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Topic

AFGHANISTAN COMPLEX SITUATION AND ITS
IMPLICATIONS ON PAKISTAN

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Abstract

Afghanistan is a landlocked country that is located approximately in the center of Asia. It is bordered by Pakistan in the south and east. Since the late 1970s Afghanistan has suffered brutal civil war in addition to foreign interventions in the form of the 1979 Soviet invasion and the 2001 U.S. invasion. The strategic interests of the great powers of the day in Afghanistan pitched against the potential threat of terrorism, religious extremism, smuggling and drug trafficking substantiates the assertion that Afghan security situation has the potential to generate effects far beyond its borders.

Historically Pak-Afghan relations have been never been smooth. There is no country that wants peace and stability in Afghanistan more than Pakistan, and no country stood to suffer more from instability in Afghanistan more than Pakistan. Pakistan's geo-strategic interests require the re-establishment of a peaceful, stable and friendly Afghanistan. Unstable Afghanistan is the security threat for Pakistan.

TABLE OF CONTENT

Introduction-----	
Aim-----	
Theoretical discussion/framework -----	
Methodology Design-----	

Chapter 1

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE AND EVENTS LEADING TO US LED INVASION IN AFGHANISTAN

General-----	
Geography-----	
Fact File-----	
Post Soviet Withdrawal Time-----	
Taliban -----	
Post 9/11 Developments-----	

Chapter – 2

INTERESTS OF EXTERNAL PLAYERS IN AFGHANISTAN AND THREATS FOR PAKISTAN

America -----	
Russia-----	
Chain-----	
India-----	
Iran-----	

Chapter-3

PAKISTAN AND AFGHANISTAN RELATION

Pakistan's Stakes in Afghanistan-----

An Overview of Pakistan's Foreign Policy towards Afghanistan from 1947 - 2008 --

Shaping of Pakistan's Policy towards Afghanistan-----

Foreign Policy from 1947 – 1979-----

Pakistan's Foreign Policy during Soviet Occupation-----

Pakistan's Foreign Policy up to 11 September 2001-----

Areas of Friction with Afghanistan-----

Areas of Convergence-----

Chapter 4

IMPLICATIONS

Time of soviet invasion-----

Post soviet withdrawal time-----

United States invasion in Afghanistan-----

CONCLUSION-----

BIBLIOGRAPHY-----

Introduction

Afghan history is full with fighting, foreign interventions and perpetual instability. Its geo- strategic location coupled with her economic dependence on others made it susceptible to foreign influences and interventions during various periods of history. The region in which Afghanistan is located provides a snapshot of the main 21st century threats which afflicts the global community as a whole. Political and military compulsions demanded creation of a buffer state between British India and Russia, two giant powers in Asia. United States, the new global power did not nurture any design on Afghanistan. The changed geo-political realities ended Afghanistan's buffer status and hence relevance to the international community. It was only when USSR, after consolidating in Eastern Europe started expanding towards south that it evoked half hearted interest of US in Afghanistan. The US and its proxy alliance continued support in one form or the other to various armed factions after the Geneva accord of April 1988. As the Kabul regime weakened, external powers got tempted to join internal Afghan factions, peripheral forces emerged stronger, resulting in rise of suppressed ethnic/tribal animosities.

Soviet invasion and the presence of the US today on the Afghan soil point towards continuation of the conflict with different players in different times. The strategic interests of the great powers of the day in Afghanistan pitched against the potential threat of terrorism, religious extremism, smuggling and drug trafficking substantiates the assertion that Afghan security situation has the potential to generate effects far beyond its borders.

Historically Pak-Afghan relations have been never been smooth and had the element of recurring mutual suspicion. There is no country that wants peace and stability in Afghanistan more than Pakistan, and no country stood to suffer more from instability in Afghanistan more than Pakistan. The deep historical, ethnic, religious and sectarian affinities with Pakhtoons in Afghanistan and more so the presence of Afghan refugees inside Pakistan has a direct impact and repercussions for Pakistan due to prevailing

internal instability in the country. Ever since, the cornerstones of Pakistan's policy towards Afghanistan have been the end of Afghan Civil war, restoration of a permanent peace, establishment of a multi-ethnic, broad-based government, and the repatriation of Afghan refugees.

Pakistan has suffered from the killing of noncombatants by both state and non-state actors with the latter group often based both inside and outside the present-day country. Currently however, the biggest threat to the state and citizens of Pakistan emanates killing civilians and policemen to achieve their political and religious ends, origination of which can be attributed to General Zia ul-Haq's controversial "Islamization" policies, the president of the country in the 1980s. His tenure saw Pakistan's exceeding involvement in Soviet-Afghan War, which led to greater influx of ideologically driven Afghans in the tribal areas and the explosion of Kalashnikov and drugs culture. The state and its intelligence agency Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) in alliance with the United States and Central Intelligence Agency(CIA) encouraged the Mujahideen to fight the proxy war against the Soviet Union, most of which were never disarmed after the war and started civil war. Taliban (formal Mujahideen group) made government in Afghanistan. In October 2001, US invasion, thousands of Taliban fighters and virtually the entire intact Taliban senior leadership shura (religious council) had found sanctuary in Pakistan's federally administered tribal area (FATA) at the center of the border, as well as in parts of the Pakistani province of Baluchistan to the west and the north west frontier province (NWFP) to the east and south. Taliban and other religion extremist elements are operating on both sides in Pakistan and Afghanistan. Taliban and extremist elements are killed thousands of civilians and policemen indifferent area of Pakistan. From the summer of 2007 to late 2008, more than 1,500 people were killed in suicide and other attacks on civilians. Taliban and extremist elements create security threat for Pakistan.

Aim

The aim of this thesis to high lights the Afghanistan complex situation and its implications on Pakistan. Though out the history, Afghanistan complex situation and weak government create a security threat for Pakistan. Since the late 1970s Afghanistan

had suffered brutal civil war in addition to foreign interventions in the form of the 1979 Soviet invasion and the 2001 U.S. invasion. Pakistan is significantly and directly affected by the foreign invasion in Afghanistan. Pakistan is facing a variety of security threats; an internal threat, an Indian threat, and the threat from Afghanistan. In order to comprehend Pakistan's security dilemma, it is necessary to start our discussion with analyze the Afghanistan geographically importance, foreign intervention in Afghanistan, pak-afghan relation, Pakistan's foreign policies towards Afghanistan, the resistance movement and refugee problems, and then evaluate the security situation. Admittedly, the India factor cannot be ignored in studying Pakistan's security dilemma.

Research questions

The research questions are; why unstable Afghanistan is a security threat for Pakistan. What are the Pakistan's foreign policies towards Afghanistan?

Theoretical perspective:

Security dilemma is a term used in IR and refers to a situation wherein two or more states are drawn into conflict, possibly even war, over security concerns, even though none of the states actually desire conflict. Essentially, the security dilemma occurs when two or more states each feel insecure in relation to other states. None of the states involved want relations to deteriorate, let alone for war to be declared, but as each state acts militarily or diplomatically to make itself more secure, the other states interpret its actions as threatening. An ironic cycle of unintended provocations emerges, resulting in an escalation of the conflict which may eventually lead to open warfare¹.

The Term was coined by John H. Herz in his 1951 book *Political Realism and Political Idealism*. At the same time British historian Herbert Butterfield also described the same

¹ (Kanji, O. 2003. 'Security' in Burgess, G. and H. Burgess (eds.). *Beyond Intractability*. Conflict Research Consortium, University of Colorado).

situation in his *History and Human Conditions*, but referred to it as the "absolute predicament and irreducible dilemma"²

The security dilemma is the beginning of First World War Supporters of this viewpoint argue that the major European powers felt forced to go to war by feelings of insecurity over the alliances of their neighbors, despite not actually desiring the war. Furthermore, the time necessary to mobilize large amounts of troops for defense led some Great Powers (such as Russia) to adopt a particularly accelerated mobilization timetable, which in turn put pressure on other states to mobilize early as well. However, other scholars dispute this interpretation of the origins of the war, contending that some of the states involved really did want the conflict.

Pakistan is facing a variety of security threats; an internal threat, religious extremist threat, an Indian threat, and the threat from Afghanistan. There are many factors who involve in Pakistan security problems. Pakistan is bordered by Afghanistan in west and India in east. Since the late 1970s Afghanistan has suffered brutal civil war in addition to foreign interventions in the form of the 1979 Soviet invasion and the 2001 U.S. invasion. When we see Pakistan's security dilemma, it is necessary to analyze the Afghanistan complex situation, the resistance movement, afghan civil war, afghan refugee problem, Talibanization, and then evaluate the security situation. Admittedly, the India factor cannot be ignored in studying Pakistan's security dilemma. India is a great threat for Pakistan's independence and integrity. Kashmir conflict is a bone of contention between Pakistan and India. Pakistan is significantly and directly affected by the foreign invasion in Afghanistan. The eleven years of the war in Afghanistan was a dangerous period for the national security. In the 2001, US invasion in Afghanistan create a Taliban emergence in Pakistan. Pakistan has deep historical, ethnic, religious and sectarian affinities with Pakhtoons in Afghanistan. A high percentage of the Taliban is ethnic Pashtuns; Pashtuns

² Roe, Paul. The Intrastate Security Dilemma: Ethnic Conflict as a 'Tragedy'? *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 36, No. 2.(Mar., 1999), pp. 183-202

are a sizable minority in Pakistan and dominate the Pakistani military. Public support for the Taliban runs very high in the North-West Frontier Province (NWFP). Religious elements (Taliban) are tried to enforce their agenda on Pakistani society and challenge the Pakistani constitution. From the summer of 2007 to late 2008, more than 1,500 people are killed in suicide and other attacks on civilians.

This theoretical premise will provide me the platform to analyze all the giving complex situations, threats and then evaluate the security situation.

Methodology Design

The concept of security dilemma denotes to a number of interrelated and sometimes overlapping topics and questions. Due to the immeasurable nature of the concept of security dilemma, the method will be qualitative. The bulk of the study will be attained through the analysis of documents, books, electronic journals, and scholarly papers and therefore it will include textual interpretation or 'content analyses' as well. Textual interpretation will be used to summarize, and identify the main properties of the text; and then evaluate the text.

My research design would analyse the data provided by different books, intelligence reports, internet and articles. I will define the main concepts and develop a logical and consistent design for the study. I will look at the Afghanistan complex situation, which create security threat for Pakistan. I will analyze the Afghanistan geographically importance, foreign intervention in Afghanistan, pak-afghan relation, Pakistan's foreign policies towards Afghanistan, the resistance movement and refugee problems, and then evaluate the security situation.

I don't intend to compare the findings with other south Asia countries. I choose the two countries for my research Pakistan and Afghanistan. I give the answer for my question in four chapters.

Chapter 1

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE AND EVENTS LEADING TO US LED INVASION IN AFGHANISTAN

General

Afghanistan is a landlocked country of approximately 250,000 square miles located at the intersection of the Iranian Plateau, the Central Asian Steppes, and the Indian subcontinent. It is bordered by Iran in the west, Pakistan in the south and east, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, and Tajikistan in the north, and China in its easternmost region.³ It covers an area of 647497⁴ sq Km which makes it somewhat smaller than Pakistan. It stretches 1300 Kilometers from the Southwest to Northeast and has a general width of about 600 kilometers. Shaped like a frying pan its handle forces its way through the Pamirs for a distance of 320 Kilometers at heights ranging between 20000 to 25000 feet. This narrow stretch of territory known as the Wakhan corridor was carved out by the British to prevent the Russians from having a direct access to their possession in India.

Geography

Borders

Afghanistan lies in the Central Asia and is bordered by Iran on the west (936 km), by Pakistan on the east and south (2,430 km), and by Turkmenistan (744 km), Uzbekistan (137 km⁵), and Tajikistan (1,206 km) on the north; a narrow strip, the Vakhan (Wakhan), extends in the northeast along Pakistan to the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region of China (76 km). For the most part the boundary runs along the navigable Amu Darya

³ Obaid Younossi and Khalid Nadiri, “*Afghanistan at the Crossroads*” Chapter 12 of *Afghanistan : state and society, great power politics, and the way ahead : findings from an international conference*, Copenhagen, Denmark, 2007[cited 2 Dec 2008], Available [Online] at <http://www.rand.org/pubs/conf-proceeding/2008/rand-CF238.pdf>

⁴ Musa Khan Jalalzai, *Taliban and the Great Game in Afghanistan*. Vanguard Books Ltd, 1999. Page 16.

⁵ The World Fact Book – *Afghanistan*, [available online] at <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/af.html>.

(Oxus River). The Durand Line forms the frontier between Afghanistan and Pakistan. The boundary runs most of the way through precipitous mountain ranges over a distance of 2416 kms. The *lowest point is* Amu Darya (258 m) and *highest point is* Nowshak 7,485 m⁶.

History of Boundaries

The modern kingdom of Afghanistan was founded in 1747⁷. It was Great Britain and Russia who, in 1893, agreed, between themselves, that the river Oxus should be the northern frontier of Afghanistan. In 1893 the Durand Line was established by Sir Mortimer Durand to demarcate boundaries between Russia and British Empire⁸.

Geo-Strategic Significance

Afghanistan located at the tri junction of three strategic regions is also called a region at the cross roads of history, as it has been used as a trade route linking Central, West and South Asia. Pakistan directly dealt with whatever power existed on the ground to facilitate the development of ground trade with Central Asia.⁹ The collapse of Soviet Union and discovery of mineral resources in Central Asia dramatically altered the geopolitical equation. Afghanistan has thus, once again acquired critical importance as a land bridge for oil and natural gas pipelines and trade route. Today, the Central Asian states have come to draw much attention as it is believed that they hold the potential key to energy security in the 21st century.

⁶Country profile available online at <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/af.html>

⁷ <http://www.marxists.de/middleeast/neale/afghan.html>

⁸ Qaeem Ahmed Shayeq, *Pak Afghan Relations: The Durand Line issue*, Policy Perspectives Vol. 5, 2008, Number 2, Special issue Afghanistan, Institute of Policy Studies, Islamabad.

⁹ Barnett R. Rubin, *The Search for Peace on Afghanistan: From Buffer State to a Failed State*, Yale University Press, 1995, pp.138-9.

Fact File

- **Demography.** The estimated population of Afghanistan in July 2003 is 28,717,213¹⁰ out of which Pashtun are 44%, Tajik 25%, Hazara 10%, minor ethnic groups (Aimaks, Turkmen, Baloch, and others) 13%, Uzbek 8%¹¹. The demography of Afghanistan has an important bearing on its power politics. Afghanistan's ethnography has generated a highly politicized statistical debate. The 6-year survey carried out by a Norwegian foundation suggests that Pashtuns make up an estimated 63 per cent of the population, along with the mainly Persian-speaking Tajiks (12 %), Uzbeks (9 %) and the mainly Shia Hazaras (6 %): wak Foundation, Norway 1999. The CIA Fact book, by contrast, gives 42, 27, 9 and 9 % respectively. The tiny non-Muslim minority of Hindus and Sikhs, mainly shopkeepers and traders in Kabul, were displaced by the Taliban; some were killed, and thousands fled to India¹².
- **Religion.** Sunni Muslim 84%, Shia Muslim 15%¹³, others (Sikhs, Hindus and Jews) 1%¹⁴. Although highly regarded, religion did not acquire the status of political authority in Afghan society. Religion acquired greater significance during Afghan resistance when an Islamic Jihad was launched against Soviet occupation. Historically, in Afghanistan religious authority is based on three general principles; scriptural knowledge, sacred descent and mystical association¹⁵.
- **Languages.** Pashtu 35%, Afghan Persian (Dari) 50%, Turkic languages (primarily Uzbek and Turkmen) 11%, 30 minor languages (primarily Balochi and

¹⁰ <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/af.html>

¹¹ Library of Congress Country Studies-[http://lcweb2.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?frd/cstdy:@field\(DOCID+af0037\)](http://lcweb2.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?frd/cstdy:@field(DOCID+af0037)).

¹² <http://www.newleftreview.org/?page=article&view=2713>

¹³ Encyclopedia Britannica, "Afghanistan."

¹⁴ <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/af.html>

¹⁵ Jalalzai , Op cited Page44.

Pashai) 4%, much bilingualism But Farsi is the dominant language in Kabul and widely regarded as more cultured than Pashtu¹⁶.

Historical perspective

British Rule and the Great Game

The British, after establishing their colonial rule in India, desired to control Afghanistan. In the meanwhile, Czarist Russia was steadily advancing southwards and by 1869, Samarqand and Bokhara had become states of the Russia. The second Afghan war brought Afghanistan under control British influence. In July 1887, an Anglo –Russian agreement was signed at St. Petersburg by which the Russian agreed to halt further advance southwards. By an Anglo- Russian Agreement of 1895, the Wakhan became a permanent part of Afghanistan. Meanwhile, by the Durand Agreement of 1893, the eastern border of the country was precisely fixed between Afghanistan and India.

Events Leading to Present Situation

- **The Soviet Invasion.** In December 1978, Moscow signed a treaty of friendship and cooperation with Afghanistan. On December 24, 1979, large number of Soviet troops landed in Kabul and seized all-important installations. On December 26, they killed Hafizullah Amin and installed Babrak Karmal who, although backed by 120,000 Soviet troops, was unable to establish authority outside Kabul.
- **Islamic Resistance.** Afghan Mujahideen made it almost impossible for the regime to exercise effective control outside major urban centers. In 1984 they

¹⁶Farsi is also sometimes referred to as Dari in official settings, in order to pretend it is not the same language spoken in Iran.

began receiving assistance from the U.S and other powers¹⁷, which enabled them to further, restrict the Soviet and Afghan forces to major garrisons.

- **Najib Tenure.** In May 1986, Muhammad Najibullah replaced Karmal but failed to gain the support of people. By mid-1980s, the Afghan resistance movement was exacting a high price from the Soviets, both militarily within Afghanistan and by souring the U.S.S.R.'s relations with Western and Islamic world.
- **Pakistan's Role.** Pakistan played a vital role in the formation of resistance and subsequent war against Soviets Union. It hosted over 3 million refugees besides providing bases, logistic, moral and diplomatic support. It also suffered both in terms of human lives and damaged to the property.
- **The Soviet Withdrawal.** In 1988, the new soviet leadership realizing no win situation, agreed to withdraw¹⁸ the forces from Afghanistan in a phased programme.

Post Soviet Withdrawal Time.

The withdrawal of Soviet Union left far reaching effects on Afghanistan, substantiated as under:-

- **Unipolar World/Demise of USSR.** The withdrawal of USSR helped US to become the sole super power. It also weakened USSR economically and internally and finally played an important role in disintegration of USSR.
- **Political Vacuum.** Through out its history, Afghanistan had never seen a central political system. Traditionally, the King's rule was limited to the centre and extended to far off areas through the local chieftains who owed their allegiance to the King. The hasty Soviet departure without instituting a proper

¹⁷ Alex Alexiev, "*The War in Afghanistan: Soviet Strategy and the state of Resistance*" Available [Online] at <http://www.rand.org/pubs/papers/2008/rand-CF7038.pdf>

¹⁸ *Geneva Accord* available online at http://www.institute-for-afghan-studies.org/Accords%20Treaties/geneva_accords_1988_pakistan_afghanistan.htm

system of governance thus left a power vacuum which resulted into a civil war and total anarchy with provinces commandeered by local warlords.

- **Emergence of War lords.** In the period ensuing Soviet withdrawal, the various Mujahedeen leaders who had amassed lot of weaponry and influence carved out areas of influence which invariably led to sectional infighting and Civil war.
- **Rise of Fundamentalism.** The Afghan resistance against Soviet occupation was based on the central theme of Islamic Jihad. The rise of fundamentalism consequent to religious indoctrination was the natural outcome of it. During ensuing years, Civil War and clash of interests of various neighboring countries gave further impetus to fundamentalism¹⁹. The power vacuum and rise of fundamentalism transformed Afghanistan into a pariah state, harboring terrorists from across the world.
- **Drugs and Narcotics.** Experience from South West and South Asia, as well as Latin America, suggests that illicit drug crops tend to be cultivated in areas of political and military conflict. In order to generate revenues for sustenance of war, the Afghan warlords resorted to poppy cultivation and drug trafficking. Afghanistan thus became a drug heaven with drug being smuggled to all corners of the world from this “golden crescent”. Pakistan by virtue of its close proximity was affected the most by this menace.
- **Foreign Interference.** Foreign interference has been a constant phenomenon to Afghanistan, a country which has witnessed “The Great Game”, the Soviet intervention and American sponsored resistance. The foreign interference in the post withdrawal period continued unabated with the exception of USA, which conveniently put Afghanistan into a back burner. The post withdrawal period saw an active interference by key regional players like Iran, India, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia and Russia with each patronizing their respective

¹⁹ Graham E Fuller, “*Islamic Fundamentalism in Afghanistan its character and prospects*” Available [Online] at <http://www.rand.org/pubs/reports/2008/rand-CF3970.pdf>

warlords. This resulted into furthering the anarchy that Afghanistan was suffering from.

- **Refugee Problem**²⁰. Mass migration of over 5 million refugees became a serious problem for the neighboring countries and UN. The major burden of these refugees was borne by Pakistan with 3 million refugees. This created some serious problems for Pakistan including:-

- (1) Economic burden.
- (2) Law and order problem.
- (3) Aggravated drug and Kalashnikov culture.
- (4) Disturbed demography of N.W.F.P and Baluchistan.
- (5) Burdened civic amenities.
- (6) Increased unemployment.
- (7) Partial control over small businesses particularly in NWFP and Baluchistan.

Taliban

- **Rise of Taliban**. In reaction to the anarchy and warlordism, a movement of former Mujahideen mostly Pashtuns who were educated in madarass in Pakistan surfaced.²¹ They removed warlords, provided order, and imposed strict form of Islam in the country. In 1994 they captured Kandahar. By the end of 1998, they occupied about 90% of the country. Continuing their march,

²⁰ Nasreen Ghufuran, “*Afghans in Pakistan: A Protracted refugee Situation*”, Policy Perspectives Vol 5 Number 2, special issue Afghanistan, Institute of policy Studies, Islamabad, 2008, pp 117.

²¹ Kamal Matinuddin, “*The Taliban Phenomenon, Afghanistan 1994 – 1997*”, Oxford University Press, 1999, pp20-24.

the Taliban on the dawn of September 27, 1996 established their government in the Kabul²².

- **Interpretation of Islam.** The Taliban interpretation of Islam was based upon rural Pashtun traditions. Women were banned from working outside their homes or from pursuing education, were not to leave their homes without accompanying a male relative and forced to wear burka. This earned them the wrath of the international community, which resulted into USA distancing them away from Taliban.
- **US-Taliban Relations.** Although US formally did not recognize Taliban government, it initially accepted it with the hope that peace would be restored, considered vital for oil and gas pipeline. Unocal's oil and gas pipeline project from Turkmenistan through Afghanistan to Indian Subcontinent, backed by US government, was viewed as the most audacious gambit of 1990s. However, relations between US and Taliban began to sour over a number of issues, primarily over Afghanistan's refusal to hand over Osama bin Laden whom the American accused of masterminding terrorist activities against US interests including bombing of the US embassies at Nigeria and Kenya. This resulted into American missile firing on Afghanistan in 1998 in which Osama escaped unhurt. US Secretary of State Collin Powell on 19 September 2001, listed the following as the main impediments in US Taliban relations:-
 - Taliban's refusal to handover OBL.
 - Continuous support for terrorism
 - HR violations particularly treatment of women.
 - Refusal to accept broad based government.

²² Abdul Sattar, "Afghanistan: Past, Present and Future, From Jihad to Civil War", the Institute of Regional Studies, Islamabad, 1997, pp. 462-3.

Post 9/11 Developments

9/11 and Afghanistan invasion

- **Background.** 11th September 2001 profoundly changed the global situation²³. It prompted President Bush, to state, “We will make no distinction between the terrorists who committed these acts and those who harboured them” (referring to Taliban).
- **International Reaction.** Leaders all over the world strongly condemned the terrorist attacks. After invoking article 5 of NATO Charter²⁴, the western world stood united with the US. After sharing evidence against Osama Bin Laden, majority of Muslim countries sided with the US in this campaign. Pakistan joined the coalition and became a front line state by providing logistical support, intelligence and air bases to coalition forces²⁵.
- **NATO Operations in Afghanistan.** It began with a bombing campaign that intensified when the Taliban proved more resilient than expected and the Northern Alliance had failed in its initial effort to take Mazar-i-Sharif. The Americans decided to increase air effort and use Northern Alliance military strength. Due to intense multi-directional pressure, the Taliban rapidly collapsed and disparate anti Taliban factions and tribal warlords rose to capture major cities including Kabul.

²³ Bruce Hoffman, “*Changing face of Al Qaeda and GWOT*” available online at <http://psweb.sbs.ohio-state.edu/grads/bstrath/PS145/terror/hoffmann.pdf>

²⁴ Philip H. Gordon, “*NATO After 11 September*”
<http://www.brookings.edu/views/Articles/Gordon/2002wintersurvival.pdf>

²⁵ Ivo Daalder and James Goldgeier “*Global NATO*” available online
http://www.brookings.edu/views/articles/daalder/2006sept_oct.pdf

Chapter – 2

INTERESTS OF EXTERNAL PLAYERS IN AFGHANISTAN AND THREATS PAKISTAN

General

The global powers always had a special interest in the South Asian region due to its geo-strategic importance. The interests of various international and regional players have come into sharp focus. Being an immediate neighbor, the external players' interests in Afghanistan directly impact upon Pakistan's interests and security.

Russia.

The Soviet Union had been sensitive about its borders ever since the revolution in Russia in 1917, and one cornerstone of its foreign policy had been to stabilize its border areas. The Baltic States were taken over in 1940; the Eastern European states were secured after the Second World War. The loss of Afghanistan would have amounted to providing a vulnerable window on its borders to anti-Soviet forces. On December 28, 1979, Soviet combat troops moved into Afghanistan on a massive scale, killed President Hafiz Ullah Amin and installed Babrak Karmal as the new ruler of Afghanistan.²⁶

The soviet invasion in Afghanistan had generated fears and apprehension among many Pakistanis that their country would be the next target. Many Pakistanis believed that after consolidating its position in Afghanistan, Moscow will try to extend its influence beyond the Afghan borders, the argument that the Soviets were likely to use Afghanistan as a

²⁶ K. P. Misra, ed., *Afghanistan in Crisis* (New Delhi: Vikas, 1981); Kuldeep Nayar, *Report on Afghanistan* (New Delhi: Allied Publishers, 1981) ; Syed Shabbir Hussain, Abdul Hamid Alvi, Absor Hussain Rizvi, *Afghanistan under Soviet Occupation* (Islamabad: World Affairs Publications, 1980); Pervaiz Iqbal Cheema, *Afghanistan Since April 1978* (Islamabad: Department of International Relations, Quaid-i-Azam University, 1980)

spring-board to destabilize Pakistan in order to gain much-desired access to a warm-water port on the Indian Ocean. Pakistan had only one option to support resistance movement. General Zia decided in 1979 to provide support for the Afghan Mujahidin and Pakistani military started the guerilla war against soviet army. Pakistan provided arm ammunition and trained guerillas.

During Soviet invasion of Afghanistan about 3 million Afghans took refuge in Pakistan. As a sequel to volatile situation still persisting in Afghanistan approximately 70% of the total Afghan refugee population still remain on Pakistani soil over burdening Pakistan's fragile economy.

Russia would also like to see a government in Afghanistan which is hostile to Pakistan. Pakistan played important role in Russia-afghan war. After October 2001, US invasion, Russia intelligence agency provide the support to the terrorist, which operating terrorist activities in Pakistan.

USA

The US interests in Afghanistan as well as Pakistan dwindled after the Russian withdrawal from Afghanistan. As the 9/11 Commission Report concluded, a U.S. failure to stabilize Afghanistan would decrease U.S. security by allowing the country to become a safe haven for terrorists and criminals.²⁷ However, Afghanistan assumed its importance as the oil rich Central Asian States were too tempting to be ignored. In short American interests in the region can be summarized as following:-

- The presence of US forces in Afghanistan is also aimed at long desired policy to “Contain China”.
- To check the flow of narcotics emanating from poppy fields of Afghanistan.
- To stop the spread of religious fundamentalism and terrorism from Afghanistan.

²⁷ *The 9/11 Commission Report: Final Report of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks*

- The US is closely watching the co-operative framework between China, Russia, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan (i.e., Shanghai Co-operation Organization), that resulted in establishment of a new block in the region.

American interests create the security problem for Pakistan. In October 2001, US invasion in Afghanistan, thousands of Taliban fighters and virtually the entire intact Taliban senior leadership shura (religious council) had found sanctuary in Pakistan's federally administered tribal area (FATA) at the center of the border, as well as in parts of the Pakistani province of Baluchistan to the west and the north west frontier province (NWFP) to the east and south. Taliban and other religion extremist elements are operating on both sides in Pakistan and Afghanistan. The US invasion in Afghanistan in October 2001, spurred an influx of Taliban and al-Qaida militant into the FATA that would eventually result in the consolidation of extremist control in the region. These extremists' elements are great threat for Pakistan. Many Pakistanis believe that religious extremists will try to extend its influence in other provinces; they will try to enforce their agenda on Pakistani society.

China.

Chinese interest in Afghanistan has been further enhanced consequent to 9/11. The presence of American forces in her backyard i.e. in Afghanistan and Central Asian States. China desires that Afghanistan should be free from any outside influences, including coalition forces, as this is likely to threaten the region's stability. Central Asian States and Afghanistan present a large market with rich mineral and human resources to China. China would also like to see a government in Afghanistan which is friendly to Pakistan. China is invested billion of dollars in Pakistan on different projects. China wants friendly relations between Afghanistan and Pakistan against Taliban and extremist.

India.

India and Russia have good relations. During the Cold War, India and the Soviet Union enjoyed a strong strategic, military, economic and diplomatic relationship. India is a great threat for Pakistan's independence and integrity. India wishes to exploit the prevailing international anti terrorism sentiments to her advantage, to further her regional and global ambitions of playing a key role in world affairs. India aspires to create friction between Pakistan and Afghanistan, by giving fillip to controversial issues by virtue of her influence on Afghan government. An example is the offer to help Afghanistan to dam Kabul River in Kunhar province and Salma Dam power project in Herat province. Despite India being averse to Pakistan getting any economic benefit, she would agree to proposed oil-gas pipeline project running through Afghanistan and Pakistan to meet her fast growing energy needs. However, if oil-gas pipeline project fails to take-off, India would like to retain the capability to threaten Pakistan by way of offensive LIC from Western borders, Opening of Indian consulates in Jalalabad, Kandahar, Mazar-e-Sharif and Herat point in this direction. Reportedly these consulates are directing anti Pakistan activities in Pakistan especially in the provinces of N.W.F.P and Baluchistan. More so besides Indian military assistance to Afghanistan mostly in training sphere Indian businessmen are also investing in a big way in Afghanistan and it is likely that in near future they will be in control of Afghan economy.²⁸

She would like to gain access to the Afghan market so that she could influence its policies. However, to be economically viable, she has to acquire land route through Pakistan. Notwithstanding the fact that India does not share contiguous borders with Afghanistan, she does not hesitate to express her interests in Afghanistan due to her regional aspirations. Traditionally India has always played a negative role in Pak- Afghan relations so as to keep our western borders insecure.

²⁸Pakistan should be made to pay the price for terror, December 09, 2008, <http://www.rediff.com/news/2008/dec/09mumterror-pakistan-should-be-made-to-pay-the-price-for-terror>

India is currently 20% deficient of her energy requirement which is likely to soar up to 80%²⁹ with the current scale of her development. She would also like to see a government in Afghanistan which is hostile to Pakistan so as to keep her out of energy game as well as to create a two front dilemma on Pakistan in any future war with India. Her effort to provide an alternative relief zone to Afghanistan through the Iranian port of Chahbhar is required to be seen in this backdrop. Being an aspirant regional power, India would like to extend her area of influence to Central Asian States so as to encircle China. In countering China, Afghanistan may act as a stepping stone for India. She also has commercial interests in Afghanistan and Central Asian States.

Iran.

Besides geo-strategic reasons, Iran has historical and cultural reasons to be interested in Afghanistan. From an Iranian perspective, though, the Afghan issue had less to do with Great Game strategy and more to do with prestige and national security.³⁰ Iran shares a long border with Afghanistan, Dari, a version of Persian is the official language of Afghanistan. Moreover, a large segment of Afghan population i.e. Hazara tribes are of Shia origin. In an effort to achieve the position of a dominant player, Iran and Pakistan have been at odds over the Afghan issue. The Taliban's actions further strained ties between Pakistan and Iran.³¹ Iran has interested to Control of land communication and pipelines to Central Asia so that oil flows to Europe through Iranian route, which is considered as the shortest route to West. A stable Afghanistan would be in competition with Iran for the outwards flow of oil through Pakistan. In order to benefit from transportation of hydro-carbon resources of CARs, Iran would like that Afghanistan's Phuktoon dominated areas should remain relatively unstable, so as to strengthen the case for running the pipelines through Iran.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Michael Rubin, "*Understanding Iranian Strategy in Afghanistan*" chapter 3 of , *Afghanistan : state and society, great power politics, and the way ahead : findings from an international conference*, Copenhagen, Denmark, 2007, Available [Online] at <http://www.rand.org/pubs/conf-proceeding/2008/rand-CF238.pdf>

³¹ Kamal Matinuddin, "The Taliban Phenomenon, Afghanistan 1994 – 1997", Oxford University Press, 1999, pp.133-40-41.

Iran desires that the Kabul government should be predominantly non-Pashtun, so as to ensure that Iran's strategic interests in Afghanistan are protected. Iran has a major concern in protecting the interests of Shia minority in Afghanistan on the face of Sunni majority. But on the other hand, Pakistan should be promoting Pashtun. Non Pashtun government is a security threat for Pakistan. Non Pashtun government is both overtly and covertly work against the interests of Pakistan.

Iran historically has enjoyed good relations with its neighbors including Pakistan during the time of Shah of Iran, but since then their relationship with Pakistan and Arab world has deteriorated. Strategically, Iran would like to maintain balance of power tipped in its favor in the region. Iran has spent a lot of money developing its Chabahar port, which is just 100 miles from Gwadar port of Pakistan. Gwadar port was built by China. Iran does not want Gwadar to become prominent and Chabahar to be sidelined. After American invasion in Afghanistan, Irani government is supporting Balochi and afghan terrorists in Pakistan (Baluchistan province), trying to create instability in Baluchistan province. The Pakistani Government and Army have repeatedly claimed that the banned Baluchistan Liberation Army is clandestinely funded by the Indian, Afghanistan and Iran governments and that arm are smuggled and illegally flown into the state of Baluchistan through the porous borders surrounding the Province.³² Iran has strategic interests in the region and has been alleged of keeping a curious eye on the affairs of the state.

³² Baluchistan Liberation Army Is Being Aided By India: Rehman Malik, April 22, 2009 by Ash gee news under Pakistan News, <http://www.nhatky.in/blochistan-liberation-army-is-bieng-aided-by-india-rehman-malik-12333444>

CHAPTER-3

PAKISTAN AND AFGHANISTAN RELATION

The state with the closest ties and strongest links to Afghanistan is Pakistan. Afghanistan is one of the most important countries in Pakistan's Foreign Policy. Geographic contiguity, shared faith and mutual interests are the main factors driving Pakistan's approach towards Afghanistan³³. It is a proactive rather than reactive player. Pakistan saw the war in Afghanistan as an opportunity to reverse Pakistan's antagonistic relations with Afghanistan over Pashtunistan, providing it with "strategic depth"³⁴ in its confrontation with India. Notwithstanding the fact that Pakistan and Afghanistan share a common border and have religio-ethnic commonality, Afghanistan – Pakistan relations have been marred by mistrust and animosity which was exhibited right at the creation of Pakistan, tensions between Pakistan and Afghanistan have also emanated from their divergent strategic outlooks and dissimilar national ethos³⁵. Afghanistan being the only country to have opposed the admission of Pakistan in UNO. On the contrary Pakistan's endeavor has always been to have a friendly government in Afghanistan so as to gain strategic depth in case of war with India. Contrary to other regional players, Pakistan is affected the most by the developments in Afghanistan as seen in Soviet occupation and recent Operation Enduring Freedom³⁶. Pakistan also provided sanctuary to mujahedeen groups,

³³ Babar Shah, "*Pakistan's Afghanistan Policy: An evaluation*", Vol. XX Spring/Summer No. 2/3, Strategic Studies, A quarterly Journal of Institute of Strategic Studies. [Online] Available http://www.issi.org.pk/strategic_studies.html, 2000.

³⁴ "*Strategic Depth, Strategic Assets and the Changing Dynamics of Pakistan's Kashmir Game Plan*", Kashmir Herald, Volume 1, No. 7, [Online] Available <http://www.kashmirherald.com/featuredarticle/strategicdepth-prn.html>, December, 2001.

³⁵ Dr Riffat Hussain, "*Pakistan's Relations with Afghanistan: Continuity and Change*" Vol. XXII Winter No.4, Strategic Studies, A quarterly Journal of Institute of Strategic Studies. [Online] Available http://www.issi.org.pk/strategic_studies.html, 2002

³⁶ Operation Enduring Freedom (OEF) covering Afghanistan and other Global War on Terror (GWOT) operations ranging from the Philippines to Djibouti that began immediately after the 9/11 attacks

and continues till today.

where they were generally safe from Soviet forces.³⁷ Pakistan's interests in a stable and friendly Afghanistan are:-

- To have completely secure western borders.
- To have a peaceful environment in Pakistan in general and its two provinces i.e. Baluchistan and N.W.F.P in particular.
- To get a reliable and alternative source of gas supply from Central Asia as its existing reservoir are depleting.
- To have the pipelines laid to India and Arabian Sea through Pakistan so as to accrue economic dividends.

Pakistan's Stakes in Afghanistan

Political Interests

Pakistan's foremost political interest is to see a strong, stable and united Afghanistan, with a Pakistan-friendly government, giving the Pashtuns their due share in power. This would eliminate the threat of spill over of any separatist tendencies to Baluchistan and NWFP. A friendly Afghanistan will also be an asset as it will support Pakistan's cause at international level, will respect the sanctity/validity of Durand Line and can make a common cause with Pakistan in international ventures like narcotics control etcetera.

Economic Interests

The landlocked Afghanistan relies mostly on the Afghan Transit Trade facility though guaranteed through an international agreement and the UN Charter, Pakistan sees this as a potential leverage with Afghanistan. As an unpopular policy option it has been exercised in the 60s. Prime Minister Daud after overthrowing King Zahir Shah in 1973

³⁷ Steve Coll, '*Ghost Wars: The Secret History of the CIA, Afghanistan, and bin Laden, from the Soviet Invasion to September 10, 2001*' (New York: Penguin Books, 2004).

did consider the Irani proposal of linking Kabul and Kandahar via Herat to Iran in order to 'relieve the country of its overdependence on the USSR and Pakistan.' But still Afghanistan is dependent for trade through the port of Karachi for majority of its imports and exports. This has traditionally been the greatest leverage with the Pakistani authorities. Pakistan wishes to see a stable Afghanistan that enables the laying of oil and gas pipeline from CARs³⁸, through Afghan territory to Gwadar. Moreover, the CARs represent a huge market for Pakistani goods, and in turn Pakistan would benefit from CARs exports/imports transiting through Gwadar. Pakistan wants peace in Afghanistan so that trade routes are opened to CARs. Pakistan sacrificed the most for Afghanistan's freedom struggle against Soviet occupation. It feels justified in asking to reap the fruits of not only trade and oil of CARs, but also billions of dollars expected to be poured into Afghanistan for the improvement of its infrastructure under international auspices.³⁹

Security Interests

In security terms, a strong and Pakistan-friendly government in Afghanistan will result in a secure western border. The first concern, therefore, is that Afghanistan should pose no threat to Pakistan⁴⁰. A stable Afghanistan with a Pakistan friendly government will also help achieve a secure border and to improve our military ratio on the eastern border.

An Overview of Pakistan's Foreign Policy towards Afghanistan from 1947 - 2008

Shaping of Pakistan's Policy towards Afghanistan.

Afghanistan has the dubious distinction of casting the only negative vote on Pakistan's entry into United Nations in September 1947. Pak – Afghan relations during the period

³⁸Ajaj Sahni, "The Collapse of Pakistan's Afghan Policy" [Online] Available <http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/ajaisahni/AsianA2001.html>.

³⁹Marina Ottaway and Anatop Lieven, *Rebuilding Afghanistan: Factory Vs Reality*, a policy brief of Carnegie Enclosure Institute 12 Jan 2002, P 1-8.

⁴⁰Abdul Sattar, "Afghanistan: Past, Present and Future, From Jihad to Civil War", The Institute of Regional Studies, Islamabad, 1997, pp. 462-3.

1947 to 1979 remained strained with 'Pashtunistan' issue being the cardinal source of bitterness.

Foreign Policy from 1947 – 1979.

Afghanistan kept increasing its political pressure on Pakistan through a campaign for an independent state of 'Pashtunistan'⁴¹. Pakistan joined Baghdad Pact in early 50s whereas Afghanistan remained neutral. In December 1955 Soviet Prime Minister visited Afghanistan and besides economic and military aid backed up the 'Pashtunistan' demand for the first time. Relations between the two Muslim neighbors were prevented from getting worse by the visits of President Sikandar Mirza of Pakistan to Kabul in 1956 and a return visit by King Zahir Shah to Karachi in 1958. However, in 1961, Afghanistan protested, against the over flights of the American U-2 spy plane which used the Badaber Air Base, near Peshawar in Pakistan. Once again diplomatic relations were broken off, the border was closed to shipment of goods to land locked Afghanistan.

Pakistan's Foreign Policy during Soviet Occupation

With the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979, Pakistan had no option but to use all the diplomatic pressure that could be mustered to build up world opinion against the Soviet Union for violating the principles of the United Nations Charter and thus force him to leave Afghanistan. The protracted turmoil exacted a heavy toll on the Afghan people and posed a serious threat to the regional and international security. The rise of the Taliban further accentuated the problems. The international community accused the Taliban for giving support to international terrorism including refuge to Osama Bin Laden. The Pakistani policy has been coherent since General Zia decided in 1979 to provide support for the Afghan Mujahidin. This policy was based on a simple premise, to give full support to Pashtun groups, without appearing on the front line. The permanent strategic goals of Pakistan have been:-

⁴¹ Graham E Fuller, "*Islamic Fundamentalism in Afghanistan its character and prospects*" Available [Online] at <http://www.rand.org/pubs/reports/2008/rand-CF3970.pdf>

- To have a friendly government in Kabul to prevent the reconstitution of a Kabul – New Delhi nexus.
- To establish strategic depth against India, by using Afghan territory and a corridor towards central Asia, this could be used to import gas and oil.

Pakistan's Foreign Policy up to 11 September 2001

Pakistan's policy on Afghanistan in that point of time was a policy of commitment guided by our desire for the preservation of its independence, territorial integrity, and an end to the civil war and the establishment of a representative, multi-ethnic Government.

Stated Foreign Policy of Pakistan⁴²

The stated policy of Pakistan, as projected by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was as follows:-

- Pakistan pursues a policy of strict neutrality and non-interference in the internal matters and intra Afghan rivalries.
- Pakistan is supporting the ongoing efforts of the UN and OIC for peace, reconciliation and re-construction in Afghanistan.
- Pakistan endeavours to seek establishment of broad-based government reflecting the ethnic and demographic realities on ground in accordance with the wishes of the people.

Functional Foreign Policy of Pakistan⁴³

There are a large number of organizations which remained involved in the handling of Pak – Afghan affairs. These include Inter Services Intelligence Organization, Ministry of Interior, Provincial governments and even some of the political parties. As such our

⁴²Brig Javed Zia, 'Dynamics of Afghanistan', *Imbroglia- Immolators and a option for Pakistan*, Margalla Paper, 2000 Quoted in IRP Staff Course 2002

⁴³Ibid

operative policy apparently differs from the stated policy, projecting multiple/conflicting dimensions, some of which are:-

- Taliban Government was recognized as the legitimate Government of Afghanistan and continued to get Pakistan's support. The recognition left Pakistan isolated at international scene. In recognizing the Taliban Pakistan expected many other countries to follow suit.⁴⁴
- Regular contact with Afghan leaders and commanders mainly Pushtuns, apparently for their moderation/guidance, maintained.
- Pakistan supported UN Special Mission mandated to bring peace through intra Afghan dialogue for a broad-based government.

President General Pervez Musharraf announced an 'unstinted cooperation' to the international coalition against terror. This decision marked a paradigm shift in Islamabad's thinking towards the Taliban in post 9/11 era. Taliban had become a strategic liability rather than an asset, this was clearly acknowledged by General Pervez Musharraf in his televised address on 19 September 19, and convinced the nation to save the country's interest⁴⁵.

Post Bonn Conference Policy.

As part of the international coalition in Afghanistan, Pakistan has supported the UN led agreement in Bonn. Consequently the policy adopted thereafter is as follows:-

- Pakistan to support UN sponsored Bonn agreement mandated to bring peace through intra Afghan dialogue for a broad-based government.
- Pakistan is following a policy of strict neutrality.
- Pakistan endeavors to seek establishment of broad-based governments reflecting the ethnic and demographic realities on ground in accordance with the wishes of the people.

⁴⁴ Kamal Matinuddin, "*The Taliban Phenomenon, Afghanistan 1994 – 1997*", Oxford University Press, 1999, pp.133-40-41

⁴⁵ "Former President Pervez Musharraf's Address to the Nation, September 19, 2001", IPRI Journal, Vol. II, No.1 (Winter 2002), pp145-146

- Induction of neutral security forces and the demilitarization of Afghanistan are important steps, which should proceed simultaneously with the formation of a broad-based government.

Pakistan U turn foreign policy

Before 9/11 incident, Pakistan had friendly relation with Taliban government. Pakistan government supported Taliban government against northern alliance. But after 9/11, Pakistan joined US alliance against Taliban. This U turn foreign policy create security problem for Pakistan. Taliban has huge support in Pakistani tribal belt. Few pro Taliban tribal groups stand against Pakistani policies and start action against Pakistani government. Other hand, Northern alliance has good relation with India. India government provides logistic support to these afghan terrorist, who involve in terrorist activities (suicide bombing) in Pakistan.

Areas of Friction with Afghanistan

- **Legacy of Mistrust.** A legacy of mistrust and hostility between Afghanistan and Pakistan can be traced back since independence of Pakistan, when Afghanistan's dubious distinction of casting the only negative vote on Pakistan's entry into the UN in 1947. Though, after one month, Afghanistan withdrew her negative vote.⁴⁶ and many more such incidents instigated by either party.
- **Durand Line Dispute.** Lingering dispute of Durand Line that was signed in 1893 remains an irritant⁴⁷ - This Line is yet to be accepted by Afghanistan as a formal international boundary between both the neighbors. Recent past has witnessed small scale border skirmishes between security forces of both the

⁴⁶Lt Gen (Retd) Kamal Matinuddin, *Power Struggle in the Hindukush*, Wajidali's (Private) Limited, Lahore, 1991, P-17.

⁴⁷*The Durand Line: History, Consequences, and Future* Available online <http://www.hollingscenter.org/reports/current/2007-7-DurandLine.pdf>

- countries resulting in frequent meetings of Pak-Afghan and US Joint Commission to resolve the issue.
- **Influence of External Players.** Afghanistan has since long associated herself with Soviet Union. On the contrary, Pakistan remained inclined towards the USA. US failure to rebuild Afghanistan after Soviet Withdrawal in 1989 led to radicalization of Afghan society and ultimate triumph of Taliban⁴⁸.
 - **Role of Northern Alliance.** Hostility of Northern Alliance dominated government of Afghanistan is motivated by the fact that Pakistan helped Taliban against them as sequel it caused them enormous sufferings during the Taliban rule. Assassination of Ahmad Shah Masood is also being attributed to ISI (Pakistan intelligence agency) and Taliban nexus. Resultantly they miss no opportunity to malign and accuse Pakistan for all the things evil happenings in Afghanistan. Northern Alliance dominated government is both overtly and covertly working against the interests of Pakistan.
 - **Repatriation of Afghan Refugees.** During Soviet invasion of Afghanistan about 3 million Afghans took refuge in Pakistan. As a sequel to volatile situation still persisting in Afghanistan approximately 70% of the total Afghan refugee population still remain on Pakistani soil over burdening Pakistan's fragile economy.
 - **Disagreement on Afghan Transit Trade.** To protect its economy and industrial sector against the negative fall outs of certain terms and conditions of ATT Pakistan most of the times unilaterally amend rules and regulations governing ATT which result in friction between both the countries.

⁴⁸ Rashid Ahmed wrote well before September 11 attacks "by walking away from Afghanistan as early as it did, the US in few years saw dead diplomats, destroyed embassys, bombs in new York and cheap heroin on its streets,...in 1980 the US was ready to fight till last Afghan to even with Soviet but when they left ,,Us was not ready to bring peace or feed the hungry people in Afghanistan' Quoted in, Stephen M Walt, *Beyond Bin laden: reshaping the US foreign Policy* available online http://faculty.washington.edu/caporaso/courses/203/readings/walt_beyond_Bin_Laden.pdf

- **Growing Indian Influence.** Indian influence has considerably increased in Afghanistan with Northern Alliance dominated government coming in to power⁴⁹. India has managed to open number of consulates in all important towns of Afghanistan bordering Pakistan. Reportedly these consulates are directing anti Pakistan activities in Pakistan especially in the provinces of N.W.F.P and Baluchistan. More so besides Indian military assistance to Afghanistan mostly in training sphere Indian businessmen are also investing in a big way in Afghanistan and it is likely that in near future they will be in control of Afghan economy.
- **Al – Qaida and Taliban Activities.** Afghan government misses no opportunity to point finger towards Pakistan and malign it for its own failures to improve law and order in Afghanistan. Presence of ex Taliban and Al Qaida elements in Pak-Afghan border areas especially in FATA is a major cause of friction between both the countries. The present unrest in the tribal areas of North and South Waziristan, Bajore and Mohmand Agencies of Pakistan are a result of the present instability in Afghanistan. These tribal people have a historical bondage with the Afghan nation, and have played a prominent role in Afghanistan’s politics⁵⁰.
- **Smuggling.** Continuing smuggling of banned goods, drugs and weapons from Afghanistan is negatively contributing in Pak – Afghan relations.
- **Interference in Internal Affairs.** The history of Afghanistan tells us that any nation that wanted to influence Afghanistan for its own benefits became victim of its own lack of understanding of Afghan people. Pakistan has been attempting to have stable pro-Pakistan government in Afghanistan. But in the process certain ethnic/tribal groups have been antagonized. Resultantly,

⁴⁹ “India joins anti-Taliban coalition” by Rahul Bedi available online <http://www.janes.com/news/security/.15march> 2001

⁵⁰ Syed Adnan Ali Shah, “Internal Dynamics of Afghanistan After the 2005 Parliamentary Elections and the Impact on the Region ” Vol. XXVI summer No.2, Strategic Studies, A quarterly Journal of Institute of Strategic Studies. [Online] Available http://www.issi.org.pk/strategic_studies.html, 2007

inadvertently Pakistan found himself entangled in the internal affairs of Afghanistan.

Areas of Convergence

- **Religious, Cultural and Linguistic linkages.** Pakistan and Afghanistan have geographical and strong historical, religious, cultural and linguistic linkages. Late Z.A. Bhutto highlighted the importance of Afghanistan when he said that if all the countries of Asia and Africa are put together and we are asked to choose one out of all of them for its importance to Pakistan, Afghanistan would probably head the list.
- **Economic Inter-Dependence.** The economic inter-dependence cannot be more significant as in case of Pakistan and Afghanistan. Access to CARs through Afghanistan is a long cherished dream of Pakistan. Similarly, Afghan Transit Trade with Pakistan to transport goods from Karachi Port is considered to be the lifeline of Afghan economy.
- **Security Interests.** In 1979, Soviet troops invaded Afghanistan. It was only through traditional Afghan resolute and Pakistan's assistance that Afghans succeeded in expelling the invaders. During this period millions of Afghan refugees were accommodated and Pakistan continued military assistance to Afghan fighters. Similarly, Afghanistan provides strategic depth to Pakistan against threat from the east.
- **Convergence of State Policy.** There is a convergence of State policy to eradicate religious extremism and terrorism between both the countries.

Chapter -4

Implications

Since the late 1970s Afghanistan has suffered brutal civil war in addition to foreign interventions in the form of the 1979 Soviet invasion and the 2001 U.S. invasion. The strategic interests of the great powers are creating the security problem for Pakistan. Afghanistan critical situation has affected the Pakistan's security, national interests, economics and international image.

Time of Soviet invasion

1. Refugee's problem

In 1979, Russian attacked on Afghanistan. Pakistan played a vital role in the formation of resistance and subsequent war against Soviets Union. Pakistan made 386 refugees camps. These camps received 3 million afghan refugees; it is the 70% of total refugees. Pakistan provided basic needs for refugees. But afghan refugees were a great problem for Pakistan. Pakistan has four provinces; Punjab and Sind have different language and culture. In Baluchistan, Many Baloch leaders have expressed the fear that the continuous inflow of refugees will upset the existing delicate balance between the Balochi and the Pakhtoons, and might even make the Balochi a minority in their own province. These afghan refugee and NWFP local public had same culture, language and traditions. So afghan refugees easily mixed with local public. But NWFP already faced the problem of unemployment. The result was that the streets of Peshawar, the provincial capital, was full of Afghans, some of them even carrying their weapons, wandering aimlessly, causing traffic problems, and generating apprehensions for law and order agencies⁵¹. The refugees created a serious problem for Pakistan like Economic burden, Law and order problem, Disturbed demography of N.W.F.P and Baluchistan, Burdened civic amenities,

⁵¹ Male, "Tiger," p. 57.

increased unemployment, Partial control over small businesses particularly in NWFP and Baluchistan.

2. Kalashnikov culture:

During the soviet-afghan war, the “Kalashnikov culture” flourished, when United State sent huge supplies of weapons through Pakistan to arm the Mujahideen. The afghan war provided enormous opportunities for business in illegal arms in NWFP and the culture of the Kalashnikov took firm root in Pakistan. Darra Adam Khal is village in Pakistan near the afghan border, has thrived as one of the world’s largest unofficial arms market⁵². This market is full of a verity of arms Japanese pistol to rapid fire guns, Chinese and Russia AK-47, anti tank missiles, anti –aircraft weapons⁵³.

3. Drug culture:

Islamic revolution in Iran closed the old drug traffic routes for the west. Soviet-afghan war provided best chance to drug trafficker to use the Pakistan way for their drug business. Afghan shifted herein and poppy in side the Pakistan. As a result, the afghan and the NWFP Pashtun cultivators produced around 70 percent of world high-grade herein and largest supplier. ⁵⁴ This drug trafficking destroyed international image of Pakistan.

4. Tourism industry:

Afghanistan war destroyed Pakistan’ tourism industry. Pakistan has beautiful place in NWFP. Every year thousands of visitors visited Kaghan, chilral, swat valley, Narun, Hazara. After, the soviet-afghan war visitor afraid to visit these areas.

⁵² The guardian(15 december2000),p.17

http://books.google.com/books?id=nhqRa0glD9oC&pg=PA212&lpg=PA212&dq=Kalashnikov+and+drug+culture+in+pakistan+and+afghan-soviet+war&source=bl&ots=i3QZzHCWDA&sig=846c6a3c7dEPZAsTnUhv3FtAQi8&hl=en&ei=SgAoSvvyFp6UjAfDl43VAw&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=3#PPA228,M1

⁵³ Taha Kartha”the diffusion of light weapons in Pakistan,” small wars and insurgencies vol,no 1(spring1997),p.80

⁵⁴ The herald (January 1986),pp59-60 and dawn (27 September 1993),p14

5. Galemjan culture:

During 1984-86 the KHAD used the socio-cultured means to destabilized Pakistan culture. Hundreds of prostitutes from central Asia and Russia entered Peshawar (NWFP) and Quetta (Baluchistan) to morally corrupt society⁵⁵. The BBC Urdu programme “sarbeen” reported the influx of more than 8,000 prostitutes of various ethnic origins (Afghani, Uzbek, Turkomani, Russian and Ukrainian)⁵⁶. These prostitutes established their network in different big cities like Lahore, Karachi and Islamabad. In Peshawar, these prostitutes used the Persian or Dari language. People of Peshawar called them Galemjan.

Post Soviet Withdrawal Time.

Through out its history, Afghanistan had never seen a central political system. Traditionally, the King’s rule was limited to the centre and extended to far off areas through the local chieftains who owed their allegiance to the King. The hasty Soviet departure without instituting a proper system of governance thus left a power vacuum which resulted into a civil war and total anarchy with provinces commandeered by local warlords. In the period ensuing Soviet withdrawal, the various Mujahedeen leaders who had amassed lot of weaponry and influence carved out areas of influence which invariably led to sectional infighting and Civil war.

This afghan civil war was not acceptable for Pakistan. It was great security threat for Pakistan. Pakistan government tried to stop the civil war and used its influence on different mujahedeen group.

⁵⁵ Zaheer ahmad, 'social corruption in Pashtun society,' Asian society no.2 ,vol.5(1986)p8.11 and 'gold gift for Pakistani Muslims', gulf news(1987),and newline no.1 vol (1987)

⁵⁶

http://books.google.com/books?id=nhqRa0glD9oC&pg=PA212&lpg=PA212&dq=Kalashnikov+and+drug+culture+in+pakistan+and+afghan-soviet+war&source=bl&ots=i3QZzHCWDA&sig=846c6a3c7dEPZAsTnUhv3FtAQi8&hl=en&ei=SgAoSvvyFp6UjAfD143VAw&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=3#PPA213,M1

In reaction to the anarchy and warlordism, a movement of former Mujahideen mostly Pashtuns who were educated in madarass in Pakistan surfaced.⁵⁷ They removed warlords, provided order, and imposed strict form of Islam in the country. Pakistan provided all the logistic supports to Taliban. In 1994 they captured Kandahar. By the end of 1998, they occupied about 90% of the country. Continuing their march, the Taliban on the dawn of September 27, 1996 established their government in the Kabul⁵⁸. Only Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, and the United Arab Emirates recognized the Taliban as Afghanistan's legitimate government. The relationship between the Taliban and bin Laden was close, even familial—bin Laden fought with the Mujahideen, had financed the Taliban, and had reportedly married one of his daughters to Mullah Muhammad Omar. The United Nations Security Council passed two resolutions, UNSCR 1267 (1999) and 1333 (2000), demanding that the Taliban cease their support for terrorism and hand over bin Laden for trial. Even after their ouster, the Taliban's brand of Islamist radicalism threatens to destabilize other countries in the region including Iran, China, Uzbekistan, and Pakistan.

The Taliban's relationship with Pakistan was especially problematic. A high percentage of the Taliban were ethnic Pashtuns; Pashtuns are a sizable minority in Pakistan and dominate the Pakistani military. Public support for the Taliban runs very high in the Pashtun North-West Frontier province (NWFP) where pro-Taliban groups have held uprisings and sought to emulate Taliban practices by performing public executions and oppressing women. Pakistan-Taliban relations gave the chance to religious extremist groups to establish their net work in Pakistani province (NWFP).

Pakistan has good relation with western world and US. But Pakistan-Taliban relations destroyed its image in whole world. On the base of this relation, India media started propaganda against Pakistan; Pakistan provided the shelter to terrorists.

⁵⁷ Kamal Matinuddin, *The Taliban Phenomenon, Afghanistan 1994 – 1997*, Oxford University Press, 1999, pp20-24.

⁵⁸ Abdul Sattar, *Afghanistan: Past, Present and Future, From Jihad to Civil War*, the Institute of Regional Studies, Islamabad, 1997, pp. 462-3.

United States invasion in Afghanistan

After 9/11, Pakistan joined the other world in war against terrorism.

1. Emergence in Pakistan

In October 2001, US invasion in Afghanistan, thousands of Taliban fighters and virtually the entire intact Taliban senior leadership shura (religious council) had found sanctuary in Pakistan's federally administered tribal area (FATA) at the center of the border, as well as in parts of the Pakistani province of Baluchistan to the west and the north west frontier province (NWFP) to the east and south. Taliban and other religion extremist elements are operating on both sides in Pakistan and Afghanistan. Taliban and extremist elements are killed thousands of civilians and policemen indifferent area of Pakistan. From the summer of 2007 to late 2008, more than 1,500 people were killed in suicide and other attacks on civilians.

These Taliban and religious elements are tried to enforce their agenda on Pakistani society and challenge the Pakistani constitution. Pakistan starts the army operation against them and kills the hundreds of Taliban in one month.

2. Suicide bombing attacks

After the September 11th attacks in the US, NATO forces launched ground attacks in Afghanistan, number of afghan immigrants shifted Afghanistan to Pakistan. Many Afghan immigrants were illiterate and unemployed, and some allegedly became mercenaries for foreign spy agencies like India RAW and MOSAD. In 2008, 61 suicide attacks, causing 889 casualties and 2,072 injuries, include the deadly "Marriot Blast". During this period, Pakistanis felt at risk while even moving around their own neighborhoods.⁵⁹

⁵⁹ http://www.huffingtonpost.com/groundreport/terrorism-causes-pakistan_b_161296.html

Conclusion

The Pak Afghan relations have seen many ups and downs. However, Afghanistan is Pakistan's Achilles' heel. As Pakistan has an active front towards the East, it needs a quiet and peaceful western border with Afghanistan. East and west confrontation is a nightmare Situation that would require huge increase in Pakistan's defence budget. Everyone desires to see a sovereign, independent Afghanistan which sustains its own statehood, in which no one interferes and which functions as a part of the legitimate global economy, generating wealth and welfare for its entire people.

Pakistan was significantly and directly affected by the Soviet invasion in Afghanistan. The invasion introduced many disturbing elements into Pakistan's strategic environment. Afghanistan, on its own, had never been able to pose much of a problem because Pakistan's military strength was regarded as more than sufficient to cope with Afghan threats. But a Soviet-backed and protected Afghanistan introduced many disturbing elements into Pakistan's security environment. The soviet invasion had generated fears and apprehension among many Pakistanis that their country would be the next target. Many Pakistanis believed that after consolidating its position in Afghanistan, Moscow will try to extend its influence beyond the Afghan borders, the argument that the Soviets were likely to use Afghanistan as a spring-board to destabilize Pakistan in order to gain much-desired access to a warm-water port on the Indian Ocean. Secondly, India in collusion with Soviet Union could attack on Azad Kashmir Pakistan. Soviet occupied Afghanistan was the great security threat for Pakistan. Given the existing situation, Pakistan faced a variety of security threats; an internal threat, an Indian threat, and the threat from Afghanistan. Pakistan had only one option to support resistance movement. General Zia decided in 1979 to provide support for the Afghan Mujahidin and Pakistani military started the guerilla war against soviet army. Pakistan and its intelligence agency Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) in alliance with the United States and Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) encouraged the Mujahideen to fight the war against the Soviet

Union. On the other hand, Pakistan decided to increase its military and nuclear power with the help of US.

In the period ensuing Soviet withdrawal, the various Mujahedeen leaders who had amassed lot of weaponry and influence carved out areas of influence which invariably led to sectional infighting and Civil war. This afghan civil war was not acceptable for Pakistan. It was great security and economical threat for Pakistan. Pakistan had the huge burden of afghan refugees. These refugees created a serious problem for Pakistan like Law and order problems. Many Afghan immigrants were illiterate and unemployed, and some allegedly became mercenaries for foreign spy agencies like India RAW and MOSAD. During the civil war, India and Iran tried to create their influence in Afghanistan. Since 1994, Pakistan provided the support to Taliban against warlordism and anarchy. In 1998 Taliban created a government in Kabul with the help of Pakistani army. But Taliban policies and Taliban Al Qaida relation destroyed image of Pakistan on international level. Pakistan-Taliban relations gave the chance to religious extremist groups to establish their net work in Pakistani province (NWFP). In 2001, after the US invasion and India involvement in Afghanistan, Pakistan joined coalition force in war against terrorism. Pakistan is playing a vital role as a front line state in war against terrorism. The US invasion in Afghanistan in October 2001, spurred an influx of Taliban and al-Qaida militant into the FATA that would eventually result in the consolidation of extremist control in the region. Public support for the Taliban runs very high in the North-West Frontier Province (NWFP). Religious elements are tried to enforce their agenda on Pakistani society and challenge the Pakistani constitution. From the summer of 2007 to late 2008, more than 1,500 people are killed in suicide and other attacks on civilians. Pakistan faces a variety of security threats; a religious extremist threat, an Indian threat, and the threat from Afghanistan. Second time Pakistan finds itself in a three-front threat scenario which no other South Asian state has ever experienced.

Pakistan's decision to join the Coalition against terrorism is considered a good opportunity to adopt a fresh approach towards Afghan. Rebuilding Afghanistan will be the next vital step towards a victory against different security threats. Pakistan's geo-

strategic interests require the re-establishment of a peaceful, stable and friendly Afghanistan. Pakistan should follow a proactive policy to remove the frictions, while avoiding interference in Afghan affairs. Irritants in the bilateral relations are resolved through sustained dialogue and negotiations. Pakistan should make all out efforts to effectively suppress the activities of suspected Al-Qaeda members and the Taliban remnants from Pakistani soil. To this end, Pakistan must render wholehearted cooperation to the coalition forces in eliminating the terrorists hiding along the Pak-Afghan border. However, Afghan or the coalition forces should not, under any circumstances, be allowed to operate inside Pakistani territory for obvious reasons. Afghan Government must be continuously apprised about the negative implications of the growing Indian presence in Afghanistan. At the same time Pakistan must expand its diplomatic reach to others areas by opening additional consulates in non-Pashtoon areas as well. On the military side, Pakistan should modernize and improve its missile and nuclear program.

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