

Vol. XVIII, Issue I, 2014

ISSN 1999-2297

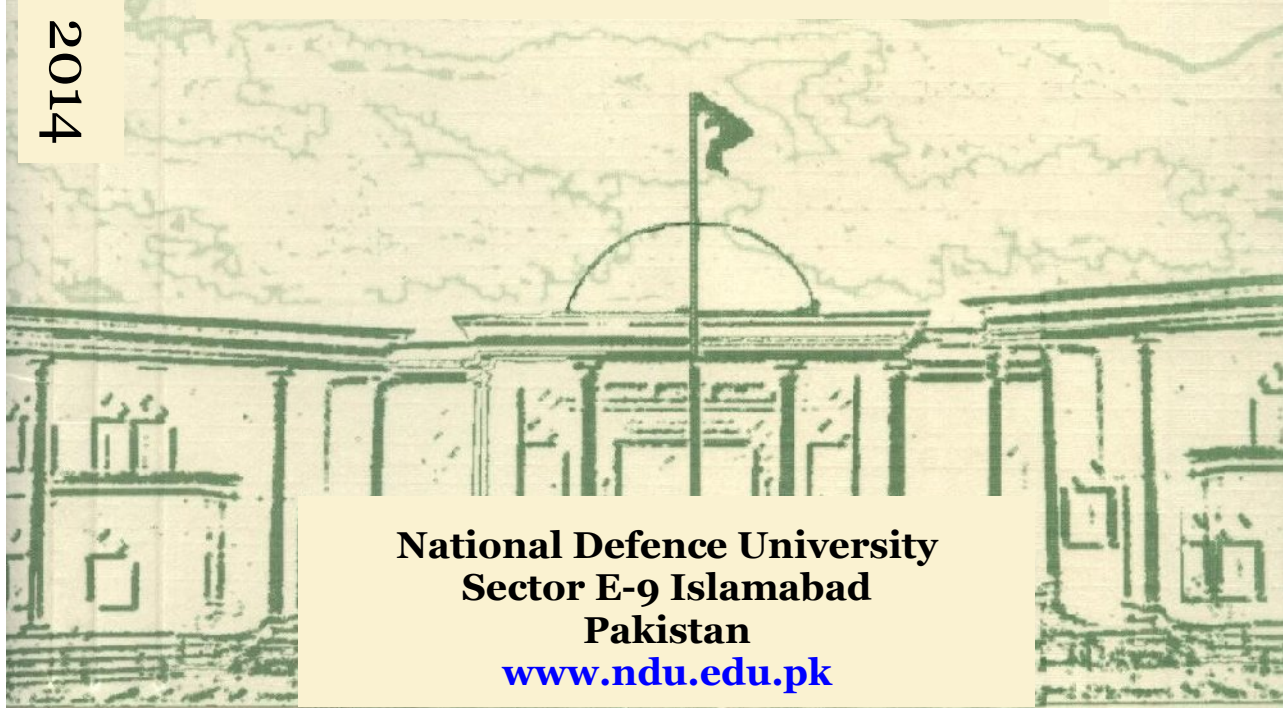


Margalla Papers

2014

Margalla Papers

2014



**National Defence University
Sector E-9 Islamabad
Pakistan**

www.ndu.edu.pk

Margalla Papers

**Institute for Strategic Studies, Research & Analysis
National Defence University, Islamabad**

Editorial Board

Lieutenant General Javed Iqbal, HI (M)	Patron-in-Chief
Major General Noel Israel Khokhar, HI (M)	Patron
Lieutenant Colonel Dr. Muhammad Saif ur Rehman	Editor
Mr. Abdul Rauf Iqbal	Assistant Editor

Advisory Board

Major General Musarrat Nawaz Malik	Chief Instructor, A Division, NDU, Islamabad
Ambassador Najmuddin A. Shaikh	Former Foreign Secretary Pakistan
Dr. Pervaiz Iqbal Cheema	Dean Faculty of Contemporary Studies, NDU, Islamabad
Dr. Rodney W. Jones	President, Policy Architects International, USA
Dr. Marvin G. Weinbaum	Scholar in Residence, Middle East
Prof Dr. Bulent Aras	Chairman Center for Strategic Research, Republic of Turkey

Margalla Papers is sponsored and edited by the Institute for Strategic Studies, Research & Analysis (ISSRA), National Defence University, Islamabad, Pakistan. Manuscripts and editorial communications may be directed to the editor.

Statements, facts and opinions mentioned in Margalla Papers are solely of the authors and do not imply the official policy of the Institution, Editors and Publishers.

Email: ddpubnres@ndu.edu.pk

Website: <http://www.ndu.edu.pk>

Margalla Papers

Subscription for one copy

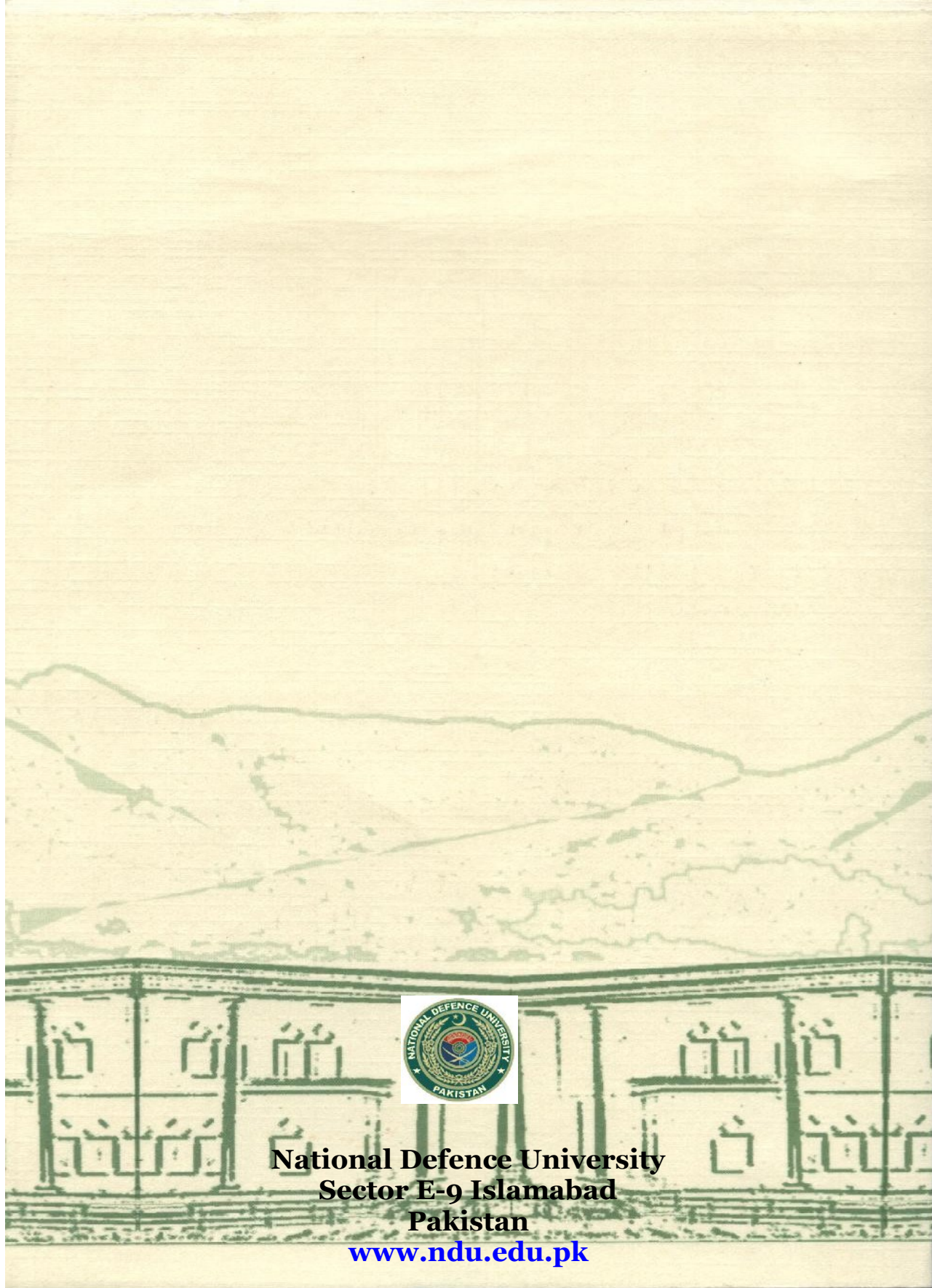
- Inland Rs. 500/-
- Overseas US \$ 25/-

Request for subscription may be addressed to:

Editor, Margalla Papers
National Defence University
Sector E-9, Islamabad, Pakistan
Tel: +92-51-9260651-52 (Extn 5285)
Fax: +92-51-9260663

Website: <http://www.ndu.edu.pk>
Email: ddpubnres@ndu.edu.pk

**Published by
National Defence University
Islamabad, Pakistan**



National Defence University
Sector E-9 Islamabad
Pakistan
www.ndu.edu.pk

CONTENTS

	Page
• Globalization – The New Imperialism: Implications for the Societies around the World	1
<i>Dr. Mansur Umar Khan</i>	
• Emerging Regional Security Milieu in Post 2014 Afghanistan	23
<i>Raza Muhammad & Dr. Muhammad Saif ur Rehman</i>	
• Need for Enhanced Cooperation among the Muslims in Contemporary World	47
<i>Dr. Shahid Ahmad Hashmat</i>	
• Significance of Shanghai Cooperation Organization – Pakistan’s Perspective	65
<i>Dr. Muhammad Saif ur Rehman</i>	
• Rebalancing Asia – Pacific: A Perspective from Pakistan	85
<i>Muhammad Khurshid Khan & Fouzia Amin</i>	
• The Organization of Al Qaeda's Drone Countermeasures	115
<i>Dr. Hans Krech</i>	
• Conceptually Analysing and Proposing A New Dynamic Framework for Human Security	127
<i>Dr. Muhammad Zia – ur – Rehman, Safdar Nazeer & Dr. Muhammad Saif ur Rehman</i>	
• Book Review	153
<i>Dr. Moonis Ahmar</i>	

‘Margalla Papers’ is an annual publication of National Defence University, the premier institution of security and strategic studies. The subject journal is a unique publication of the country which primarily deals with the national security issues of Pakistan. The journal has its own standing among the students, researchers, experts, policy makers and intelligentsia. It has been enlisted by International Political Science Abstracts, USA, Bibliography of Asian Studies USA and Ulrichs Periodicals Directory. Keeping the flag high, all the articles appearing in the journal are selected after a rigorous scrutiny and blind peer review at home and abroad. It is the testimony of quality of contents of the journal that **Higher Education Commission of Pakistan** has upgraded the subject journal to ‘Y’ category.

GLOBALIZATION - THE NEW IMPERIALISM: IMPLICATIONS FOR THE SOCIETIES AROUND THE WORLD

Dr. Mansur Umar Khan

Abstract

The term, globalization has caused more confusion due to its ubiquity and vagueness in social sciences. This article argues that globalization is a new kind of imperialism and is in fact Americanization of the world. Therefore, the term globalization or Americanization has interchangeably been used in this article. It has impoverished and corrupted the social fabric of societies and in some cases even led to mass violence to the point of genocide around the world. Moreover, this article refutes the mass media persistent claim that globalization is a natural and inevitable phenomenon. Rather, it should be seen as a political project driven by the powerful elites of this world with a radical agenda. The paramount priority of this agenda is to ruthlessly dominate the rest of the world.

Introduction

There is hardly another term, in the social sciences, that has caused more confusion due to its ubiquity and vagueness than globalization. Globalization refers to neoliberal processes of increased interconnectedness across the globe¹; this leads to a "shrinking" of territoriality ('a time-space compression')² as capital, people, and goods travel freely across all borders, producing in effect a borderless world. This has a huge impact on states, their economies, the world financial situation, military affairs, cultures, politics, religion, the environment and even private lives.

Back in the 1990s, the West promised a better world. The claim and its seemingly inevitable mantra was that "globalization will lift all boats"³ The mass media in the US and also in the Western nations worked feverishly to

*Globalization - The New Imperialism:
Implications for the Societies around the World*

popularize the immense benefits that globalization would accrue to all. Peace and prosperity would go to nations embracing the “free market” economy; hence, privatization and deregulation was advocated to the point of adulation, not just by the ever fawning mass media but also by prominent academics, scholars⁴ and journalists⁵. It would be no exaggeration to assert that globalization itself was presented to the world as a panacea, a cure for all ills of nations and societies alike.⁶ All they had to do was to open their borders up as wide as possible for a massive injection of privatization, deregulation and capital, and development and progress would follow, almost as if it were akin to a natural law.

Even Presidents and Prime Ministers spoke about the alleged blessings of Globalization. Bill Clinton spoke about the “fact” that the train of globalization cannot and should not be stopped⁷, while Tony Blair praised it equally⁸, and Bush Jr., also extolled its virtues.⁹ According to Mark Engler US President Obama has taken globalization to new heights, even surpassing Bush Jr.’s championing role of it.¹⁰

The idea was simple: “free trade” would naturally see to it that once all borders were open there would not be only more goods and services to go around but that by this fact consumers, all over the world, would have (A) a wider variety of goods and services to choose from, and (B) such a wide variety also inevitably brought with it more competition and would hence bring prices down for all consumers everywhere. As an additional boost, it was argued that the internet would also be a new conduit for conducting e-business globally, which would again bring down costs and make communication almost instantaneous, connecting in the process, billions. As of January 2014, a staggering 2.5 billion use the internet (meaning 35% internet penetration worldwide).¹¹

Globalization and Hidden Hand of the Market

John Perkins in the bestselling autobiographic *Confessions of an Economic Hit Man*, confesses:

Economic hit men (EHMs) are highly paid professionals who cheat countries around the globe out of trillions of dollars. They funnel money from the World Bank, the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), and other foreign “aid” organizations into the coffers of huge corporation and the pockets of a few wealthy families who control the planet’s natural resources. Their tools include fraudulent financial reports, rigged elections, payoffs, extortion, sex, and murder. They play a game as old as empire, but one that has taken on new and terrifying dimensions during this time of globalization. I should know; I was an EHM.¹²

When Perkins began his work, in 1971, his trainer and supervisor Claudine told him straight ‘my assignment is to mold you into an economic hit man. No one can know about your involvement – not even your wife.’ only to add ‘once you’re in, you’re in for life.’ Moreover, Claudine never hesitated when it came to describing what John Perkins would have to do. His job would be:

... to encourage world leaders to become part of a vast network that promotes U.S. commercial interests. In the end, those leaders become ensnared in a web of debt that ensures their loyalty. We can draw on them whenever we desire – to satisfy our political, economic, or military needs. In turn, they bolster their political positions by bringing industrial parks, power plants, and airports to their people. The owners of U.S. engineering/construction companies become fabulously wealthy.¹³

Perkins was not only one EHM, he mentioned that the US gave such training to promising candidates and since the publication of his book, in 2004, the numbers of EHMs have increased significantly. He also draws an analogy to the mafia

*Globalization - The New Imperialism:
Implications for the Societies around the World*

when describing EHMs. Asserting what EHMs do best is building global empire:¹⁴

Like our counterparts in the mafia, EHMs provide favours. These take the form of loans to develop infrastructure A condition of such loans is that engineering and construction companies from our own country must build all these projects. In essence, most of the money never leaves the United States; it is simply transferred from banking offices in Washington to engineering offices in New York, Houston, or San Francisco. Despite the fact that the money is returned almost immediately to corporations that are members of the corporatocracy (the creditor), the recipient country is required to pay it all back, principal plus interest. If an EHM is completely successful, the loans are so large that the debtor is forced to default on its payments after a few years. When this happens, then like the mafia we demand our pound of flesh. This often includes one or more of the following: control over United Nations votes, the installation of military bases, or access to precious resources such as oil or the Panama Canal. Of course, the debtor still owes us the money-and another country is added to our global empire.¹⁵

This makes a clear mockery out of the professed and ubiquitously propagated conventional wisdom, usually given to us by the mass media, that the playing field is level for all nations (and parties) when it comes to globalization. It also shows that the alleged business ethics exist only on paper and in oral form. In other words, while claiming to adhere to ethical standards, the norm is that EHMs from huge (MNC's) (Multi-National Corporations) bribe, corrupt, or threaten anyone who's not willing to play by their mafia type of rules. The threats are not without consequences, if leaders of certain nations (usually 3rd world nations) refuse to accept bribes or corruption, death is not an unusual way to dispose off them.

Perkin clarifies this by telling about EHMs: “We seldom resort to anything illegal because the system itself is built on subterfuge, and the system is by definition legitimate. However ... if we fail, an even more sinister breed steps in, ones we refer to as the jackals The jackals are always there, lurking in the shadows. When they emerge, heads of state are overthrown or die in violent ‘accidents.’” “And if by chance the jackals fail, as they failed in Afghanistan and Iraq ... young Americans are sent in to kill and to die.”¹⁶ In other words, when even the assassins (jackals) fail then it can and often does mean war, and the colossal US military machine attacks either overtly or covertly.

Perkins simplified it even more directly in an interview where he stated “we go to world leaders of mostly 3rd world countries and tell them I’ve got a million dollars in this pocket for you if you sign this deal, or I’ve got a bullet with your name on it in my other pocket if you refuse!”¹⁷

Therefore, instead of there being a fair level playing field ensuring prosperity and peace for all, both the US government and its power elite along with the corporate elite are actually waging economic warfare against primarily the 3rd world.

Wars tend to be costly, while economic warfare needs only EHMs & jackals, which are comparatively very cheap. Perkins also writes that this strategy is not only a stealthy one, but that it also deceives by claiming that globalization will do everyone good, as it’s mutually beneficial, or at least so in theory. So while the Europeans were easily condemnable for their blatantly visible imperialism, via the empires they established or tried to build, the US strategy of permanent economic warfare is more difficult to spot, especially as the US government can always claim that it desires no empire or colonies, and since it does not have any this becomes a specious but coherent argument. This argument is also supported via the clever rhetorical claim that the US only aims “to make the world safe for democracy”¹⁸, since it is claimed that democracies are more peaceful in general and specifically toward each other. Numerous political scientists see this as

the closest thing that the field has next to a universal or general law.¹⁹ The logical conclusion is: If all or at least most nations of the world were democracies there would be no more or very few wars. Yet, many other experts see this so-called democratic peace theory as a myth or even as a deception.²⁰

However, it can hardly be denied that USA has historically used the democracy argument for its own advantage. The recent wars in Iraq and Afghanistan prove that point amply. As victory remained elusive and global public opinion turned massively against it, the USA quickly proclaimed, now even more vigorously, to be fighting those wars for democracy's sake and human rights. Yet, it did nothing to protect human rights or even democracy in both Iraq and Afghanistan. Abu Graib, Guantanamo Bay and other notorious torture bases show the downright hypocrisy of such cant. And when it comes to supporting democracy the US has a consistent historical record of suppressing democracy, or supporting pseudo democracy and compliant demagogues.²¹ Perkins states that Iraq was a classical case where all three steps were used. First the EHMs tried to persuade Hussein to do the exploitative oil deals; when he refused the second step was implemented by sending in the assassins, but his security was too good; then, in 2001-2003, the mass media lied about his alleged Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) & collusion with Al Qaeda. In March 2003, the USA then attacked Iraq in an utterly devastating war for Iraq in which Hussein was executed.²² This was also a clear warning sign to any leader who refuses the demands of the US power elite.

Globalization: A Tool to Suppress

It was no coincidence that those leaders who praised globalization to the point of adulation are almost without exception from western developed countries. It is also no surprise that along with globalization, the west, and specifically the USA, is demanding from the rest of the world to adopt democracy as its form of government. While both could somehow be gradually adopted to some extent if they

were not simultaneously imposed on the global south, meaning the third world and thus underdeveloped nations; however, the “Washington Consensus” leaves no room for any sort of deviation. Its message is more of a command than a proposal, and it amounts to the following compulsion; take the rawest form of both globalization along with a rudimentary and limitless form of democracy and then deal with it.²³

The first objection to such a dictatorial demand is that the much weaker third world countries are asked to do something that the West (and even Japan) have historically never been subjected to, when even so it could be argued that the western nations were better equipped to take on both simultaneously. Historically, however, there is not one western nation that has ever had to take on the colossal double burden of both simultaneous Globalization and Democratization. As a matter of fact, western nations had countries like Great Britain, France and the Benelux as well and the Scandinavian countries to take them on separately and not simultaneously, in stark contrast to the demand for the third world by the West. Moreover, all the experts and scholars who have written about democratization agree that there are at least two prerequisites for a democracy to be successful: those are (A) a high living standard and (B) a high level of education. The impoverished and mostly backward third world countries have obviously neither a high standard of living nor a high level of education for their usually big and young populations. Furthermore, virtually all experts agree again that democratization takes a considerable amount of time and efforts for it to be successfully taken in, meaning that a culture of democracy has to be developed, and as history has shown this happens, if at all, only slowly and gradually.

Again the dictatorial demand that the panacea to all developing nations is to take both democratization and *globalization* swiftly and at the same time amounts to needlessly putting a lot of pressure on third world societies that already suffer, in stark contrast to the West, from a general lack of the rule of law, and usually many ethnic

*Globalization - The New Imperialism:
Implications for the Societies around the World*

tensions and grievances. Add to that, the usual lack of (high) technology, a backward agricultural economy, high levels of unemployment and underemployment, inflation, religious tension, lack of institutions and facilities, border disputes (deliberately left behind by former colonialists) and a strong brain drain, and the demand of taking in the “free market system” and democracy at the same time translate into a gargantuan burden for such fragile nations.

Amy Chua has consistently proved that both democratization and globalization of third world nations along the US lines has produced violence, ethnic hatred and even genocide. Whenever democratic elections are held usually the majority demands a more or less egalitarian distribution of wealth or at least a decent living standard for all. However, in those nations, almost by default, there exists a tiny minority that has most or almost all the wealth concentrated in its hands: often this minority is ethnically foreign, like the Chinese in South East Asia living outside of China or the Jews in Russia (6 out of the 7 billionaires were Jews in Yeltsin’s era), owning upward of 90% of the major resources & industries while they were only a fraction of 1% of the population. In Latin America anywhere from 7-10% of the fair skinned citizens (usually a mixture of the former colonialists and the indigenous population) controlled roughly 80-90% or more of the wealth. Similarly in parts of Africa, the white population of less than usually 10% owned up to 90% of the land, and an equal amount of its wealth in other resources and its MNC’s. But even in many other African nations a number of minorities usually less than 10% of the nations’ populations were Lebanese, Indian or Jewish, who again were a tiny elite, usually less than 5% of the population that owned anywhere from 2/3 to 90% or more of those nations’ wealth. There are also African indigenous minorities that own the majority of their nations wealth, such as the Ibo in Nigeria, who are a minority and own most of the resources and industries in those countries.

The story, according to Chua, is however, almost inevitably the same everywhere in those third world nations: whenever

democracy reigns, the elites become afraid that either their wealth will be ceased by popular demand, or that they will be forced to either leave the nation, while their wealth is confiscated, or worse still that they will be killed by the enraged masses of the poor. Since there are no prerequisites for democracy in those nations it quickly and reliably degenerates into some kind of mobocracy, where a demagogue makes all sorts of promises to the masses in order to stay in power (i.e. Mugabe in Zimbabwe) and; thus, once the almost inevitable recessions come, since income is totally unjustly distributed and globalization overwhelms those nations with tremendous exploitation of their wealth, the demagogues and politicians realize that a scapegoat has to be found (as one can only blame the West for so long). For strategic purposes, such scapegoats have to be weak in terms of their numbers, and even more important they have to be already hated by the impoverished masses. Hence, the wealthy ethnic minorities pose an almost ideal target, as they are tiny in numbers when opposed by the huge masses, and even more so since they are seen as the main culprits of abject poverty. Their lavish lifestyles and or their foreignness result in all sorts of socio-economic and ethnic hatred. The outrages and violence against them are too numerous to cite here, but it should suffice to say that the 1997-98 recession of South East Asia resulted in a massive campaign to kill the ethnic minority of Chinese in those nations, especially but not only in Indonesia.²⁴ Often, however, the political elites will collaborate with the economic elites because the latter recognizes its vulnerability and thus co-opts the political elite by supporting them lavishly with all sorts of funds and privileges, so that an interdependent, and symbiotic relationship is established.²⁵

Despite such consistent outbursts of violence, hatred and even genocide, i.e. in Ruanda (1994), ex-Yugoslavia (in the 1990s) or Sierra Leone (1999), to mention some of the worst ones, the Washington Consensus is kept firmly in place, and; the third world is told that there is no alternative to it.²⁶

*Globalization - The New Imperialism:
Implications for the Societies around the World*

There is also a huge double standard at work when these advanced Western nations make such domineering and overwhelming demands of the much weaker nations, since their favourite phrase of so-called free trade was and is anything but free in its nature. As an historical example, G.B. only hesitatingly turned to a really limited free trade after it had gotten all possible benefits from actually using protectionism for its industry and markets for 150 years. And the USA followed the same policy. As Noam Chomsky has so aptly written:

Britain did finally turn to liberal internationalism—in 1846, after 150 years of protectionism, violence, and state power had placed it far ahead of any competitor. ...²⁷ After 150 years of protectionism and violence, the United States had become by far the richest and most powerful country in the world and, like England before it, came to perceive the merits of a “level playing field,” on which it could expect to crush any competitor. But like England, the United States had crucial reservations. One was that Washington used its power to bar independent development elsewhere, as England had done. In Latin America, Egypt, South Asia, and elsewhere, development was to be “complementary,” not “competitive.”²⁸

The immense irony of the neoliberal argument is that while weak, poor, exploited and underdeveloped nations are asked to open wide their young fragile markets and industries to the financially powerful predators, thus, in the process being taken over by huge, mostly Western, foreign MNC's and international banks, those same Western countries always made sure to protect their own industries and markets with high tariff walls and quota restrictions, so that their economies could grow and thrive. This infancy industry argument was first fully articulated by Alexander Hamilton in his 1790 Report on Manufactures, was systematically developed by Daniel Raymond,²⁹ and was later picked up by Friedrich List in his 1841 work *The National System of*

Political Economy.³⁰ Alexander Hamilton endorsed it to jump start the US economy, thus, protecting it meticulously from tough British competition. Needless to say, it worked wonders for both countries, as both became vast imperial powers. The British even based their entire trade relations on it, eventually establishing a gigantic empire, while the US more adroitly built up an empire in disguise and denial, with neo-colonialism as its primary additional strategy. But protectionism alone was apparently not enough for the avaricious greed that imperialism brings with it, and so covert interventionism was always a part of the wicked game.

India is an instructive case; it produced as much iron as all of Europe in the late eighteenth century, and British engineers were studying more advanced Indian steel manufacturing techniques in 1820 to try to close “the technological gap”. Bombay was producing locomotives at competitive levels when the railway boom began. But really existing free market doctrine destroyed these sectors of Indian industry just as it had destroyed textiles, shipbuilding, and other industries that were advanced by the standards of the day. The United States and Japan, in contrast, had escaped European control, and could adopt Britain’s model of market interference. When Japanese competition proved to be too much to handle, England simply called off the game: the empire was effectively closed to Japanese exports...³¹

These lines are simply astonishing and mindboggling to say the least, for they mean that India was actually ahead of England in key technologies such as steel manufacturing techniques, ship building, and in other industries, in the 1820s, so that British engineers were forced to copy those techniques to try to close the technological gap; also impressive is the fact that India produced as much iron as all of Europe in the late eighteenth century.

*Globalization - The New Imperialism:
Implications for the Societies around the World*

But one does not have to look into past history, even today the USA and the EU protect their industries and agricultural markets, often leading to rows between these commercial giants. US President Truman's Air Force Secretary said that "we should not use the word subsidy and made sure that the word security was used to justify and promote what was in effect sheer protectionism, which is obviously a flagrant violation of "Free Market" principles". The same pattern prevails in all other important and dynamic US sectors of the economy, be they computers and electronics in general, automation, biotechnology or communications equipment. The irony is once again that the Reagan Administration was notorious for its mastery of the art of extolling the glories of the Free Market to the poor of the world while boasting proudly to the business world that Reagan had 'granted more import relief to U.S. industry than any of his predecessors in more than half a century'—"which is far too modest, as they surpassed all predecessors combined, as they presided over the greatest swing toward protectionism since the 1930s ... Without these and other extreme measures of market interference, it is doubtful that the steel, automotive, machine tool, or semiconductor industries would have survived Japanese competition, or been able to forge ahead in emerging technologies, with broad effects through the economy."³² To finally dispel the theory of "Free Trade" once and for all and its rhetorical nonsense Chomsky cites: "an extensive study of transnational corporations (TNC's) by Winfried Ruigrock and Rob van Tulder found that 'virtually all of the world's largest core firms have experienced a decisive influence from government policies and/or trade barriers on their strategy and competitive positions, ...'"³³ Meaning that protectionism in the West is the order of the day: the rule and not the exception.

As if to add insult to injury, the US government also officially made sure that democracy and real development would be suppressed in the third world. The documents are now available in principle.

George Kennan was obviously not just an advisor as he is credited with the theory of Containment that was used for over 45 years to stop any Soviet or East Block socialism from “contaminating the free West”. Declassified documents show that it was Kennan who wrote, in 1948, that the USA has 50% of the world’s wealth, but only 6.3% of the World population³⁴ but consumes about 25% of world energy, and other precious resources from primarily the third world. “In this situation, Our real task in the coming period is to devise a pattern of relationships which will permit us to maintain this position of disparity’.”³⁵ Under such conditions the US elite cannot allow such things as democracy or human rights, since that would lead to a huge demand for both and would mean that developing nations would, first of all, strive to improve their economic growth, not just for their tiny upper classes but for everyone. This had to be avoided at virtually all costs, even if terrorism had to be used on such third world nations. Kennan thus called for police states and dictatorships in those nations. Neo-colonial arrangements and collusion had to be forged between the greedy and traitorous elite of those nations and the US power elite.

Globalization and its Dreadful Results for the World

The type of capitalism that Washington and its colluding business elite is demanding for the rest of the world is based on speculative capital and a global banking system that inevitably inflates world currencies. There was, however, a time when the USA was far more productive and also increased wealth globally: these were the 1950s and 1960s when the US economy simply dominated globally due to its sheer size.³⁶ At the end of World War II, the US G.N.P. was about 46-50% of the world G.N.P., while US population was a mere 6% of world population. During this era, the US was not doing the world a philanthropic favour: the simple fact was that with such a huge productive capacity the USA elite needed markets, otherwise a severe recession was on the horizon in 1948, as business leaders, specifically from the aircraft industry lobbied Washington heavily for massive subsidies, much like the banks would do some 60 years later

*Globalization - The New Imperialism:
Implications for the Societies around the World*

during the 2008 recession. In 1948, all the economic indicators showed that a massive recession was due and the fact that people still remembered the great depression of the 1930s scared policy makers and politicians alike. They knew that only massive subsidies for all sorts of industries could prevent another great depression or recession from smashing the American Dream, and being in severe competition with Soviet socialism, the USA could hardly let its economic system fail for the entire world to see. The Soviets would have gladly used such an opportunity propagandistically. However, Washington and Wall Street could hardly proclaim that the “free market system” had come to an end due to its failure, since its whole ideology was based around the propagandistic notion of the virtues of “free trade“. Thus it had to be disguised that Washington was giving all sorts of subsidies to its industries, as mentioned this was covered up by simply referring to all such subsidies as security issues. Thus, a massive recession was averted by pumping vast amounts of subsidies and giving all sorts of support to its aircraft industry at first, and then all other related industries from the late 1940s onward. Truman used the Red Scare of Communism, as former isolationist Senator Arthur Vandenberg advised him “to scare the hell out of the American people” if he wanted his containment foreign policy to work. Frank Kofsky has done a marvelous task of documenting this era, of how fear was used to get Americans to abandon any real Free Trade system and instead to embrace what actually amounts to a garrison state, with a gigantic military-industrial complex (M.I.C.).³⁷ As a matter of fact, ever since 1941, the US economy was in effect a war economy, or a heavily subsidized militarized economy. (Bruce Porter) For obvious reasons the US elite never talks or writes about this factual phenomenon, for to do so would discredit its alleged standing as a true Free Market state and supporter the world over.

Today and particularly since the demise of the Soviet Union, the USA is by far the biggest seller of weapons worldwide (about 57% as of 2013), but its form of capitalism has fundamentally and even radically changed. As mentioned back in the 1950-60s, the USA was still a real economy,

meaning that the overwhelming part of its G.N.P. consisted of tangible material goods and related services supporting such good. Today, however, the situation has reversed with catastrophic consequences for not only the USA economy but the whole world. The statistics do not lie, as Chomsky shows in his important book *Profit over People*:

The most important changes took place twenty-five years ago, when the Nixon Administration dismantled the postwar global economic system, within which the United States was, in effect, the world's banker, a role it could no longer sustain. This unilateral act ... led to a huge explosion of unregulated capital flows. Still more striking is the shift in the composition of the flow of capital. In 1971, 90 percent of international financial transactions were related to the real economy—trade or long-term investment—and 10 percent were speculative. By 1990 the percentage were reversed, and by 1995 about 95 percent of the vastly greater sums were speculative, with daily flows regularly exceeding the combined foreign exchange reserves of the seven biggest industrial powers, over \$1 trillion a day, and very short-term about 80 percent with round trips of a week or less. Prominent economists warned over 20 years ago that the process would lead to a low-growth, low-wage economy and suggested fairly simple measures that might prevent these consequences.³⁸

Nixon's decision on August 15, 1971 was to take the USA off the gold standard which opened the flood gates to global inflation. History has shown with remarkable consistency that whenever a nation or kingdom goes off a gold or silver standard not only does debasement of currency follow but even moral degeneration becomes reality.³⁹ What the USA has now has been aptly described as casino capitalism: a degenerative form of capitalism that thrives on inflation, which is then used to speculate on virtually anything in the world at huge stock markets. However, the immense new cash

*Globalization - The New Imperialism:
Implications for the Societies around the World*

made in this scheme benefits only a few bankers and speculators, who often use illegal inside information. Even if they were not to use such information, this type of casino capitalism only produces cash based on derivatives, and put options and other exotic inventions. Thus, billion and trillion are made in cash but the real economy remains stagnant and even declines in overall living standard.⁴⁰ The reason is that such highly inflated cash doesn't produce more cars, aircraft or computer or other material goods for society off the mass assembly lines; it only bloats the pocket of the very few super rich, and they obviously have as single individuals only limited needs, hence, they don't need 100,000 new car or homes, but the majority of the population do need and want such goods. This means ultimately that US capitalism has been producing, especially since the 1990s, when over 90% of G.D.P. was solely based on the virtual economy, huge profits for the few, while the masses struggle to make ends meet. Yet, the US economy is desperately dependent on mass consumption, accordingly 75-80% of economic growth is relying only on mass consumption. Such consumption is not possible given that only a fraction of the US population has the necessary cash for it. The result are devastating both for the US economy and the rest of the world, since the US Federal Reserve (FR) is printing dollars in a surfeit and at the same time this money is coveted by nations and people all over the world.⁴¹ The reason is simply that 2/3 of world trade is still done in dollars. More and more the nations of the world have to earn those dollars by actually providing goods and services to the USA, but the USA can simply tell the FR to keep printing dollars, meaning that the USA doesn't have to actually earn them.⁴² This has the double negative effect that all other countries are not only cheated out of their hard work for those dollars, since massive printing of them inflates them, thus making them less valuable over time. Moreover, a few nations with huge surplus capital is lending this back to the USA, like China and Japan who have become the biggest financiers of the USA, but these nations only get 1% interest over period of 10 to 15 years on the US treasury and bonds that they buy. They know that by the time that the interest of only 1% is paid that it is actually a negative deal for them, as the dollar gets far more devaluated

due to inflation. Yet they are willing to play this losing game because they have huge dollar reserves, and if they were to dump them on the international money markets the dollar would almost by default take a huge tumble (losing anywhere from 40-50% of its value almost immediately), however, due to the fact that they themselves have some many dollars they don't want to see the dollar declining so drastically; they are also trapped due to them needing the US market, as it is usually the biggest market for those export driven nations. Thus, China had considered back in 2007-2008 about dumping their dollars, since 60% of their surplus capital which amount to over 3 trillion US dollars is actually held in dollars. Also, if the dollar were to take such a sudden tumble the political and economic consequences may easily result in China and Japan bashing, meaning that the USA might once again go into massive protectionism, as it did during the great depression, when the Harley-Smith Act was passed in the 1930, making over 20 000 foreign goods more expensive by 50 to 100%.

The end results of such highly speculative and inflationary US policies are not only devastating leading to recession and depressions in the USA but also impoverish the rest of the world, especially the global South. The famous saying that if America sneezes the rest of the world catches a cold, is not far removed from the truth. Since the FR is basically running global monetary and trade policies the USA has still a huge impact on the world financially.

Immanuel Todd, the French historian and demographer who predicted the demise of the Soviet Union in 1976, wrote a striking analogy of the USA's relationship with the rest of the world, comparing the USA to a black hole that continually sucks, goods, services, labour (brain drain), precious resources, and money (China and Japan) out of the rest of the world, and giving in return only devalued (inflated) paper bills in the form of dollars.⁴³ Such a predatory and highly exploitative relationship had to be hidden and justified by propagating the myth of mutually beneficial relations due to Globalization.

*Globalization - The New Imperialism:
Implications for the Societies around the World*

When the US security analyst and preeminent futurist Herman Kahn was told of this scheme he is cited as having laughed and calling it the greatest swindle in human history. The effects of this swindle are easy to see everywhere. According to a new *Oxfam* report, in the U.S., the financially privileged – the wealthiest 1% – have "captured 95% of post-financial crisis growth since 2009, while the bottom 90% became poorer ..." Moreover, this translates into the fact that the richest 1% of world population own 46% of global wealth.⁴⁴ The headline of that report read: *85 richest people as wealthy as poorest half of the world*: and "It warned that those richest 85 people across the globe share a combined wealth of £1tn, as much as the poorest 3.5 billion of the world's population."⁴⁵

Globalization is the ideology that is driving this gargantuan inequality to ever continuing dizzying heights, and Wall Street and the US power elite are its main supporters as well as glaring beneficiaries.

Notes

¹ Kiely, Ray: *Empire in the Age of Globalisation – US Hegemony and Neoliberal Disorder*, Orient Longman, London 2005, p. 1.

² *Ibid*, pp. 9-10. Here Ray Kiely is briefly citing David Harvey (1989).

³ Chua, Amy: *World on Fire – How Exporting Free Market Democracy Breeds Ethnic Hatred and Global Instability*, William Heinemann, London, 2003. This book, first published in 2003, is now a classic in terms of showing how the *Washington Consensus*, meaning the simultaneous exporting of a "Free Market" economy system and Democracy, destabilizes especially 3rd world nations and leads to violence, and at times even to genocide. It produces a stunning and shocking narration and list of countries where ethnic hatred and violence and even genocide resulted directly from the *Washington Consensus*. Another book, with a similar theme, that has become a classic is *The Globalization of Poverty*, by Michel Chossudovsky. The facts and figures of both books speak a clear language and can't be denied!

⁴ In terms of academics most notable was Francis Fukuyama with his thesis of "The End of History", which he published in the summer of 1989, even a few weeks before the fall of the Berlin Wall. Francis was, however,

not just an innocent academic: before this publication he was in a leading official position in the State Department. His 1990 book by the same title as his article became a world bestseller and had decisive influence on massively promoting & globalization (in his words the “free market” system) and democratization.

⁵ The most influential journalist persistently pushing for globalization is Thomas L. Friedman, who’s wrote the bestseller *The Lexus and the Olive Tree: Understanding Globalization* in 1999.

⁶ As expected, there were a few critical voices on Globalization coming from the West, but these were far and few between and could thus not overturn or have any sustained effects on the eulogy of the mass media mantra. In retrospect this was only possible when the Neo-Liberal order was besieged by crisis coming directly from Globalization’s many failures. See for instance, the South East Asian Crisis (1997-98), Seattle 1999, Genoa 2001, Argentina in 2001,

⁷ Ethan B. Kapstein, "A Global Third Way Social Justice and the World Economy," *World Policy Journal*, Vol. XV, No. 4 (Winter 1998/99), cited from: <https://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/kapstein.htm>

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Bush's Globalization, by Mark Engler, Distributed to *Knight-Ridder/Tribune* newspapers by the Global Beat Syndicate, Published on Tuesday, June 8, 2004 by CommonDreams.org, cited from: <http://www.commondreams.org/views04/0608-09.htm>

¹⁰ President Obama Takes Globalization to New Heights - President Obama has surpassed George W. Bush as a champion of globalization, by Mark Engler, July 2, 2012, *Foreign Policy In Focus* - A project of the Institute for Policy Studies, cited from: http://fpif.org/president_obama_takes_globalization_to_new_heights/
See also: *Dissent Magazine - A Quarterly of Politics and Culture*, President Obama: Corporate Globalizer, by Mark Engler - June 28, 2012, cited in: <http://www.dissentmagazine.org/blog/president-obama-corporate-globalizer>

¹¹ <http://adelinapeltea.com/2014-the-state-of-worldwide-internet-social-media-and-mobile-penetration/>

¹² Perkins, John: *Confessions of an Economic Hit Man – The shocking inside story of how America REALLY took over the world*, Ebury Press, London 2006, p. ix.

¹³ Ibid, p. xi.

¹⁴ Ibid, p. xvii.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid, p. xxi.

¹⁷ Documentary *Zeitgeist II Addendum*, 2008, directed by Peter Joseph. Part 2 has an interview with John Perkins where he explains how the whole range of economic warfare works, via Hit Men, Assassins & War if necessary. I have paraphrased the “quote” in order to convey briefly the quintessence of what Perkins said into one sentence; thus, the “quote” is a condensed summary of the rather long interview that he gave.

¹⁸ This was of course the rallying cry US President Wilson used to convince the US public, which was about 90% isolationist, to get the US into WW I. Revisionist Historians later uncovered that Wilson had already committed the US to join G.B. See the Documentary *Zeitgeist I*, 2006 & Lens, Sidney: *The forging of the American Empire – From Revolution to Vietnam: A History of U.S. Imperialism*, New Ed., Chicago 2003, pp. 260-268. & Khan, Mansur: *Die Geheime Geschichte der Amerikanischen Kriege* [English title would be: *The Secret History of America's Wars*], Grabert Verl., Tübingen 2003.

¹⁹ Levy, Jack S. / Thomson, William R.: *Causes of War*, 1st ed., Wiley-Blackwell, Oxford, 2010.

²⁰ Greis, Anna / Brock, Lothar / Müller, Harald (editors): *Democratic Wars: Looking at the Dark Side of Democratic Peace*, Palgrave, 2006.

²¹ Blum, William: *America's Deadliest Export: Democracy – The Truth About US Foreign Policy and Everything Else*, Zed Books, London/New York, 2013. Chomsky, Noam: *Deterring Democracy*, Vintage, New Ed., N.Y., 2006

²² Documentary *Zeitgeist II Addendum*, 2008, directed by Peter Joseph. Part 2. Khan, Mansur: *Die Geheime Geschichte der Amerikanischen Kriege*, Grabert Verl., Tübingen 2003.

²³ As stated in Amy Chua's book *World on Fire*, 2003.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Chomsky, Noam: Profit Over People – Neoliberalism and Global Order, Vanguard, Lahore/Karachi/Islamabad, 2004, pp. 34-35.

²⁸ Chomsky, Noam: Profit Over People – Neoliberalism and Global Order, Vanguard, Lahore/Karachi/Islamabad, 2004, p. 36.

²⁹ Chang, Ha-Joon. "Kicking Away the Ladder: How the Economic and Intellectual Histories of Capitalism Have Been Re-Written to Justify Neo-Liberal Capitalism". Post-Autistic Economics Review. 4 September 2002: Issue 15, Article 3. Retrieved on 8 October 2008.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Chomsky, Noam: Profit Over People – Neoliberalism and Global Order, Vanguard, Lahore/Karachi/Islamabad, 2004, p. 35.

³² Ibid, pp. 37-38.

³³ Ibid, p. 38.

³⁴ Engdahl, William, F.: Full Spectrum Dominance – Totalitarian Democracy in the New World Order, Third Millennium Press, Louisiana 2009, p. 1, 10.

³⁵ Burach, Roger/Tarbell, Jim: Imperial Overstretch – George W Bush & The Hubris of Empire, Zed Books, London/New York, p. 56.

³⁶ Todd, Emmanuel: After The Empire –The Breakdown of the American Order, Constable & Robinson Ltd., London, 2003.

³⁷ Frank, Kofsky: Harry S. Truman and the War Scare of 1948: A Successful Campaign to Deceive the Nation, St. Martin's Press, 1995. This is a crucial book for understanding how and why the USA decided to make the Soviets into the new enemy, an enemy that provided the M.I.C. with trillions of Dollars of profits and proxy wars that were equally lucrative for the US business elite, while politically it unified the USA and made NATO possible as a military alliance of crucially important Western nations that would from then on be under the immense influence and guidance of the USA's power elite.

³⁸ Chomsky, Noam: Profit Over People – Neoliberalism and Global Order, Vanguard, Lahore/Karachi/Islamabad, 2004, pp. 23-24.

*Globalization - The New Imperialism:
Implications for the Societies around the World*

³⁹ Goyette, Charles: *The Dollar Meltdown*, Portfolio, New York, 2009, pp. 46-48.

⁴⁰ See among other things the Documentaries: *Capitalism – A Love Story*, by Michael Moore, 2009 & *Zeitgeist II Addendum*, 2008, directed by Peter Joseph. (The Literature is simply too numerous to cite.)

⁴¹ *Zeitgeist II Addendum*, 2008, directed by Peter Joseph.

⁴² Prestowitz, Clyde: *Rogue Nation – American Unilateralism and the Failure of Good Intentions*, Basic Books, 2003, New York, pp. 70-72.

⁴³ Todd, Emmanuel: *After The Empire –The Breakdown of the American Order*, Constable & Robinson Ltd., London, 2003.

⁴⁴ Kim Hjelmgard, *USA TODAY* 3:05 p.m. EST January 20, 2014, cited from: <http://www.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2014/01/20/davos-2014-oxfam-85-richest-people-half-world/4655337/> [The research was compiled using data from Credit Suisse's World Wealth report and the Forbes' billionaires list.]

⁴⁵ Graeme Wearden, *The Guardian.com*, Monday 20 January 2014 09.24 GMT, Oxfam: 85 richest people as wealthy as poorest half of the world - As World Economic Forum starts in Davos, development charity claims growing inequality has been driven by 'power grab', cited from: <http://www.theguardian.com/business/2014/jan/20/oxfam-85-richest-people-half-of-the-world>

EMERGING REGIONAL SECURITY MILIEU IN POST 2014 AFGHANISTAN

Raza Muhammad & Dr. Muhammad Saif ur Rehman

Abstract

Due to their geographical contiguity to Afghanistan, the Central Asian Republics (CARs) became strategically significant for the policy ends of USA and countries comprising the coalition that invaded Afghanistan Post 9/11. A number of Central Asian States provided bases, air passage and ground lines of communications commonly known as the Northern Distribution Network (NDN). Consequent fiscal advantages helped CARs shelve their mutual differences. In 13th year, the Operation Enduring Freedom (OEF) seems to be coming to an undesired end: claiming victory without completely achieving the stipulated objectives. Afghanistan is far from being stable and cohesive. Its economy depends upon foreign aid. Albeit the newly formed National Unity government is a ray of hope, it is still grappling with teething problems. Al- Qaida, Taliban, ETIM, IMU and Hiz-bul-Tahrir and now IS, are the major threats to the Regional stability. Afghan National Security Force (ANSF) is not considered sufficiently trained, equipped and motivated. Competing interests of internal and external forces engender intrinsic threats to stability of Central Asia. Therefore, establishment of a consensus based governing mechanism in Afghanistan,¹ capacity building of Afghanistan² and CARs with sustained military and economic support shall be important for the regional stability.

Historical Perspective

Afghanistan, a war torn country, has suffered through centuries of aggressions. In her contemporary history, Soviet Union invaded it in 1979, which provoked an international reaction. Almost whole world with US in lead, less Warsaw Pact countries, joined hands to push the Soviet Union out of

Afghanistan. Islamic concept of Jihad was to be the 'Means' to attain this 'End'. Pakistan became the main 'enclave' to execute this strategy, which succeeded. 1989 saw Soviets and West retreat simultaneously, albeit in diverging directions. Afghanistan and Pakistan were left alone to deal with the residual mess. Afghanistan, deficit on everything specifically central control descended into chaos.

In this vacuum the powerful warlords, who had guns and money gained strength. The drug mafia also exploited situation to their advantage³ and a new phenomenon Taliban evolved, who captured Kabul in 1996. Pakistan and Saudi Arabia, accepting the fait accompli, recognised Taliban government. Initially, US also considered them as an option to control the anarchy. Till 1996, Taliban were not anti West but 1997 onwards, Osama Bin Laden was thought influenced them, and they started hosting Al Qaida (AQ)⁴. Their support afforded AQ a sanctuary to train, equip and plan attacks on various parts of the world including 9/11⁵.

Consequential wrath fell upon Afghanistan in shape of OEF; an invasion by a Coalition comprising 42 countries⁶, lead by USA and legitimized by United Nations Security Council (UNSC) Resolution Number 1267⁷. In the backdrop of environment prevailing at that time a discourse⁸ ensued in Pakistan, sequel to which Pakistan decided to support the OEF, predominantly to avoid international isolation and also accrue strategic dividends including ridding itself of the menace of terrorism.

CARs significance for coalition's operations in Afghanistan, their potential of exacerbating terrorism with attendant consequences for ISAF and their historical, politico-economic, social and security linkages with erstwhile USSR, made them vital objectives of US and Western diplomacy; to secure their alliances for supporting OEF and also wean them away from Soviet influence.

Central Asia became popular destination for economic and security assistance by regional and extra regional

stakeholders. The CARs were quick to grasp the historic opportunity. For their support to OEF, these were rewarded with aid and assistance that was direly needed during their initial years of independence. The rents from NDN, a crucial line of communication for ISAF, acted as glue for Central Asian States and helped them put their mutual differences at back burner. Presence of extra regional forces, availability of experts along with huge sums of aid helped their rulers to control internal rivals and perpetuate in power. Ruling and political elites of Central Asia also benefitted from the war economy.

After 13 years of OEF, Afghanistan still remains restive with increasing uncertainty on its future, tenuous security and growing violence. Despite spending trillions and significant loss of lives, the ISAF has not been able to achieve its perceived ends.⁹ Therefore, they look for scapegoats to blame for their failures and Pakistan, despite its sufferings, is the easiest choice. Regardless of ground situation, after projecting a notion of victory, they plan to start withdrawing bulk of forces and equipment by end of 2014.

CARs

In late 19th Century, the Russian Tsars annexed the last of Khanates and nomadic lands of Central Asia. After Bolshevik revolution in 1917 these states went under Soviet rule. By 1936, Central Asia was divided on ethnic lines to carve out five socialist republics namely Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan. After fall of Soviet Union, these states became independent in 1991.¹⁰ During Soviet era, these states received special attention for their socio-economic development. The welfare got added attention, which revolved around the concept of "cradle to grave welfare by the state"¹¹. After independence, these states did not experience any serious turmoil as apprehended by many analysts and preserved their Soviet heritage, in political structures and policy legacies¹².

The economy of central Asian states is interwoven. Despite collapse of U.S.S.R their economic linkages remain intact. Southern Kazakhstan is still supplied electricity by Kyrgyzstan, and northern Kazakhstan helps service Siberia's energy grid. Turkmenistan continues to send part of its oil to Russia, to be converted into jet fuel, but it processes Siberian crude in her own refineries. However, vacuum is felt due to absence of coordinating institutions that regulate this activity¹³.

CARs and Pakistan

Despite decades of sacrifices and losses, Pakistan is still considered as part of the problem¹⁴. Pakistan's Economy has been badly impacted by excessive expenditure on counter terrorism efforts, human and material losses, decades long burden of Afghan refugees and now its own Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs)¹⁵, whose exodus occurred due to military operations against the militants. It has lost 55473 citizens by now¹⁶. A huge cost of \$102.5 billion has been incurred by it¹⁷ on fight against terrorism already. Due to threat of terrorist attacks, the foreign investments have been deterred. Precious resources are diverted to counter terrorism, pay compensations and rehabilitation etc. Rising unemployment due to these factors makes the unemployed youth susceptible to exploitation by the exploiters; terrorist masterminds. Recent terrorist attack at an education institution, 'Army Public School, Peshawar' massive killing of innocent students and staff is the most serious crime even uttered by terrorists. In spite of this, Pakistan is not a trusted and respected ally. It's being blamed for all the ills in Afghanistan. In a recent report of US Department of Defence of 31 October 29, 2014 Pakistan has been accused of using non-state actors for its sway in Afghanistan.

Afghanistan Invasion and the Region

Though the initial gains were quick, Afghanistan has been a tough take for US, and ISAF. Despite losing thousands of lives, and spending trillions of dollars, ISAF has not been able

to achieve her war aims. US strategy on Afghanistan kept seeing changes and modifications. The current and third American strategy, as alluded to by the US President in his West Point address on 28 May 2014, is “to more effectively partner with the countries where terrorist networks seek foothold”¹⁸. This shift indicated that US would transfer whole operational responsibility on to Afghanistan. However, recently it has been reported that US will undertake combat missions as well, which is considered to be a positive re-modification of US strategy on Afghanistan, as US’ reduced engagement in Afghanistan has direct consequences for the regional peace and stability.

The aims of the OEF as deduced from various sources were; unseating Taliban regime, destruction of Al Qaeda and Taliban, removal of terrorist safe havens, punishing alleged perpetrators of 9/11 attacks on twin Towers and bringing a broad based, democratically elected government in Afghanistan. These objectives have not been achieved completely. Killing of Osama Bin Laden and a number of Taliban leaders, degrading Taliban and installation of an acceptable national government in Afghanistan might help USA to project a Notion of Victory. The fact remains that Taliban leader Mullah Omer is still alive. Many rural areas of Afghanistan are witnessing severe contest between Taliban and ANSF, Al Qaeda has proliferated to other continents and its splinters has mutated into Islamic State (IS); an evolving threat. This point is further supplemented by General Dunford’s views during his 12 March 2014 testimony to the US Senate Armed Services Committee. He acknowledged that even after 13 years of War, there is a possibility that Afghanistan could revert to being a safe haven for terrorists and AQ could return after drawdown¹⁹. He defined winning in Afghanistan as: an operationally ineffective Al Qaeda, capable and sustainable Afghan security forces, a successful election political transition, and a constructive Afghanistan-Pakistan military to military relationship. This reflects reconciliation of US leadership for depreciated war aims.

Afghan and neighbours' destinies have become increasingly interdependent. Post 2014 Afghanistan is going to have a direct bearing on their security and economy. Afghanistan will inherit large military bases and sufficient military equipment, but does not have capable ANSF to make good use of these. As a society, it is in shambles. Taliban, who were unseated in 2001, have become major stakeholders in future power sharing of Afghanistan.

Former President Karzaie remained a main impediment in creation of environment essential for the drawdown. His unwise and unfounded criticism and allegations on Pakistan and USA, his retarding attitude towards intra Afghan reconciliation harmed Afghanistan's interests²⁰. Taliban's Qatar office was closed due to their unreasonable attitude. Karzai did not hesitate in publically blaming USA for collusions with Taliban for terrorist attacks in Kabul²¹. The Afghan- US relations went into tailspin when he refused to sign the Bilateral Security Agreement (BSA) and said, "I don't trust them and they don't trust me. The last 10 years have shown this to me. I have had fights with them and they have had propaganda against me"²².

Brokering of power sharing deal between President Asharaf Ghani and Abdullah Abdullah by USA, after an impasse due to complains of election fraud, is seen as a ray of hope. While many foreigners have no hopes for Afghan prosperity, the Afghans are optimistic that these elections would bring good days for them²³. It is also expected to be a catalyst for improving tense relations between USA and Afghanistan and Afghanistan and Pakistan.

After lot of efforts, Bilateral Security Agreement (BSA) between USA and Afghanistan and Status of Forces Agreement (SOFA) between NATO and Afghanistan were signed on 30 September 2014, which have been termed as long-term security pacts. 9800 US and up to 4000-5000 (presently 2500-2700) NATO troops shall be stationed in Afghanistan after ISAF mission ends in Afghanistan on 31 December 2014²⁴. These troops would reduce to half by end

2015 and by 2016 these will be reduced to “Vestigial Force” to protect US Embassy in Kabul and help Afghanistan with military purchases and other issues²⁵. The BSA promises training, advice and aerial support and Intelligence Surveillance and Reconnaissance (ISR) assistance to the ANSF.

One of the most important pre-requisites of the drawdown is strong ANSF. Afghan National Security Forces are being projected as so trained, equipped and organized that they will be able to control the inner front. In fact, they still lack in training and equipment²⁶. The ANSF suffered 4634 fatalities in 2014 as compared to year 2013, 4350²⁷. The ANSF could, at best be termed as partially capable. They will continue to need intelligence support, professional guidance, equipment and financial support to sustain them. This opinion is further strengthened by the fact that General Joseph Dunford, ISAF Commander till 26th August 2014, in his confirmatory hearing as 36th Commandant of the US Marine Corps, told the US Senate Armed Services Committee that he was not confident if the Afghan Security Forces would be able to sustain themselves after the drawdown. He added Afghan military does not possess intelligence capabilities and a developed aviation, which would affect ANSF ability to undertake operations effectively²⁸. The multi-front offensive launched by Taliban during Summer 2014, has also raised serious questions and concerns on the ability of ANSF to control the situation post US drawdown.

Therefore the ANSF are not sufficiently cohesive and capable to effectively control internal situation and stop external interference efficaciously²⁹. More so, ANSF and the local militias created by USA on the basis of ethnicity and tribes etc are likely to split on ethnic lines and fuel intra Afghan fighting³⁰. It's therefore that, the perceived post draw down dilemmas, haunt the thinkers and policy makers alike³¹; a destabilized Afghanistan could yet again become a safe haven for terrorist and AQ and also serve as a conduit for exporting terrorism to the Region and beyond.

Deteriorated Afghanistan-Pakistan Relations

The challenges of restive inner front, paradoxical and clashing interests of its own and her friends' China, Saudi Arabia, UAE, USA and neighbours; India and Iran make Pakistan's choices complicated and precarious. Pakistan wishes a stable, friendly and prosperous Afghanistan. Therefore, it tried best to play a constructive role by helping in intra Afghan reconciliation efforts, which did not materialise in desired time frame and spirit because of Karzai intransigence and decelerated approach of USA. Pakistan believes that chaos in her neighbourhood will directly impact its internal stability and socio-economic progression, therefore, it has renewed the efforts to allay Afghan complains and reassured help to bring Afghan Taliban to the negotiating table.

In fact Mr. Karzai and his team developed serious misunderstandings and housed deep-rooted distrust for Pakistan. Karzai's deteriorating relations with USA, allegations and counter allegations of housing Taliban by each other, who were conducting terrorist attacks in both the countries, further compounded the situation. Use of Afghan soil by India for anti Pakistan activities had been a sour point that was not heeded to by Karzai and Coalition. These factors had brought the relations between both countries to an all times low, which affected the attainment of war objectives related to long term solution of the Afghan problem for a sustainable peace and stability in the Region.

Change of guards; civil and military in both the countries, signing of BSA, recent positive developments in Sino-Afghan relations, ongoing military operation in FATA by Pakistan, to destroy sanctuaries of terrorist networks operating in neighbouring countries exude hope for better relations between Afghanistan and Pakistan. There is no alternative to developing bilateral understanding. If Afghanistan's misgivings and apprehensions are allayed, both could complement each other's and international efforts to overcome the expected negative fallouts of post 2014

Afghanistan. Recent visit of Afghan President, his warm reception in Pakistan and aura of mutual understanding generated at all levels of leaderships can be taken as a major step for better understanding evolving between Afghanistan and Pakistan.

Though Pak- Afghan border region comprises a very difficult terrain with high mountains having innumerable crossing places. The issue of Durand Line, and centuries old custom and practice of “Easement Rights” for the tribes inhabiting both sides of the Durand Line makes the dividing lines between Afghanistan and Pakistan virtually non existent; hence a soft border without a formal control. Pakistan’s efforts to make this a formal international border have always been discouraged by Afghanistan.

Pak-US Relations; Impacts on Regional Stability

Pak – US relations have seen multiple crusts and turfs. Both have grievances against each other. Striking a balance between Pakistan’s own interests, and US demands has been a tight ropewalk for Pakistan. The US military and economic help to Pakistan have been contingent to US policy ends that are mostly event and short term based. US’ vivid tilt towards India is not taken well by the Pakistanis. It also needs to understand Pakistan’s internal compulsions, which Pakistan has to balance out against cooperation with USA³². The new marriage of convenience that began sequel to coercion by President Bush ‘you are with us or against us’ is going through similar experience. US/ISAF quick triumph in occupation of Kabul could not have been possible without Pakistan’s help and support. However, soon the distrust started setting in, primarily due to US’ short-term focuses³³. Not realizing that US-Pak interests are interlinked and a rupture could compromise US Counter Terrorist (CT) objectives³⁴. There is a dichotomy on part of US officials, thinkers and writers, who blame Pakistan publically, and praise its contributions in private. Biggest blows to the relations were raid on Osama Bin Laden, attack on Salala Post and accusations by Admiral Michael Mullen, terming Haqqani Network as ISI veritable

arm³⁵. Another unpleasant factor for bilateral relations was CIA covert operation in Pakistan. Mark Mozzetti in his book “Way of Knife” wrote that Pakistan was “the most penetrated country in the World”³⁶. Pakistan can not develop better relations with Iran due to US reservations.

On the other hand, Pakistan also needs to admit its follies and undertake such steps that blame of ‘double game’³⁷ and having “American blood on its hands”³⁸ are alleviated. The international relations, in today’s Realists World are to be based on this hard reality that every state strives for advancement of its own national interests³⁹. USA is a World Power; both military and economic, whose interests in this Region are linked to Pakistan⁴⁰. Pakistan requires military, technological and fiscal help, so essential to overcome the damages and retardation in development caused by the events of past decades, hence it has to develop a mutually beneficial relationship with USA, not compromising the core national interests. Pakistan and US’ better relations are also important for countering international terrorism and regional stability⁴¹

Pakistan apprehends that USA will walk away from Afghanistan without helping reconciliation amongst Afghans and between Afghanistan and her neighbors, which may lead to re-eruption of the war⁴². Understandably Pakistan does not want USA to leave midway, with a destabilised neighbourhood with colossal negative fallout for it⁴³. The USA should understand that it is incumbent upon her to leave Afghanistan in a better shape with sustained military and economic support to safeguard Afghanistan’s inner front from an implosion that would have sever negative fall outs for Pakistan, China and Central Asia.

Intrinsic Dangers to the Stability of Central Asia

Central Asian Region's intrinsic threats are poor governance and weak state institutions, which, if exacerbated, could bring them to the brink of failed states category. CARs in general and Tajikistan in particular have comparatively softer borders and weaker state institutions. Tajikistan has

become a popular transit route for terrorists and drug traffickers. Potential for Islamic militancy, rampant corruption, autocratic rules and human right violations are considered to be major threats for their internal stability⁴⁴. These states also have multiple irritants between them. Uzbekistan tries to act as a big brother, which the others do not like it. While Kyrgyzstan and Turkmenistan are closer to Russia, the Uzbekistan struggles to unshackle from the legacy of Russian dominance. Kazakhstan tries to assert itself as regional military power. Disputes on water sharing of Amu Darya are another contentious issue. Claims on sharing of Caspian Sea riches are yet to be decided within CARs and also with Iran. Caspian Sea is considered to be a potential flashpoint for confrontation amongst its littoral states⁴⁵. All these issues, unless resolved appropriately, have the potential to precipitate into interstate conflicts⁴⁶.

Threat of Extremism and Terrorism

US has a great role and history in creation of religious extremism in this region. The foundations of Jihad economy were laid decades ago when Gulbadin Hikmatyar and Burhanuddine Rabbani were invited to Washington by the then US President.⁴⁷ President Putin also blames US for sponsoring Islamic extremism for which he sighted the example of creating and using Mujahedeen to fight Soviet Union in 1980s. He said that USA and West were destabilizing Ukraine and were turning a blind eye toward the encroachment of international terrorism in Russia and Central Asia.⁴⁸ Though the CARs also have potential of religiosity based extremism, however, few analysts contend that threat of Islamic extremism in CARs is overstated by Russia for seeking a larger role and establish greater hold on Central Asia through Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO). Few also opine that Heads of CARs take shield of the boggy of religious extremism to suppress their rivals.⁴⁹ Nonetheless, the potential of exploitation and germs of extremism cannot be ignored in Central Asia.

AQ claims that her leadership had safely moved out of Afghanistan to Middle East, Africa, Chechnya and Central Asia before the Coalition operations in Afghanistan⁵⁰. AQ 2020 Strategy, to establish Caliphate in Central Asia, by launching Pincers of Jihadist Movements from "Jihad Triangle of Horror"⁵¹ Afghanistan, Pakistan, Kashmir, Iran, northern Turkey, Lebanon, Chechnya and from within CARs converging in heart of Asia to capture Khorasan⁵² and then move northwards to Russia has to be taken seriously⁵³. Frank Shanty in his book, *The Nexus; International Terrorism and Drug Trafficking in Afghanistan*⁵⁴, has also written about AQ such long-range regional and global ambitions⁵⁵. Their ambitions are too high and perceived ends too catastrophic for the regional stability.

AQ Shura has claimed sufficient progress in the groundwork. AQ Shura also endorsed Iran's Oil Strategy in 2005 (to attack and burn all the oil field in the region if Iran is attacked), which indicates AQ-Iran collusion, regardless of sectarian differences between Shia Iran and Salafi AQ and Wahabi Taliban for Global Jihad against non-Muslims.⁵⁶ The Islamic State in Iraq and Islamic state in Levant can already be seen as the strands of AQ strategy.

USA and CARs

Post 9/11 USA and CARs developed mutually beneficial relationship, which continued improving. US maintained Manas Base in Kyrgyzstan till June 2014⁵⁷, Karshi Khan Abad (K II) Base in Uzbekistan till May 2005. ISAF made use of Termez Base in Uzbekistan, which is rented by Germany. USA is now looking for new bases in Central Asia to deploy its drones⁵⁸. After closure of passage through by Pakistan in post salala incident, the NDN became a lifeline for ISAF and USA. For its use bilateral agreements between USA and concerned states were concluded in January 2009. In 2010, these were supplemented by agreements between NATO/ISAF and the CARs. However, cost of shipment per container, rose from \$ 7200 to \$ 17500 over NDN⁵⁹. In 2012, the Governments of Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan signed bilateral

agreements with NATO for Reverse Transit as well.⁶⁰ The US has been providing security and economic assistance over and above the rents and taxes being paid to them as well.

Central Asia is destined to become less central to US foreign policy and security ends after its drawdown. It is however, considered that it will remain relevant to the US and as well as her concern for multiple reasons like Internal fragility of these states and potential for state break down. Crimes and rampant corruption, drug trafficking and weapons smuggling. Fears of radicalization and consequent export of extremism. Rivalry of regional powers, especially Russia and China that could evolve into yet a new Great Game. More importantly for integrating CARs into Regional and global economic systems for developing a long-term self-sustaining security and stability environment in Central Asia⁶¹.

There are indications that the US funding will not remain assured at present level and for a longer term. This cut reflects US lawmakers' anger at Karzai's on his refusal to sign the BSA – and also US taxpayer's apprehension for large portions of US aid lost to corruption and incompetence⁶². Similarly the CARs, which gained multi faceted advantages from their support for OEF, shall also experience depreciated fiscal gains and a security vacuum in the region with obvious consequences. They and Afghanistan will therefore, need continued security and economic support.

Foreign presence in CARs has been acting as a balancing factor for contending states and as well as for factions within these states.⁶³US' depreciated military presence and reduced fiscal assistance will impact negatively the collective regional security arrangements.

Biggest Dilemma for USA; is to maintain a balance between pursuit of her strategic objectives in the region and receding domestic support and constricting fiscal space due to recessionary economy.⁶⁴More so, the USA cannot stay relevant without ensuring requisite military presence and providing security and economic assistance for a sustainable

peace in Afghanistan, and Central Asia. The vacuum created after US withdrawal from the region shall be filled by China and Russia, which if not well regulated, may draw a regional competition and prove detrimental to long term US interests.⁶⁵ These countries also foresee increased Russian and Chinese influence impinging upon their sovereignty and internal dynamics. Most of them, therefore, want Extra Regional Forces (ERF) to stay in the region for a longer term.⁶⁶ The non-state actors, who would be competing for their personal and group stakes, shall further fuel the instability.

Therefore, it is considered obligatory that USA, Coalition Partners and regional countries must draw a suitable plan and continue supporting Afghanistan till it becomes capable of sustaining itself economically, socially and militarily⁶⁷. Cooperation and commitment of China, Russia, India, Pakistan and Iran shall be essential for enduring stability not only in Afghanistan, but in Central Asia as well. In the whole matrix, Pakistan can, and must play a constructive role⁶⁸.

Converging and Diverging Interests of Stakeholders

There are multiple stakeholders including the states and also the non-state actors who have convergence of views and also competing interests related to post 2014 Afghanistan, Central Asia and their neighbours.

Current Chinese interests in Afghanistan and Central Asia are primarily economic oriented. It is investing in minerals, oil and gas, rail, road and social sectors; consolidating influence in Central Asia through no-strings attached lending policies, financial investments and infrastructural projects⁶⁹. It allocated \$5 billion credit to Kazakhstan's state owned development bank and \$5 billion to Kazmunaigaz a state run gas company. China lent Turkmenistan \$ 4.1 billion loan for developing South Yolotan gas field. China is also funding several major energy and transport projects in Tajikistan⁷⁰. Chinese President Xi-Jiping has envisioned 6437 Kilometre long Silk Road comprising economic belt connecting Far East

with Europe via Central Asia⁷¹. These investments have and are likely to give Afghanistan sufficient influence in these countries. While it does not exhibit military ambitions and vision to export political reforms into Central Asia, yet it will. In no case, like increased US presence and enhanced Russian influence in the region⁷². Similarly, it will not like the drugs and extremism plaguing her territory from the bordering regions. The US policy makers are earnestly working to prop India as counter weight to China in hope that India will be able to contain Chinese expansion in the region, especially in Asia pacific. Obviously, it concerns China. In China, America, Japan Australia and India are routinely referred to as "Eastern NATO"⁷³. USA has to be careful in this quest, as India is not a country that would act only for the US interests in the region.

NATO has participated in all the ISAF operations and EU spends ample money in the region. It is already facing criticism for not taking appropriate measures against Russian reassertion in Europe, annexation of Crimea being a case in point. In view of reducing domestic support for out of area engagement, it is likely that post 2014 drawdown, major interests of Europe would be to benefit from trade and riches of Afghanistan and Central Asia. However, they will continue to worry about and participate in international counter terrorism efforts for saving their countries from terrorism. At grand strategy level, they will stay under US umbrella and will also support the post 2014 processes.

Moscow has greater stakes in CARs and Afghanistan, hence it worries about post 2014 Afghanistan and Central Asia. On August 1, 2012 Russian President Vladimir Putin said, "It was regrettable that countries who are participating in operations in Afghanistan are thinking about how to pull out of there"? He added "since NATO took up the burden, should carry it to the end"⁷⁴. Although Russia worries about visualised post 2014 instability around her that could threaten its inner front and even Federation, yet it will not endorse excessive military presence and influence of USA in the region. Expanding Chinese influence in Central Asia and Afghanistan also rings alarm bells in Moscow. Russia has been

trying to re-assert militarily in the region, manifested by holding "Rostock Military Drills 2010"; the biggest military exercise post USSR.⁷⁵ Recent annexation of Ukrainian Crimea and sponsoring of separatist in Ukraine, Russian Presidents' recently expressed views implicating USA for starting sponsoring of Islamic terrorism during 1980s also indicate Russia's change of posture.

Russia's main concerns revolve around saving her inner front from negative fallouts of instability, extremism and drugs from her neighbourhood. It will like to re-establish and safeguard her erstwhile traditional influence in security and economic spheres of Central Asia. Furthermore, Russia would not like increased military presence of USA and enhanced dependence of CARs on China⁷⁶. Benefitting from Central Asian riches, especially energy resources and 'New Silk Road Project' is a natural desire of Russian leaders and masses. If Russia desires to counter extra regional influence in Central Asia and establish hers, then it will need requisite military capability and economic capacity to do so. Presently, Russia lacks the economic capacity to return to erstwhile Sovietisation⁷⁷. The next important aspect is, that if Russia do this without US help and consent or will USA allow it desired space? It is opined that US will have to develop some understanding on Russian role in Central Asia and Afghanistan.

Iran has ethno- Religious linkages with Central Asia, especially with Tajikistan. It will not like a major United States military presence in the neighbourhood. At the same time, it likes to expand her sphere of influence through trade and economic ties. To attract trade with Central Asia through her territory, it has developed road and rail links with Afghanistan and Tajikistan. Iran has strong links with few Taliban commanders in Afghanistan. It also enjoys closer contacts with Afghan Hazara community, which is predominantly Shia⁷⁸. Few analysts and writers also hint at Iranian support to extremists in Tajikistan and other CARs.⁷⁹

Turkey nurtures ethnic and historic bondages with Afghanistan and CARs. She has cultural and linguistic affinity with Turkmenistan. She has been playing a constructive role in the reconciliation process and would like to be recognized as one of the major stakeholders. Her apprehensions also stem from envisioned unrest in the region after US withdrawal. She also wishes to expand her sphere of influence. In the same effort, it tried to export Turkish model of governance in Kazakhstan in 2007,⁸⁰ which created differences between both countries. However, Turkey was quick to re-adjust her policy and resolve the contentious aspects. Turkey is presently more focused on the issue of Syria that impacts its security and economy.

The Afghan Taliban consider themselves a legitimate stakeholders in Afghanistan's power matrix and any future dispensation. They were given due recognition by establishment of their office in Qatar. China, Turkey and Pakistan also tried to help bridge differences between them, Afghans and Americans. Due to factors like Karzai intransigence and US wavering attitude the process did not succeed. However, the new Afghan President is expected to restart negotiation with them. Their integration into the corridors of power and governance is considered essential for a durable peace in Afghanistan and neighbouring countries. Pakistan is, and must continue to help intra-Afghan reconciliation.

Conclusion

Understandably, the future of a post-2014 Afghanistan is very difficult to predict. It's a complex situation with multiple catalysts; evolving continuously with quite an unpredictable future. Most of the solutions are hypothetical. It is also not easy to evaluate this intricate military operation; distinguishing victory from defeat is very difficult. Many writers opine that it can at best be termed as a "partial" success. Competing interests of Regional and Extra Regional players and the non-state actors will continue to make it a battleground for Proxy War(s) with obvious negative impacts

on its neighbours. In opinion of Abdul Kuddus, “Afghanistan will still be a failed state with a potential of increased chaos, sporadic incidence of violence and bloodshed when the Afghan Security Forces take charge”.⁸¹

The situation offers international community an opportunity to integrate nascent CARs and war torn Afghanistan and turn a liability into an asset. Major challenge for regional and extra regional powers is the capacity building of Afghanistan and CARs in political, economic, social and military fields for self-sustenance in post drawdown environment. Stability in Afghanistan is considered important for the interest of the whole world and the region, as turmoil in Afghanistan could evolve into trans-border threats embodying extremism, terrorism, drug trafficking, and separatism for CARs, Iran, Pakistan, Russia, China and even beyond.

Unless a finely carved out transition, duly backed up by long term, well considered support system takes place, Afghanistan may collapse into chaos.⁸² Therefore Pakistan, Afghanistan, USA, Russia, China, Turkey, Iran, India and CARs must develop a consensus-based solution for handling post 2014 Afghanistan and Central Asia⁸³. Inclusion of warring factions in the process of reconciliation shall strengthen it further. Frank Shanty, in his book *The Nexus; of International Terrorism and Drug Trafficking from Afghanistan*, stresses that every solution for Afghanistan shall require a regional approach, in which Pakistan’s role and support shall be important.⁸⁴ For CARs, the CSTO may be a suitable body for implementing future plan of stability, however, CSTO dominance by Russia may draw criticism by Uzbekistan and others. The other suitable forum for execution of a long-term solution for CARs could be SCO, which has a broader membership and acceptance. For Afghanistan possibility of using SAARC or some UN mandated body comprising the major stakeholders, to oversee the Post 2014 arrangements could be considered.

Promotion of regional trade by institution of softer regulations, operationalization of New Silk Road concept and early development of road and rail network through Iran and Pakistan shall also be important⁸⁵ for integration and long term stability of the region.

Notes

¹ Asmatullah Wazir Khan, "Withdrawal of the US Troops from Afghanistan and its Implications for Pakistan - Challenges and a way Forward," *Tigah, a Journal of Peace Development Volume II*, 2012: 97

² Jeffrey Mankoff, 25

³ Frank Shanty, 2012 *The Nexus; International terrorism and Drug Trafficking in Afghanistan*, Pentagon Press, New Delhi, 25-29, 43.

⁴ *Ibid* ; 54, 71.

⁵ National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon United States. *The 9/11 Commission Report; Final Report of the National commission.*

⁶ Asmatullah Wazir Khan, "Withdrawal of the US Troops from Afghanistan and its Implications for Pakistan - Challenges and a way Forward," *Tigah, a Journal of Peace Development Volume II*, 2012: 92

⁷ Dr. Maria Sultan: *Afghanistan Post 2014; Decision Point: 2*, 7 and Asmatullah Wazir Khan, "Withdrawal of the US Troops from Afghanistan and its Implications for Pakistan - Challenges and a way Forward," *Tigah, a Journal of Peace Development Volume II*, 2012: 92

⁸ A Constructivists' account of Pakistan's Political practice in the aftermath of 9/11. The normalisation of Pakistan's participation in The 'War On Terror', Nazya Fiaz submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, Department Of Peace Studies, University of Bradford, 2010.

⁹ Syed Hussain Shaheed Soherwordi, "Withdrawal of American Forces from Afghanistan (Endgame): Issues and Challenges for Pakistan," *Journal of Political Studies*, Vol 19, issue -1. 2012: 134,135 and Saeed Shafqat, Raheenul Haque "Pakistan, Afghanistan & US Relations: Implications and Future Directions," 2011: 22

¹⁰ Government of United State, Congress, *Central Asia: Regional Developments and Implications for U.S Interests*, 2013, Washington. DC: Congressional Research Service: 1 and Jones, Pauline, ed. *The Transformation of Central Asia States and Societies from Soviet Rule to independence*, New York: Cornell University Press, 2004.

¹¹ Jones, Pauline, ed. *The Transformation of Central Asia States and Societies from Soviet Rule to independence*, New York: Cornell University Press, 2004.

¹² Jones, Pauline, 1-2, 12-13.

¹³Economic Cooperation Between Pakistan And The Central Asian Republics, Dr Azmat Khan;
[Http://www.defencejournal.com/may98/economic1.htm](http://www.defencejournal.com/may98/economic1.htm)

¹⁴ Soherwordi, Syed Hussain Shaheed: 133, 136-138

¹⁵ Arshad Ali, Economic Cost of Terrorism; A case Study of Pakistan
http://www.issi.org.pk/publication-files/1299569657_66503137.pdf
(accessed 22 October 2014)

¹⁶<http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/pakistan/database/casualties.htm>; (accessed 9 December 2014)

¹⁷The Express Tribune, Islamabad; 2 June 2014;
<http://tribune.com.pk/story/716558/economic-survey-13-year-war-on-terror-cost-102-5-billion/> (accessed 22 October 2014)

¹⁸ How will this War End, (US) Army Magazine 16 July 2014.

¹⁹AQ May Return, warn US General, by Anwar Iqbal, Washington Post; 19 July 2014.

²⁰Soherwordi, Syed Hussain Shaheed,133

²¹Saeed Shafqat, Raheenu Haque“Pakistan, Afghanistan & US Relations: Implications and Future Directions,” 2011: 74-77

²²Afghan Election Could Reset US-Kabul Relations;
<http://abcnews.go.com/Politics/t/story/afghan-election-reset-us-kabul-relations-23180983>.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Department of Defense Briefing by Lt. Gen. Anderson in the Pentagon Briefing Room via satellite from Afghanistan;
<http://www.defense.gov/transcripts/transcript.aspx?transcriptid=5534>(accessed 6 November 2014).

²⁵ US Troops to leave Afghanistan by End of 2016, by Mark Landler, New York Times, 27 May 2014

²⁶ Mending Alliance, US and Afghanistan sign Long-Term Security Agreement by Declan Walsh and Azam Ahmed, New York Times, 30 September 2014.

- ²⁷ Department of Defense Briefing by Lt. Gen. Anderson in the Pentagon Briefing Room via satellite from Afghanistan; <http://www.defense.gov/transcripts/transcript.aspx?transcriptid=5534>(accessed 6 November 2014).
- ²⁸ AQ May Return, warn US General, by Anwar Iqbal, Washington Post; 19 July 2014.
- ²⁹ Ahmad Rashid, Pakistan, Afghanistan and the US Withdrawal,” *Chatham house*, 2012: 5
- ³⁰ W. Barno, David, Exum Andrew, Irvine Matthew, “Beyond Afghanistan A Regional Security Strategy for South and Central Asia,” 2011; 10
- ³¹ Soherwordi, Syed Hussain Shaheed, 129.
- ³² Daniel Markey ; No Exit From Pakistan: 3,5, 9, 113-114 and Why Pakistan is Disappointed from USA; Mapping Pakistan US Relations: Past, Present and Future by Christine Fare; Foreign Policy, 1 August 2013
- ³³Daniel Markey; 5
- ³⁴Ibid; 12
- ³⁵Daniel Markey; 105-106
- ³⁶Pakistan-US Relations; Convergences and Divergences Foreign Policy series, FPS. US. 1 November 2013, CPGS Islamabad
- ³⁷ Eamon Murphy ; Chapter 3
- ³⁸ Daniel Markey; 107
- ³⁹Tiina Sappala; Revival of Anti War Movement Post 9/11
- ⁴⁰ Daniel Markey; 15
- ⁴¹ Ibid; 12
- ⁴² Pakistan-US Relations; Convergence and Divergence; Foreign Policy Series FPS.US.1 November 2013; Centre for Pakistan and Gulf Studies Islamabad Pakistan.
- ⁴³ W. Barno, David, Exum Andrew, Irvine Matthew, “Beyond Afghanistan A Regional Security Strategy for South and Central Asia,” 2011.
- ⁴⁴Ibid, 9-11.
- ⁴⁵Caspian Sea; Potential for conflict by Bahman Aghai Diba, Payvand Iran News; 10 June 2012.

⁴⁶Ibid, 7-8.

⁴⁷ Waseem Sajjad Akhtar, "The Silence is broken", Dawn Islamabad, May 28, 2013

⁴⁸Putin lashes out at US, West for destabilizing world; <http://rt.com/news/198924-putin-valdai-speech-president/> ; He said "It never ceases to amaze me how our partners have been guilty of making the same mistakes time and again. They have in the past sponsored Islamic extremists who were battling against the Soviet Union, which took place in Afghanistan. It was because of this the Taliban and Al-Qaeda was created".

⁴⁹ Jeffrey Mankoff, 12-13

⁵⁰ Bodansky, Youssef, 7

⁵¹Bodansky, Yossef; 7.

⁵²Ibid; 2,4.

⁵³ K, Warikoo, ed: 139-140 and Y. Omelicheva, Mariya, *Counterterrorism Policies in Central Asia*, New York: Central Asian Studies, 2011: 2-5

⁵⁴ Frank Shanty, 2012 *The Nexus; International terrorism and Drug Trafficking In Afghanistan*, Pentagon Press, New Delhi, 66 and 153.

⁵⁵Ibid, 4-8

⁵⁶ Bodansky, Yossef: 8

⁵⁷ Key US air base supplying Afghanistan Closes; 3 June 2014, <http://rt.com/usa/163276-us-leave-manas-airbase/> (accessed 10 December 11, 14).

⁵⁸<http://www.securityassistance.org/central-eurasia/blog/us-looking-drone-base-central-asia> (accessed 12 Dec. 14)

⁵⁹ Jeffrey Mankoff, 4.

⁶⁰ Deirdre Tynan, "Central Asia: who is the big winner in NDN Sweepstakes?", Eurasia Net Feb 7, 2012

⁶¹ Jeffrey Mankoff, 1,17, 24.

⁶²As election looms, Afghanistan's history offers lessons – and hope, Dan Murphy, Staff writer APRIL 4, 2014; http://twocircles.net/2014apr04/afghanistan_can_succeed_international_help.html#.Uz738Se9KKO

⁶³ Ibid, 1

⁶⁴ Ibid,24.

⁶⁵ Ibid, 24-26 and 30.

⁶⁶ Blank Stephen, "Central Asian Perspectives on Afghanistan After the US withdrawal," 2012:1

⁶⁷ Khalid Iqbal, Afghanistan San Foreign Troops and Options for Pakistan

⁶⁸ David Markey, No Exit From Pakistan.

⁶⁹Perez Alberto: 22, 23. Jeffery Mankoff : 23, 25.

⁷⁰Government of United State, Committee on Foreign Relations US Senate, Central Asia and the Transition in Afghanistan, 201, 112th congress 1st Session, Washington, DC: US Government printing press: 4

⁷¹Ties that bind closer
;http://www.telegraphindia.com/1141108/jsp/opinion/story_1043.jsp#.VF1SsGK9KKO

⁷²Perez Alberto, "Russia Competing From Weakness" Winter 2013; 22,24.

⁷³ Voldin Andrei, "America's Unipolar world and the Countervailing powers the Eurasian SCO military alliance," <http://www.Globalresearch.ca/america-s-unipolar-world-and-the-countervailing-powers-of-the-eurasia....> (accessed May 18, 2013): 1

⁷⁴ Perez Alberto, "Russia Competing From Weakness," Winter 2013: 17

⁷⁵ Ibid, 21 and W. Barno, David, Exum Andrew, Irvine Matthew, "Beyond Afghanistan A Regional Security Strategy for South and Central Asia," 2011:16

⁷⁶ Government of United State, Committee on Foreign Relations US Senate, Central Asia and the Transition in Afghanistan, 201, 112th congress 1st Session, Washington, DC: US Government printing press: 1-2

⁷⁷Perez Alberto, "Russia Competing From Weakness," Winter 2013: 19

⁷⁸ AonsoCamren, Boscar Richard, Hagerrats Balder, Perez Alberto, The American Withdrawal, Geopolitical Change in Afghanistan and central Asia after 2014, 2013: 13

⁷⁹ W. Barno, David, Exum Andrew, Irvine Matthew, "Beyond Afghanistan A Regional Security Strategy for South and Central Asia," 2011:16 and BadanskyYossef: 7.

⁸⁰ ShirinAkiner, "Evolution of Kazakhstan's Foreign Policy: 1991-2011," *Cilt :6, Sayı: 12 ss. 1-21, 2011*: 7

⁸¹ Afghanistan, Abdul Kuddus Apr 3, 2014 In World;
<http://www.digitaljournal.com/news/world/op-ed-one-bullet-six-taliban-and-the-future-of-afghanistan/article/379409>, accessed (23 October 2014)

⁸² Jones Ann, (accessed May 15, 2013) and appendix VII,VIII

⁸³ Afghanistan: Withdrawal and a Regional Solution, Centre of Security Studies: March 2012: 3-4

⁸⁴ Frank Shanty, 2012 *The Nexus; International terrorism and Drug Trafficking In Afghanistan*, Pentagon Press, New Delhi; 161-64

⁸⁵ Jeffrey Mankoff, 19-22

Role of USA in cobbling the whole effort together for a regional solution post its withdrawal emerges out to be very important. USA will have to remain engaged not only in Afghanistan but also in Central Asia for sustained peace by helping ensure agreements for intra-regional cooperation and capacity building of the weaker states. If chaos prevails in Afghanistan, the regional and extra regional countries are likely to bear the brunt with severest fall out for immediate neighbours.