

The Constant Changes in US Strategy in Afghanistan: Achievement or Failure

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Abstract

The nations take various strategies in exposure to different developments and phenomena and impact on foreign and internal policies of countries in international scene proportional to their internal and external conditions and rivals and at international arena. What US implemented after September 11 Event and targeted accusation finger toward Taliban and Al-Qaeda in Afghanistan is deemed as a type of strategy that has occurred in created nostalgic climate together with hasty decision making and negligence to domestic issues in Afghan Community while their output was to take different and even paradoxical strategies in this crisis-stricken region since 1980s. In this article that has been written in order to analyze US Post September- 11 Strategies in Afghanistan this basic question will be answered that how changes in US macro policies influenced in orientation of diplomacy of this country and why this country has adapted different policies in occupation of Afghanistan. Afterwards, it is deduced according to the given findings from librarian data collection method that the constant changes in US strategy in Afghanistan were due to overlooking of domestic issues and historic, ethnic, cultural, political, and ideological complexities of this country that has resulted in degradation of US position in world scene and its failure in suppression of Taliban.

This article has been excerpted from my PhD treatise under title of ‘The role of United States in the regional crisis (e.g. Afghan and Iraqi crises) and the rise of revolutionary and radicalism on the emergence of international terrorism’.

Keywords: United States, Afghanistan, strategy, Taliban, Middle East, September 11

1. Introduction

Over the time and based on their acquisitive experiences and potentials and rivals and international position of system the nations may take some measures and orientations that are called strategies. Strategies may also be variously classified from different viewpoints out of which one can refer to macro and micro strategies.

The macro strategy denotes that group of strategies, objectives, principles, ideals, and benefits and orientations which lead a country in domestic extent and beyond it in the world of international relations toward achieving their destinations and interests. With respect to their holistic dimension and internal backgrounds for growth and development of countries and external platforms for advancement of nations these strategies may be changed with difficulty since such a strategy starts by arising from experiences and history of the given country and what it passed there and became objective by entry in post-renaissance and passing through Westphalia Age. Although nations may take some attitudes deliberately and or passively in this trend and these approaches are followed by achievement and or failure, changes may take place with difficulty. In contrast, regarding micro strategy a country may take short-term strategy against a problem and or phenomenon and crisis based on the related temporal and spatial condition and position and versus rival and even change this strategy within different time intervals.

Over the history, the US strategy has been exposed to some adherents and mainly some opposition with respect to all-inclusive predominance of this country in world scene. Supporting from political systems in some

countries by this country and the existing common interest and strategic allies are considered as the reasons for adherents of US macro strategy and in contrast different and contradictory historical background versus others' measures, unequal interests, heterogeneous goals, unequal economy, conflicting strategies, resistance by other nations, claims taken by other countries regarding expansion of global dominance, empowerment of political, economic, military, and legal organizations and institutions and change in attitude of statesmen and politicians toward extent of transition from classic and new colonialism toward postmodern world are deemed as reasons for opposite group against US macro strategy.

Basically, US strategy is not solely embedded in the field of security issues but beyond of which it has been tended to realize 'Security Triangle' composed of 'physical immunity', 'expansion of American world', and 'economic achievement'. Although US strategy was based on governing geopolitical attitude in nineteenth century, there was another strategy and today it seeks for other strategy at age of superiority and we have witnessed explicitly various and even contradictory aspects and dimensions of strategy of this country in theoretical and practical fields. Two choices of isolationism and internationalism indicate two strategic spectra of this country at macro level for more than two past decades. Isolationists believe that the interests should determine obligations that focus attention to inside the country and for this reason the obligations should be oriented domestically but from perspective of internationalists these obligations are determinants for national interests (Daheshyar, 2006).

However, isolationists assume democratic identity as the most appropriate way for realization of American interests since it creates legitimacy; the internationalists highly emphasize on US power enforcement. The isolationists have not rejected display of power in international scene perfectly of it strengthens domestic position provided that it does not undermine domestic liberal political culture while internationalists maintain that democracy may be guaranteed inside the country if it possesses favorable global position and the security designated by US.

The contradictory intellectual school that draw US image as a warrior and combatant and it is deemed as other pillar in US history cycle asks for US exposure to transcontinental world and the Calvinism and biblical task requires an active diplomacy but also it makes the requirements of its international policies as inevitable along with perceiving a mission for world function of that country. This point that the world should be a secure place for democracy (Jamal, 1998: 287) is the pivotal motto for internationalists. As researchers, internationalists believe in a framework called optimal strategy and this means taking both obeying and compulsive policies at the same time. Isolationism is not only considered as sign of US pivotal interests, but also deemed as symbol of strong national idealism and reflection of idealistic perception in international system that looks for modeling inside the country and intercontinental position while internationalism is a sign of national- international interests of this country as well as symbol of world Americanization and reflection of global leadership paradigm and looks for external and transcontinental modeling. Wider obligations, more increased military budget and extensive interventions are assumed as properties of foreign policy in internationalist strategy.

One of the other internationalist aspects is the expansion of American culture where in this way instrumental and justifiable rationality for display American legitimacy may seem important at world level. The fact that American culture and identity possesses such dynamism and generative nature that includes claim for world power and leadership per se where American liberalism is capable for manifestation in all countries in the world; this point that underdeveloped and developing countries should see their remedy in followership to policies of this country and international institutions should from according to American criteria and regulations and US claimed human rights to become epidemic in world and US soft and smart power should be enforced for US hegemony in the world is assumed as American internationalist aspects and objectives.

The subject of terrorism is a danger today that threatens US interests at world level and is assumed as serious threat for US internationalist strategy and in addition to wishes and objectives of other countries that influence them at global level and it has passed from small regional issue into an international subject. Terrorists are different from governments in this point that they lack return address so that no one could campaign against them by isolationist strategy and obstruct their influence and with reliance on power balance policies.

In any case, US national interest are generally based on improving domestic potential of this country, expansion of liberal democracy, and achieving world leadership with respect to two century life period of this country through active presence in world events and crises.

2. US National Security Strategy

US national security strategy is a document that is codified by the executive and sent to the congress in which the foremost concerns for national security in this country have been identified and governmental policies are

defined to fight against these threats. The legal basis of this document has been written in Goldwater- Nichols Act.

One of the methods for campaign against these types of asymmetric threats have been introduced within framework of US National Security Strategy that draws goals and strategies of this country in twenty first century by free trade and market and expansion of development cycle through creation of open and infrastructural democracy climate in Middle East (Poorahmadi, 2005, p. 55).

The US National Security Strategy was published on September 17 2002 following to publication of the first document at 21st century that was prominently focused on subject of preventive defense and it was reflected from American defense policy guidance in US Secretary of Defense in 1992.

With focus on war against terrorism, US National Defense Strategy Document (2005) proposes new challenges US encounters them. The main axis of this document was Bush's mission in fighting against these challenges. Based on this mission, US was tasked to create international peaceful order and security in which the sovereignty of nations to be respected and the most risky terrorist to be alleviated for the sake of world security and freedom (Moshirzadeh, 2013, p. 89).

The 52-page of US National Security Strategy (2010) assume the paramount challenges to which this country was exposed as terrorism, proliferation of nuclear weapons, world economy crisis, climatic changes, way of campaign against opposite nations to US, and threats due to extremism and the organized crimes (US national security strategy, 2010). On the one hand in this document integration of two economic axes and international cooperation and on the other hand paying attention to US military capabilities may draw method of operationalizing these strategies while former government's strategy against terrorism was not embedded in this document. The first axis in US National Security Strategy Document includes these items (US national security strategy, 2010):

Prevention form unilateralism in solving international problems;

Providing and consolidation of US national security through cooperation with its allies as well as focus on expansion of collaboration with newly- emerging powers such as China, India, and Russia;

Necessity for linking among economic and military powers;

Supervision over vicissitudes of democratization trend in other communities instead of democratization by military invasion;

Proposing new subjects such as climatic changes, clean energies, world poverty, and education;

Paying attention to immigration policies to attract the best talents in the world; and

Conversion of preventive war policy into ties and collaborations

The requisite for considering military power has been mentioned at second axis of this document if diplomatic efforts failed. One can acquire various deterrent and initiative axes in a macro impression from Obama's modern national security doctrine. The deterrent axes in the given doctrine are as follows (Gharib, 2011, p. 47):

Avoidance from unilateralism

Avoidance from preventive war

Avoidance from reliance on intervention by military troops

And the initiative axes of his doctrine include:

Multilateralism

Focus on economy

Building of modern regional capacities and potentials

Through pondering carefully in deterrent and initiative axes in the given doctrine it is visible that the deterrent axes require difference and separation from Bush's policies and the initiative (positive) also covers Obama's change plans.

What it infers from Document (2002) since this day and presence of some concepts such as terrorism, Al-Qaida, threat, political hostility, Middle East region, radicalism, spreading nuclear arms, violence to human rights and international security express this point that the path of orientation of this country has been always moved through a balanced trend in diplomacy of that country.

3. US Strategy in Middle East in Modern Era

One can analyze US strategy in Middle East based on change in trends in Middle East to be accompanied with interests and goals of economic and political system. As Bush declared, 'Our long run strategy should be the replacement of political suffocation, dogmatism, and pervasive corruption in the region with freedom, democracy, and welfare. War against terrorism is only a part of this extensive agenda' (Poorahmadi, 2009, p. 67).

US that looks for our total dominance and hegemony in Middle East seeks for spreading of liberal democracy values, security of Israel, guaranteed oil supply, acquisition of wealth and destruction of the existing threats in the region. Of course, among them some paradoxes may also reveal. The US human rights paradox may be exacerbated further when this country follows embargoes, sanctions and challenges, enmity and opposition in its behavior with Islamic Republic of Iran where this in fact implies the method of advancement and slogan and effort of US for spreading democracy. The first method includes military invasion against revolting countries and the second method consists of supporting from non-democratic nations but adherents for US interests and third one is conflict and challenge against Iran (Poorahmadi, 2009, p. 69).

If we suppose that Western vital interests in Middle East and particularly for US are still in force and they have not been yet basically and substantially transformed then we should not expect change in their policies even if a new president comes to power. However, the policies are usually metamorphosed according to systemic, situational, temporal, and spatial changes. The fact is that any change in foreign policy (diplomacy) is subjected to continuity and redefinition of policy and more importantly assessment of the given results from those measures. If diplomacy that US has promised to take in Middle East is implemented on the condition of redefinition of democracy encouragement strategy, reform in social system, and developing free economic system in Middle East then we should witness changes in diplomacy of this country. For this reason, we observe codification of strategy documents by this country within various time intervals.

If some issues such as communism, conflict among Arabs- Israel, and energy were three main effective axes on US strategy in Middle East in the past after September 11 communism was replaced by terrorism rather than remaining of categories of energy and conflict among Arabs- Israel and US started two military and non- military phases by aiming at fighting against terrorism and to create deterrence against terroristic invasions as well to guarantee energy transference trend (Rohani, 2009, p. 10).

Although plan of Great Middle East was proposed for the first time by Collin Paul on September 12 2002 and it was followed by sign of implementation of deep political- social and educational reforms in countries at Middle East with justifying great number of illiterates in this region and low economic production rate per capita, the experts claimed the phenomenon of fundamentalism would be extracted from composition of these two variables (Rohani, 2009, p. 13).

With respect to the aforesaid cases, the strategic goals and the invariable consequence of US in Middle East include these items (Javadi Fathi, 2005, pp. 26-27):

Guarantee energy stream in this region toward the west

Advancement of so-called Middle East Peace Process

Security and guarantee the interests for Israel

Campaign against political Islam under title of fighting against terrorism and fundamentalism

Fighting and at least control of opposite countries to US interest

Spreading of American culture under coverage of creating democracy, free market economy and secularism

Of course, through exertion of tangible changes in the region and unrests in Iraq and expansion of terrorism and emerging of terroristic movements, invasion to Afghanistan and serious presence in Iraq, the effort made for implementation of some of political- economic reforms in the region and especially in influential countries may be assumed as the paramount US strategies in this region (Richard, 2008).

4. The Impact of September Eleven Event on US Strategy

The September Eleven (9/11) Event provided a golden opportunity for US such as building of government in Afghanistan and Iraq, circumvention of Security Council, exit from Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty and operationalizing of Missile defense Shield System, presentation of structural reforms in United Nations within framework of interests and follow-up economic and cultural amendments along with democratization of Middle East are some of the measures taken by US at time when conservationists came to power (Poorahmadi, 2009: 66). Following to September Eleventh Event (2001), US pursued various methods in Middle East. Employing Iron

Fist policy is one of such techniques for advancement and achievement of democracy in countries which are called rebellious nations such as Afghanistan and Iraq (Poorahmadi, 2009, p. 68).

After this event, Bush Jr. President assumed American values exposed to the threats and has followed Wilsonian Boot Policy and imposing democracy to these nations from outside by his remarks and ideological requirements and instructions. Assuming American values as favorite for all peace-seekers in the world, he believes terrorism, mass destruction weapons, and rebellious governments of terrorism are three main threats against American values which are focused in the Middle East and they should be handled and campaign against them before taking measures in this regard: Preemptive operation and brief outlook toward ideas of American neoconservationists identify that they have increased and accelerated their own tension creating paradigms, international crises and in Middle east region (Daheshyar, 2003, pp. 85-88).

5. Obama's Administration Strategy

US presidential elections (2008) were followed by failure for Republicans. One can refer to reason of failure of Republicans in a group of governmental policies of Bush, presence of a type of discriminative policies and pervasive crisis in financial sector and its widespread expansion in other economic sectors. War against terrorism and typically fear government in US and unprecedented destruction of appearance and legitimacy of US measures throughout the world were some of reasons for Bush's failure. Similarly, supporting from rightist – tended policy of Bush's administration and dependent on Reagan's economic guidelines which are based on reduced taxation rates, deregulation, and in one word a micro government in which the wealthy class is mainly beneficiaries for them has created an irresponsible financial system where these developments consequently led to bankruptcy of many American great loaner enterprises and finally decrease in stock value for the leading Wall Street Companies (Motaghi, 2010, p. 124).

A new approach was proposed with US elections (2008) and coming to power by Obama. In Elections (2008) in which the participation of American citizens was unique during four past decades it was increased to 62.6% the ground was prepared to propose various reforms out of which one can refer Tax Increase Act to support from middle and lower classes in American Community in domestic scene and US National Security Document (2010) in the foreign field based on which war against terrorism is no longer proposed at the center of American foreign policy (Motaghi, 2010, p. 124).

Unlike Bush, Obama's diplomacy had extremely tarnished US image aimed at presentation of peaceful attitudes about subject of democracy- seeking and developing of democracy and human rights and it disproved exertion of coercive power for realization of such objectives unlike Bush's policy. On the other hand, it proposed subject of confidence- building that was followed by improving US image before Muslims and third points also concerned with activation of trend for holding Peace Talks in Middle East (Vaezi, 2013, p. 43).

One can imply the basic axes of Obama's administration in Middle East caused by previous regional challenges such as Peace in the Middle East, guarantee for energy transfer, stability in Iraq, Nuclear Issue in Iran, and unrests at Afghanistan and Pakistan, armed competition, and very important topic of terrorism (Motaghi, 2010, p. 133).

Obama's administration was convinced that Bush's policies during eight past years about spreading democracy were one of the most abhorrent and of course most inefficient measures so that attack to Iraq and occupation of this country might not apply as model in any other country with the pretext for presence of mass-destruction weapons and democratization of these nations.

Some politicians compare election of Obama with September-11 Event in which at that period of time idealists, who were satisfied with fast victory in Afghanistan and Iraq, have taken some political radical opposite stances against US hegemony and they did not manage this event well of course.

What Obama expressed as parameter of US diplomacy complies with many strategies presented by Ernest Hass regarding subject of power. Hass believed that power balance might be deemed as essential basis for relations among these countries. Even power equation in relations between conflicting opponents should be based on this equilibrium. He acknowledges that the power balance may be assumed as an adjusted solution among order and anarchy in executive processes of international policy (Motaghi, 2009, p. 15).

Obama tried to put main axis of his policies in some fields that have exercised the maximum geopolitical and strategic conflict. The relevant facts indicate that he has employed defensive idealistic doctrines in this field to control political processes in the Middle East.

Alternately, Obama's diplomacy shows that he resolutely tried to leave away Bush's failed strategies in the region and of course some experts believe that he has adapted the same strategies in new form (Motaghi, 2009, p.

17).

One can refer to foremost concerns of Obama in the Middle East as security related subjects in Iraq, Afghanistan, and Syria. After US military measures giant Taliban in October 2001 and Saddam Hossein in March 2003, trends of crisis and instability indicate that in parallel with making effort to control economic crisis the creation of security will be put at top of measures taken by this country in Middle East so that today subject of Palestine has been put as next priority for this country and two matters of terrorism and Iranian Nuclear File are deemed as the paramount approach for Obama's administration.

Of course after Obama came to power, the region, where Pakistan and Afghanistan were situated, was called the most dangerous world region and making effort to release this region from the existing threats was put on the agenda for Obama. Later in January 2012, the new military strategy of this country under title of 'Defense Strategies Revive' was focused on US military presence in Asia.

Overall, diplomacy of Obama's government may be analyzed according to multilateral models. Among post-behavioral theorists, James Rosenau assumes diplomacy as a dependent variable to five other variables out of which the foremost one is external environment. This environment was transformed by some developments after the post- cold war climate and the marginal actors possessed further importance (Vaezi, 2013, p. 39).

6. US and Subject of Afghanistan

According to statement of Zbigniew Brzezinski, US has played important role in misleading Soviet Union to invade Afghanistan. Based on formal historic narrative, CIA started helping to Mujahidin since 1980. Namely, this even took place after Soviet invasion to Afghanistan on 24th September 1979. But this is fact that Carter signed the first instruction for given clandestine help to opposites of Soviet Regime adherents in Kabul on June 3 1979. 'We wrote a note the same day and explained that in my opinion this help might cause Soviet military intervention. I wrote to President that we had opportunity currently to grant Vietnamese War to USSR.' (Pooralam, 2011, p. 64) Nonetheless, it is known the US tended to ensnare Soviet in quagmire of Afghanistan and it has succeeded in this way as well. On the other hand, subject of Islamic Revolution and making Middle East critical foci from Palestine to Afghanistan was one of the other US goals in Afghanistan where it required creating crisis in this country.

7. Crisis Levels in Afghanistan

The Afghan crisis may be evaluated at three levels: Macro and international level, regional, and domestic level. Three important matters are proposed at macro level: Stability of Afghanistan, security of Afghanistan, and underdevelopment of this country. The political stability in a country is subjected to put pieces of numerous puzzles beside each other. Political adaptation between political forces and drawing political engineering space, acceptance of social- political facts, enhancement of political awareness, emphasis on preparation of stability grounds, and focus on increasing legitimacy of government and similar issues are considered as items of political stability. Regarding security matter, this issue is the consolidation element for a political system. Today, security includes very wide range and military security is perceived in its simplest concept and also development is deemed as the foremost keyword in a country; this issue is also important that how a country moves in development path and how much potentials of a country may lead to contributing to advancement of a country in terms of manpower and hardware facilities.

7.1 International Level

The last decade of cold war and Soviet internal collapse and then emerging New World Order, and creating unipolar system and September-11 events are deemed as some of the foremost reasons for arising of Islamist movements and streams. Empowerment of Gorbachev and his Perestroika and Glasnost reforms did not recover Soviet old wound and despite of satisfaction of many Islamist forces versus Soviet collapse, these combatants saw their own against severe suppression by western regimes and unilateral actions of US later and this led to radicalization of Islamist groups. In fact, to the extent rate of intervention of trans-regional powers and suppression by regimes are increased we will equally witness the progressive trends of extremist hostilities such as Al-Qaida (Hafezian, 2009, p. 72).

US interventions in Lebanon in 1983, in Persian Gulf in 1990-91 and Second War in Somalia in 2002 and in Afghanistan, and the disgrace caused by them have been considered as foremost and most essential factor in increase and exacerbation of extremism and radicalism wave in the region.

Occupation of Iraq and US performance during seizure period has extremely stimulated and influenced Islamist opposition and other forces to the extent that it put Middle East traditional secular leftists beside Islamists who were in diversity with each other for a long time (Fattah & Fierke, 2009).

7.2 Regional Level

Peace between Arab countries and Israeli regime, occurrence of Islamic Revolution (1979) in Iran, and occupation of Afghanistan and Arab developments war are some of reasons to form the Islamism in the region. Occupation of Afghanistan caused emerging of Mujahed forces and was followed by many unwanted consequences for Arab and western regimes and particularly US. Improvement of Islamist wave, encouragement and spreading concepts such as Jihad, fighting against oppression and corruption, and campaign against alien dominance were some of consequences for occupation of Afghanistan. Later, such concepts led to establishment of Al-Qaida and similar groups and organizations that gripped Arab and western countries and excommunicationist and radical Islamists emerged out of their heart.

Three regional rivals emphasized on factors of religion and Islam in 1980s and 1990s. Iraq still assumed its own deserving for leadership in Arab world and for this reason it had invaded Iran while believing the Egypt has committed treason to ideal of Palestinian people by conclusion of Camp David Accords with the Zionists; Saudi Arabia lacks regular and solid potential and army for leadership in Arab world, and even in Persian Gulf Second War (1990-1991), Iraqi president ordered staffs of Baath Party to change slogan 'The Baath Party goes forward' into 'The God-believer goes forward' and to add slogan 'The God is the greatest' (الله اكبر) to flag of this country.

Also Iran that was revived by Islamic Revolution assumed its own as carrier of flag for Islamic world and as deserving for leadership in Muslim world by accusing Arabs in subject of Palestine and dividing Islam into two types of Pure Islam and American Islam; they considered Qom as Vatican for Shiite World and as a result it was tended to mobilize the group of Arab communities based on a motto from Imam Khomeini that we should export our revolution throughout the world.

Due to placement in divine revelation land through calling them as Servants of two Holy Shrines, Riyadh tended to revive special doctrine of Islamism and established several seminaries and religious schools in Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, and Afghanistan etc. for this purpose where out of these schools the extremist Islamist groups were organized and emerged.

The influential factors in growth, extreme action, and potential for mobility of Islamist movements in Middle East should be assessed at three domestic, regional, and international levels. The domestic level may be evaluated in two dimensions: The first one is governmental dimension. The authoritarian Arab leaders encounter problem of lack of legitimacy and by reducing domestic legitimacy of Arab regimes in Middle East and exacerbation of third democratization wave and disobeying of these regimes toward them, using religious legitimacy is deemed as one of the strategies to reduce the pressure resulting from lack of legitimacy of these regimes (Hafezian, 2009, p. 75).

These regimes have tried to separate civil dominance from religious predominance and exploited the ladder of religion for survival and keeping legitimacy for their government in several cases where this trend led to generation and birth of secularist regimes; however, with respect to depth of religion at the heart of these nations, Islamism is still as a dynamic wave inside these communities.

From other perspective i.e. from bottom to top, slogans and plans and quality of mobilization in Islamists are considered as the major reasons for growth and spreading Islamism doctrine. Principally, Islamists are dissatisfied with internal conditions of governments and economic and political and social circumstances of them and secondly they extremely criticize suppression and sycophancy and absolute dependence of these regimes on aliens and assumed the government as responsible for affliction, poverty, failure, and guilty for inefficiency and considered Islam as factor for release from this situation. In fact, Islamism wave and public tendency to it does not meet only a temporary need but it is the product of historic accidents and events. For instance, and according to statistics, out of total 22 member states in Arab Union in 2009, only 7 countries enjoyed relative freedoms but they have experienced 14% unemployment rate.

8. US Strategy in Afghanistan

8.1 Unilateralism Strategy

Before Obama came to power, neoconservationists took unilateralism policy for enforcement of their hegemony in the world and Bush had emphasized on necessity for taking unilateral measures toward international issues alone and or in coalition with US leadership for several times (Mokhtari, 2008, p. 182).

September-11 events put the best and most suitable opportunity at disposal of US politicians and decision-makers to select a part of the existing doctrinal toolbox inside US that might be coordinated with status of distribution of the governing power over unipolar system and thereby to advance their own goals and sources in unilateral form.

Bush's doctrine in US was accompanied with this presupposition that one could create political tranquility with the least effort in the country and it was due to such optimistic view that he overlooked the realities inside the Afghanistan and focused on Iraqi war in spring 2003 (Renshon, 2010, p. 30).

The Bush's optimism in which accordingly he took strategy of his diplomacy in Afghanistan to prioritize military alternatives was not realized according to fast victory of Taliban and Al-Qaida and termination of terrorism and it has so far imposed a lot of costs to involving countries whether military and or non- military expenses (Noor Alivand, 2011, p. 176). The Bush's policy failed against Al-Qaida and Taliban in Afghanistan because of this fact that in this country the Afghan crisis and subject of Taliban were seen only based of security approach and he was less interested to enter in economic, political, cultural, and social fields.

8.2 Attrition-Based Strategy

The attrition- based operation is employed in symmetric battle to demolish physical potential of the opponent to continue war so that the opposite side is gradually degenerated and eventually fails to continue war but the symmetric war that is basically effect-based attrition is utilized to create mental and or cognitive impacts. Perhaps, one may consider primarily the attrition-based operation in Taliban disobedience in delivery of Al-Qaida leaders. On October 7 2001, US implemented the missile and air-borne invasions based on Resolutions Nos. 1368 and 1373 of Security Council and with resorting to principle of legitimate defense listed in Article of the charter. The majority of US military operations were continued by ousting Taliban within framework of two classes of operation (Katzman, 2009, p. 16). Operation of Enduring Freedom (OEF) covered combatant units of US and some of its allies that were mainly stationed in eastern and southern regions of Afghanistan across the borders with Pakistan. One can consider Operations in Anaconda in March 2003 at Shahi Kot region at southeast of Gardez; Mountain Thrust Operation on May 2006 led by British Royal Marines; Operation Harekate Yolo (I & II) in November 2007, Battle of Musa Qala in December 2007 by Afghan forces with patronage of British forces; Operation of Eagle's Summit in August 2008 by NATO troops, Operation of Red Dagger in Helmand region by American and Afghani troops etc. executed in June 2009 within the framework of International Security Assistance Forces (ISAF) that had formed by UN Security Council in December 2001.

8.3 Effect-Based Strategy

Unlike Attrition- Based strategy, Effect-Based Strategy does not tend to attrition and destruction of economic and military infrastructures of target country and during war as well. In fact, the effect-based strategy distinguishes the means from the ends by recognizing the given results and or strategic goals and then employ the needed tools to achieve the results (Takhshid, 2011, p. 22).

On the verge of twenty first century, US was exposed to a new model for power balance that tended more to deterrence than retaliatory measures; namely, they may provide territorial security and their own national interests by on-time stop and prevention from activity of terrorists and inhibiting their supportive governments and convincing terrorists to this point that they could not achieve their objectives. Implementation of such a strategy requires employing deliberately all national powerful tools whether military and non- military to impact on behavior of enemy and changes in them.

US assume creating its own security in establishing security in countries that are places for revolting of elements that could threaten its interests and security. Therefore, this country was inclined to remove platforms for growth and training of terrorism and extremism in Afghanistan by execution of effect- based operation in various military, cultural, economic, and political fields.

US tried by taking this strategy to prevent from returning to terrorism and extremism through empowerment of institutions of this country and to pursue development in structure of its own military troops proportional to time and location in which it was focused more than any other time and further than any other factor in fast function, carefulness, agility, technology, knowledge-basis, flexibility, potential- centrist, Combined joint operation, saving in troops, and also strengthening cooperation with native and local forces.

Battle in Afghanistan was the first scene at which US has practically performed effect-based strategy. Whereas in practical scene the battle is done in effect-based operation in order to attract hearts and minds and rising legitimacy among local people in the region thus all factors and fields should be taken into consideration in this regard.

Rising number of fatalities of coalition troops in Afghanistan and particularly during months of July and August and October 2009 that was followed by the highest statistical numbers during eight past years in Afghanistan war and failure in uprooting of fields for poppy cultivation despite of some relative successes indicated the failure of US in taking this strategy although trend of settlement and disarmament of militia troops and exertion of pressure

on government in fighting against terrorism may be also assumed as signs of US achievement in implementation of effect-based strategy in this country (Takhshid, 2011, p. 36).

8.4 Multilateral Strategy

Under the conditions that US saw its reputation and prestige at risk as consequence of George Bush's unilateral policies and their failure in different fields especially Afghanistan so that resorting to multilateral strategy was deemed as a type requisite for recovery of American image in the world (Noor Alivand, 2011, p. 176). The US failure in Iraq and its regional consequences caused offensive and unilateral policy of this country was subjected to changes in the region. One can justify the effort of this country by involvement of military troops from other countries and especially NATO in Iraq and resorting to UN for further intervention in Iraq accordingly (Haji Yousefi, 2003, p. 16).

The preventive invasion occurred in Iraq while US had no permission from Security Council for attack and it was criticized by many governments and international organizations. The offensive and war-like unilateralism of US led to ignoring the role of UN as well as opposition to world public opinion and also lack of further accompaniment of big powers with US in war against Iraq; however, neoliberal institutionalists did not accept such stances and assumed US diplomacy in classic and old idealist form that overlooked international organizations and this tendency was visible in US diplomacy (Moshirzadeh, 2004, p. 848).

Multilateralism may be defined as diplomatic strategies and coordinated measures taken by a few countries supported by international regimes using the already accepted rules as well as instructions to achieve harmonic policies (Drezner, 2008, p. 194). The multilateralism includes interaction between two or more actors voluntarily through international established collaborations by means of common norms and principles through enforcement of identical rules for all actors (Bouchard, 2010, p. 22). The US multilateralism logic has formed based on policies of Obama's administration accordingly (Callahan, 2008, p. 172).

- US national security is not solely of military type but it comprises of protection from US against lateral risks due to mutual dependency.
- US national security is only strengthened through world multilateral collaborations.
- The world cooperation requires efficient international institutions.
- Power is interwoven in various subjects requires different sources, actors, and hierarchies. Military power has limited efficiency and creates resistance.
- US possess role of legitimate leadership in the world, but such leadership should be implemented without hegemony.
- US are exposed to a type of ethical obligation to solve world problems.

The multilateralism may be efficient when European great investment is accompanied with US soft power in terms of hard power and further commitment and this is the same smart power Joseph Nye believes that creating coalition is deemed ad key element for smart power in order to use advantages of cooperation and interaction.

Nevertheless, as Obama came to power and the attitude was changed toward world issues, the necessity was proposed for determination of new policies and strategies by US and European Union (EU) to solve problem of Afghanistan (Noor Alivand, 2011, p. 182). Change in strategy of US administration was coordinated with presence of Obama in White House in parallel with European countries. Rather than going farther than unilateralism and resorting to military force, Obama tried to employ strong civilian troop in Afghanistan as well and to consider issues such as economic development, institutionalization, rule of law, spreading national reconciliation, presentation of basic services to the people, training and equipping of police force, restriction of poppy cultivation, resolving and or at least reduction of regional tensions, uprooting terrorism, paying attention to domestic facts in Afghan community, and creation of employment etc.

The multilateralism has been exposed to some achievements in Afghanistan war. One of these achievements was approaching US and European attitudes regarding problem of Afghanistan through paying more attention to infrastructures and infrastructural activities such as creation of stability and rule of law etc. Similarly, multilateralism caused both sides to reduce level of their mutual expectations to some extent so that to provide further continuous cooperation.

Nonetheless, advancement of multilateralism has been exposed to some challenges; divergent interests, different economic benefits and pressures of internal opinions, and creating coordination between policies in two sides of Atlantic Ocean have complicated this trend. The fact is that Europeans oppose to increase defensive and military participation costs in war coalition. The European leaders did not protest against the war originally but they

lacked the needed sources to increase their presence noticeably in Afghanistan.

On the other hand, opposition of public opinion to militaristic presence in Afghanistan created uneven path for multilateralism; however, it should be forgotten that multilateralism model in Afghan war signifies superiority of this model to Iraqi war.

8.5 Strategy for Disarmament of Opposites

In the course of strengthening of federal government, US disarmed militias and led them toward political campaigns and since July 2003 it implemented disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration of militias under leadership of UN officers in Afghanistan (UNAMA). Then since 11th June 2005, it executed plan for disbandment of illegal groups of course it did not relatively succeeded. Likewise, later it proposed program for strengthening peace and reconciliation in order to support from moderate Taliban but it was not so successful in that program as well.

8.6 Strategy to Increase Troops

Through replacement of General McCrystal with General McKiernan US changed strategy in this country. By preparation of a report on August 30 2009, McCrystal declared that the status of stability is worrisome and serious in Afghanistan and acknowledged the circumstances are exacerbated further in this country every day. At the same time, he has assumed success as attainable and considered it as subject to change in strategy and increase in troops (McCrystal, 2009, p. 18).

compared to Bush's administration, by presentation of this report to Obama has paid more attention to civilian parts of battle and extremism in new strategy and in this course he has allocated further financial sources for economic development, strengthening ruling at local levels in order to attract more leaders of tribes and groups, improvement and spreading Afghan security forces, support and patronage of federal government in dialogue with leaders of Taliban and leading them toward political campaigns.

In order to assume responsibility for security and combating tasks by militias in his modern strategy, Obama's administration has emphasized on strengthening and developing Afghan security forces thereby to empower and improve efficiency of Afghan security forces and national army and police; to reduce range of NATO and US operations, and in this regard it dispatched 4 thousand mentors to this country. US allocated some sources to training and education of police forces in this country within framework of the focused district development program so that to be able to succeed in the course of its strategy. Likewise, after receiving report from McCrystal and a lot of consultations rather than agreement for dispatching 30 thousand troops in December 2009, Obama's government established Joint Effect Coordination Board under commandment of director of the combined joint staff in order to coordinate and integrate these operation and to create synergy in their effects that aimed at execution of lethal and non-lethal (military and civilian) operations.

8.7 Culture-Based Strategy

In another approach to increase legitimacy for presence of American military men in Afghanistan, Obama's administration emphasized on requisite for change in operational culture of ISAF troops toward focus on supporting from Afghan people, recognition of their environment, and communication with them and established two new battalions in pentagon structure at operational stage in Afghanistan. Afghan and Pakistan Hands Program is deemed as alternative for strategic influence program to ensure from progress in achieving of US goals in Afghanistan and Pakistan in order to implement Operation of Enduring Freedom (OEF) better, training, education and management of troops and one of these two battalions and also the other battalion under title of new intelligence center was established in order to acquire comprehensive information about conditions and religious, political, tribal dynamisms in Afghanistan for American troops.

8.8 Strategy for Empowerment of Afghani Governance

If we agree civil wars in Afghanistan were the battles for acquiring 'Hearts and Minds' to attract and absorb new forces, US government also cut financial sources for Taliban in order to remove this extremism platform following to uprooting of insecurity. With respect to 80% dependency of Afghan people on agriculture and cultivation of 82% of total poppy crop of the world in this country, US grant financial aid to the Afghan states that have stopped poppy cultivation within framework of Good Performance Fund and also Afghanistan government contributed to the farmers who might lost for this reason by execution of program of Social Safety Net and public health. Likewise, through cooperation between two countries, Anti-Drug Program was implemented under title of Drug Enforcement Agent plan to identify drug traffickers.

Similarly, US proposed a bill to the congress for empowerment and efficiency of federal government in

Afghanistan in parallel with cleaning of public institutions from wide financial corruptions titled 'Criterion' in which it has analyzed the amount of effort made by Karzai's government in fighting against administrative corruption and assumed giving economic aids subjected to doing their tasks. Of course, institutionalization and establishment of broad-based and strong government is considered as US first measures in this country. What it occurred in International Summit in Bonn in which the political structure of Afghan community was designed in such a way that to be followed by satisfaction of all tribes and groups in this country. Power was transferred from Burhanuddin Rabbani to Hamid Karzai and he won in presidential elections of this country on October 9 2005; however, the elections was led to instability because of his law-breakings and his abuse of public properties and institutes to the extent that it was stipulated the elections to continue in second round after numerous pressures in order to compete with Abdullah Abdollah but he gave up elections.

After being aware of realities in tribal and ethnic community in Afghanistan, US administration tried to appoint independent board of directors for local ruling by international development of local governance to revive structure of traditional and local government in order to start building an organized process for implementation of meritocracy throughout various states and localities. Then it established Community Development Council for the sake of making decision about social development projects (Katzman, 2009: 25-27).

8.9 AF-PAK Strategy

What Obama proposed under title of AF-PAK strategy on March 27 2009 was that despite of passing 7 years since date of US and NATO presence in Afghanistan, no remarkable achievement resulted in establishment of peace and stability in this unlucky country and inversely Taliban became stronger and more powerful more than ever (Shafiye, 2010: 140). US that noticed it was going to fail in Afghanistan declared new AF-PAK strategy in Afghanistan on March 27 2009. Based on this strategy:

- The main problem occurs in land of Pakistan therefore Al-Qaida and its affiliated network should be eliminated in Pakistan.
- US military forces and coalition troops should be strengthened and fresh troops should be dispatched to Afghanistan. In this regard, 17 thousand new military troops and 4'000 forces were designated for military trainings.
- The number of needed troops for Afghanistan army and number of police forces were increased to 134'000 and 82'000 respectively.
- It was tried to separate adaptive and moderate Taliban from radical forces.
- The political mechanisms and contribution to strengthening of civil institutions should be improved in Afghanistan.
- The governmental reforms and fighting against corruption in government should be prioritized among these measures.
- It was emphasized in regional collaborations and attraction for cooperation with regional states for stability of afghan circumstances.

With respect to the structure formed in Bonn Summit and the presence of combined forces of north coalition and nationalists called Rome Movement and a smaller group under title of Cyprus Movement all three groups took rigid stance versus Pakistan and long-standing disputes among two countries in numerous cases, US had to plan for suppression of terrorism and stabilization of security. In this course, it proposed three general plans for suppression of Taliban and Al-Qaida (Mousavi, 2009, p. 107):

- Increase annual aids to Pakistan and cancellation of the exerted sanctions against this country because of nuclear tests in Pakistan
- Compelling Afghanistan new ruling government to improve relations with Pakistan
- Participation of Pakistan adherent forces in power structure at Afghanistan

With respect to the implemented AF-PAK strategy and campaign against phenomenon of radicalism, achievement of this strategy required paying attention to this point that to consider all efficient factors in creating terrorism, how terroristic groups emerge, and the governing climate over Afghan community, and role of Pakistan in formulation of strategies.

9. Conclusion

The hegemony was the prevailing strategy in US diplomacy after World War II. The logic of hegemony that stems from concept of hegemonic stability asks US as the most powerful country in the world to assume global

leadership with respect to necessity of efficient performance on international vital systems and to keep superiority of its power to do this task. From this perspective, efficient performance of international systems is essential for US national interests (Gilpin, 1975, pp. 20-44).

After the end of World War II, hegemonic strategy emphasized on strategy to obstruct influence as the basis of US diplomacy during cold war period. This strategy caused hegemony of US foreign policy to endure through influence blocking policy. This strategy kept its position in all US administrations and exerted serious influence in the governing paradigm over George Bush's administration that proposed American New Century plan (Iraqchi, 2012, p. 42).

Over a half century ago the basis of US strategy in Middle East Region was always one of the paramount influential elements in dynamisms, processes, and development trend at this region. In particular September-11 events were deemed as unique opportunities for US and especially neoconservationists who came to power in Bush's administration to change their direction by proposing of other perceivable alien subject such as terrorism, fundamentalism, and risk of access of terrorists and fundamentalists to mass-destruction weapons from limited offensive interventionist phase to unlimited offensive intervention and to prepare the grounds for developing US hegemony (Asadi, 2013, p. 188).

When Bush lectured about democracy in 2000 and expressed pioneer strategy for furtherance of democracy for Middle East as well as 'World Democratic Revolution' in fact he spoke based on idealist neoconservationists' attitudes; but realistic neoconservationists preferred democracy not based on philanthropy but according advancement of US national interests and they might even accept to be in alliance with dictators temporarily since they argue that this trend will be continue to work with dictators in making effort to fight against world greater risk for freedom (Zahrani, 2004, p. 489).

In fact, a modern phase started in US policy for Middle East by occurrence of September-11 event in 2001 that included two important aspects:

First was attempt to weaken and or if it is possible to change regimes in opposite countries such as Iraq and Iran and second was to follow-up gradual controlled reformation policy in friend and traditional strategic allied countries but authoritarian nations for this country (Vaezi, 2013, p. 37).

With acceptance of doctrine of neoconservationists based on which today world is a world that could be defined due to exposure of civilizations after September-11 event, Bush's administration started waging all-inclusive war with terrorism. Principally, attack to terrorism needed to a world turning point or thesis so that Al-Qaida provided this tool for US. Al-Qaida that was introduced as symbol of terrorism and fundamentalism among western people was a venomous virus for which US played role in creating this group for more than one decade (Pooralam, 2011, p. 8). In another scenario in 2002, Bush called Iraq, North Korea, and Iran as Axel of Evil in his annual speech and accused Iran that this country intended to put these weapons at disposal of terroristic group in addition to attempt for acquisition to mass-destruction arms as well.

Just a year after September-11 event, Bush's strategy regarding necessity for preventive war led to issuance of an official statement titled 'US national security strategy' by White House that was a paraphrase from two American documents i.e. 'American Defense Planning Guidance' and 'New Century Project'. As a result, US entered in battle field in Afghanistan in which it encountered new dimensions and viewpoints of this problem every day. Taking different strategies in two administrations of Bush and Obama are deemed as strong signs for failure of these strategies for this country and an exemplar lesson for the world people.

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