

## IMPERIALISM IN ASIA-PACIFIC: A STUDY OF U.S.-AFGHAN POLICY FROM 1935 TO 2015

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### ABSTRACT

This research examines the trajectory of U.S.-Afghan policy from 1935 to 2015 within the framework of imperialism in the Asia-Pacific region. It delves into the historical, political, and economic dimensions of American intervention and influence in Afghanistan, analyzing how these factors reflect broader patterns of imperialism in Asia-Pacific. The study adopts a critical imperialist perspective, scrutinizing how U.S. policy objectives in Afghanistan have been shaped by strategic interests, including the control of resources, geopolitical positioning, and the assertion of global dominance. The research covers several pivotal periods: the early interactions between the U.S. and Afghanistan during the pre-Cold War era, the influence of Cold War dynamics on American policy, the impact of the Soviet invasion and subsequent U.S. support for Afghan resistance, and the post-9/11 era characterized by military intervention and nation-building efforts. Through a comprehensive review of diplomatic records, policy documents, and scholarly literature, the study assesses the implications of U.S. actions on regional stability, sovereignty, and local governance. By highlighting the continuity and shifts in U.S. policy, the research contributes to a deeper understanding of how imperialist strategies are operationalized in the context of Afghanistan and the broader Asia-Pacific region. It underscores the complex interplay between power, ideology, and geopolitical ambitions, offering insights into the enduring legacy of imperialism in shaping international relations and regional dynamics.

**Keywords:** Imperialism, U.S.-Afghan Policy, Asia-Pacific, Geopolitics, Cold War.

### INTRODUCTION

The United States has played its significant role in different regions of the world as a superpower in the context of the socio-political, economic and military environment according to the emerging geo-strategic and geo-political developments. The United States considered Afghanistan as an elevated factor in its foreign policy concern due to regional and global political order. The United States gave much importance to Afghanistan, because of its strategic significance and location in central Asia linked with China, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Iran, Turkmenistan and Pakistan. On the other side, Afghanistan possesses a precious geo-political place in the course of its history. Afghanistan remained a great course of the invaders starting from Alexander the great to

Genghis khan and it was the center of influence between two rival powers Britain and Russia during 19<sup>th</sup> century who contested with one another in respect to acquire economic and political influence in the region. Great Britain sought to get the idea of expand its economic markets to India in Afghanistan whereas Russia was another competitor to Great Britain to get access up to the warm waters of Indian Ocean through Afghanistan. Thus, Afghanistan emerged as a Buffer zone between Russia and United Kingdom during 19<sup>th</sup> century. The United States cultivated its relations with Afghanistan due to its geo- political and strategic importance in the regional and global perspective. The United States adopted the policy of cooperation and inclusion prior to the World

War II. The United States-Afghanistan relations cannot be observed as deep and long rooted in history. The US-Afghan reciprocal relations had not been of many consequences as the United Kingdom had been playing its role as custodian of Afghan affair. The informal relations between Afghanistan and the United States has been observed since 1933 when the American State department showed its unwillingness to cultivate diplomatic ties with Afghanistan. The reluctant behavior of US State department was expressed as, “we have been naturally conservative on the subject of establishing relations with Afghanistan owing to primitive conditions in the country, lack of capability or the guarantees to the safety of foreigners and absence of any important American interests.” The United States gave its consent to develop diplomatic relations with Afghanistan in 1934 which led to the conclusion of an official agreement between United States and Afghanistan in 1937. The US-Afghan agreement promoted economic cooperation between both the countries. Consequently, the formal diplomatic linkages were started between Washington and Kabul in 1942. The Afghan government had shown its desire to cultivate full fledged diplomatic relations with the United States contrary to develop its ties with Moscow and London. Afghanistan’s major concern was the economic nature as the United States presented concessional offer to Afghanistan for the United States companies to explore oil resources from the soil of Afghanistan. Thus, the Kabul administration acquired American inland exploration company for 75 years to explore oil wealth in Afghanistan, but the company had to give up its worth soon after a year in 1938 due to Afghanistan’s domestic socio-economic conditions and the Russian influence in Afghanistan.

### **The US-Afghan Relations during Zahir Shah Regime 1933-1973**

Zahir shah came into power in Afghanistan in 1933 and introduced the new Afghan foreign policy comprised of the United States as an important financial aid sponsoring State. Zahir shah used latter diplomacy trick to cultivate close and cordial relations with United States during 1933-45. Therefore, a formal diplomatic connection was built between Zahir shah and American President Franklin D Roosevelt which led to the formation of

political and economic interaction between both the States. On Feb7,1951 an agreement was signed between Zahir shah and President Truman in which the United States sanctions \$50,000 loan to Kabul administration .It was the time when Cold war rivalry was just started between America and Russia in which both the super powers were pursuing their respective regional, global, socio, political , economic and strategic interests. Although United States had developed its economic and diplomatic relations with Afghanistan, but on the other side Russia was geographically closer to Afghanistan. United States continued to promote its influence and interests in Afghanistan whereas the Kabul government started to export fruits and skins to the American markets. The United States sustained different economic projects in Afghanistan along with a new role for global peace and democracy for regional and global stability. (Ma’roof, 1990).

### **The Cold War Policy Perspective**

The American role and an interest in Afghanistan was composed and constructed to protect the American oil interests and to promote the private power sectors in Afghanistan. The Washington administration remained consistent to pursue its political, economic and strategic interests in the context of super power rivalry. (Hartman, 2002). The United States policy revolved around the influence and expansion of Soviet Union and to curtail dominance of communist ideology in South and Central Asia. On the other side Moscow was the great supporter to National Liberation Movement (NLM) and socialism in third world States. Thus, the increasing Russian influence in the weaker country like, Afghanistan created serious apprehensions to the policy makers at Washington who were framing the persistent American global supremacy and essential economic development to endure the capitalist’s ideology. The Russian influence and interests were related to consider the intervention in Afghanistan as Hobbesian choice to keep it as the buffer state. (Garthoff, 1994.). During the first phase of Cold war era the United States opposed arming in Afghanistan, but the Washington had to review its policy to provide financial aid, arms and political support to the freedom fighters in Afghanistan after the Russian invasion. During the pre-Russian invasion era the US-Afghan relations was based on

economic modernization and development in Afghanistan, the developments of socio, political links ,interaction between the American mission and the Kabul government in respect to avoid anti-American propaganda in Afghanistan .Despite a wide spread United States economic interests and aid to Afghanistan the mutual relations were running down due to Soviet support for Pashtunistan issue and a huge military assistance to Afghan forces due to Soviet-Afghan demographic interaction. (Poullada, 1981). The United States invested a large amount in Afghanistan to include the Kabul administration in its strategic compulsions to contain the Soviet communism forts and Chinese communism. (Mehtar, 2004). The major objective of American assistance to Afghanistan was the policy of its long-term planning in future through the United States could use Afghanistan as its military base against China and the Soviet Union. On the other side, Soviet Union former gave more time to Afghanistan than United States due to geographical collaboration and geo-strategic compatibility. The Soviet Union focused on its expansionist policy in Afghanistan throughout the first phase of Cold war era. The United States considered different important factors like, Afghan Non alignment policy and the increasing Russian involvement into the socio-political affairs of Afghanistan before December 1979.

### **Soviet invasion in Afghanistan and the United States**

The Relationship between United States and Afghanistan reached at soaring point due to the changing geo-strategic regional and global environment. The United States intelligence agencies collected some information about the Soviet invasion in Afghanistan. The Russian invasion was a territorial breakthrough in the Region of South Asia. Soviet Union articulated its vested interests in Afghanistan like, security, the United States Rapid Deployment Force (RDF) in Indian Ocean, the US-China relations deal of 1978, the non-ratification of Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty-II (SALT-II) by the United States Senate. The development of US perishing and cruise missile in Europe, the success of Iranian revolution, the hope for Marxist regime in Kabul, Afghanistan's geo-strategic significance, warm waters Sea trade, Gulf oil politics, influence in

middle east, Afghan minerals and natural gas were the other major attractions for Russia to invade Afghanistan. Therefore, the Russian military troop's invasion in Afghanistan in December 1979 caused a great concern for the western world especially for the United States. The Washington administration emphasized on the military strength of western countries in the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf oil reserves. The United States developed its Afghan policy in the context of cold War rivalry and the maximum containment of communism. Thomas w Simon then the United States ambassador to Pakistan stated that "His country would not want the Central Asian Republic to become client's States of Russia". (Mateen u din, 2002). Brzeski the advisor of foreign affairs to President Carter stated. "The Soviets have over extended themselves. Afghanistan their Vietnam, bleed them" (Woodward, 1987). The United States decided to contain Soviet threat in South West Asia and Persian Gulf and led to begin new cold war era because the American policy "Détente" was abruptly jolter. (Mehtar, 2004).

### **The US Diplomatic and Military expenditures:**

The Washington administration invested full of its energies to formulate different strategies for the containment and withdrawal of Russian troops from Afghanistan. The United States perceived Russian invasion of Afghanistan as a potential threat to its own interests in the regions of South Asia and the Persian Gulf. The United States President Jimmy Carter stated "Our own nation security was directly threatened. There is no doubt that soviet move in Afghanistan, if done without adverse consequences, would have resulted in the temptation to move again until they reached warm water ports or until they acquired control over a major portion of the world oil supplies. The Soviet Union has altered the strategic situation in that part of the world in a very ominous fashion. It places the Soviet within Aircraft range of vital oil resources of the Persian Gulf. It threatens a strategically located country Pakistan and it enhance the prospects of increase Soviet pressure on Iran and the other nations of the middle east" (Goraya, 2013). President Jimmy Carter declared South East Asia as the "Third Strategic Zone" for the United States and the western world. The Pentagon declared Soviet invasion in Afghanistan as the most serious threat to global peace since the

World War II. President Jimmy Carter gave a warning statement towards Russian aggression in Afghanistan “An attempt by any outside force to get control over the Persian Gulf region will be considered as an assault on the vital interests of the United States; as such an assault will be repelled by means necessary, including military force”. Consequently, Pakistan emerged as the frontline State and received \$625 million US-Aid along with \$430 million assistance for the rehabilitation of Afghan refugees in Pakistan. On the whole the United States considered an observed the different implications of Russian invasion in Afghanistan. The United States administration categorically stated that the Soviet intervention into the territorial jurisdiction of Afghanistan is a huge threat an effort and to get access to Indian Ocean. It is an adventure to create communist involvement in Persian Gulf. Russia has challenged the strategic position of Pakistan in the region. After Soviet invasion the Afghanistan has been tilted to the order of Russia. Furthermore, India had also expressed its reservation about new development in the region related to the United States involvement and China influence especially in the context of China-Pakistan regional coordination. On the other side Russia also gave an obvious alarming to China after its military escalation in the region. The Russian-Afghan invasion accelerated the issues of refugees along with a huge economic and social burden in Pakistan. The United States pointed out security threats to Pakistan with domestic stability factor as Russia started to support separatists inside the Pakistan.

### **The Abrupt and Punitive Response:**

The United States extended the new era of “Détente” and cold war by the beginning of 1980s in the disguise of taking certain harsh decisions an action. American ambassador from Moscow was called back to home along with the suspension of opening of new conciliates in New York and Kiev. The United States government also decided to postpone the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT) process and boycotted Moscow Olympics of 1980. The United States administration increases its defense budget and established Rapid Deployment Force (RDF). An embargo was imposed on the sale of 17million metric tons of food and grain to Russia. The economic sanctions were imposed on Soviet Union. Furthermore, the

United States curtailed Soviet fishing in its water territory. The United States decided to use its military force to protect the vital American interests in the regional and global politics. The United States adopted China card and the third party arrangement to supply weapons to the rebels and freedom fighters in Afghanistan through China.(Loss Angeles Times, 1980, jan23).Thus, the American establishment choose the military, political and economic options as the cold war theater to contain Soviets and to create quite worst situation for them. The United States founded military bases in Kenya, Oman and Somalia to increase its defense capability in the Indian ocean, particularly Diego Garcia base was preferred. Consequently, the civil war was broken out in the country and several hostile activities were promoted. The freedom fighters raised the voice of the withdrawal of Russian troops from the soil of Afghanistan and declared it the national war of Afghan people who were fighting against the Non-Muslims invaders. Thus, the nature of traditional social segmentation was changed into the ideological dimension with a full fledge support of the United States. (Roy, 1991). On the other side almost \$30 million US military assistance was given to different resistance Afghan groups fighting against the Russian troops. (The wall street journal, 1985, April 9). The United States President provided an underground support to different section of Afghan society who was fighting armed war against the Soviet in Afghanistan. (Michel, 2010).

### **The Reagan Regime Afghan Diplomacy:**

The United States-Afghanistan Relations remained quite close and cordial during the era of Ronald Wilson Reagan 1981-89 due to the geo-strategic and geo-political dynamics of regional and global politics. The Washington administration knew that the Russian troops had been caught up under the Gorilla war of the freedom fighters in Afghanistan; therefor it is a right time to introduce an obvious hardline and rhetoric policy towards Afghanistan. The United States again reviewed its foreign policy towards Soviet Union. The Reagan administration focused on the policy of negotiations to pull out the Soviet troops from Afghanistan along with the recognition of Babrak Karmal regime in Kabul. The United States picked up the policy of bleeding the Soviets in Afghanistan. President Reagan



formulated the fundamental principles of Afghan policy comprising the demand for unconditional Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan along with mobilization of world opinion against the Russian invasion in Afghanistan as an aggressor and imperialist State. The Reagan administration put a substantial energy to mobilize United Nations for the repeatedly condemnation of Russian aggression and violence in Afghanistan. Furthermore, the financial and Arms supply assistance policy to the resistance forces fighting in Afghanistan to curtail the Russian was adopted by the United States. (Mehtar, 2004). The United States again continued its military buildup in the Persian Gulf and the Indian ocean following the policy of Rapid Deployment Force (RDF). The Reagan administration also decided to lift sanctions from Pakistan and gave Islamabad much importance in the context of American far-reaching plan to contain the threat of Russian communism. The United States choose Pakistan as an important strategic and frontline State to project its military power in the Region. It was the time when Pakistan was indirectly allowed to get ahead in its nuclear program. The Washington administration was in the favor of supporting the modern groups in Afghanistan rather than to the fundamentalists which were regarded as anti-American. The Reagan government extended a great support in setting up newspaper like, Afghanistan times, Afghan news, soldiers of fortune and radio liberty to launch a persistent anti-communist propaganda in Afghanistan. The United States provided over \$200 million to Afghanistan during fiscal years 1981-84. According to the Reagan doctrine the United States provided \$470 million in 1986, \$639 million in 1987 and \$600 million in 1988. (Lorentz, 1987).

**The Russian Withdrawal and Geneva Accord:**

The United States played an anchor role to conduct a series of dialogue with Soviet Union during 1980s for the withdrawal of Russian troops from Afghanistan. Pakistan performed as a decisive partner of the United States to conclude the Geneva agreement. The four Nations joined efforts to articulate the Geneva accord took 9 years and forty-nine days to pull out the Russian troops from Afghanistan. The United Nations also performed an effective role to resolve the issue of Afghanistan and to make diplomatic consultations among all the

participants States. Consequently, the Geneva agreement was finalized on April 14, 1988 in the presence of the high-profile diplomats of Afghanistan, Pakistan, Russian and the United States. The Geneva Accord was intended to bring peace in Afghanistan and withdrawal of last Russian soldier from the soil of Afghanistan by Feb 15, 1989. (Malik, 2008). The Geneva agreement included different clauses i.e. non-interference and non-intervention between Afghanistan and Pakistan, voluntarily return of Afghan refugees from Pakistan and the arrangement to get Soviet commitment for withdrawal of its troops from Afghanistan. Hence right after the conclusion of Geneva talks the United States confined its role and influence in Afghanistan. The American embassy in Kabul was locked up due to the critical situation of law and order in Afghanistan. The ethnic and political power capturing civil war was started among the seven militant groups led by different war lords.

**Table: US Military & Economic Aid to Afghanistan 1992-2001**

Year	Economic Aid in terms of US \$	Military Aid in terms of US \$	Per Capita Aid in terms of US\$
1992	25.3	6.7	0.27
1993	69.1	0	0.57
1994	63.7	0	0.52
1995	21.5	0	0.17
1996	20.4	0	0.16
1997	52.3	0	0.39
1998	33.2	0.2	0.24
1999	98.7	0.2	0.71
2000	22.4	0	0.16
2001	212.1	0	1.45
Total	618.7	7.1	4.64

**Source:** US Overseas Loans and Grants <http://gbk.eads.usaidallnet.gov/>

**The Post-Soviet withdrawal US Policy Perspective:**

The United States restricted its engagement in Afghanistan after the Russian withdrawal, but Washington kept its eyes on the strategic gas and oil routes to the Central Asian Republics passing through Pakistan and Afghanistan resultantly the power game struggle was started among different

ethnic groups in Afghanistan. Some of the American think tanks thought that the United States had nothing to do in Afghanistan, but a few of them agreed on the American presence in the Region. “The defeat of the Soviet aggression was not completed as long as the political fruit of that aggression still survived”. (Rodman, 1994). The United States decided to cut shot of economic assistance to Afghanistan which lost its significance in the post-Soviet withdrawal era. The American policy towards Afghanistan was consisted of the strategic changes like, the disintegration of the Russian federation, democratic revolutions in the communist countries, the degeneration of iron curtain, emergence of cold war conflicts, the Gulf war of 1991, emergence of unipolar system and the beginning of the new world order. The United States Congress support for Afghan Mujahedeen helped sway the Bush administration to maintain the armed pipeline as was regarded as the anti-communist knights in armor. The United States adopted to track policy towards Afghanistan by the beginning of 1990s which was attributed with search for political solution and military support to Mujahedeen in Afghanistan. The Washington administration

supported Afghan interim government set up to establish a stable responsible and broad-based political system in Afghanistan.(Kux, 2001).

**Emergence of Taliban Regime and the United States:**

The Taliban movement initiated by Afghan Islamic students flashed across the country In 1994. These militants toppled the pro-communist regime of Najeeb. Consequently, the long civil war was broken out in Afghanistan and the Taliban launched a campaign to purify a country to war lords and to impose Islamic Sharia system in Afghanistan. Taliban established their government by the end of 1996 and raised the slogan of Jihad which isolated them from world community. The United States expected to restore interim set up of the representative government by Taliban. (Dobbs, 1996). Taliban captured Mizaar Sharif in May 1997 the northern city of Afghanistan and declared their full control and command over Afghanistan. Pakistan, Saudi Arabia and UAE immediately recognized Taliban government. Whereas the United States showed its consent that Washington would welcome any diplomat of Afghanistan appointed by Taliban in Washington.



Source: <https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/taliban-afghanistan>

The United States considered Taliban ideology quite significant and accepted it due to anti-Russian, anti-Iranian and pro-Pakistani gestures.

Thus, in the light of such stakes involved “It is easy to understand how it became and accepted wisdom in Afghanistan that the United States backed

supported or even finance the Taliban”. (Makenzie, 1998). The United States accepted reinstate peace process in Afghanistan, protection of American interests, to get rid of terrorist training camps, to provide Pakistan-United States ally for Central Asian routes, the return of king Zahir shah, to construct oil and gas pipeline route from Central Asia down through Afghanistan to Pakistan and global market. But when the United States embassies were targeted by the terrorist in Nairobi, Kenya and Tanzania in August 1998 Osama Bin Laden emerged as the headline of the day. The Washington showed its anger and concern and sought extradition of Osama Bin Laden through a secret mediation diplomacy. Even the United States declared “ In the event that Taliban did not lend a hand with dealing these issues, the United States and international community might take turn action against them, Afghanistan could be declared a terrorist State, this might involve missile attacks targeting Taliban’s military assets, Osama and Umer himself could be targeted”.(Judah, 2002). The United States decided to impose economic sanction on Taliban government to teach them a lesson in December 2000. Furthermore, an Air Embargo was put on the Taliban and were given 30 days to close terrorist camp in Afghanistan along with the freezing the assets of Taliban beyond the Afghanistan. The United States also demanded Osama Bin Laden as the culprit of United States Embassies bombing in Africa. The Washington administration targeted Taliban government in the context of drugs production and trafficking as Afghanistan estimated produced 460 metric tons of opium in 1999 along with the largest heroin producer country in the world. (Rashid, 1999).

**The post 9/11 US-Afghanistan policy paradigms:**

The United States abruptly changed its policy from diplomatic and dialogue to harshness, coercion and security operational measures after the incident of 9/11. The American government and think tanks declared Afghanistan’s the safest place for the terrorists, militants and the extremists who carry on their terrorist activities around the world especially make target to American citizens, offices and embassies in different part of the world. After the horrible terrorist’s attack on the United States the Washington administration look forward to introduced new paradigm and swing in its global

policy particularly a major shift was observed in Afghanistan. Now the United States appeared quite concerned and hegemonic related to its national security and protection of American people. (Butt, 2012). The Bush administration declared Afghanistan as an epicenter of the breeding of terrorism. South Asia was also declared a war theater and the term global war against Terror was adopted by the United States. Bush administration modified its previous stance towards Afghanistan and categorically declared that the United States chasing goals of uprooting terrorism in Afghanistan rather than to acquire the oil interests. Similarly, the Bush used the term Rogue States for the countries which were under mining the American and global security. Countries like, Afghanistan, Syria, North Korea, Iran were included in the group and title of Rogue and terrorists States. New Delhi openly welcomed the US policy paradigm shift and Washington tilt towards India in respect of Afghan affairs. President Bush launched Operation Enduring Freedom in order to uproot Taliban and Al-Qaida from Afghanistan. (Gul, 2005). United States once again declared Pakistan as the frontline State in the war against terrorism, because nothing has remained significant for the United States other than War on Terror. President Bush announced to changed immigration rules, induction of new registration policy, the strict detention, a strong and effective surveillance system, Aerial drone warfare technology and increased US-Aid for counter terrorism strategies to crush Al-Qaida and Taliban along with their sanctuaries. The United States provided a great diplomatic support to established political infrastructure in Afghanistan through Bonn Agreement of December 2001. The United States came forward for Afghan rebuilding process through different parameters i.e. stable environment, idea of functional State, institution building engagement of foreign agencies for reconstructions in Afghanistan and the participation of civil society in Afghanistan’s new political setup.(Rais, 2011). Consequently, the first direct democratic election was held in Afghanistan in 2004 which was considered as a landmark in the politics of Afghanistan. The Bonn agreement and Presidential election paved the commencement of parliamentary elections in Afghanistan in September 2005. The results of parliamentary elections could not articulate any clear majority in

the parliament which remained in a split status. (Johnson, 2006).

**The US AF-PAK Strategy 2009:**

Barak Obama was elected as 44<sup>th</sup> President of America in the US Presidential election of 2008. Right after assumption of power the Obama administration showed its commitment to continue the United States strategic priorities and interests through a persistent policy perspective. President Obama decided to appoint Richard Halbrook as the representative for Afghanistan and Pakistan affairs three weeks after taking the oath of United States President. Bruce Riedell was the advisor of Barak Obama on Pak-Afghan affairs. The United States President declared new US-Strategy towards Afghanistan and Pakistan in his very first presidential speech on March 2009 known as “AF-PAK Strategy”. (Ahmed, 2012). President Obama delivered speech as West Point Military Academy to describe the content of US AF-PAK Strategy as following. ‘The foremost duty as the President of United States that lies with me to provide safeguard the people of America’. The US along with its allies and friends, including all those in Pakistan and Afghanistan, is to face a challenge of threat from a common rival, but I want is that our people should be aware that our goals are unambiguous and focused which aim at disrupting, dismantling and defeat in Pakistan and Afghanistan, and to stop their revisit because this is not the American problem rather it is an international security challenge”.(Devine, 2015). President Obama ratified and signed on the US defense act on oct 28,2009 in which the United States decided to recompense the Taliban fighters who denied insurgency and surrendered with armless position. (Markey, 2009).

**The Strategic Dialogues and Partnership 2010-2012:**

Afghanistan, Pakistan and the United States arranged to hold the strategic dialogues on March 25, 2010 in respect to manifest the American strategic interests in Afghanistan and Pakistan. The Tri-Nation dialogues diplomacy included strategic stability, national security, non- proliferation, counter terrorism, cooperation in the fields of trade and economy, science and technology, law an order situation enforcement, water, health, education, communication and public diplomacy. (BBC News, 2010, April 2). President Obama visited Afghanistan on May 2<sup>nd</sup> 2012 and signed a Strategic Partnership Agreement with President Hamid Karzai. The agreement revealed that United States will stay in Afghanistan for ten more years beyond 2014. President Obama throws light on future Afghan-US relations in the perspective of security, governance, reconciliation, rebuilding while talking on US-Afghan strategic partnership during his visit. The Afghan nation building, restoration democracy, defeat and destruction of AL-Qaeda and Taliban, persistent peace and stability with the presence of Americans troops until the complete targets are not achieve will be the future prospects and contents of US policy towards Afghanistan. President Obama revealed to withdrawal American troops from Afghanistan through gradual exit Policy. Thus, the United States decided to found a face-saving exit from Afghanistan aiming with Afghan nation building and peace-making achievements. The United States administration continued its economic assistance to Afghanistan for reconstruction and the development of socio-economic and democratic infrastructure.

**U.S Assistance to Afghanistan by Fiscal Year 2002-2010**  
 (Appropriation/allocations in \$ million)

Fiscal Year	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2002-2010 Total
Economic support Fund (ESF)	117.5	239.3	894.8	1,280.3	473.4	1,210.7	1,399.5	2,048.0	3,346.0	11,009.5
Development Assistance (DA)	18.3	42.5	153.1	169.6	187.0	166.8	149.4	0.4	0.0	887.1
Global Health/Child Survival (GHCS)	7.5	49.7	33.4	38.0	41.5	100.8	63.1	58.2	94.3	486.5



Refugee Accounts	160.5	61.5	63.3	47.1	36.0	53.8	44.3	86.6	50.0	553.3
MRA/ERMAa										
Food Aidb	206	74.5	99.0	96.7	108.3	69.5	219.7	77.5	27.4	978.6
Int'l Disaster Asset (IDA)	197.1	86.7	11.2	4.3	0.0	0.0	17	27.3	2.8	346.4
INCLE (Int'l Narcotics & Law Enforcement)	60.0	0.0	220.0	709.3	232.7	251.7	307.6	484.4	589.0	2,854.3
NADIR (Nonprolif, Anti-Terror, DE-mining)	44.0	34.7	66.9	38.2	18.2	36.6	26.6	48.6	57.8	371.6
Int'l Mil Ed & Training (IMET)	0.2	0.3	0.6	0.8	0.8	1.1	1.6	1.4	1.5	8.3
Foreign Military Financing (FMF)	57.0	191.0	413.7	396.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1,058.5
Otherc	39.8	24.6	41.3	17.8	0.3	1.2	36.0	16.3	3.4	180.7
Total 150 Budget Function	907.9	804.8	1,997.3	2,798.9	1,098.2	1,892.2	2,264.8	2,848.5	4,172.2	18,784.8
DOD-Afghan Security Forces Fund (ASFF)	0.0	0.0	0.0	995.0	1,908.1	7,406.4	2,750.0	5,606.9	9,162.8	27,829.2
DOD-CERP	0.0	0.0	40.0	136.0	215.0	209.0	488.3	550.7	1,000.0	2,639.0
DOD-Counternarcotic	0.0	0.0	71.8	224.5	108.1	291.0	189.6	230.1	310.2	1,425.3
DOD-Other	7.5	165.0	285.0	540.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	997.5
Total 050 Budget Function	7.5	165.0	396.8	1,895.5	2,231.2	7,906.4	3,427.9	6,387.7	10,473.0	32,891.0
DEA Counternarcotic	0.6	2.9	3.7	16.8	23.7	20.4	40.6	18.8	0.0	127.5
Total U.S Assistance	916.0	972.7	2,397.8	4,711.2	3,353.1	9,819.0	5,733.3	9,255.0	14,645.2	51,803.3

**Source:** SIGAR Report to Congress, July 30, 2010; Department of State annual budget presentation documents; and CTS calculations.

### Conclusion

The United States re-articulated its policy towards Afghanistan in the post 9/11 environment after the consideration of its vested interests in the region including the major determinant of the AF-PAK Strategy, Strategic dialogue, power sharing partnership in Afghanistan to maintain peace, stability inside the country. The United States preferred institution building, political socialization of the Afghan people, political participation, media boost, protection of human rights, promotion of voting behavior among the Afghan people, projection of democratic values like, holding of parliament and presidential elections. On the other hand, the military operation strategy continued as the key policy perspective of the United States in Afghanistan. The United States has considered Afghanistan as an elevated factor in its foreign policy concern due to regional and global political order. On the other side

Afghanistan possess a precious geo-strategic place in the course of its history. Afghanistan remained a significant route for the invaders starting from Alexander the great to the modern times. The United States cultivated its relations with Afghanistan due to its geo-strategic and geo-political interests in the regional and global perspective. The United States adopted the policy of cooperation and inclusion prior to Second World War The formal diplomatic relations between United States and Afghanistan were started right after the World War II. The US-Afghan relations remained based on economic diplomacy 1933 to 1973. Whereas Afghanistan became the focal and central determinant in the United States foreign policy right after the Russian invasion in Afghanistan. The United States played a pivotal and decisive role along with an immense diplomatic, political and financial support to pull out the Russian troops from Afghanistan and to

conclude the Geneva settlement in 1988. The United States provided a sufficient economic and military aid to Afghanistan during 1979 to 2001 for reconstruction and infrastructure development. The United States once again adopted harsh policy towards Afghanistan when Taliban established their government in Kabul by the end of 1996 and raised the slogan of jihad which isolated them from world community. The United States decided to impose economic sanctions on Taliban government in the context of drugs trafficking and opium production. The United States also demanded Usama Bin Laden as the culprit of US embassies bombing in Africa. The United States abruptly change its policy towards Afghanistan from dialogue to harshness, coercion and military operational measures after the terrorists' attack of 9/11. The United States declared that Al-Qaeda and Taliban have targeted American citizens, offices and embassies particularly the twin towers and Pentagon in September 2001. The Bush administration declared Afghanistan as an epicenter of the breeding of terrorism. Consequently, the United States declared Afghanistan as the war theater and the term global war against terror was adopted. Since October 2001 to 2013 the United States has led NATO forces fighting the war on terror in Afghanistan. The Aerial drone warfare technology, strict surveillance system, new registration policy, the strict detention and a strong intelligence system was enforced to control and watch the activities of the dissidents. On the other side the United States came forward for Afghan rebuilding process through different measures of institution building, democratic political infrastructure, engagement of the Afghan civilian in the new political set up and the reconstruction of Afghanistan. The United States conducted elections to elect the Afghan parliament and President along with the strategic dialogue partnership to engage the warring factions in the socio-political environment of Afghanistan during 2001 to 2013.

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