pakistan as scapegoat and so often to

Afghanistan. It must be remembered no dialogue can be effective unless Pakistan is involved in it in letter and spirit.

Notes

1. Union Oil Company of California, dba Unocal is a defunct company that was a major petroleum explorer and marketer in the late 19th century, through the 20th century, and into the early 21st century. It was headquartered in El Segundo, California, United States. On August 10, 2005, Unocal merged with Chevron Corporation and became a wholly owned subsidiary. Unocal has now ceased operations as an independent company, but continues to conduct many operations as Union Oil Company of California, a Chevron company.
2. A military alliance, also called "the (North) Atlantic Alliance", established by the signing of the north Atlantic treaty on 4 April, 1949. The NATO head quarters are in Brussels, Belgium. This organization constitutes a system of collective defence whereby its member states agree to mutual defence in response to an attack by an external party.
3. 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.
4. Halliburton is the world's second largest oilfield services corporation with operations in more than 70 countries. The company has its headquarters in the North Belt office in Houston, Texas.
5. The Cato Institute is a libertarian think tank headquartered in Washington, D.C. It was founded by Charles Koch, chairman of the board and chief executive officer of the oil conglomerate Koch Industries, Inc., the second largest privately held company (after Cargill) by revenue in the United States, together with Edward H. Crane and Murray Rothbard in 1977.
6. It is a 2004 documentary film by American filmmaker and political commentator Michael Moore. The film takes a critical look at the presidency of George W. Bush, the War on Terror, and its coverage in the news media. The film holds the record for highest box office receipts by a general release political film. The title of the film alludes to Ray Bradbury's 1953 novel *Fahrenheit 451*, a dystopian view of the future United States, analogizing the autoignition temperature of paper with the date of the September 11 attacks; the film's tagline is "The Temperature at Which Freedom Burns". Michael Moore's view on what happened to the United States after September 11; and how the Bush Administration allegedly used the tragic event to push forward its agenda for unjust wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. The film debuted at the 2004 Cannes Film Festival in the documentary film category and received a 20 minute standing ovation (the longest standing ovation in the festival's history). The film was also awarded the Palme d'Or (Golden Palm), the festival's highest award.
7. Bidas Corporation was founded by the Bulgheroni family in 1948, and grew to become the second-largest producer of fossil fuels in Argentina (after the formerly state-owned YPF), with production of over 78 million boe in 2004. Bidas has focused in the South America Southern Cone and Central Asia. Its activities include four principal areas of operations: exploration and development of oil and gas reserves and the production of oil and gas; marketing and transportation of oil, gas and oil products; gathering, treatment, processing and distribution of gas and power generation; drilling and well services.

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8. The North-West Frontier Province (now known as Khyber Pakhtunkhwa), is one of the four provinces of Pakistan, located in the north west of the country. It borders Afghanistan to the north-west, Gilgit-Baltistan to the north-east, Azad Jammu and Kashmir to the east, the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) to the west and south, Balochistan to the south and Punjab and the Islamabad Capital Territory to the south-east.
9. The Federally Administered Tribal in Pakistan, outside the four provinces, bordering Afghanistan, comprising a region some 27, 200 square kilometer it is a special region of Pakistan, Governed directly by the Federal Government through a special set of laws called the Frontier Crimes Regulations. It is divided into seven regions, or "agencies", called Khyber, Khurram, Bajour, North Waziristan, South Waziristan, Mohmand and Orakzai.
10. It is also called Bandari, is a small Air Force's airfield and air station located in Balochistan, Pakistan, about 200 miles (320 km) southwest of Quetta near the town of Washki. In 2009 media reports alleged that the airfield was used by the United States Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) as a base for Predator drone attacks on militants in Pakistan's Federally Administered Tribal Areas.
11. Cable News Network is a US cable news channel founded in 1980 by Ted Turner. Upon its launch, CNN was the first channel to provide 24-hour television news coverage, and the first all-news television channel in the United States. While the news channel has numerous affiliates, CNN primarily broadcasts from its headquarters at the CNN Center in Atlanta, the Time Warner Center in New York City, and studios in Washington, D.C. and Los Angeles. CNN is owned by parent company Time Warner, and the U.S. news channel is a division of the Turner Broadcasting System.
12. Xe-Services LLC is a private military company founded as Blackwater USA in 1997 by Erik Prince and Al Clark. The company has a wide array of business divisions, subsidiaries, and spin-off corporations but the organization as a whole has aroused significant controversy. Based in North Carolina, Xe operates a tactical training facility that the company claims is the world's largest, where it trains more than 40,000 people a year, mostly from U.S. and other military and police services. The training consists of military offensive and defensive operations, as well as smaller scale personal security. Xe is currently the largest of the U.S. State Department's three private security contractors. Of the 987 contractors Xe provides, 744 are U.S. citizens. At least 90% of the company's revenue comes from government contracts, of which two-thirds are no-bid contracts.
13. 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.
14. 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).
15. Afghan government along with Indian Intelligence agency, RAW, Russian Intelligence agency, KHAD (Afghanistan intelligence Agency) and CIA of US have come up with a new intelligence agency "Research and Analysis Milli Afghan"

(RAMA) to destabilise Pakistan. The intelligence agency of three countries including US, India and Russia are providing training to officials of newly-established intelligence agency RAMA, official and military sources informed Online.

Official and military leadership have been informed about the constitution of RAMA because it was constituted without informing the Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI).

High-level offices of Russian intelligence agency, KGB and Indian Intelligence Agency "RAW" are providing training to personnel and officers of RAMA in village of Afghan province Noristan where they have formally set up training camps. The headquarters of new Afghan intelligence agency is constituted in Jabul Siraj, district of Parwan, Afghanistan. Jabul Siraj was also the headquarters of Ahmed Shah Masood.

16. The Balochistan Liberation army (also Baloch Liberation Army or Boluchistan Liberation army) (BLA) is a Baloch nationalist militant secessionist organization. The stated goals of the organization include the establishment of an independent state of Balochistan free of Pakistani and Iranian rule. The name Baloch Liberation Army first became public in summer 2000, after the organization claimed credit for a series of bomb attacks in markets and railways lines. In 2006, the BLA was declared to be a proscribed group by the Pakistani and British governments.
17. The Baloch Liberation Front (BLF) separatist group was founded by Jumma Khan Marri in 1964 in Damascus, and played an important role in the 1968-1980 insurgency in Pakistani Balochistan and Iranian Balochistan. The BLF had support from Arab nationalists leaders.

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