

Evaluation of Obama's government's strategy in fighting terrorism in Afghanistan and Pakistan

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Abstract: The purpose of this paper as evident from the title is study and evaluation of strategies by Barack Obama's executive system in fighting terrorism in Afghanistan and Pakistan based on methods of factor modeling and the Copenhagen school of thought. The main question is that what role does the strategy of Obama's government have in fighting terrorism in Afghanistan and Pakistan? The theory presented with this regard is that by avoiding unilateralism and by utilizing a collection of multilateral policies including negotiations with Taliban and inclination for changing the rules of the political game from aggression to compromise with the goal of changing the identity of Taliban and selecting more action oriented strategies by this group, it has played an important role in fighting terrorism in Afghanistan and Pakistan. In regards with methodology based on the quality of the data, this research uses a combination of two methods, quantitative and qualitative approaches and the tool for collecting the data is also based on the method of document and library search and data evaluation is based on the statistical-analytic method. For this purpose, we attempt to design a specific model based on the view points of the Copenhagen school and the method of factor modeling such that the framework of the study becomes reliable, testable, precise, and fine and at the same time strong. The independent variables of the research are America's negotiation with Taliban, increasing economic assistance, use of unattended aerial vehicles, the secret information war, and training of Afghan security forces, endeavor to strengthen the process of nationality building and use of interaction capacity of traditional organizations in stopping aggression and creating peace. The dependent variables of this study are also divided into two groups: A) Improvement in the situation of security in the three countries of Pakistan, Afghanistan and America B) Provision of the national interests of the players.

Key words: National interests; Factor modeling; Copenhagen school; Terrorism; Taliban; Al-Qaeda; Pakistan; Afghanistan; United States of America; Obama's government; Disrupting security

1. Introduction

Since the terrorist act of September 11, 2001, a new order of security has been developing in the world. From the point of view of significance of the aggressive political behaviors that occur at the macro level, the downfall of the World Trade Center towers in New York is not considered just a destructive attack on the country of America. With this attack, the heart of the capitalist system was aimed at. This attack was one in which all optimistic viewpoints of the last decade of the twentieth century, based on change of shape in the system of power to the advantage of America and the Western world was faced with serious challenges. The occurrence of this incidence leads America's security strategies in duty to the world (macro level) and at the level of the region (mid-level) to face major changes. Attacking of the two countries of Afghanistan and Iraq was thought to be the consequence of agreement by republicans who were in charge of the executive system in the United

States. Yet, the major problem began from the first day of occupation. Up to now when a decade has passed since the occupation of Iraq and Afghanistan, still the problem of fundamentalism persists. Even though Osama Bin Ladin, Beit Allah Mahsoud and some of the other senior leaders of Al-Qaeda and Taliban are not in the world anymore or are spending the rest of their life in prison, yet, the big problem still persists. This is due to the sentence "Damn questions" that America tackles with. The answer is in a simple response: only the roots of fundamentalist thinking needs to be desiccated. But how? Attention to the two countries of Afghanistan and Pakistan which are among the main foci of activity of the two groups of Al-Qaeda and Taliban brings a few important points to mind:

A: First is the paradox from which we should not stop thinking of and it is that the rise and continuation of the activity of Taliban and Al-Qaeda has occurred more in countries that traditionally had been considered among America's allies.

B: The other important point is that the lack of presence of a national government in Afghanistan and also its weakness in the country of Pakistan (due

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to presence of tribal structure in these two countries) has led to creation of chaos and has turned these two countries to a heaven for terrorists. Therefore any view point reflecting on the fight with terrorism needs to be on the basis of the nationality creating strategy in these two and other countries which are considered among the shelters for terrorists.

C: In security decisions, the biggest action that can be taken in war against terrorism is not omission of people or groups, but obliteration of thoughts that have formed on the basis of aggression. The first step in this area is recourse to mental and educational domains. What has been neglected in the assistance of the West to these countries?

In selection of this topic of study, the researcher's interest in evaluating the phenomenon of terrorism and following up on the challenges resulting from it has been influential. Yet, the more important reason is that due to the exquisiteness of this issue and deficiency in scientific resources, few researchers have selected this research area and we hope that this paper paves the path for other researchers in the area of national security. With this regard, the main question of this paper forms which are: What are the constituents of the strategies of war against terrorism selected by the government of Obama in Afghanistan and Pakistan? Side questions are as follows:

A: Has the policy of Obama's government regarding avoidance of unilateralism and acquirement of multilateral policies including negotiation with Taliban and increasing the strength of Afghanistan's government had a role in decreasing terrorism in Afghanistan and Pakistan?

B: What role has the policy of Obama's government in increasing military forces and exacerbating attacks on fundamentalist groups had in oppression of Taliban and decreasing terrorism in Afghanistan and Pakistan?

For this purpose, the main hypothesis is that the government of Obama, by avoiding unilateralism and electing a group of multilateral policies including negotiation with Taliban and tendency to change rules of the political game from aggressiveness to compromise with the goal of changing the identity of Taliban and acquiring more action based strategies by this group, has had an important role in fighting with terrorism in Afghanistan and Pakistan.

The minor hypotheses of this study are as follows:

A: Paying attention to understanding the quantitative changes (by using statistical analysis) in constituents related to the dependent variables of the study (security and national interests) shows that Obama's policies have been successful in short term. Yet, in the opinion of experts, this success is not lasting.

B: Obama's government at the same time of increasing military power, exacerbating military attacks and oppressing more radical sections of Taliban has provided for decreased terrorism in Afghanistan and Pakistan.

1.1. Design of the question

The country of America, which in recent decades has consistently been the biggest economic power in the world, became afflicted with a crisis in 2007, the domains of which extended beyond the borders of this country and its side effects continues up to today. In this year, the gross national product of this country was still at its highest level. "The gross national product of this country was close to 16, 633 Trillion dollars. In comparison, 15 countries owning Euro in the European Union (known as the European Region) in total achieved a gross internal product of 14, 45 Trillion dollars in 2007" (New York Time, 14 March, 2008).

Yet, the emergence of this economic crisis with was called the "bubble effect" started from residential markets and found its way to the Wall Street which is heart of the capitalistic system. If we look at the starting point and end of this crisis by the theory of "Butterfly effect," its roots might be searched in the three countries of Pakistan, Afghanistan and Iraq. Extensions of this crisis lead to the biggest economic down fall in America and other countries in the world.

The negative influence of this crisis on the livelihood of citizens of the United States of America on the one hand and increase in American military casualties in Iraq and Afghanistan on the other hand, led to focus of attention towards the security policies of America and the large military budget of this country. The important point is that for performing any designing action in the area of security strategy, first the concept of national interests and its constituents should be considered. In reality, the discussion of national security without consideration of national interests is a meaningless action.

Considering the economic crisis which began from 2007, the need for political and economic revisions at the internal level and on another hand, need for reevaluation of security strategies and foreign policy of unilateralism from the previous period was extremely felt. The program had begun from the time of Obama's election campaign with the slogan of change. Obama's foreign policy in the Middle East on the one hand showed that he was strongly trying dispose of the defeated strategies of Bush the son in the region; yet, on another hand, the main axes of the foreign policy of Obama's government in this region can be considered under the influence of the previous regional challenges such as the process of peace in the Middle East, stability in Iraq, unrest in Afghanistan and Pakistan and the fight against terrorism. One of the consequences of Obama's presence in the White House is the change of Afghanistan's place in America's macro strategy. Barack Obama created two qualitative changes in America's world strategy. First, a definition different from the geography of danger was presented and as a result, Afghanistan as the center of gravity of America's foreign policy replaced Iraq. Next, a definition different from the concept of terrorism was presented and as a result,

war with terrorism was set aside and fighting terrorism, due to having a multilateral quality, entered the jargon in the domain of foreign policy. Based on these two changes in the belly of America's world macro strategy which is based on attention to the danger of terrorism, Barack Obama recognized the anti-rebellion strategy with the leadership of General McChrystal as the best choice in the framework of Afghanistan. Among his first actions in this regard, was sending military force for strengthening the combat and training stamina of soldiers deployed in Afghanistan. This anti rebellion strategy formed on the basis of two elements: on the one hand is its purpose which was creation of stability in Afghanistan by way of help in establishing an efficient, effective government and establishment of development and welfare programs and on the other hand, is prevention of Al-Qaeda's resettlement in Afghanistan by way of Taliban's gaining power. For realization of these two goals, the anti-rebellion strategy has embarked upon increasing American-Western forces, increasing Afghan security forces and establishing an efficient central government free from corruption. In the next stage, the government of America increased its attention to economic help to Afghanistan so that the grounds for departure of American forces were provided. In the framework of this strategy, in the area of agriculture, America helped the government of Afghanistan with more than two milliard and six hundred million dollars in the years 2009 and 2010. Yet, America's approach relative to Afghanistan and at the next stage Pakistan circles around a specific goal and that is fight with terrorism and Al-Qaeda.

1.2. Definitions

1.2.1. Terrorism

Based on the definition of researchers, "terrorism is the threat or practical illegal use of force or aggression by a nongovernmental player for achieving political, social, religious or economic purposes by creating fear and force or intimidating" (umd website: global terrorism database).

With this definition, we can consider terrorism as an aggressive political action of individuals or structured minorities that occurs against individuals, possessions or organizations. The goals of terrorism can be varied: such as achieving independence, ending the established regime, fight against some aspects of the economic policy of a government, and weakening the democratic bases and legitimacy of the governmental system. Motivations that lead to electing terrorism as the method of action are various.

1.2.2. National Interests

The meaning of national interests has close relationship with the definition of national welfare and national security. Yet, unlike the definition of

national security, it has an objective quality. National interests are the guiding light of government's foreign policies. By interpretation of Lord Palmerstone, England's prime minister in 1865: "We do not have an eternal ally, but for us, national interests are an eternal issue and our duty is obeying it" (Seifzadeh, 2003). The appropriate definition and follow up on the constituents of national interests is one of the indices of advancing the level of legitimacy of a country's political system in the thoughts of the nation. After this discussion, national interests can be defined as follows:

"General and eternal goals for which a nation endeavors." According to this definition, national interests is a broad concept which is not just meant as protection of national independence and territorial integrity, but can include a vast array including achieving energy, raw material resources, new technology, economic development, area of pervasion and defending own citizens out of the borders of the country and" (Roshandel, 2011).

1.2.3. Taliban

The name Taliban refers to religious students (Talabeh) and the main members of the Taliban and the central nucleus of leadership included: traditional Islamic leaders of the Pashtoun Southern tribes and Afghan and Pakistani students studying in Sunni Schools in Pakistan.

1.2.4. National security

National security similar to the term security has an abstract definition and understanding it needs the psychological understanding of the concept of security at the individual level. The meaning of the word security may initially be very misleading; because, it resists defining along with other concepts such as peace, justice and pride. Yet, even this abstract definition constantly has great activity in the outer world. Security in negation means running away from fear and in exigency means taking protection from something or some place with or in which a person feels peace of mind. Off course, the meaning of security is used more in an individual or social domain and the term national security is used in the macro domain of politics. Similar to security, national security is also defined in negation and in exigency. In negation, it is a psychological condition which means "freedom from worries" (such as fear or worry of a foreign enemy's attack) and in exigency, it is "being in a kind of psychological comfort" (such as having peace of mind from other countries). With these discussions, national security can be defined as follows: a multi-dimensional viewpoint about protection of national interests from the danger of internal and external threats.

1.3. The Copenhagen School and the problem of security in the region

Many theories have emerged by experts in the area of political science and international relations for understanding problems related to the domain of security. Among modern theories in this area is the Copenhagen school of thought. It is clear that the situation reigning on the atmosphere of international relations after the end of cold war between the Eastern and Western camps required a hypothetical framework to theorize the very complex and perplexing realities of international relations particularly after the period surrounding September 11. The security demanding world atmosphere during this period led the analyzers of the Copenhagen school to enter the realm of research for redefining the concept of security.

The Copenhagen school of thought is supporting a realistic method in theoretical construction of the international system. "The founders of this school, by criticizing what they call a simplistic interpretation of the concept of security, and against the belief of realists about achievement of security by obtaining power or the belief of idealists about provision of security by way of peace, express that at present as the best definition for the concept of security there is need for presentation of a middle view point that contains both concepts of power and peace" (Bouzan, 1999). The important emphasis of the Copenhagen school is on lack of theoretical and practical equalization of security analyses in various regions of the world. The endeavor of the experts of the Copenhagen school is to separate security issues from matters that are merely military related.

The security building discourse and the inter actors and security issues are in close connection with each other. Inter actors that build security by public announcement of a matter transform it into a security issue. Yet, the security process is not an open wide process such that any topic can be a security issue. On the other hand, making an issue security related is not totally mental, but a social trend and a cognitive beginning. Turning a matter into a security issue in addition to requiring observance of writing rules needs its acceptance by the members participating in the relevant discourse as well (Buzanetal, 1998: 32).

1.4. Factor modeling: construction of security and identity security

The relationship between mentalization and the truth, realities and phenomenology, has consistently attracted the interest of world intellectuals. Meanwhile, some worldly modern thoughtfuls have paid attention to the way human wisdom forms regarding his or her living society. The school of factor modeling, by placing humans as the source of cognition searches to discover their cultural and social knowledge and reality. Emphasis of factor modeling is on the thinking of minds, instead of emphasizing separation of the subject from the object (Decartian Thought) and therefore placed in the postmodern thinking arena. A thought that is not founded based on the eternal truth.

Overall, factor modeling introduces new understanding from some basic concepts of international relations such as anarchy and parity of power, relations between identity and the interests of the government, understanding power, dimensions of world policy change and the relation between structure and executer. Its emphasis on subjective ideas and inter cognitive understanding has had a great influence on understanding the role and penetration of ideas and interpretations in the structure of international relations in the recent two decades. The factor modeling research program has its own particular issues which is built upon concepts such as the role of culture and identity in world politics and theorizing politics and internal culture in the theory of international relations (Dannreuther, 2007).

In the view point of factor modelers, unions and coalitions unlike realists form not just based on threats, but based on common values. These organizations are basic reflection of values and play major role in international affairs. National identity helps governments, based on their interpretation of themselves, to define threats to the national security and to attempt mechanisms for forming allies. Governments understand themselves based on their identity, enemies, competitors and their friends and in this process, define and redefine their identity. Based on their expectation from others, they regulate their behavior (Kubalkova, 2001).

Growth, expansion and deepening of processes we know under the title of "world encompassing" also on the one hand led to the imagination of creating an integrated and worldwide identity all across the world and on the other hand, this interpretation by designing interactions between world and regional processes and as a result formation of hybrid identities or a global world became challenged. The discussion of Anthony Giddens about modernity and self-awareness, emphasis of post moderns on "difference," infrastructure disruption from gender identity and attention to reviving nationalism and ethnicity gravitation are signs of the issue of identity in politico-social interactions becoming important in recent decades (Jenkins, 2002).

1.5. Evaluation of the effect of Obama's policies in oppression of taliban and decreasing terrorism

In the area of security, Obama's government took actions to change the strategy of war against terror. The terminal change of war against terror to fight against terror revolutionizes the meaning and conceptual level of strategy. In the military domain, the level of face to face war (from two financial and human angles) which is very costly is changed to use of unattended aerial vehicles or information war and on the other hand, other alternatives such as diplomacy and components are considered. Obama's variables get placed in two modes: negotiation and exigency:

A: Negation Modes: 1-Avoidance of unilateralism
2-Avoidance of preventive war 3-Avoidance of reliance just on military force intervention

B: Exigency Modes: 1-Multi lateralism 2-Emphasis on economic constituents 3-Novel regional capacitating; creation of regional trust and coalition

These constituents are followed objectively by security-information-military organizations that are directly or indirectly involved with war:

1-America's negotiation with Taliban and endeavor to include this group in executive management of Afghanistan's politico-official sectors

2-Increase of economic assistance, building of sub structural facilities, help in improving the economic condition and modernizing the government's official structure

3-Use of unattended aerial vehicles (UAV's) for oppression of fundamentalist forces in Afghanistan and Pakistan particularly in regions where possibility of direct ground attack does not exist

4-Secret information war by organizations such as the CIA

5-Training of Afghan security forces (in the two sections of military and police force)

6-Endeavor to strengthen the national government in Afghanistan by modernizing sub structural organizations

7-Use of traditional organizations' capacity to interact for disruption of aggression and creation of peace (like Loya Jirga)

2. Dependent variables

The security condition in Pakistan, Afghanistan and America is improved by decreasing ideological and military power of the Al-Qaeda and Taliban groups. This dependent variable can be divided into groups by considering quantization of these indices:

A: Decreasing Taliban and Al-Qaeda's military power

in Pakistan and Afghanistan in particular and in the world in general, B: Decreasing terrorist attacks (including suicidal bombs or attacking villages far from the reach of the government), C: Decreasing human losses (including casualties, injured and disabled) at the two levels of the military personnel and citizens, D: Decreasing the number of the war homeless, refugees and grief-stricken.

2.1. Improvement of the security situation in Pakistan, Afghanistan and America

The biggest question that can be presented at this point is that: Has the world become a more secure place after the actions capable of policies of Obama's government?

"Institute of Economy and Peace which has two branches in America and Australia, in its recent report about the index of terrorism, shows that ranked countries, based on the information from the world terrorism base which is located in the University of Maryland many times become places of referral by security researchers. In these searches, military interventions by America are followed as part of the war by the West against Al-Qaeda and researchers can easily become aware of whether the situation has improved or not? The answer to this question can be that even though the "security of America" has improved and terrorist attacks have a down going trend compared to previous years, yet, the biggest world danger is terrorism. This report emphasized that during this period, after September 11, North America has had the least injury from terrorist actions. During the same period, Europeans have been subjected to terrorist attacks 19 times more than Americans" (Opstrup. Etemad Journal website).

2.2. Effects of war on Afghanistan

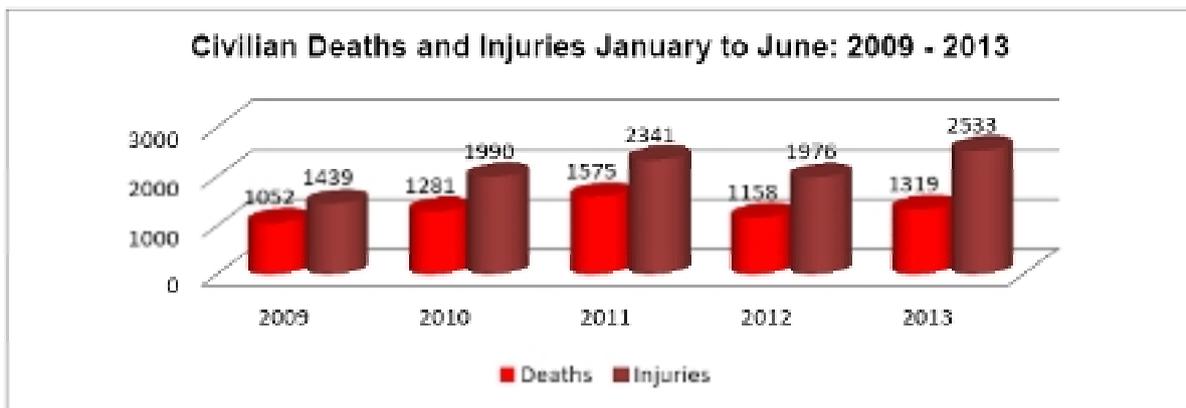


Fig. 1: Citizen Losses (casualties and injured)

This diagram shows that the number of war casualties and injured during the years of Obama's governance have also increased (except for the year 2012).

2.2.1. Homeless Afghans

Since the year 2001, more than 5/7 million homeless Afghans returned to their home. Yet, until

the year 2013, still 2/2 million homeless individuals were in other countries including Pakistan and Iran.

2.2.2. Trade of Narcotic substances

Wide plantation of poppy and its trade occurred after the invasion of Afghanistan by Russia. Many of the crusader groups took advantage of the profit from selling opium for their war expenses and neutralizing the government's control of the country's borders. So was that the plantation and trade of poppy expanded without any obstacle. In 1978, only 200 million tons of opium was produced, while until 1995, its amount increased to 2500 million tons and currently it is the biggest producer of opium in the world. The main reason for planting opium poppy is really "economic hopelessness." Presently, thousands of village families are dependent on poppy for living, although large amounts of money go to merchants.

Opium sold at the plantation site currently has 25 dollars price for every kilogram. When it reaches the borders of Central Asia, it is three thousand dollars

per kilogram and eventually after being turned into heroin; it is sold at a value of 150 thousand dollars per kilogram in the streets of London or New York. Even though after sale of this material in Western cities, a small figure of the product value reaches the farmers, opium is still the most profitable product (in cash equivalent) for many of the farmers. Even sometimes, it is considered the only "cash" equivalent product (Johnson, 37: 1998). During the years 1996-1999, Taliban had control over 96% of poppy plantation and opium production in Afghanistan and opium export was one of the important sources of financial income for Taliban. In 2000, the country of Afghanistan produced 75% of the world's opium on its own. This provided Taliban with near 300 million dollars every year and they used most of this income for buying artillery or performing terrorist activities. Yet, after invasion of Afghanistan by coalition forces, the production of opium decreased. In 2005, Afghanistan produced near 95% of the world opium.

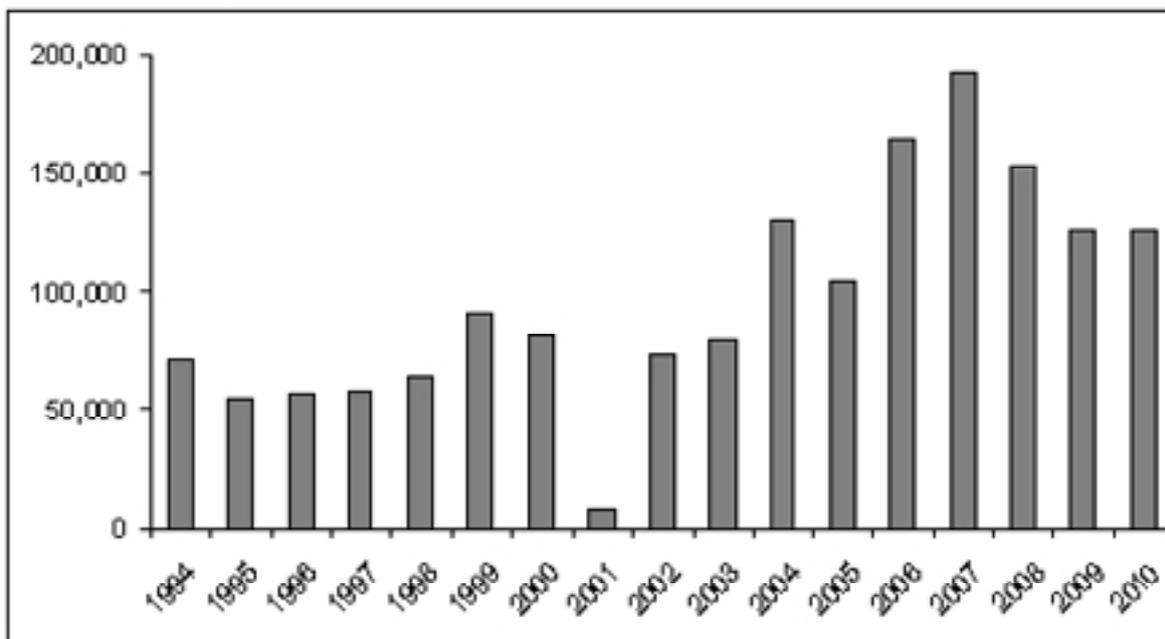


Fig. 2: Thriving opium production since the invasion

2.3. General and military training

In the past year, 8/5 million Afghans attended education classes of which 3/2 million were girls. This statistics in 2001 was 1/2 million individuals of which 500,000 were girls.

In the military domain also in 2005, the country of United States of America has spent near 53 milliard dollars only for development of Afghanistan's 35,200 member security force.

2.3.1. Training of girls

Training girls has consistently been variable in various points of the country. In villages, this

difference in training opportunity for girls and boys has its highest degree. For example in Hezarjat, in the country's center, only 2% of girls received official education. While, for every girl 15 boy students went to school. Yet, in Harat, before the presence of Taliban, 42% of the girls went to school. In Hezarjat, winter is the most appropriate time for education. Due to lack of occupation in plantations, the poorest people are also able to attend classes. As a result, a development agency, using this opportunity, attempted to build a village education program and open village winter schools. Such that girls also attended school classes with the same number as boys and were strongly supported. Yet, in Ghandehar, due to a strong tradition against official

education particularly for girls based on the estimation of the United Nations in 1991, less than 5% of the population who had the age criteria for attending school were able to complete all levels of education and maybe no woman existed among them. The areas of Pashtoun are still not unified- in the province of "khoust," located in Southeastern Afghanistan; another agency implemented an education program in homes. Near one third of its students were girls. When Taliban tried to close down this program, the local community expressed that they are their own people (endemic) and the

schools should continue operating (Johnson 106: 1998).

3. Effect of these policies on Pakistan

During the years 2008 to 2013, almost 4230 people in Pakistan lost their lives because of suicidal bombings and near 6395 individuals were injured. Excessive religious ideology was one of several reasons for suicidal bombings.

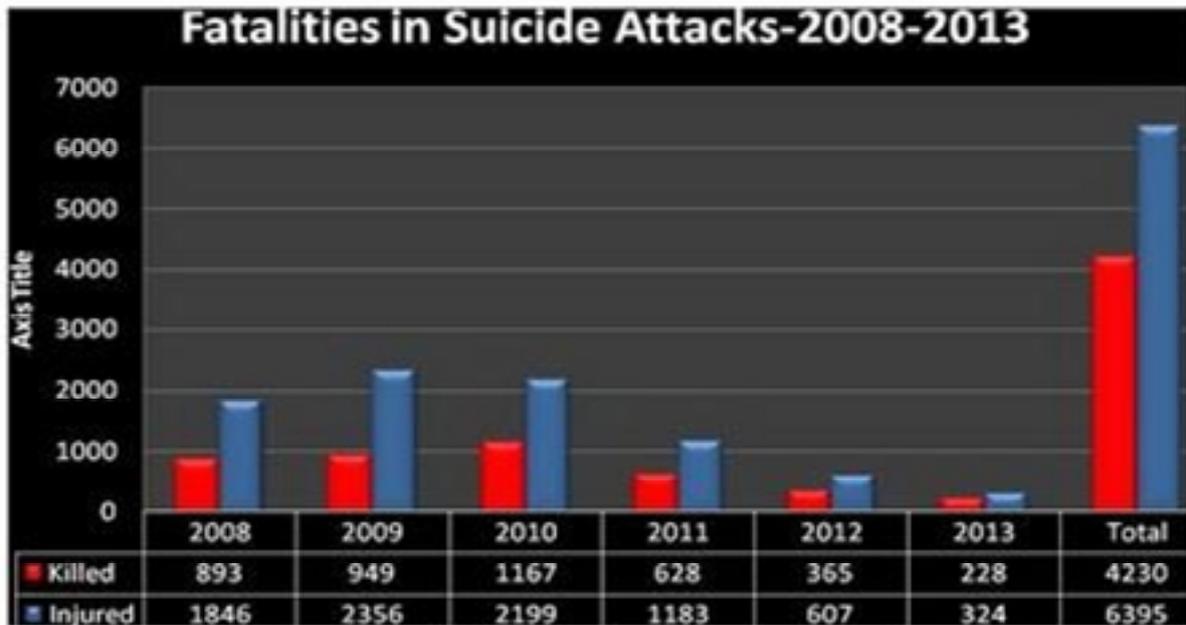


Fig. 3: Suicidal deadly attacks of 2008-2013 in Pakistan (red: casualties and blue: injured)

Sr. No	Year	Civilians	Security Forces Personnel	Terrorists Insurgents	Total
1	2008	2155	654	3906	6715
2	2009	2324	991	8389	11704
3	2010	1796	469	5170	7435
4	2011	2738	765	2800	6303
5	2012	3007	732	2472	6211
6	2013	884	116	539	1539
Total		12,904	3,727	23,276	39,907

Source: <http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/pakistan/database/casualties.htm>

Fig. 4: Statistics of military and non-military casualties

Even though during the years 2008 to 2013, more than 39907 people (including military and nonmilitary) were killed in Pakistan, yet, both of these Tables show that the statistics of terrorist attacks and losses gradually acquired a decreasing trend and in 2013, it reached a considerable minimum. In 2009, during the military activity of Pakistan's military in the Swat valley and tribal regions, the statistics for military and non-military

casualties increased. Yet, in 2010, a better situation governed. In regions such as Baluchistan's Karachi and tribal inhabited areas, the statistic for casualties was very high. Uprooting aggression in these regions needs fundamental and long term solutions. Empowering the military and security forces in these regions is only a short term solution and in the long run, the probability that the number of casualties increases in an escalating fashion is high.

Until the year 2014, 1802 persons from the American forces (including military and CIA forces) were killed in Afghanistan. Based on the report by America's ministry of defense, from the beginning of military action in Afghanistan, 19964 people of America's military personnel were injured in war and one person has also been imprisoned by Taliban since 2009. During the first six years of war, 575

Americans were killed and 3000 people were injured. Yet, in the recent 6 years, their number has doubled and the number of injured has also reached to 15000 individuals

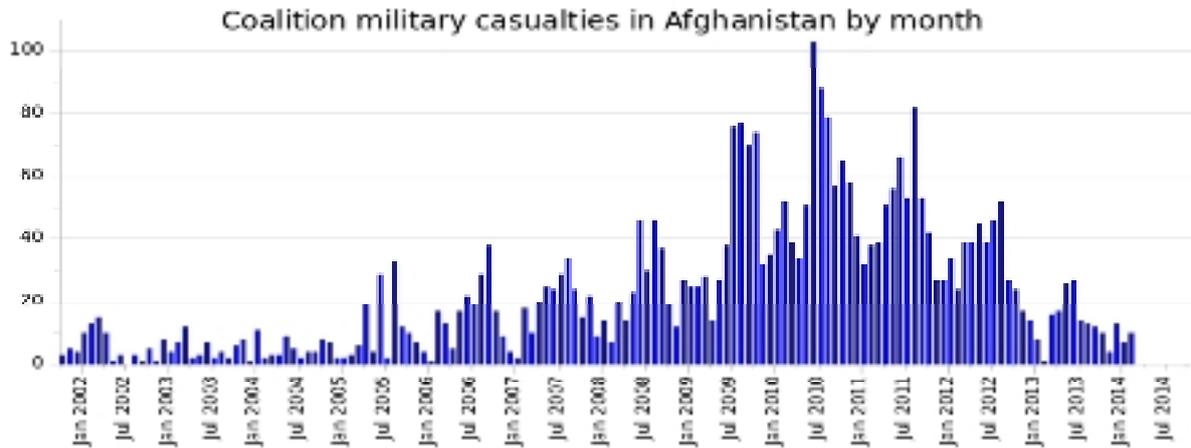


Fig. 5: Coalition force human losses in Afghanistan

Fatalities by Year and Month

Year	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Total
2001	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	3	7
2002	10	1	9	4	1	3	0	1	0	0	0	1	30
2003	4	1	8	2	1	2	1	4	1	3	6	0	33
2004	9	2	3	1	8	4	2	3	4	5	7	1	49
2005	2	1	5	18	4	26	2	15	11	4	2	3	93
2006	1	7	7	1	11	18	9	10	6	10	7	1	88
2007	0	12	3	8	11	12	13	18	8	9	11	6	111
2008	7	1	7	5	16	28	20	22	27	16	1	3	153
2009	14	15	13	6	12	24	44	51	37	59	17	18	310
2010	30	31	24	19	34	60	65	55	42	50	53	33	496
2011	24	18	29	46	35	47	37	70	42	31	18	15	412
2012	26	10	18	34	39	29	41	39	19	17	16	13	301
2013	3	1	15	13	19	17	11	11	8	9	3	10	120
2014	7	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	13

Nationality: Fatality Type:
 Theatre:

Fig. 6: Statistics for American force casualties

4. The consequences of using unattended aerial vehicles (UAV's) as America's solution for decreasing the human and financial costs

These UAV's which are under control of CIA's section for special activities, since 2004 (from the

time of Parviz Mosharaf), have performed extensive attacks in Pakistan's tribal regions which were under Taliban siege. Yet, the use of these UAV's has created numerous altercations both in terms of politics and human rights. Many of the Pakistanis have considered these attacks evident obliteration of Pakistan's National government and non-military

casualties of these attacks (including women and children) have also created numerous reactions from the world human rights' organizations. United States of America has announced that these attacks have been very effective, but continuation of aggression particularly in Pakistan's tribal regions has created doubts about such activities.

Blue: Children Green: Adult civilians Red: Militiamen (terrorist groups such as the Al-Qaeda, Taliban, the Haghani network etc) Yellow: the Injured

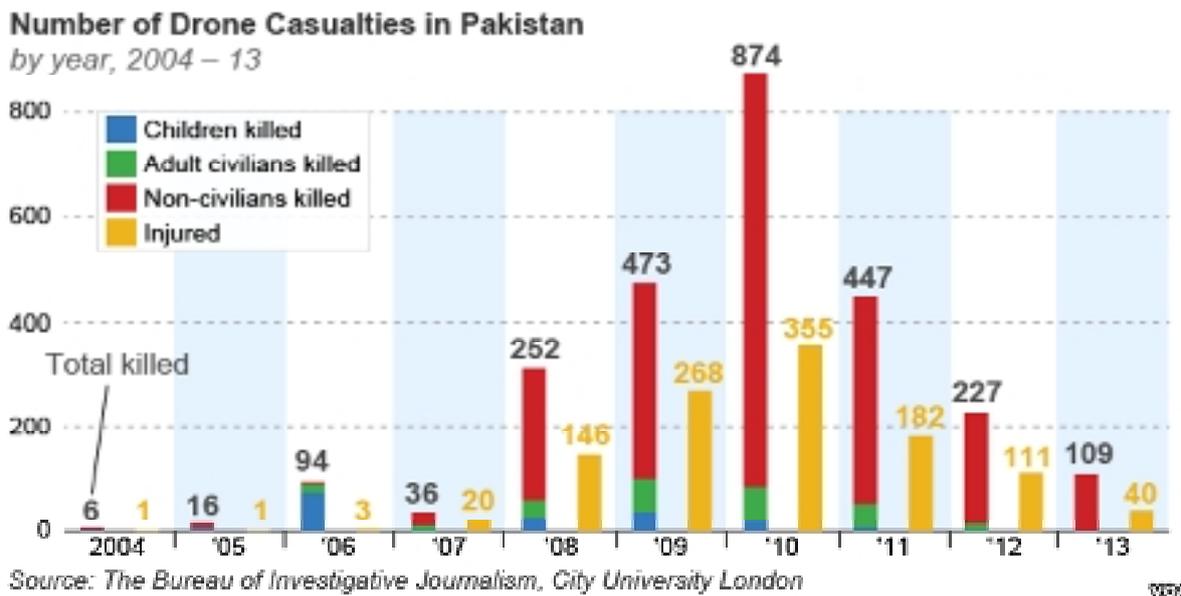


Fig. 7: Human casualties resulting from the use of UAV's

The statistics presented in this section has been taken from information related to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) and the Bureau for Economic Analyses of America.

5. Security and the case of Afghanistan

The experience of departure of American forces showed that the deficiency in power resulted after departure of these forces led to increase in power of Taliban forces and this group has been able to overtake some of the village regions. Many regional researchers believe that after departure of the red military from Afghanistan, Afghanistan's military has had a downfall because financial help by other countries for this military stopped. Downfall of the military led to lack of superior power in this country and a politico-military tribal reigning power that was a construct of the tribal system in the society of Afghanistan to replace the national government. Weakness of the national government created a kind of power parity that will stay for the period Taliban is present.

6. Security and the case of Pakistan

After September 2001, Pakistan, which was one of the old allies of America, became one of the main allies of America in war against terrorism and in so doing; a large amount of military dollars was expended on this country. In 2003, the government of America, instead of the presence of Pakistan in

war against terror, pardoned near one milliard dollars of owes of this country to America and it was decided to increase flow of assistance to this country. The latter led to the dissatisfaction of many Pakistanis. The country of Pakistan regarding tribal identity is similar to Afghanistan and regarding constituents of the national government is similar to the country of Iraq. Yet, it seems that its problems regarding methods of facing challenges are more complex. The government of Pakistan, over the long debate with India over the issue of Kashmir, needs multilateral support from America. Yet, the penetrance of Al-Qaeda and Taliban in this country, even at the macro level of information, has created a difficult path for Pakistani politicians. Until before September 11, Pakistan and Saudi Arabia were considered among key supporters of Taliban. After being unable to convince Taliban in returning Ben Ladin and other members of Al-Qaeda, Pakistan placed a number of its airports and military bases and its other logistic supports in the hands of America. After 2001, Pakistan indicted more than 500 members of Al-Qaeda and turned them in to the United States. Senior officials of the US openly thank Pakistan; yet, in secret do not hide their concerns about Pakistan. Level of initial helps by America to Pakistan from after 2001 reaches near 10 milliard dollars. During the war against terror, Pakistan has lost a large number of its military personnel and citizens. In recent years, Taliban has become powerful again and has performed numerous bombings in this country and even during a period of

time, has taken control of the Swat valley. After Obama came to power, he announced this country's new strategy called Af-pak. This strategy was focused on destruction of safe Al-Qaeda bases in Pakistan and preventing their return to Afghanistan. Despite these heavy costs, the biggest problem of the country of Pakistan is still the same sectarianism. Such a country, whose basis of formation from the first day was religion and tribal-regional identity constituents are still determinants of people's political behavior, can be a heaven for growth of Islamic fundamentalism whose first victims are the citizens of that country. When the three lines of sectarianism, Talibanism and Al-Qaeda unite, they form the triangle of fundamentalism whose inseparable characteristic is blind aggression and terror.

7. Conclusion

Barack Obama, after his election to presidency, placed his strategy based on increasing force, negotiation with Taliban, increasing the capacity of the government in counteracting inefficiency and emphasis on Pakistan's axial role. For this purpose, Obama reevaluated his strategy in December 2010. According to reports, after 7 years passed from the beginning of war against Taliban forces (in years 2001-2009), no progress had been made in the process of achieving peace and security in the world. In this regard, one of the strategies of Obama was negotiation with rebellious forces. The reason for this action, in addition to being an endeavor to create a distance and difference between Taliban and separate the body and middle leaders from this flow's leadership, was also an attempt to separate the two groups of Al-Qaeda and Taliban from each other. Even though the negative result of this strategy was Taliban's tactful retreat towards the south of Afghanistan and even to the region of Pakistan's Baluchistan. With this regard, excessive focus of America on using unattended aerial vehicles in far reach areas by the Pakistani military led to increased anti American sentiments, bilateral distrust, worsening of the economic situation, creation of limitation in the military/information/security dimensions for the United States of America. Furthermore, Pakistan, as one of the constituents of creating Taliban, became forced to tolerate a crisis that it had created itself. The country of Pakistan, whose first building block was not based on social agreement but on religious thinking, found a way based on sectarianism and the Worldly Islamic thinking (people in oppose to nations) prevented the structured formation of the process of nationality building in this country. The country of Pakistan accepted near 3 million Afghan refugees. These refugees created numerous problems for this country. In addition to financial cost, problem of security was the biggest problem that Pakistan had acquired. From the aspect of identity, a bigger problem was to come. Islamic fundamentalism in the country of Pakistan was the

result of combination of the two constituents of endemic/tribal and sectarian/religious identities with each other. "Four major ethnic groups live in the provinces of Pakistan. Punjabis in the province of Punjab, Sendis in the province of Send, Baluches in the province of Baluchistan and Petans or Pashtouns in the northern border province Petans or Pashtouns who live in the north-western border province have a long history. These tribes are of great interest by researchers because they are one of the biggest tribal communities that have remained up to today. These tribes claim to be from mythical ancestors who lived in Afghanistan many years ago. Their most famous tribes are the Afardidis, Mahsouds and Vazirs. Each tribe is identified based on their garments, dialect and traditions. Yet, all obey general common laws named Pakhtoun Vali (Pashtoun Vali) or the method of Petans" (Bashirieh, 2003). Furthermore, religious schools also have a major role in creating the problem of terrorism in Pakistan and Afghanistan.

«Religious leaders in Pakistan are of the two groups of Sunni and Shiite and each have special religious centers (Farzin Nia, 1996).

Regarding the country of Afghanistan also it is important to note that after Taliban reached power in Afghanistan and the formation of Islamic Emirates of Afghanistan, by passage of time, difference between these two groups which before then was similar to fire under ashes suddenly inflamed. In fact, the main

Dream of Al-Qaeda was creation of a world-wide Islamic government. Yet, Taliban faced most of the challenges of combining tribal and Islamic identities in the two countries of Pakistan and Afghanistan (Mojdeh, 2009). In recent years, Taliban's interest in negotiation with the central government in Pakistan and the government of America in Afghanistan (with the help of the governments of Saudi Arabia and Qatar) makes it probable that a moderate outlook might be developing among the Taliban. It appears that some groups of the Taliban have reached the conclusion that for victory and reaching their goal, only using force as a tool might not be responsive. "On the other hand, weakness of the national government and lack of achievement of a paved path for reaching the process of nationality building has created a difficult situation for the society of Afghans" (Mojdeh, 2007). Therefore, based on the situation between the two borders of the triangle (Afghanistan's government and people and Al-Qaeda), maybe the internal war in Afghanistan can be considered a war between tribal identities and language groups with each other.

The combat between United States with terrorist groups is also an identity battle between national and world identities including tribal and religious identities. With this point in mind, the path to reaching victory for the people of Pakistan and Afghanistan is very difficult. The undeniable point is that Obama's strategy, with all its weaknesses and deficiencies, has been able to create positive and

tangible results for these two countries and the people of the world.

The fact that the initial indices of life after war, (in the dimensions of casualties, bodily harm, improvement in the situation of the refugees, attempt to replace plantation of opium with the product of safranin), have improved according to the statistics presented in the previous chapter which shows the success of this strategy. Maybe Obama has well understood the meaning of the message that indices for defining the main victory is not just contained by the circle of just military constituents. As was referred to years ago during the cold war period: "This point is even accepted by generals that no matter how much better our military power is, final victory or loss in fighting communism will be the victory or loss of thoughts"» (Sahafzadeh, 2010).

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