

CHALLENGES IN PAK- AFGHAN RELATIONS



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FINAL APPROVAL LETTER

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Dedicated to

Dedicated to my beloved father who had always trusted my abilities and encouraged me in whatever I do, to my strong and ambitious mother who has been a role model in my entire, to my teachers who had always guided and polished my skills. Lastly, to my friend Maria who has been a constant support in the 4 years of Bachelors.

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ABSTRACT

This paper will focus on the bilateral relations of Pakistan and Afghanistan. It will track down the history of Pak-Afghan relation and the challenges in fostering friendly relations with Afghanistan. The first chapter will analyse the history and the challenges caused by Durand Line and Pakhtoonistan issue. The chapter will draw focus on 21st century relation specially Pakistan's foreign policy after 9/11. It will focus on emergence of Taliban and the challenges faced by the two nations during that time. Since 1947, Pak-Afghan relations have been influenced by Indian threat discernment, which made security an important determinant of Pakistan's foreign policy. The security dilemma which was there at the very beginning created mistrust between Pakistan and India and this influenced Pak-Afghan relations and highlighted mistrust in their bilateral ties. The third chapter is entirely on the most important challenge being posed by India. It discusses the Indian role in Pak-Afghan relations. Lastly, the forth chapter will analyse future prospects for Pakistan and Afghanistan, the ongoing peace talk and the US withdrawal from Afghanistan and its importance for Pakistan.

INTRODUCTION

South Asia is of diverse culture, races and religions and they were ruled by the person who so ever tried to conquer the South Asian land and was successful in his attempt. South Asia is one of the most important regions of the world due to many reasons. It covers approximately a quarter of world's population and a huge number of Islamic communities. It is a rising economic power and becoming a focal point for western investments. However, with rapid economic growth of South Asian region; the issue of poverty is still persistent.

¹ 'Six hundred million South Asian subsist on less than \$1.25 per day'.

Although, the region underwent urbanization, but still half of the population relies on agriculture. Since, decolonization the region has witnessed a lot of bloodshed. Alone, India and Pakistan had gone through three wars and the conflicts between them awakened serious nuclear arms race in South Asian region. According to the recent research, Pakistan possesses 140 to 150 warheads and India on the other hand possesses 130 to 140. The region also becomes a home to sectarian violence because of its diversity. Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism, Sikhism, Jainism simultaneously. Ethnicity and language also become an important source in defining the identities and these identities become highly politicized. South Asian history can be traced back to the invasions and migrations of Aryans, Muslims and British. These three waves gave a place to existent pluralism and diversity. The term South Asia possesses a complex and distorted history. Many scholars have used South Asia, Subcontinent and even India as synonyms. It is also defined through South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC). It includes

¹ Ian Talbot, *A History of Modern South Asia* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2017),13.

Pakistan, India, Sri Lanka, Bhutan, Bangladesh, Maldives and Afghanistan became a permanent member in 2006. The late nineteenth century marked the beginning of new happenings. The ideas of nationalism, unity and self-rule started accessing the minds of South Asian people.

The wave of nationalism also touched the minds of Muslims of Sub-continent and hence, in the middle of 20th century Pakistan appeared on the world map. Pakistan came into being after an extensive struggle of Muslims of sub-continent to preserve their own Muslim identity. Muslims of Sub-continent were of the view that they might get under the domination of Hindu if they didn't get freedom from the British. So, first they freed themselves from the extensive colonial rule and then from Hindu domination. Under the colonial rule the serious confrontation occurred between Muslims and Hindus although, before British they were living together peacefully but when the Hindus tried to gain the upper hand and acceptance from the British the serious issues started taking place. This was very much alarming for the Muslims hence, they started struggling for independence.

After the partition, the father of the nation, Quaid e azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah was in favour of building the strong ties with the neighbour but unfortunately, it didn't happen at all. Pakistan is a one blessed nation which started getting acceptance from the Muslim world right after its birth. Jinnah was also in favour of structuring the strong relations with the Muslim world for that he made strong ties Kamal Ataturk of Turkey. He called him "the

greatest Musalman in the modern Islamic world”². Quaid-e-Azam, even raised his voice for the Palestinian cause in 1945 before the partition. Quaid-e-Azam, a man of letters and integrity, was never in favour of solving the disputes and confrontations with the hostile and aggressive attitude. He was in favour of peaceful existence with the neighbour. His dream was to make Pakistan a strong strategic actor in the world; a state, which will set the precedent for the other Muslim states. After his death, Liaqat Ali Khan, the follower of Quaid-e-Azam and a very learned man tried to follow the footsteps of the father of the nation. The very first foreign minister, Sir Zafarullah Khan was also in favour of opting the peaceful means to end the confrontations with the neighbour. The start was very promising for Pakistan because all the powers lied to Quaid but the real problems started occurring right after his death. He left the great vacuum which, the then, Pakistani leadership was unable to fill. That vacuum left by Quaid lead to rise of the juvenile policymakers in Pakistan and hence, their immature policies became a great obstacle in forming healthy relations.

Pakistan’s foreign policy went through several phases starting from 1947-1953 which are popularly known as “years of non-alignment”. This was the period of intense cold war and the Pakistani leadership made a consensus that they will remain neutral during this period, but this didn’t happen and the domestic weaknesses of politicians’ lead Pakistan to come into an alliance with USA. This decision which was to be taken by the civilian leadership was in actual taken by the then, C-in-C General Ayub Khan. This showed that how weak and fragile our politicians were. The decision to join US alliance in 1954, proved worst for Pakistan, as the alliance with the US proved itself very

² Abdul Sattar, *Pakistan’s Foreign Policy 1947-2012 ed.* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2013),19.

expensive and heavy for Pakistan. That step wasn't farsighted and mature because Pakistan faced repercussions of that decision after decades and still facing.

Foreign policy of Pakistan was first formulated and outlined by its founder and first Governor General, Quaid e Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah. Like other states, Pakistan too defined its Foreign policy objective. "Some of them included, Advancement of Pakistan as a vital, free, and majority rule Islamic nation, to grow amicable ties with all nations of the world, particularly with important states and prompt friendly neighbours, shielding its interest specifically one with Kashmir, Uniting our business and financial participation with worldwide network, Guaranteeing ideal usage of national assets for territorial and global collaboration"³. The above-mentioned tenets of Pakistan's foreign policy played a vital role at the beginning. However, it has been criticised a lot due to weakened national policies and military intervention from the last seven decades. Foreign policy of Pakistan has also undergone a lot of pressures from the neighbouring states it was not only the weaknesses of the state actors which didn't let Pakistan to have strong relations with the neighbouring countries but with that comes the "bilateral hostilities" as well since its inception. Pakistan has four important neighbouring countries that includes, India, Afghanistan, China and Iran. China had been a strong strategic friend since Pakistan got independence. Pakistan also shares friendly ties with Iran till the Iranian revolution. Both the states were the establishers of ECO. The relations remain friendly even in cold war but turned hostile due to sectarian issues right after the Iranian revolution

³ "Foreign Policy Objectives." Ministry of Foreign Affairs Government of Pakistan, accessed June 2019, <http://www.mofa.gov.pk/index.php>

of 1978. Since, then many ups and downs have occurred between the two states and recently, both are trying to maximize the ties by including Iran in CPEC and by commencement of Pakistan-Iran gas pipeline.

Pakistan's major issues are with India and Afghanistan with whom Pakistan shares the extensive borders. The clashes with both states started occurring right after Partition and still both are boiled and resentful. There are a lot of reasons for the hostilities of these states

Pakistan and Afghanistan are two border sharing states. Pakistan shares one of the largest borders with Afghanistan that is, 2430 kilometres along the Durand line. This was first announced in 1893 between Mortimar Durand, the British Diplomat and Amir Abdur Rehman of Afghanistan. Both agreed to the boundary agreement to prevent clashes between Afghanistan and India and to propagate the bilateral cooperation. Afghanistan at that time was considered as the Princely State.

The real trouble started after Afghanistan's refusal to accept the independence of Pakistan as a sovereign entity and vetoed against Pakistan in UN in September 1947. The major concern of Afghanistan was the Durand line boundary agreement. Per them, the boundary agreement was illegal because it was separating the Pashtoons of Afghanistan and Pakistan who share the same culture and ethnicity. Moreover, Afghans were misled by the Indian National Congress that Pakistan will not be able to survive for long. The then prime minister of Afghanistan even said that "Frontier Province should become a part of Afghanistan if a separate Pukhtoonistan is impossible to eastablish"

⁴For that Abdul Ghaffar Khan, a pro Congress man led a Red shirt party which was supported by the two major foes of Pakistan that are Afghanistan and India to separate KPK from Pakistan.

However, Pakistan's foreign policy always remained friendly towards Afghanistan as compared to India and always tried to develop friendly and cooperative relations with Afghanistan apart from some serious blunders made by the state actors of Pakistan in Afghan war and faced the repercussions back at home after the end of war.

Muhammad Daoud came to power on 17 July 1973 in Afghanistan. Daoud's policies were pro Soviet. He built ties with Soviet power to gather strength against Pakistan and to make a strong footing in Afghanistan for his own regime. Soviet started supporting People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) to make Afghanistan their buffer zone. Upon seeing this Daoud started making friendly relations with Pakistan and other Muslim world to culminate the Soviet designs. The PDPA contested Daoud in a revolt in 1978 and killed him and his family members, overthrowing his regime. Nur Muhammad gained the power under the umbrella of PDPA but wasn't supported by the traditional Afghans and hence, led to the murder of Taraki's murder in September 1979. On 26th of December 1979, the Soviet's military marched into the Afghan territory and supported Babrak Karmal to assume the office of president.

The problematic situation across the border of Pakistan created a panic in Pakistani soil because it was apprehended that Russia wants to gain control

⁴ Christopher Jefferlot, *The Pakistan Paradox: Instability and Resilience* (Hurst Publishers, 2014)

over the warm ports of Arabian sea that's why it first targeted Afghanistan. According to political history of Pakistan, that time was the weakest of Pakistan in case of politics. Zia ul Haq, the then Prime Minister in Pakistan raised its voice for Afghanistan and hence, make an allegiance with US to wage a war against Soviet power. Before the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, Pakistan and US were not having friendly relations because Carter's administration had put sanctions on Pakistan which created a rift between two. Reagan's government granted economic and military support and hence Pakistan prepared Afghan Mujihdeen for Guerrilla warfare.

After the tiring efforts of Afghan Mujahideen Soviets lost the war at the end of Geneva Accords of 1988. A coalition government of Mujahideen and Najibullah came to power and formed the government in Afghanistan.

Pakistan was not happy of this coalition government because Zia had his own intentions to gain power in Afghanistan through Mujhadeen and Najibullah was a hardliner communist. This unsettling situation gave birth to the Taliban in Afghanistan which, they claim that Pakistan supported Taliban and provided them the base in Pakistan. Taliban is a very different phenomenon from the Mujahedeen as, Mujahedeen fought for the liberation and Taliban to gain power in Afghanistan. Taliban showed the greater act of brutality towards the innocent Afghans. The rate of murders, looting, rapes increased in Afghanistan.

The tectonic change occurred when on, 11 September 2001 USA was attacked by Taliban's. This arose the feeling of tension in Pakistan and the President Musharraf called upon the meeting to discuss the policy matters with the state

actors. It was decided that Pakistan will shift its alliance with USA on war against terror and will put an end to the terrorist's activities and Taliban. This badly hurt the Afghan brethren because they were considered as foes again. This was the huge mistake done by the state actors because Pakistan is still facing the consequences of that in form of bomb blasts. Pakistan also got isolated in the neighbourhood. The hostilities against Pakistan in Afghanistan, considering Pakistan their enemy. This extremely weekend the relations because both the countries are involved in using Taliban against each other. The purpose of the following research is to carve out the policy implications for Pakistan and to formulate guidelines for Pak afghan relations and to analyse the current geopolitical structure of the region.

PROBLEM STATEMENT

Due to the weak domestic politics, Pakistan has faced a lot of challenges in framing a sound foreign policy which will harbour friendly relations with its Eastern neighbour. From the very beginning, Pakistan and Afghanistan had been hostile to each other. It all started when Afghanistan choose to vote against Pakistan in UN after its inception. The purpose of this study is to curve out the historical background which hindered Pak Afghan relation. Following research will focus on the effects of Durand Line Agreement on Pak Afghan relations since 1947 till the Afghan War while explaining policy measures of Pakistan post 9/11 and the effects it had on Pakistan Afghanistan relations. Lastly, the study will explain that why third parties have stakes in Pak Afghan relation?

Hypothesis

Pakistan and Afghanistan are the by-product of colonial rule. Pakistan after 1947 tried its best to formulate friendly relations with Afghanistan but the Afghan political leaders succumbed to the notion that Pakistan's western areas belong to Afghanistan hence, they didn't accept the Durand line since then. Since, 1947 the issue of Durand Line had played a very adversarial role. The first border skirmish due to Durand Line happened in 1949 which provoked a six-day war. Across the history of Pakistan, Durand Line had agreement had proved to hinder brotherly relations between both the states. The only peace and settlement period between both the states was during the Afghan war of 1979 in which Pakistan, with the help of USA trained Mujahideen against Soviet Union. The next peace period was between 1992 to 1996 when Afghan Taliban came to power in Afghanistan. The post 9/11 saw a very turbulent period between Afghanistan and Pakistan. Pakistan's policy to join war on terror with USA offended the Afghan Taliban hence, creating mistrust and dubitation on both sides.

Third parties like India had played a significant role in disrupting Pakistan Afghanistan relations. India had always carried on with the policy of your enemy's enemy is your friend. Henceforth, India used it as an advantage over Pakistan and manipulated Pashtoons on both sides. India always opposed Taliban regime in Afghanistan because Afghan Taliban had a soft corner for Kashmir issue and supported Pakistan on their stance. India fears this therefore, to maintain its hegemony in the region India is playing its role in Afghanistan since 1947.

CHAPTER NO. 1

PAKISTAN AFGHANISTAN RELATIONS: A HISTORICAL ANALYSIS

"From the very beginning, there have been two dominating issues between Afghanistan and Pakistan. The first one is s of Durand Line, the border which both states share and issue of Pakhtoonistan, the movement in NWFP province of Pakistan"⁵⁵. The advent of English people sub-continent was merely not based on trade. The establishment of East India company in 1600 paved way for British permanent raj in the South Asian region for 200 years. They did not limit themselves to trade only but actual, they both attained and maintained integral position in India hence, limiting Russia to come for warm waters of Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean.

History of Durand Line

The English never had any common borders with Afghanistan and it was never a part of their plan, but they do had plans for the protection of sub-continent and Asia and their strong hold in this region against Russia which resulted in "The Great Game" in Central Asia. Dost Muhammad, the then Amir of Afghanistan's demise in 1863 brought his son Sher Ali and he succeeded to occupy the throne of Kabul in 1870. In the meantime, the English went on a war with Sikhs hence, bringing an end to the Sikh Kingdom of the Punjab. The Anglo-Sikh War was fought in 1848 to 49. British rulers had always been so keen for power after defeating Sikhs, they occupied the Punjab and made it a province under British crown. "The present-day areas of Khyber

⁵⁵ "Pak-Afghan Relations: The Durand Line Issue." *Institute of Policy Studies Islamabad*, March 28, 2019. <https://www.ips.org.pk/pak-afghan-relations-the-durand-line-issue/>

Pakhtoonkwan were at that time part of the Sikh kingdom, they were also brought under British crown with the inclusion of Punjab⁶. After the annexation of Punjab, Afghanistan became the immediate neighbour of British crown. The worst had yet to come, the war of 1857 against British ruler put an end to Muslim era in sub-continent and everything directly came under the East India Company. East India became the sole rule of the region. 'The Russian 'threat' was the driving force in formulation of foreign policy for Central Asia, Afghanistan and the regions near Trans Indus. In this regard, two schools of thoughts came forth in England. One which advocated the "Close Border Policy" while the second was in favour of the "Forward Policy"⁷

The change in government in England brought conservatives into power who used forward policy which exacerbated the tension between Afghanistan and India. The then Afghan Amir Sher Ali Khan refused to discontinue communication with Russians and with that he also denied receiving English assistance in Kabul, posing a threat to British rulers. The tensions grew and British ended up occupying the areas of Kurram valley, Pashin, Sibi and the Khyber Pass.

The tensions between the two alleviated when Abdur Rehman, nephew of Sher Ali came to power and restored the order in Afghanistan. Afghanistan was now a protectorate state caught between the two great powers like Russia and British India, its boundaries were yet to be finalised. The issue of unannounced boundaries flourished anxieties between Afghanistan, England and Russia. Hence, Russia demarcated its boundaries with Afghanistan in 12

⁶ Dr. Sultan Rome "The Durand Line Agreement 1893: Its Pros and Cons", *Valley Sawat*, April 19, 2004.

⁷ *ibid.*

June 1888 while occupying Punjeh which was a part of Afghan territory. This motivated British to demarcate Boundaries with Afghanistan. After much delay and hue and cry the boundaries were demarcated in 1893. An assignment carried by Sir Motamir Durand the then, foreign secretary was sent to Afghanistan. The Amir was resentful of the map which sent to him, all the areas under the Waziri, New Chaman, and the railway station located there, Chageh, Bulund Khel, the entire of Mohmand, Asmar, and Chitral, and other areas which came in between, were marked as under the control of India." The then Amir acquainted the viceroy of his fears which he thought would come to sight after taking away the areas under the British control.

The British rulers were so insisted and persistent on getting the said tribal areas. In the following circumstances, a Mission under Mortimer Durand was sent which left from Peshawar on 19 September 1893 which reached Kabul on 2nd October 1893. The success of Sir Mortimer Durand's mission to Afghanistan in 1893 was solely based on his humble and kind gesture of entering in Kabul without any royal escort but preferred only to stay there as a friend of the Amir. The Mission was well greeted and warmly welcomed, and negotiations held in peaceful and friendly atmosphere hence proving a success of negotiations. "The result of that was the agreement between Kabul and the British empire, which was signed on 12 November 1893 by Amir of Afghanistan and Henry Mortimer Durand, commonly known as "Durand Line Agreement."⁸

⁸ibid.

Post Partition Relation: 1947-1979

Muslim Ummah was used a basic concept in the independence movement. Pakistan's independence revolved around Islamic ideologies. A state which is bound to be a symbol strength, and which will solidify other Muslim states as well, a state which will lead the Islamic world and prove to be aegis for them. These were the core concepts of the idea of independent Muslim state. According to the first Prime Minister of Pakistan, Liaqat Ali Khan, 'A cardinal feature of this ideology (of Pakistan) is to make Muslim brotherhood a living reality. It is therefore, part of the mission which Pakistan has set before itself to do everything in its power to promote closer fellowship and cooperation between Muslim countries'.⁹ Henceforth, these have been the guiding principles from the beginning to develop cordial and friendly relations with the world but Muslim Ummah should be given preference over others. Pakistan was able to have friendly acceptance from all the Muslims countries except from Aafghanistan which continues till date.

In case of Afghanistan geographical location has played a very negative role then the binding role the Muslim Ummah and brotherhood was expected to play. It is a lamentable and distressful fact that Afghanistan has maintained the hostilities from the very beginning of 1947. Firstly, it refused to accept Pakistan, then it denied of Durand Line as well. The heart of Afghanistan's grievances over Pakistan are the issue of Durand line and the Pakhtoonistan issue. Over the history Pakistan had to live with these issues because neighbours cannot be changed.

⁹ Hasan Askari Rizvi, "Pakistan: Ideology and Foreign Policy," *Asian Affairs* 10, no. 1(1983): 48-59.

Afghanistan wanted to gain control over NWFP now known as KhyberPakhtoon Khwan hence they made Durand Line and Pakhtoonistan an issue for both states. They also wanted to gain control over other areas which were under the reign of Ahmad Shah Abdali's conquered territories but for a shorter period. These lands were demarcated and given to British Raj in 1893 under a treaty signed by Amir Abdur Rehman. Amid 1940's it was very apparent that Britain is going to give independence to India and will make two parts of this region. The then government of Afghanistan demanded that in case of independence and British departure from sub-continent, the whole pakhtoon region including Indus should be given back to Afghanistan or there is one other possible way that people of NWFP should be given choice of independent sovereign state Since then, Afghanistan is playing a chief role for the establishment of, 'Pakhtoonistan'. The reason given by Afghans for the cause of Pakhtoonistan was that since Hindus and Muslims got independence so by parity of reason, a further partition must be done to make Pakhtoonistan and that will be give identity and homeland to Pakhtoons. This created a problem for Pakistan. Pakistan didn't get independence on the basis of ethnic differences but it was demanded due to religious differences with the Hindus who were in majority in India. Afghan mislead the notion of partition by making it an ethnic issue. Therefore, Referendum was held for the fate of KhyberpakhtoonKwah in which 289244 votes were in favour and 2874 against. This voting pattern showed the desire of the people of the Khyberpakhtoon Khwan in affirmative term. Afghanistan never accepted this reality and became the sole country to vote against the entry of Pakistan in United Nations in 1947.

The stage denotes the disastrous start of the bilateral relations, initiating from the inception of Pakistan in 1947 and proceeds till 1963. The stage portrays how the seeds of contention and disagreement were sown and advanced between the two neighbours by the personal stakes. “while talking about Pakistan and Afghanistan relations, President Ayub explained two ideas which prevailed in Afghan mindset. The first one was that Pakistan has no guiding principle to rule, it won't be a free sovereign and it would be accurate for Afghans to open up their stance for Durand line. The second misinterpretation was based on the notion that if Pakistan succeed in making an organized lawful society, it would undermine the situation in Kabul for Afghan rulers. ”¹⁰. Pakistan, since its beginning, is battling for its survival as a free and sovereign nation against overwhelming chances. It has acquired an antagonistic neighbour, multiple times bigger in population and territory, which still believed in greater India which started from Ammu to the cove of Bengal. In this way, Pakistan was left with no other options yet to keep up a remote approach of amicability and generosity towards the entire world, the major powers and particularly with its neighbouring states. Moreover, Pakistan's solid connection to its Islamic ideology which has incited to uphold cosy, heartfelt and caring relations as basic tenant of its outside approach. Pakistan was already facing India in the East, couldn't envision to manage the cost of another threatening country on its West and couldn't afford antagonistic Afghanistan. Pakistan's escape was only by having cordial relations with its western neighbour. It was only Afghanistan which could help Pakistan for hostile neighbour. Be that as it may, difficulties have always been

¹⁰ Muhammad Ayub Khan, *Friends not Master London*, (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1967), 174-175.

a part and parcel of Pakistan. Kabul refused to perceive the Durand Line agreement as an internationally demarcated boundary and its interest with respect to Pakhtoonistan was a very disturbing start. "Henceforth, Afghanistan was the main nation to contradict Pakistan's entrance into the UN, moulding its argument upon the notion that the privilege of right to choose should be given to the general population of Pakistan's KhyberpakhtoonKhwān"¹¹.

The period started from 1947 was a time when Afghanistan had put huge pressure on Pakistan for Pakhtoonistan and India supported Afghanistan on their stance. Afghan radio promulgated war in case Pakistan denounces Afghani demands. Still Pakistan managed to soften its stance for Afghanistan. Mr. I.I chundigarh was sent to Afghanistan to pursue mission assigned to him by Sardar Abur Rab Nishtar in Afghan Jashne Azadi celebrations. Pakistan was agreed to pull back its troops from the border so that trust could prevail between two states. This couldn't end the hostility between two states. "In a Kabul festival in 1950, Afghan ruler Zahir shah announced Pakistan as its enemy. The Afghan Air Force raised the Afghan flags and badly molested the Pakistani flag. Giving a hostile message to Pakistan"¹². This did not just end here "A pakhtoon parliament was also set in tribal areas of Pakistan"¹³. Sporadic powers from Aafghanistan crossed Pakistan's border assaulting on the Afghan office in Peshawar and hence it forced Pakistan government to restrict Afghan products.

¹¹ Mohib Ullah Durani and Ashraf Khan, "Pakistan-Afghan Relations: Historic Mirror," The Dialogue Volume IV Number 1:

http://www.qurtuba.edu.pk/thedialogue/The%20Dialogue/4_1/02_ashraf.pdf

¹² Mujtaba Rizvi, *The frontiers of Pakistan*, (Karachi: National Publishing House, 1971), 156-57

¹³ Curmally, "The Great Game and the Durand Line", opcit. 2009, p. 64

Pakistan's banner was raised again in September 1955 at the government office and the Afghan insignia flew over it. External forces had always been a driving force for Pak Afghan relation. Soviet Union was against Pakistan's admission in CEATO and CENTO. The wrong moves in foreign policy of Pakistan had been creating problems for Pakistan in the coming years. At that time socialism was its peak hence, socialist leaders were promoting socialist ideas around the globe. For that matter, Nikita Khurshchev visited Afghanistan and India. In India Socialist pioneers supported New Delhi's situation on Kashmir and in Afghanistan reported Moscow's sponsorship for the Afghans on Pakhtoonistan, swore \$100 million in monetary guide and offered military assistance. The visit helped Soviet Russia in making Afghanistan a satellite state for its own strategic purposes. Seeing this alarmed the world specially America. Hence, America including Iran, Egypt and Saudia Arabia made reconciliatory efforts between the two states and advised Pakistan to not to take any strict action Afghanistan. Since inception, Pakistani leadership tried to made strong bilateral relations with Afghanistan and for that matter its leadership paid several visits like in 1956 Iskander Mirza visited Afghanistan and his visit was followed by Suhrawardy back in 1957. The visits just not end here in fact, Afghan rulers also visited Pakistan King Zahir Shah in 1958 visited Pakistan and Sardar Daud in 1959. Visits like these helped in developing frame of mind of compromise on the two sides. Sikandar Mirza and Daud consented to consign political issue to the lower need and yielded to investigate U.S proposals, which conceived setting up a travel zone in Karachi, giving exceptional moving stock to the Afghan exchange, incorporating short railroad goads with Afghanistan from the current railheads

at the border towns of Chaman and Landi Kotal, and improving streets and distribution centre offices inside Afghanistan. "Improvement of the following offices was to cost about \$30 million that should have been funded by the United States"¹⁴.

According to Ayub Khan, Daud had a firm believe that Soviet Union will win at the end if cold war hence, he absolutely followed Soviet lines while encouraging them into Afghanistan. Soviets were more smarter than Afghan rulers, they were building the Afghanistan in a way which would help them out later on in case of Afghan invasion. America did not approve of Pakistan's extreme hard-line policy against Afghanistan because it was only pushing Afghanistan more close to Soviet Union which was not acceptable to America. One more episode happened which accelerated Soviet involvement in Afghanistan. America used U2 Peshhwar lines which outraged Soviet Union over Pakistan. Since the event of U-2-episode, USSR bolstered each Afghan motive to disengage or harm Pakistan in any perspective. In the fall of 1961, another cross-border fringe took place with the help of India the Afghan tribesmen entered Pakistani territory. Following these attacks, the Pak-Afghan relations once again came to an end and conclusion of Afghanistan's offices and exchange workplaces in Peshawar and Quetta that were swung to be focuses of disruption. In striking back, Kabul severed conciliatory relations, shut the fringe and suspended travel exchange with Pakistan. The new remain off successfully cut land-bolted Afghanistan off from a large portion of the world, abandoning it reliant on transportation joins with the Soviet Association, incredibly constrained access to Iranian territory and with to India

¹⁴Mohib Ullah Durani and Ashraf Khan, "Pakistan-Afghan Relations: Historic Mirror," The Dialogue Volume IV Number 1:

through air. This badly affected Afghan economy and the political framework. America, focusing on its worries on developing Soviet impact in Kabul, moved to deal with the emergencies by giving offer of great workplaces to both nations. America, to curtail Soviet involvement gave and offer of reviving Afghan offices in Pakistan. Pakistan gave permission to a rail interface near Quetta, but it chose to close Peshawar for Afghanistan. "America had put a lot of pressure on Pakistan since forever hence, in 1962 under the weight of American pressure Pakistan once again permitted Afghanistan in the outskirts and a gathering among Pakistan and Afghanistan outside clergymen in New York, USA"¹⁵. In any case, the credit of effective dialogue goes to Iranian efforts that figured out how to accommodate the two states on Tehran Accord of 1963.

The 1960's saw a very homogenized period between Afghanistan and Pakistan. the problem of mistrust which was there since ever was gone and both the states were getting along. This all was because Daud was not in power. The period of harmony was once again caught into fire when in July 1973, Sardar Daud, who always had been staunch supporter of Pakhtoonistan removed King Zahir Shah who at that time was on a visit to Europe. The liberal powers in Afghanistan conspired with Soviet Union and helped Daud coming to power again. These left powers were for the most part from the Parcham wing (under Babrak Karmal) of the Socialist Individuals' Vote based Gathering (PDP). Daud, nullified the government and introduced a republic under his very own administration. Pro Soviet components which help Daud to gain control started meddling state arrangements which was alarming for

¹⁵ Dennis Kux, *The United States and Pakistan, 1947-2000*, (John Hopkins University Press, 2001), 124.

Islamabad and made it apprehensive of Soviet motives. During his last statesmanship in Afghanistan as the Prime Minister of Afghanistan, Afghan-Pak remained hostile towards each other till his removal in 1963. His coming back to power consequently hindered the procedure of harmony and rapprochement and it was sucked in the centre and was to be turned around after his arrival back to power

Old record of Daud was never in favour of Pakistan in fact, he had been previously involved in propensities in Pakistan. so, it was expected that he will once again use the Pakhtoon and Baloch living on the border. "During 70s Afghanistan gave safe havens to Maree and Bugti who were involved in radicalistic activities in Pakistan"¹⁶. Daoud had been accused of supporting Baloch agitators across the western border of Pakistan. Pakistan deployed troops across its border to control the situation. Baloch revolts are not newer phenomenon infact, they are carved out by the self-rule designs of Baloch. For that matter there had been significant revolts of 1948, 1953 and 1956 and 1958. Likewise, Pakhtoon question of self-rule was also not a new thing but was a continuation of Pakhtoonistan. Unfortunately, Pakistan has suffered from the hands of incompetent leadership which saw them as secessionist movement but not as political demands and saw them as agitations triggered by Kabul to break the status quo and peace in Pakistan. These were countered by Pakistan in a way that Pakistan gave save havens to Baloch insurgents who were working against Afghanistan. Pakistan decided to help anti Daud forces in Afghanistan to destabilise his power in Afghanistan. For that matter, Pakistan aggravated the sentiments of Islamists in Afghanistan against the

¹⁶ Mohib Ullah Durani and Ashraf Khan, "Pakistan-Afghan Relations: Historic Mirror," The Dialogue Volume IV Number 1:

socialist designs. They were trained in Pakistan and they were given backing to uphold insurgencies in Afghanistan. "people like Gulbaddin Hekmat Yar, Ahmad Shah Masood, and Burhan-ud- Rabbani were sponsored by Pakistan against Socialist and Daud motives. They were operated from Peshawar"¹⁷. According to reports, approximately 5000 Afghan militants and non-conformists were trained in Pakistan by Pakistan's top class military and intelligence force.

In International Relations, states see the benefit of their state first that's what happened to Iranian motives. Iran didn't approve of Daud's Insurgency in Balochistan because it feared that the separatist movements in Pakistan would ignite the Balochs of Iran as well. Moreover, seeing Pakistan's retaliation Daoud decided to do settlement with Pakistan and for that Bhutto paid a visit and in return Daud also visited Pakistan in 1976. Both the leaders were given a very warm welcome by the populace on both the sides. These reconciliatory efforts by both sides worked a lot and the pressure on both sides reduced, the peaceful co-existence was assured. Dr Babar Shah opines in his article "Pakistan's Afghanistan arrangement: An Assessment' that Bhutto freed the leaders of National Awami party of the blame that they were supporting the cause of pakhtoonistan and Daud came to the settlement to endorse Duran Line as a border between both states"¹⁸. Daud sidelined himself from the Soviet power and tried to take help from Iran and crushed the PDP. Be that as it may, the harmonious period was hindered once again when Bhutto's era came to an end in Pakistan and the pro Socialist powers took control in

¹⁷ Khawar Hussain, *Pakistan's Afghanistan Policy*, (Monterey California: Naval Postgraduate School, 2005), 22-23

¹⁸ Dr. Babar Shah, "Pakistan's Afghanistan policy: An Evaluation' op. cit. last accessed 21 June 2019

Afghanistan. Kabul was under the control of President Noor Muhammad Taraki, Hafiz Aman ullah as Prime Minister and Babrak Kamal was the Deputy Prime Minister. They were chosen by the people's gathering. Pakistan has always been apprehensive of Socialist regime in Afghanistan so, once against Pakistani leadership feared the security of Pakistan. Pakistan once again came up with the idea of going against the socialist designs of Noor Muhammad Taraki and strongly help the forces against him. "Pakistan always has its hands full. During 1978, while supporting anti socialist government in Afghanistan Pakistan some 150,000 displaced people which happened to reside in Pakistan during the Saur Insurgency."¹⁹. In December 1978 PDPA marked a kinship arrangement with the Soviet Association. In 1979, another overthrow of power came to sight in Afghanistan when, Hafizullah Amin overthrew Taraki government while murdering him announced himself as the President. Soviet considered Amin as more stubborn than others and hence, attacked Afghanistan while executing him and intruding Kamal as the new ruler.

Bilateral relations from 1979 to 1992

Soviet Russia attacked Afghanistan on 27th December 1979 killing Hafizullah and introducing Babrak as the new ruler. This whole scenario escalated unrest among Pakistan. "Zia has always been propagating Islamic brotherhood and he was trying to develop brotherly relations with Afghanistan, but the Moscow attack hurt his sentiments of Islamic brethren and enhanced the sense of

¹⁹ Rifaat Hussain "Pakistan's relations with Afghanistan: continuity and change".

insecurity”²⁰. At that time, Iran was also undergoing a revolution, the Soviet intrusion was similar like that and of Baloch insurgency in Pakistan. Russian powers were now so close to Pakistan and were situated within an hour flying time of the Persian Inlet, Indian Sea and Baloch territory. Soviet Union was the landlocked area and required warm ports and for that Pakistan was hindering Soviet troops to achieve its desired goal. Henceforth, Soviet’s marching in of Afghanistan was not only seen as threat for Pakistan but for Iran and Persian Gulf as well. Pakistan was trapped in a situation in which it has to deal with the super power at its doorstep. By carefully examining the situation, Pakistan made strategic moves and tried to choose the best policies at that time which it considered to be best.

Pakistan was left with three choices to make, the first one was to admit the fact that Moscow had taken control of Afghanistan, the second one was to put pressure of Soviet Russia like other states and the third one was to support the movements inside Afghanistan and help it getting freedom. As indicated by Mr. Abdul Sattar, ex- Pakistan’s Foreign Secretary "The Soviet military intercession incited a profound feeling of caution in Pakistan. Suddenly, the support vanished and if the Soviet rulers combined their control in Afghanistan they could utilize it as springboard to achieve the warm waters of the Bedouin Ocean. Pakistan couldn't stand to submit in the Soviet intercession. Be that as it may, neither would it be able to bear the cost of an encounter with a super power. Islamabad along these lines settled on the center course, staying away from showdown however raising a low-pitched voice of concern and challenge." America while taking into account the possible

²⁰ Dennis Kux., *The United States and Pakistan, 1947-2000: Disenchanted Allies* (Baltimore: John Hopkins, 2000), 245.

repercussions, chose to reinforce its provincial security arrange trying to contain the socialist extension. President Carter, on May 4, 1980, announced: 'We will give military gear, nourishment and other help to enable Pakistan to protect its freedom, its people and its national security from the genuinely expanded risk from the north.'²¹

US took advantage of Pakistan's security concerns and hence, used its region for the war against the Soviet Russia. Carter's administration granted 400 million monetary and military assistance to Pakistan which Pakistan rejected due to the severity of war in Afghanistan. After Ronald Reagan came to power in 1980 in United States of America endorsed the critical situation of Pakistan in war and hence doubled the financial aid to 3.2 billion America's supply of arms, ammo and hardware to the Mujahideen, was channelled through Pakistan's Intelligence agency. "The secretive guide for raising, preparing and overseeing Mujahideen in to the combat zone was so high that it went to 400 million by 1984 and 60 million approximately over the year"²². The main beneficiary of this guide was Hezb-I-Islami of Gulbuddin Hekmatyar. "Pakistani militia worked hard on Mujahideen and hence, it was tere hard work that Moscow had suffered a draining defeat in Afghanistan"²³.

In 1986, the then ruler of Soviet Russia paid a visit to India and there he discussed political settlement of long and exhausting war. The period saw the disintegration of mighty Soviet Union. The announcement by Gorbachev gave a way to new policy measures in Pakistan. On the one hand political

²¹ Abdul Sattar, "Afghanistan: Past, Present and Future, From Jihad to Civil War", The Institute of Regional Studies, Islamabad, 1997: 462-63.

²² Ibid, 274

²³ Mikhail Gorbachev, 'window to the East' speech in Vladivostok, 1986

leadership carving out the plan to withdraw from Afghanistan and on the other hand Pakistan was facing bomb blast on its urban areas one of them was of Ojiri camp explosion which happened to be in 1988. Under super powers guidance, the final accord came to sight in 1988. The points of Agreement were that Soviet troops would have to leave Afghanistan within the time period of 9 months and the initial evacuation of half of the troops would be done within first three months, the agreement also adhered Pakistan and Afghanistan in cross border violations., The super powers would suffer a one-year ban on transfer of ammunition. The worst part was that it left Afghanistan in the state of civil war without any appropriate government to rule there. According to the agreement, Soviet Union left Afghanistan but this exit followed the eight years of turmoil and civil war in Afghanistan.

The problem started in Afghanistan when the leader Gulbadin Hikmat yar was denied of power in Afghanistan in result of plot of Barhanuddin Rabbani and Ahmed Shah Masoud. This was against the accord. The new power struggle in Afghanistan, gave way to another civil war which was south on ethnic lines. The Afghan leader Rabbani failed to respect the Accord on 1994 and hence, announced himself as the President of Afghanistan. "The battle of Mujahideen during 1992 to 1994 saw a huge loss of life. approximately, 45000 men died during the war. It damaged the social and political structure"²⁴. Pakistan was furious on the condition in Afghanistan. It blamed Rabbani of treachery because he went against the Peshawar accord and join hands with India which was once again not in favour of Pakistani interests. During the Afghan invasion, Pakistan was loved on Afghani soil but all that love and support

²⁴ Frontier Post, 1st June, 1994

vanished away and the Pakistan people in Afghanistan were termed as enemies. Pakistan and Afghanistan have never been so easy for each other. Once again the situation became out of control in resulting of shutting down of Pakistan embassy in Kabul in 1994.

.“Suddenly, another power rose which was named as Taliban from the left overs of warlords in Southern Afghanistan”²⁵. Rabani’s betrayal out created tensions among Islamabad and Kabul and the Taliban factor gave chance to Islamabad to replace Rabbani.

²⁵ Jones Seth, In the Graveyard of Empires, (New York, W.W.Norton & Company, 2009) pg57

CHAPTER NO. 2

PAKISTAN AFGHANISTAN RELATIONS IN 21ST CENTURY

The Taliban's emerged in the after effects of warlordism in Afghanistan. Pakistan now wanted to had friendly relations with Taliban so, it could foster its interests. Moreover, Pakistan also wanted now to return 3 million refugees back to Afghanistan. 'the war torn Afghan Taliban who were a bi product of constant fighting emerged, they had following aims to fulfil firstly, they wanted to dis arm all the armed militias and war lords in Afghanistan, secondly, secondly the enforced Islamic laws and practices in the areas which where direct under their control they did this to ensure peace in Afghanistan, thirdly they tried to maintain control over the areas which were taken by Talibans and in those areas they ensured Islamic practices',²⁶. The Taliban factor became a reality, a dominating force in Afghanistan. The refugees in Pakistan who had been trained during the war had a special soft corner for Pakistan. India always followed Chankya's foreign policy guidelines in which the famous one is the state should focus on the enemy's enemy and harbour friendliness with that state to put pressure on ones enemy.

Emergence of Taliban in Afghanistan

India started developing connections with Rabbani who, now became an enemy of Pakistan. India had always been focusing on limit Pakistan's role internationally, for that it bolstered anti Pakistan sentiment in Iran that Pakistan is supporting Taliban for US to contain Iran in the region. World feared Taliban specially they became a shared adversary for Iran and India. Afghan Taliban had been supporting Kashmir cause with Pakistan against India which was not acceptable for India therefore, it had to contain

²⁶ Mohib Ullah Durani and Ashraf Khan, "Pakistan-Afghan Relations: Historic Mirror," The Dialogue Volume IV Number 1:
http://www.qurtuba.edu.pk/thedialogue/The%20Dialogue/4_1/02_ashraf.pdf

Pakistani influence in Muslim states. Therefore, India supported Rabbani's claim in Afghanistan to prevent the growing influence of Taliban. Taliban's had moved quickly and won loyalties in Afghanistan. They wanted harmony to prevail in Afghanistan this wasn't acceptable for Heratis who were protecting Jalal abad and Kabul.

"According to one of the Pakistani delegates in Kabul Sultan Amir, Taliban back then were loved by everyone. They helped in restoring peace, people were given medical facilities easily, free education was provided to everyone and they also ended poppies in Afghanistan"²⁷. Abdul Sattar, the ex-Secretary of Pakistan penned down the Taliban ventures in Afghanistan by saying that: Taliban became a force which was the outcome of warlordism in Afghanistan, they started from Kandhar and cleared the Southern part of Afghanistan by 1995. They taught themselves in the theological schools. People also accepted and respected the educated Taliban. "Proceeding with the very same speed, at the very start of September 1996 Taliban entered into Kabul"²⁸.

Pakistan had aims to connect itself to Central Asia for trading and for that it was looking forward to a stable Afghanistan which will help it out in its aim. Moreover, Pakistan also wanted to return 3 million Afghan refugees which were given place during the war. The Taliban success gave Pakistan a hope and seeing the developments in Afghanistan Pakistan hoped to have better relations with Afghanistan "It was first time for Pakistan that Afghanistan had an administration that was in favour of Pakistan as well and had no connection with India"²⁹. Pakistan now well aware of its advances in Afghanistan ensured all its support to Afghanistan. It helped in building ChamanKandhar Herat Khushka roadway. Pakistan also supervised the social political structure in Afghanistan. All to have its political

²⁷ Declan Wash, 'As Taliban Insurgency gains strength and sophistication, suspicion falls on Pakistan', *The Guardian*, November 13, 2006

²⁸ Abdul Sattar, "Afghanistan: Past, Present and Future, From Jihad to Civil War", The Institute of Regional Studies, Islamabad, 1997, p.478

²⁹ Michael Griffin, *Reaping the Whirlwind: The Taliban Movement in Afghanistan*, (London: Pluto Press, 2001) 84

advantaged in Afghanistan to connect itself to Central Asia. Pakistan did not align itself just to have its own gain but several geopolitical factors also involved in that. The previous Rabbani's regime associated itself with India. It was unfriendly and thankless towards Pakistan. Besides, Taliban were also Pakhtoon majority. Supporting them meant supporting Pakhtoons over Rabani who denied of any kind of support in the rainy days.

Pakistan was assured of the view that Taliban would certainly give them Central Asian Trade and transit route an aim which Pakistan had been pursuing since ever. The religious conviction would bound Afghanistan and Pakistan against India as a common enemy and Pakistan firmly believed that Afghanistan wouldn't allow of use of its territory by India against Pakistan. Taliban were also in favour of Kashmiri fighters and they ensured their support to Kashmir cause with Pakistan. For that matter, Mujahideen were encouraged and trained in Afghanistan for the battle against India. Taliban proved themselves excellent for the social and political environment back then in Afghanistan. They controlled all the warlordism and put an end to continuous civil wars. "To strengthen its relations with Taliban Pakistan gave them acknowledgement while entering into Mazar e Sharif"³⁰.

According to the Universal law for states, Afghanistan was meeting all the criteria. Almost more than half of the Afghanistan was in the powerful control Taliban including the capital and many other ethnic groupings in Afghanistan. After seeing Pakistan, acknowledging Afghanistan as a state, Saudi Arabia and United Arab Emirates also acknowledged Afghanistan. Pakistan's relations with Iran hardened on this specific issue. The gaps between Pakistan and Iran increased when Taliban gave a 48-hour notice to Iranian embassy to leave Kabul. Central Asian states like Iran didn't approve of Pakistan proximity with Afghanistan however, USA was very much careful on this specific issue. According to the Secretary of State at that time Robert

³⁰ Kamal Matinuddin, *The Taliban*, op cit, 1999, p.140

Rapheal, considered Taliban as a radical force which could be draw closer. US approved of Taliban but slowly and gradually the US policy started changing. US senate passed a resolution in 1999 under President Shrubery that any legislature which will oppress the women will not be acceptable.

“Amir 1988, Pakistan granted 6 million assistance directly to the Afghan Taliban while not taking in account of the exchange offices”³¹.US blamed Pakistan in helping Taliban by providing weaponry, fuel and assistance in imposing Islamic practises in Afghanistan. US also perceived that Taliban were imposing strict policies on women. During all this time, Pakistan convinced Taliban to make coalitions with other ethnic groups in Afghanistan to control ethnic conflicts. Taliban while having control of 90 per cent of Aafghanistan refused to sit with the Northern Alliance and refused to include them in state activities. Pakistan assisted Taliban in having conciliatory ties with Saudi tycoon Osama and got assistance from him with the help of Pakistan. Osama ensured his assistance in northern fights of Afghanistan militarily and monetarily while in return Afghanistan gave permission to Osama to live in Afghanistan freely.”³² Pakistan was sandwiched between the American weight from one perspective and the Taliban's supreme refusal on forcing Osama to leave Afghanistan. Amid all this, Taliban executed Iranian ambassador in Afghanistan which added fuel in the fire and Iranian became irritated with Pakistan’s assistance to Taliban. As far as realist perspective every states takes in account the interest of its own people. Pakistan, now seeing the global pattern started stemming itself out from Taliban to further not aggravate its relations with Iran and other states . In September 1998, Iran shut its outskirts with the Taliban held territories and on December 1998 UN Security Board received Goals No. 1214 approaching Taliban to: sign a Truce with the Northern Coalition, quit protecting militants and ending opium exchanges and enter in to harmony chats with the restriction groups, movement of reproach for

³¹Seth Jones, *In the Graveyard of Empires*, op cit, 2009, p.63

³² Ibid.

killing the Iranian ambassadors and the butcher in Mazar-I-Sharif. However, Pakistan backing to Taliban depended on its national needs and destinations and yet Pakistan likewise attempted to bring Taliban and the resistance closer.

Pakistan believed that harmony and peace in Afghanistan would only be prevailed by having multiple ethnic groupings there. With the UN influence and Pakistan's intercession Taliban consented to meet enemy of Taliban Partnership at Ashkabad from 10 to 14 March 1999 on the motivation of harmony, truce and courses of action for expansive based government in Afghanistan. The discussion finished in disaster without giving any fruitful output to continue further. On 15th October 1999, the UN received Goals No. 1267 that requested that the Taliban hand over Osama. Taliban were fostering relations with Al Qaida on the notion of shared advantages. Taliban grievances over Northern Alliances were unwavering consequently, going to war against Northern Alliance. Pakistan was still propagating the notion of harmonious settlement of all the ethnic grouping. This was also the policy in Musharaf's era. The then Foreign Minister Abdul Sattar denied of any kind of adjustment in Afghan Arrangement, repeated that Pakistan would keep on pursuing the possibility of an expansive based government in which will include all kind of ethnic groupings in Afghanistan³³. An ECO gathering was held in Iran in June 2000 where all around boisterously pronounced that Pakistan underpins each harmony activity whether that is Iran driven OIC endeavours or by the UN, Pakistan will acknowledge any harmony recipe that is acknowledged by the Afghans.

Pakistan's steady commitment and compatibility to Taliban began making ready for development on the issues of global concerns. Before this Pakistan helped in arranging a gathering of Taliban and the US under Secretary Thomas Pickering was masterminded by Pakistan which paved out a way between two parties and other point of view and consented to proceed talks

³³ UNO Resolution No. 1267, 15th October 1999

Resultantly, to respect their dedication Taliban shut down three preparing camps including Rashkor and Kargha, acted against opiates manufacturing plants, and put confinements on Osama's connected Middle Easterner contenders. Such a positive reaction by Afghanistan helped it to gain trust in Pakistan and USA as well. The situation rapidly changed when on September 11, 2001 USA was attacked an Osama Bin Ladin was suspected of this brutal act in USA. "Pakistan severely condemned this act of terrorism in all its manifestations"³⁴. USA demanded to handover Osama to USA, but Afghanistan refused. Hence, USA launched a war on Afghanistan to disintegrate Al Qaida.

Pakistan Afghanistan Relations since 9/11

The horrendous demonstrations of September 11, 2001 changed the world and Pakistan ended up between the two opposite poles to choose one side over the other. It was a start of new dynamics of Pakistan's Foreign policy specially it changed the course of actions towards Afghanistan. "Pakistan was threatened in a hidden way USA gave no other option but to have Pakistan on his side or against it"³⁵. Pakistan had no other choice because the then President George W Bush lamented that no excuses will be given to culprits and to those who will support them. "USA and its alliances will starve terrorists of funding, there would be no place for them to hide no refugee will be left until and unless they are not ended. USA will go against all those nations who will harbour any kind of relations with terrorists. Every nation, in every region, now has a decision to make. Every nation have to make a decision whether to

³⁴ Pervez Musharraf, *In the Line of fire*, (London: Simon & Schuster, 2006) 200

³⁵ *ibid.*, 201

choose US or terrorists. Every state which will try to foster any kind of ties with terrorists will be named a hostile regime³⁶.

Pakistan was caught in a real trouble it had to choose whether to be with Taliban or whether to endure US drone attack and assaults against itself. "Pakistan picked to side the global alliance and gave intelligence support, flight halls and bases for training and military assistance and recuperation to the U.S. driven military assault over Afghanistan on October 7, 2001"³⁷. According to Pakistan, it was a nicely crafted policy because Pakistan avoided the war with the world power and in that way gained their trust back again. Moreover, Pakistan also helped in bringing US and Taliban on table which helped in reverting extreme effects of war. US writers endorse that Pakistan helped in arranging meetings of Robert Garbier , (CIA supervisor in Islamabad) and Mullah Akhter Mohammed Osmani, Taliban pioneer to deal with any viable arrangement and bring peace to the region. Allegedly, Reportedly, Pakistan's ex Lt General visited Afghanistan in 2001 in Kandhar and held a meeting with Taliban pioneer Mullah Omer Osmani and convinced him to stop war against US and stop showing resistance in that way US will revert its assault on Afghanistan. The assault was compelling in devastating the preparation camps, be that as it may, the enormous quantities of Taliban fled to Pakaistan and Iran to hide and find save havens. Taliban fall in 2001 in Afghanistan encouraged others states to take advantage and mediate in between. "After the fall of Taliban and America winning the war, UN mediated and played its role by giving an option to choose Taliban leaders

³⁶ Mohib Ullah Durani and Ashraf Khan, "Pakistan-Afghan Relations: Historic Mirror," The Dialogue Volume IV Number 1:

http://www.qurtuba.edu.pk/thedialogue/The%20Dialogue/4_1/02_ashraf.pdf

³⁷ Pervez Musharraf, "*In the Line of fire*", (London: Simon & Schuster, 2006)

which will represent their demands in Bonn Germany. Taliban were asked to make a coalition government with Hamid Krzai in 2001³⁸. Pakistan also invited Hamid Karzai to visit Pakistan in order to restore relations of Pakistan and Afghanistan. Thus, in 2002 Hamid Karzai visited Pakistan. Pakistan once again offered all kinds of assistance whether in political framework or social structure of Afghan society. President Musharraf visited Kabul in 2002 and ensured 100 Million aid to Afghanistan. Pakistan likewise given full help to the quiet lead of presidential and parliamentary surveys in October 2004 and September 2005 and fixed its outskirts to prepare for any invasions over the fringe to upset race process. President Musharraf was the only leader from Pakistan who visited Afghanistan after being declared as the President. This couldn't last long and the bilateral relations once again weakened due to the role of Afghani Parliament and the Northern Alliance. The shortage of trust between two enlarged further as time passes and president Karzai, who was viewed as pro Pakistan, began reprimanding Pakistan for supporting cross fringe terrorism and exploitation on borders. Exposing the individual of Hamid Karzai, the Bonn Meeting wrongly disregarded predominant clans while giving political job in future set up of Afghanistan. This error turned into a catastrophe and blossomed into the Afghan rebellion. The other Bonn trick swung in to goof was keeping Pakistan out of the procedure and from undertaking any sort of recreation work. In addition to all this catastrophe, Afghanistan's far off neighbour like India was given chance to encourage its vital advantages against Pakistan. From that point forward, India has

³⁸ Mohib Ullah Durani and Ashraf Khan, "Pakistan-Afghan Relations: Historic Mirror," *The Dialogue* Volume IV Number 1:
http://www.qurtuba.edu.pk/thedialogue/The%20Dialogue/4_1/02_ashraf.pdf

discovered a huge stage in Afghanistan to direct its undercover exercises in Baluchistan through Balochi protesters and FATA through TTP to destabilize Pakistan. Foundation of a lot of Indian Offices on the Pak Afghan became a security threat for Pakistan because India now had a free hand to manipulate the situation. These Offices are doing less developmental work but in actual running the government spy system to destabilize Pakistan. India had been accused of giving arms, ammo support to the people on these areas specially to the people of Baluchistan and FATA. Pakistan has raised its security concerns on several events. Pakistan's Prime minister Yousaf Raza Gillani had provided evidence of Indian atrocities in Baluchistan to his Indian counterpart in Egyptian summit of Shamil Sheikh in 2009. The verifications of Indian involvement included photos of Baloch insurgent Barmdagh Bhugti and different Afghan militants when they paid visit to India.

Refugee Dilemma

Afghanistan lies with the proximity to Pakistan, being one of the closest neighbours of Pakistan Afghanistan has been using Pakistani soil for refugee purposes in time of war. Henceforth, Pakistan welcomed 3.5 Million refugee in 340 camps. Those camps were located on the borders of Pakistan. After US assault on Afghanistan and the US war against Taliban in the wake of incident of 9/11 the refugee number greatly increased to 5 million . As a matter of fact, Pakistan according to UN charter is not capable to giving place to refugees due to its poor economy but still Pakistan housed 5 million refugees inside its territory until the war was not over. Till date many refugees are still living in Pakistan and Pakistan's national citizen.

The issue of refugees has been creating obstacles for Pakistan for its economy, social structure and peace and harmony. The sneaking out of fire, the transportation of opium and weaponry created issues for Pakistan. the refugee had been living in Pakistan for more than 20 years“In fact, Afghanistan is the pivot in the narcotics issue because it produces more than 90 percent of the world’s opium from which heroine is manufactured and much of these drugs are smuggled through Pakistan and Iran (Khattak, 2014).”³⁹

The rising number of heroin addicts in Pakistan is ascribed to the issue of outcasts who assume a noteworthy job in drug business and dealing. In 1982, the detailed number of Heroin addicts in Pakistan was assessed to be 100000 of every 1982 which expanded to 450000 out of 1986 and it achieved a floating 657,842 heroin addicts in 1987. As in 2015, the figure has stretched around 7 million medication addicts with a reasonable relationship between expansion in number of medication addicts in Pakistan and increment in poppy development in Afghanistan combined with a resurgence of the flood of Afghan outcasts as an outcome of U.S war with Afghanistan on terror. There is additionally increment in wrongdoings rate, against government exercises, which the Pakistani authorities says are not exclusively brought about by Afghan exiles. However, really their entry has worsened the circumstances for Pakistan.

³⁹ Umbreen Javaid, “Analysing the Dynamics of Pakistan Afghanistan Relations: Past and Present”, South Asian Studies Journal, June 2016.
http://pu.edu.pk/images/journal/csas/PDF/9.%20%20Umbreen%20Javaid_v31_no1_jan-jun2016.pdf

Pakistan's role in Afghan Peace Process

“The Pakistan-Afghanistan regional security complex or one should say rather associated security difficulties and issues make Pakistan imperative to start any harmony procedure in Afghanistan”⁴⁰. It doesn't imply that harmony, security, and peace in Afghanistan are contingent with Pakistan's consideration all the while, or that Pakistan would attempt control inside legislative issues of Afghanistan. Or maybe, the ethnic and religious ties over the border, and backing to aggressors, especially Taliban into one another's regions decide the job and breaking points of association of Pakistan in Afghan harmony process.

Since the NATO powers drawdown was nearing as indicated by the given time span, the terrorist exercises were dominantly expanded in Pakistan and Afghanistan. The New York Times mentioned in a report based on the figures provided by the Afghan Ministry of Defence, “...of the 4,451 Afghan soldiers killed in the war, 2,771, or over 60 percent of the total, were killed in the three years that ended March 20, 2013.”⁴¹ Pakistan likewise, was confronting ruthless fear-based oppressor assaults, target killings, firing, bomb blast attack almost in every region of Pakistan, from Khyber Pakhtunkhwa to Baluchistan, from Shiites, Sunnis to minorities, from new-born children to older, and with no separation of regular citizens or security powers after the steady procedure of the NATO powers drawdown began occurring in Afghanistan. That expanded fear mongering was sign of a few elements; debilitating and disappointing weakening of militant, rendering retribution from the

⁴⁰ Maliha Zeba, “Pakistan's Foreign Policy Towards Afghanistan since Operation Freedom Sentinel: Overview”, Margalla Papers, 2017.
https://ndu.edu.pk/issra/issra_pub/articles/margalla-paper/Margalla-Paper-2017/8-Pakistan's-Foreign-Policy-Maliha-Zeba-Khan.pdf

⁴¹ Ibid.

administrations, inferring various procedures by the activists like whittling down, terrorizing, incitement, ruining, or outbidding to broaden their impact through dread, and endeavouring to get saw politically and showing signs of improvement deals. “Apart from all this, after a few fruitless or uncertain endeavours like inclusion of Qatar, Iran, and Saudi Arabia to bring Taliban or other aggressor bunches into important talks, Pakistan encouraged the Murree Peace Process in July 2015”⁴². From that point forward the discussions and harmony building process have been happening under various plans like Quadrilateral Coordination Group (QCG), and the Heart of Asia meeting but anyway the process slows down and breaks. In this manner without Pakistan's job as a compelling facilitator, the harmony building couldn't be assumed in the Pakistan-Afghanistan regional security complex.

⁴² “Afghan govt, Taliban resume peace talks in Murree on Friday,” Dawn (Karachi), July 29, 2015, accessed on February 12, 2017, <https://www.dawn.com/news/1197087>.

CHAPTER NO. 3

INDIAN FACTOR IN PAK AFGHAN RELATIONS

After getting independence in 1947, Pakistan tried to foster relations around the globe but unfortunately, Pak-Afghan relations have been overwhelmed by the role played by Indian factor. The Indian factor made security an important element of its foreign policy. The security dilemma which was there at the very beginning always hindered India Pakistan relations creating a issue of trust and this influenced Pak-Afghan in a way that it also proved to be an obstacle for Pakistan and Afghanistan relations.

The Indian Thorne

The security threat perception which Pakistan got as an inheritance was based on the tragic incidents of 1947, the bloodshed and the Indian arrogance. Pakistan realized that Indian will never accept the reality of Pakistan and will always try to hinder its way to prosperity. This sense of insecurity grew when India captured the areas of Kashmir and Junagadh. Muslim league was the leading party of Muslims of India and played an important role in the formation of separate Islamic state. Its leadership was the rich and feudal class of the then India these leaders became refugees after partition. Most of them were from India having no roots in Pakistan. They created a lot of sense of insecurity in Pakistan and declaring India as there utmost rivalry. Shortly after the partition. India-Pakistan confrontation in Afghanistan is one of the oldest phenomena and has its basis in the history of this region. Most of the history accounts for the threat of Pakistani leaders that they will be encircled by India by India having partying with Northern Alliance in Afghanistan. Pakistan also

accused India of secretly helping and assisting Afghanistan to raise voice for Pakhtoonistan and for that matter Afghanistan choose to go against Pakistan after its inception. The demand for the pashtoon was however, fell short of ground specially after the Soviet invasion back in 1979 but still for Pakistan it has been a constant threat. After the partition, Indian leadership successfully made relations with the King Zahir Shah of Afghanistan that only ruptured during the Indo Pak war of 1965. Moreover, India has been very calculated in analysing that it's sustenance in Afghanistan lies in support of successive communist governments in Afghanistan. These communist governments were anti Islam and Jihadi group which was backed by Pakistan and US. This fact cannot be neglected that both India and Pakistan have used ethnic dividends as a tool to have influence in Afghanistan and bolster their own goals. In 1990s when the Afghan civil war was going on, support network came to view which was based on ethnic affiliations. India has been supporting anti pashtoon groups like Tajiks, Hazaras, Afghan Balochs which mostly comprises of Northern Alliance in Afghanistan. Ahmed Shah Masoud has been one of the most renowned Northern alliance leader from the valley of Panjshir. He had ties with Indian intelligence agencies. During the war of Soviet Russia and Afghanistan, India bolstered and helped Soviet Union for its own purposes against Taliban. Following the end of war and overthrowing of Soviet Russia India helped Najibeullah whose family was already living in Afghanistan to become the ruler of Afghanistan. After Mujahideen taking control in Afghanistan in 1992 and threw Najibullah out of the power. He took refugee place in UN. His refugee stay was as long as Taliban didn't capture him and assassinated him. In the meantime, Pakistan built up its support among the

Pashtun populace. There are many reasons of Pakistani support to Pashtoon populace in Afghanistan. It's not because that Pakistan also had a large Pashtoon ethnic group but it was entirely based on the reasoning that Pakistan supported them during Afghan invasion as well. India's impact and strategic nearness amid Taliban period was minimized due to Taliban's hostility for India and their help for Kashmiri Jihad by permitting jihadi camps in the territories constrained by them. Around 80,000 to 10, 0000 Pakistanis were selected in camps in Afghanistan for Jihad in Kashmir between 1994-1999. Thus, India began supporting Northern collusion.

The horrendous act of 9/11 and US assaults against Taliban became a paramount gift for India. It got a chance to play its role on Afghanian soil again which was obstructed because of Taliban. The fall of Taliban in 2001 was seen by India as a brilliant chance to improve the tasks in Afghanistan many creases which was not preferred by Pakistan due to the trust shortfall among Pakistan and India. Pakistan always had been accusing and believing on the notion that it was India which prevented Afghanistan and Pakistan to have any kind of bilateral friendliness.

After Hamid Karzai assumed power back in 2001 in Afghanistan, India was the only country which was to send its delegates in Afghanistan. Services of foreign relations, medical assistance were given my military to the Bagram landing strip in Parvan area of Afghanistan which was close to Kabul in articulation of Indian sense of solidarity with the people of Afghanistan S.M. Lamba special emissary to Afghanistan drove the group. Lamba was in favour of opening up of Indian embassy again Afghanistan which was closed by Taliban once they gathered power in Afghanistan. The Indian embassy's

formal opening occurred in Dec 2001 with Jaswant Singh, at that point India's Minister for Foreign affairs, playing out the respect, and exclaimed that the time of ending of Indo Afghan relations were painful back then. The agony he alluded had been caused by Pakistan. In India's perspective the rapid reviving of its embassy in Kabul speak to the beginning of another period in its relations with Afghanistan.

Given India's capacity to keep rejuvenating its ties with Afghanistan, Pakistan thought of its own procedures which affected Pak-Afghan relations. This chapter is based on Indian factor in Pak-Afghan relations which can possibly either settle or ruin Afghanistan. What's more, it deciphers India and Pakistan clashing targets in Afghanistan and their suggestions on accomplishing amicable Pak-Afghan relations.

India has always followed the Foreign Policy guidelines which were laid by Chanakya Kautliya, who was an advisor and Prime Minister to the first Mauryan ruler named as Chandragupta Maurya. In his book Arthashastra, Chanakya laid the principle that your enemy's enemy is your friend. Since then, Indian Foreign Policy makers had been pursuing this very basic principle. In Pakistan Afghanistan relations Indian had been playing the very same role since independence.

In the contemporary time, India is trying to increase its strategic depth in Afghanistan, an advancements which in Pakistan is seen as a fear and threat and by Pakistan's military. India's premier enthusiasm for Afghanistan is to counter Pakistani influence to keep Afghanistan from being utilized as a help base for anti-Indian groups which are situated in Pakistan. This Indian threat was expressed by Indian foreign minister in 2008 in UN. India, in the post

9/11 situation finds abundant chance of limiting Pakistan's impact in Afghanistan. Indian contribution in Afghanistan is additionally affected by the 'Gujral Precept' which sets that India, being a predominant power in the area has an obligation to help and reinforce its neighbours without anticipating correspondence. The Indian inclusion in Afghanistan comprises of three-crease speculation methodology going from philanthropic help, infrastructure activities to capacity building. Approximately, 799 Million help was given to Afghanistan for the formation of its parliament and the infrastructure of streets and roads there. Different other tasks like preparing Afghan security apparatus, building schools and colleges, and medical clinics were in progress. As indicated by report of European Association Security Studies, India was the fifth biggest advancement benefactor nation having burned through \$2billion in the nation. The extended Indian consulates in Afghanistan give day to day report of Indian advancement in Afghanistan as India has been a largest benefactor in Afghanistan and helped it out in standing once again. The US 2 billion dollar help and support program of India has been assumed as the greatest help and support program. This makes India one of the main giver countries to Afghanistan and by a long shot the biggest contributor in the war prone Afghanistan.

Legislature of India has taken on various medium and huge foundation extends in its help program in Afghanistan. A portion of these include: development of a 218 km street from Zaranj to Delaram for encouraging development of merchandise and enterprises to the Iranian outskirts; development of 220kV DC transmission line from Pul-e-Khumri to Kabul and a 220/110/20 kV sub-station at Chimtala; redesigning of phone trades in 11 regions; extension of

national Telecom company by giving an uplink from Kabul and downlinks in every one of the 34 common capitals for more noteworthy mix of the nation (Government office of India). All these undertakings are thought around the Afghanistan-Pakistan fringe "irritating Pakistan, which has blamed Indian offices for being fronts for surveillance". India is putting vigorously in Afghanistan monetarily as well as socially also. Religious theological colleges in Afghanistan are being affected by Indian Deobandi account. Besides Indian ties with Afghanistan particularly its chipping away at Jalalabad-Chahbehār street to free Afghanistan of Pakistan's travel course is being taken in Pakistan as plot against it. This normally raises the effectively existing doubt and fears in Pakistan with respect to Indian structures in Afghanistan. The Indian factor isn't the main factor that has risen as a noteworthy separation point in characterizing Afghanistan-Pakistan relations in the post-soviet withdrawal. There are different issues that as often as possible frequent respective relations of both these nations.

Indian Objectives in Pak Afghan Relations

India has been very keen towards Afghanistan and there are many reasons for taking interest in Afghanistan. First, due to its hostility towards Pakistan, its importance as a geo strategic player in the region and for economic purposes. India has several aims in Afghanistan. The very first is to stop growing power of Taliban who were in favour of Kashmiri Jihad and were supporting Pakistan in this regard. The second motive is to ensure that Afghanistan becomes a democratic secular state and to install pro Indian government in Afghanistan. This pro India government will contain Taliban and religious extremist movements in Afghanistan. The rejuvenation of Islamic movements

in Afghanistan poses a potential threat to India by undermining its social fabric and reviving the secessionist movements in Kashmiris and Sikhs. The very last and third motive was to gain strength in Afghanistan to connect to Central Asia through Afghanistan which if Pakistan has done so could have endangered India hegemony in the South Asian region.

To pursue its motives, India opened several consulates on Pak Afghan border for instance Herat, Kandahar, JalalAbad and Mazar-e-Sharif this shows India's diplomatic presence in Afghanistan which more than any other country. The consulates which were opened were alongside FATA and Baluchistan. The proximity of consulates with these Pakistani regions made Pakistan uneasy with India. 'Moreover, India sent 300 commandos to Kandahar to protect their citizens in post-Taliban set up which was viewed by Pakistan with suspicions'.⁴³ Pakistan's concerns were largely based on the notion that India, through these consulates was involved in terrorist activities in FATA, Khyber Pakhtoonkhan and Baluchistan which aimed at destabilising Pakistan and weaken its position in Afghanistan.

Moreover, within Pakistan's circle it was believed that with the help of USA India's consulates were burking the Pushtoon people and deprived them off with authority and these consulates were promoting the stakes of other minority groups like Hazaras, Panjshiri, Tajiks and Uzbeks. Even the economic opportunities were also taken away by Pashtoons and given to these minority groups. To further accelerate its motives in Afghanistan India funded and built the defence mechanism of Northern Alliance which was worth of 10

⁴³ Tehseena Usman, "Indian Factor in PAK-AFGHAN Relations", Research Journal of Area Studies centre, University of Peshawar, last accessed 21 June 2019, https://www.asc-centralasia.edu.pk/Issue_71/003_Tehseena.html

million to curtail Taliban's. All this was done through with the help of RAW. Pakistan stand by to the notion that some nearby and remote components inside Afghanistan are vivaciously associated with support the rapscallions in Baluchistan and Khyber Pukhtunkhwa region. To prove this dictum, Pakistan gave proof of Brahimdagh Bugti who hid in Afghan intelligence house in Kabul, Photographs of his visit to Delhi and a few guidelines which demonstrated his connections with revolt in Baluchistan. The bunch of general population in Baluchistan are troubled over the enlistment of non-Baluchis in the developmental undertakings. Moreover, they are distressed over the unjust division of resources. India is abusing the effectively delicate circumstance as it has interests for Baluchistan and is keeping its eyes on the future gas pipeline and resources which are in abundance in this Pakistani province. Baluchistan is Pakistan's key heartland making Pakistan a standout amongst the most deliberately significant and touchy spot on the planet. Baluchistan is Pakistan solitaire precious stone making it integral to the heartland for example Central Asia and is a piece of Rimland for instance, Arabian Sea coastline. Gwadar and different ports of Baluchistan are a component of Rimland, the southern key course to Central Asia begins from Baluchistan making it basic for India. By inciting inconvenience and distress in Baluchistan, the Indians are trying to delink Pakistan, China and Gwadar from Central Asia containing Pakistan's key and financial potential because the eventual fate of Pakistan in the recent ages lies in Baluchistan.

Pakistan believes that India and Afghanistan for sponsoring the Baluch National Army (BLA) whose sole aim to trigger the separatist movements in Baluchistan. "In this regard, Brahamdagh Bugti son of previous BLA pioneer

Nawab Akbar Bugti, is blamed a few times for enlisting activists in preparing camps in Afghanistan⁴⁴. Pakistan also accuses India for suicide bombings in its KPK, Baluchistan and other parts of it. By weakening Pakistan in this way India wants to deprive it off from its natural resources which would even affect its atomic bomb. In addition to all this, another significant motive of India in Afghanistan is to tap Central Asian vitality assets and to create Afghanistan as a land connect between Central Asia and India. Indian economy is developing significantly with which comes developing vitality requests. Oil and gas assets make it critical for India to fashion an association with Afghanistan dependent on participation. In such manner, India is putting resources into developing streets and foundation connecting Afghanistan with Central Asian States. India proposed Salma Dam venture in Herat territory on waterway Hirarud alongside developing Dams on Kabul and Kunar River in northern Afghanistan which will deprive of water assets.

Furthermore, Indian oil organizations are dynamic in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan. In March 2007, India finished the redesign of an army installation at Ayani in Tajikistan: the restoration initiated in 2002 and finished at an expense of US\$10 million. India is the fourth nation after US, Germany, Russia to have a base at Central Asia. According to Indian columnist Suda Ramachandaran, keeping up a base at Ayani will give India a chance to react rapidly to any peril emerging from insecure Afghanistan. It gives India significant office to embed Special Forces when circumstance request on the event of military clash with Pakistan. It will expand India's capacity to hit Pakistan from Tajikistan and will help India's mounting advantages in Central

⁴⁴Ibid.

Asia. As indicated by Indian sources, India after the fall of Taliban chose to keep up impact in Afghanistan and to counter Pakistan's obstruction in Afghanistan. Hence, it revamped a base at Ayani/Farkhor. Pakistan doesn't give permission its land to be utilized by India for transportation of merchandise to Afghanistan. Thusly, keeping up a base at Ayani will assist India with airing lift essential alleviation things from Ayani to Farkhor and afterward to Afghanistan. Aside from Pakistan's measurement appended to Ayani bases it will likewise assist India with increasing its impact in Central Asia. Numerous examiners trust that India's job in Afghanistan through remaking undertakings and strategy is a wellspring of tension for Pakistan. Since it could prompt a vital encompassing of Pakistan. Indian objectives are very clear in Pakistan Afghanistan relations. India today in 21st century is keeping up with the notion that your enemy's enemy is your friend.

CHAPTER NO. 4

FUTURE PROSPECTS

Pakistan and Afghanistan are bounded culturally, historically, socially and politically. If we say that the bond is breakable between the two then we are wrong in saying this. Both states share history long before the partition of subcontinent. 'The land of Afghanistan is one of the most important geo strategic states for the world powers, Afghanistan has been affecting the sub-continent region largely through socially and politically due to its proximity with sub-continent region. This area is not just geographically but also through folklores, heroes, culture and literature.'⁴⁵ Since the beginning, these two states of Pakistan and Afghanistan had witnessed mistrust and hostility for each other. The very start of bilateral relations was very dry and hostile due to Durand line and Afghanistan's demand for Pashtunistan. Moreover, Pakistan accuses Afghanistan for cross border terrorism and it believes that Afghanistan was involved in Pakhtoons uprising and in Kalat's insurgency of 1948 to 1949. But during all these years till 21st century one cannot say that both the nations were always hostile towards each other because the Afghan war of 1979 which brought them closer and Pakistan's support to Taliban ensured Afghanistan's win over Russia. The short lived four years of Taliban saw the peace among Pakistan and Afghanistan. The relations again turned cold after the September 11 attacks on twin towers of USA. Pakistan choose to side with the war against terrorism and this brought a

⁴⁵ Munir Akram, "Foreign Policy Agenda 2019". Dawn (Karachi). Updated December 23, 2018. <https://www.dawn.com/news/1453105>

shift in Pak Afghan relations once again, helping India to make its way in Afghanistan and corner Pakistan in Afghanistan.

External powers had been playing a very negative role in terms of Pakistan and Afghanistan. India and USA both had their own interests in Afghanistan. Starting with India, India never wanted Pakistan to have a strong footing in Afghanistan. The Afghan Taliban supported the Pakistan's narrative on Kashmir and this pinched India hard and made it fearful of Afghan Taliban and Pakistan hence, from the very beginning India supported the Northern Alliance. Moreover, India wanted Pakistan to be the regional power. By having a strong ground in Afghanistan, Pakistan would have emerged as a regional power by connecting itself to Central Asia for trade and cooperation. Pakistan is also sceptic of Indian consulates on Pak afghan border "Pakistan has been sceptic of Indian consulates on the border. According to Pakistani leaderships consulates were opened for humanitarian purposes but they didn't work accordingly in fact, they worked for RAW against Pakistan."⁴⁶ It is sensible to expect that the any government in Pakistan might want to see is an Indian nearness on the two of its eastern and western borders. Pakistan normally won't permit some other territorial neighbour of Afghanistan, specifically India, to pick up a prevalence of impact in Afghanistan and would not want to limit Pakistan's role in Afghanistan. Pakistan's advantage is crucial when India's developing political, military, and financial ties with both Afghanistan and the United States lead numerous Pakistanis to trust their nation is being cornered in the region.

⁴⁶ Scott Baldauf, "India-Pakistan Rivalry Reaches into Afghanistan." Christian Science Monitor, September 12, 2003

A genuine standardization of relations among Afghanistan and Pakistan need a lot of work. It is assumed that few geopolitical issues are of a key concern for Pakistan when it comes to Pakistan's foreign policy towards Afghanistan. The accomplishment of the continuous harmony process among India and Pakistan is without a doubt the primary condition for the end of Pakistan's obstruction in Afghanistan. Whatever India's expectations whether fortunate or unfortunate in Afghanistan, they will sustain Pakistani doubts if the threat between the two nations perseveres. Islamabad will at that point intercede in its western neighbour's undertakings. Albeit the two India and Pakistan bear duty regarding the overall stagnation of the exchanges, Pakistan remains the counter business as usual nation. Islamabad has appeared in the way where the norm could or ought to be re-examined, however there is still no detectable change in Islamabad's definitive target. Thus, as uncovered by the October 2005 earthquake incident in Pakistan and the free hand given by Islamabad to radical Islamist gatherings to take an interest in the help activities, which prompted a progression of bomb impacts in New Delhi, there is still no proof that Pakistan has revoked fear-based oppression as a method for tackling the argument about Kashmir. Pakistan can't hence guarantee that whatever move it in the long run makes in Afghanistan is the consequence of a need that it has itself added to making, any event in its present structure. Afghanistan ought to likewise have its impact all the while. Afghanistan must show some leniency over Durand Line which soon seems impossible.

Pakistan's foreign policy towards Afghanistan has undergone many shifts. But to, visualize Pakistan's foreign policy towards Afghanistan in future economic prospects and peace and stability in the region needs to be considered. Both the states tried to come on table for peace and stability in the region, but no sound measures had been done. In 2009, Obama regime introduced AfPak doctrine which also revised America's policy towards the region, 'The AfPak

was documented in March 2009 which clearly focused on disrupting, dismantling and defeating Al Qaida in Pakistan and Afghanistan, and to prevent their entry in either country in the future'.⁴⁷

Several initiatives have been launched for peace and solidarity in the region. In May 2018, the then Prime Minister Shahid Khaqan Abbasi paid a visit to Kabul and leaders at both sides agreed on 7 principles hence, inaugurating Pakistan Afghanistan Action Plan for Peace and Solidarity (APAPPS). "Pakistan and Afghanistan both agreed for the completion of APAPPS because it is going to contribute for the global peace, security, prosperity and harmony of the region,"⁴⁸. Basically, APAPPS was a Pakistani initiative to reconcile with Afghanistan and to help Afghanistan in peace and stability and prosperity in the region. Moreover, to have better relation in the future Pakistan needed to take this step.

The second session of APAPPS is scheduled to be held in Kabul this year in December 2019. Both the states are lingering to make peace among themselves. Peace, stability and bilateral relations among Pakistan and Afghanistan also rely on the role played by external powers. India and USA had been playing a significant role in Afghanistan hence, driving Pakistan's foreign policy since ever. US invasion of Afghanistan and the US presence in Afghanistan till date hindered Pakistan Afghanistan relation moreover, Pakistan allying with US in war on terror offended Afghan Taliban.

⁴⁷ M.W. Aslam (2012) Understanding the 'Pak' in 'AfPak': the Obama administration's security policy for Pakistan at the mid-term, *Journal of Policing, Intelligence and Counter Terrorism*, 7:1, 2-21, DOI: [10.1080/18335330.2012.653191](https://doi.org/10.1080/18335330.2012.653191)

⁴⁸ "New Framework for Afghan Talks becomes Operational", Dawn, Updated 15 May 2018. <https://www.dawn.com/news/1407732>

Afghanistan has always been very sceptic of Pakistan's intentions therefore, mistrust lies in between. However, betterment in Pakistan Afghanistan relations can be expected. Pakistan has facilitated US Taliban talks in Doha under which successful talks had been done but no fruitful conclusions had been drawn. It is expected that in the following months some agreement on US forces withdrawal will be made. In return Afghanistan must avoid promoting terrorism from its soil which it has agreed to do so. "In the recent meetings, USA who is exhausted of continuous war also announced to withdraw its troops from Afghanistan hence, promising to not to interfere in the internal matters of Afghanistan again."⁴⁹

US Withdrawal will be helpful in mending Pakistan's foreign policy towards Afghanistan. The current regime of Imran Khan is also focusing on regional powers more than the external powers. Pakistan cannot afford to have hostilities from its western neighbour when its already dealing with India on its eastern border. Pakistan cannot afford to have so many enemies at a same time. The future of Pakistan and Afghanistan lies on the US withdrawal and the end of 18 years war. The war-torn Afghanistan will need support of Pakistan. Pakistan can benefit Afghanistan through CPEC and in return getting passage to Central Asia and to Russia which Pakistan has always desired of. Pakistan and Afghanistan relations can be better only if both the states draft an agreement for the peace and stability and agree to avoid cross border infiltration, settle refugee issue, comes on an agreement on Durand Line and give assistance to each other for trade.

⁴⁹ Ayaz Gul, "US Seeking Peace Not Troop Withdrawal", Voice of America, June 18, 2019. <https://www.voanews.com/south-central-asia/us-seeking-peace-not-troop-withdrawal-agreement-taliban>

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