

**PAKISTAN'S AFGHANISTAN POLICY: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS
OF PAKISTAN PEOPLE'S PARTY (2008-2013) AND PAKISTAN MUSLIM
LEAGUE-N (2013-2018) GOVERNMENTS**

By

Madiha Zanib

M.A., International Islamic University, Islamabad

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Submitted By: Madiha Zanib
Name of Student

Registration #: 1531MPhil/IR/S18

Master of Philosophy
(Degree name in Full)

International Relations
(Name of Discipline)

Pashmina Mughal
(Name of Supervisor)

(Signature of Supervisor)

Prof. Dr. Rizwana Abbasi
(Name of HOD)

(Signature of HOD)

Prof. Dr. Mustafeez Ahmad Alvi
(Name of Dean-FSS)

(Signature of Dean-FSS)

Prof. Dr. Muhammad Safeer Awan
(Name of Pro Rector Academics)

(Signature of Pro Rector Academics)

Dated _____

CANDIDATE DECLARATION FORM

I **Madiha Zanib**

Daughter of: **Abrar Hussain Shah**

Registration # **1531 MPhil/IR/S18**

Discipline **International Relations**_____

Candidate of **Master of Philosophy** at the National University of Modern Languages do hereby declare that the thesis: **PAKISTAN'S AFGHANISTAN POLICY: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF PAKISTAN PEOPLE'S PARTY (2008-2013) AND PAKISTAN MUSLIM LEAGUE-N(2013-2018) GOVERNMENTS** submitted by me in partial fulfillment of MPHIL DEGREE, is my original work, and has not been submitted or published earlier. I also solemnly declare that it shall not, in future, be submitted by me for obtaining any other degree from this or any other university or institution.

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Name of Candidate;

Madiha Zanib

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DEDICATION

With greatest devotions, I dedicated my whole work to my beloved Mother, Brothers, Friends and Respected Staff of International Relations Department who have always been source of encouragement, knowledge and wisdom for me. Whose pray and guidance showed me the right path and made the blessing of Allah shower on me

LIST OF ABBREVIATION

APAPPS	Afghanistan-Pakistan Action Plain for Peace and Solidarity
BLA	Balochistan Liberation Army
CENTO	Central Treaty Organization
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
DRA	Democratic Republic of Afghanistan
ECO	Economic Cooperation Organization
ISI	Inter Services Intelligence
MOU	Memorandum of Understanding
NAP	National Awami Party
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
PDP	People's Democratic Party
PML-N	Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz
PPP	Pakistan People's Party
RAW	Research and Analysis Wing
SCO	Shanghai Corporation Organization
SEATO	Southeast Asia Treaty Organization
TAPI	Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan and India
TTP	Tehreek-i-Taliban Pakistan
UN	United Nations
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

ABSTRACT

Afghanistan is Pakistan's most immediate neighbor. Throughout the history both countries find it difficult to maintain cordial and stable bilateral relations. Incident of 9/11 turned to be more chaotic for Pakistan as well as for Afghanistan. American twin towers attack, involvement of Al-Qaeda, and Pakistan's front line role in US led global war on terrorism remain the most critical aspects of post 9/11 Pak-Afghan relations. Pakistan's foreign policy towards Afghanistan mostly remained military-orientated because of immediate security concerns throughout. In 2008 the first post 9/11 civilian government in Pakistan under Pakistan People's Party regime had to deal with severe security implications in the backdrop of global war on terrorism. Pakistan People's party foreign policy agenda towards Afghanistan mainly dealt with the security concerns in the form of suicide bombing, terrorist attacks, kidnapping, and target killing by the terrorists. At the same time, the issues of settlement of Afghan refugees also remain at the priority agenda of PPP's Afghan policy. The successor of PPP was Pakistan's Muslim League-N coming into power in 2013 after the successful completion of five years terms of PPP. Though, PML-N foreign policy agenda towards Afghanistan also remain focused to combat terrorism but they revised their afghan policy including the normalization of its relations on the common grounds. The PML-N agenda included to strengthen economic ties, settlement of Afghan refugees and a contribution to peace building in Afghanistan. Both the democratic governments in their respective periods managed to maintain bilateral relations with Afghanistan in the best available policy options. It is argued that during the PPP's regime Pakistan's foreign policy towards Afghanistan have been dominated and influenced by the military decision making due to high security and strategic risks in the wake of fighting Taliban in Afghanistan. As comparatively during the PML-N tenure starting from 2013, Pakistan's Afghan policy broadened taking other issues in its agenda as Afghnaistan entered into reconstruction and rebuilding phase. This research aims to comparatively analyze Pakistan's foreign policy under the two governments of Pakistan People's Party and Pakistan Muslim League-N. The research evaluates the challenges faced by both the governments during their rule.

INTRODUCTION

The foreign policy of any state is based on its political, economic and security interests. Foreign policy of a country can never be separated from its national interest. Pakistan's foreign policy also had been focusing on its national interest and on the requirement to the regional and international political environment too. Pakistan and Afghanistan had been into uneasy relationship throughout despite having the commonalities of religion, civilization, region, culture and ethnic ties. Every political government in Pakistan tried to foster healthy relation with Afghanistan in the larger national and regional interest but certain conflicting and contradictory issues remain an obstacle to it. Foreign policy encompasses the tactics and process by which a nation interacts with other nations in order to further its own interests. Pakistan's strategic location and rich resources signify it on one hand and pose vulnerability also due to complex regional and international compulsions on the other. Pakistan is at the inter-section of great power's great games. Pakistan's security environment has severely been affected by the great games. During the cold war Soviet Union and USA played in Afghanistan through Pakistan and in Post 9/11 again Pakistan became the most convenient ally in Afghanistan for USA.

Pakistan shares the commonality of religion, civilization, and region, cultural and historical linkages with Afghanistan. But as per their bilateral relations are concerned, they had never been stable and much cordial despite of many similarities. Even after the independence of Pakistan, Afghanistan was the first country who opposed Pakistan in United Nations in 1947. Afghanistan and Pakistan collide on many clashing interests including, territorial, refugees, cultural, linguistics and security. Afghanistan also laid territorial claims on Pakistan namely the Durand line issue. According to Afghans all the Pashtun communities whether they are living in Afghanistan or Pakistan are one nation and should live under Afghanistan government. This whole idea is known as Pashtunistan. Right to self-determination for the residents of NWFP and Balochistan was claimed by the government of Afghanistan. After partition of India announced by British this demand was made public. Afghanistan says if Pashtunistan were not formed then the NWFP must be included into Afghanistan. This demand of unifying Pushtuns into a nation led towards the very burning issue of Durand line. British Empire and Emir of Afghanistan settled Durand line in 1883

which divide Baluchi and Pashtun into two across the border. Border between both the states has not been accepted by the Afghanistan which they are not ready to accept today as well.

Pakistan's foreign policy towards Afghanistan throughout had been revolving around these conflicting issues and made the bilateral relations strained. The post 9/11 foreign policy became more complicated and tensed due to Pakistan joining global war on terrorism which was fought to combat terrorist networks based in Afghanistan. The then military government led by former general pervaiz Musharraf joined US alliance against this war with full zeal and zest. In 2008, Musharraf's government was succeeded by Pakistan People's Party. Pakistan's People Party came into power on 6 September 2008. Pakistan People's Party government ensured to maintain pleasant relations with its neighbor Afghanistan. Zardari invited Hamid karazai in his oath taking ceremony. Leaders from both the sides showed their desire to combat terrorism jointly. Asif Ali Zardari paid his first visit in January 2009 to Kabul where he signed an agreement which aim to counter terrorism and also discussed some bilateral issues. Following the same year President Obama called both the leaders to participate in strategic review in Washington DC. In 2010 Foreign Ministers meeting was held where they guarantee to counter terrorism in the region. Asif Ali Zardari put war on terror on top of its outline. Zardari's tenure ended a long phase of military regime and built hopes for investors and foreign allies that it would bring peace and stability after a long period of political up and down. Zardari promised to work against militants by saying that he is also the victim of terrorism. This civilian government led by Asif Zardari wants to turn the page in its bilateral relations with Afghanistan.

After PPP tenure comes to an end completing its 5 years, the Pakistan Muslim League-N came into power on 24 June 2013. Nawaz Sharif became the new PM of Pakistan. Pakistan's Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif linked his country's economic and political policy with the stability and peace in Afghanistan. To pursue that security agenda, an operation was being held in North Waziristan which lead to well-known outline of selective strikes against those militant groups that attacked Pakistan. While military control over security policy remains hurdle PML-N got so many opportunities to concentrate Pakistan-Afghanistan relationship.

Statement of Problem

Pakistan's relations with Afghanistan had never been smooth and cordial throughout. Hence, there had been efforts put by the governments to normalize bilateral relationship between Pakistan and Afghanistan. In post 9/11 Pakistan's Afghan policy mainly had been dealing with fighting US led war against terrorism and to promote bilateral peace and security and the regional stability. This research focuses on evaluating comparatively Pakistan's Foreign Policy towards Afghanistan during the period from 2008 to 2018 under two respective regimes of PPP and PML-N. Both the respective governments had been concerned about combating terrorism and its related networks, promoting peace agenda, dealing with refugees and migrants, looking after trafficking issues and preserving the borders between the countries. Operations and Agreements had been an integral part from both the sides in this duration. For PPP it remained complicated to turn its cold war afghan policy from pro-Taliban to fighting Taliban's. Pakistan faced extensive security implications to its territory in the form of suicide bombing, target killings, terrorist attacks, kidnapping individuals. Under the PML-N regime, fighting war against terrorism though remained the core objective; however there were some other developments in the form of economic cooperation, border issues, Afghan refugee's agenda and road and railway linkages under the umbrella of CPEC. Both Afghanistan and Pakistan unfortunately remain distant and into an environment of mistrust and suspicion by foreign involvements that fueled hostility rather than cordiality. If both the countries would have harnessed their similarities rather than differences, their mutual issues would have been resolved. The purpose of this research is to evaluate Pakistan's Afghan policy in a comparison of two governments (PPP, PML-N) to extract the suitable future policy options. It also aims to highlight the challenges that both the governments faced in their Afghan policy and to find out the prospects of cooperation and peaceful trust worthy relations for both the countries

Objectives of the Study

The purpose of this study is based on these objectives:

- (a) To evaluate the changing dynamics of Pakistan's-Afghanistan policy in post 9/11 era.

- (b) To comparatively analyze Pakistan's foreign policy towards Afghanistan under the two governments; Pakistan People's Party (2008-2013) and Pakistan Muslim League-N (2013-2018)
- (c) To elucidate the challenges and prospects Pakistan faced under both the civilian governments
- (d) To outline the future prospects of cordial Pakistan-Afghanistan foreign relations

Literature Review

Afghanistan is Pakistan's most close neighbor. Both are Muslim countries but all the way through the history they failed to cherish healthy relations. Story of both the nations is not new. Sometimes it seems both have developed coolness with each other but all of a sudden whole scene becomes different and change. Both the countries cannot survive without each other. One may change its friends and enemy but no one can change its geography. Both countries' relations are dependent by trust and deficit which should be removed through serious diplomatic efforts.¹ Relation between Pakistan and Afghanistan remained cold. Regardless of the support which Pakistan give to Afghanistan during soviet invasion doubt remains in the minds of both the sides? Afghanistan was the only country to oppose Pakistan in United Nations and also lay territorial claims over Pakistan. Hence there is an irregularity of interests between both the states. Incident of 9/11 added fuel to fire. Afghanistan blames Pakistan to give training to militants and Pakistan accusing Afghanistan for its continuous support to the Baloch guerrillas as well as for the situation of Waziristan.² Pakistan must understand that her policy regarding Afghanistan and her issue must not base on any side of world or on any kind of pressure. USA interest is now different from the interest she had at the time of 9/11. No efforts have been made at nation building in Afghanistan. USA is continuously discussing past ignoring the changed realities. Pakistan is at stake of war within its border without knowing certain times from where danger is coming. Afghan refugees

1 Muhammad Idress and Khalid Anwar, "*Pakistan and Afghanistan After 9/11: A Case of the Failing Bilateralism*," Review Pub Administration Manag 5: 1-5.

2 Frederic Grare, "*Pakistan-Afghanistan relations in the post-9/11 era.*" Carnegie Endowment for International Peace⁷², 2006

are also becoming security risk for Pakistan because they are giving easy cover to the militants as well and also becoming economic burden for Pakistan.³ Afghanistan great future depends on its peaceful regional environment. However, unbalanced Afghanistan is a threat for Pakistan. Pakistan and Afghanistan are geopolitically and geo-strategically interlocked and so the increasing Indian impact in Afghanistan is a matter of concern for Pakistan. Indian presence in Afghanistan giving her opportunities to modify herself, constant presence of Indian factor in Afghanistan is a matter of distress for Pakistan.⁴ Pakistan's foreign policy towards Afghanistan move around cultural and geographical experiences. 9/11 gives rise to all the challenges for Pakistan. Pakistan also diverted its focus on the internal as well as external factors which determines its foreign policy. Indian and USA presence in Afghanistan region are the major challenges which are being faced by Pakistan. Incident of 9/11 forced Pakistan to reshape its policy related to Afghanistan.⁵ Asif Ali Zardari during his tenure made war on terror on top of his agenda. He emphasize that mutual discussion with Afghanistan authorities was important for peace in Afghanistan. He strongly believes that through these negotiations issues related to terrorism and militancy can also be solved. According to him proper securing of borders will end allegations of cross border incursions of militants.⁶ Soviet Union intervention in Afghanistan poses threat to Pakistan's security. Since creation of Pakistan a security threat from USSR was first one confronted by Pakistan. Rashid Ahmed Sidiqqi in his book *Pakistan's Afghan policy (1979-1992)* analyzes Pakistan's policies to meet the challenges across North-Western borders. Writer first analyzes the different dynamics of Pakistan-Afghanistan decision making policy analyzing external and internal factors also. He also concentrated on the actual policies pursued by Pakistan to achieve his objectives in Afghanistan.⁷

³Seth G. Jones, "The rise of Afghanistan's insurgency: State failure and Jihad," *International Security* 32, no. 4 (2008): 7-40.

⁴Umbreen Javaid and Rameesha Javaid, "Indian Influence in Afghanistan and its implications for Pakistan," *Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan* 53, no. 1 (2016): 1-12.

⁵Basharat Ali and Nazir Hussain, "Pakistan's Afghan Policy in the Post 9/11 Era: Challenges and Options," *Pakistan Journal of History and Culture* 39, no. 2 (2018): 1-9

⁶Yousaf Ali, Asadullah Khan, Ghani Khan, Amin Ullah Khan, and Zeeshan Ahmad, "Evaluation of Effectiveness of Fence on a Country's Border: a Case Study of Pak-Afghan Border Fence," *Journal of International Migration and Integration* (2020): 1-22.

⁷Mohammad Yousaf and Mark Adkin, *The bear trap: Afghanistan's untold story*. Lahore: Jang Publishers, 1992.

Mutual mistrust and cold relations prevail among Afghanistan and Pakistan throughout the history. Pakistan's Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif in June 2013 linked his country's stability mainly economic and political with the stability in Afghanistan. Nawaz Sharif's victory in 2013 elections gave rise to new ways and new hopes that he would be empowered enough to take control to resolve issues between Pakistan and Afghanistan. In this report *Resetting Pakistan's relations with Afghanistan* Nawaz Sharif time frame in period of 2013 and onwards is discussed.⁸ Jarat Chopra and Alexander Thier in their article mentioned that there is a need to form a political atmosphere in Afghanistan. This gives a favor to the parties in Afghanistan to do negotiations instead to use a force to resolve issues.⁹ Latif, Muhammad Ijaz and Sabir, Sehar wrote Afghanistan being found at the cross-roads of tri-regional intersection offers a buffer as well as a test case for the great Powers to exhibit & demonstrate their potential. India and China both desire for change in their worldwide status. China's security dilemma and its commercial commitment with Afghanistan and India's bridge to get to and Interface Central Asia approach clear the way towards such understanding. Their shared connection is especially important for peace in Afghanistan and for the entire region.¹⁰ Asif Ali Zardari gave statement to the guardian newspaper.

“Just as the Mexican drug war on US borders makes a difference to Texas and American society, we are talking about a war on our border which is obviously having a huge effect”¹¹ Agricultural sector of Pakistan and Afghanistan also exercise development. Pakistan-Afghanistan food bank was created. Energy sector joint strategies for implementations for trans-afghan energy projects were made. Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan gas pipeline was focused. Pakistan allowed Afghan transit trade through Qasim and Gawadar port. In response Pakistan used afghan road for trade purpose in central Asia. Aid package was also announced by Pakistan for Afghanistan for railway track, roads, schools, and hospitals.¹²

⁸ Khalid Iqbal, "Time to reset Pak-Afghan ties," Defence Journal 18, no. 4 (2014): 10.

⁹ Alexander Thier and Jarat Chopra, "The road ahead: political and institutional reconstruction in Afghanistan," Third World Quarterly 23, no. 5 (2002): 893-907.

¹⁰ Muhammad Ijaz Latif and Sehar Sabir, "Great Power Perspective towards Afghanistan: India China Creeping Competition in the Heart of Asia," Journal of Political Studies 26, no. 2 (2019).

¹¹ Michael Huges, Asif Ali Zardari: Afghan war destabilizing Pakistan, April 4, 2011. https://www.huffpost.com/entry/zardari-claims-afghanista_b_847319 (accessed February, 2020).

¹² Qandeel Siddique, "Pakistan's future policy towards Afghanistan: A look at strategic depth, militant movements and the role of India and the US," No. 2011: 08. DIIS Report, 2011.

Afghan society is distributed into different religious groups. Lingual and ethnic distribution is also seen in the area. Due to this division conflicts arose and stability of a country fluctuate. Keeping in view the changing dynamics of Pakistan and Afghanistan relations there is a need to resolve the issues by mutual cooperation. Issues can only be resolved when civilian governments try to negotiate with each other. Use of force is not a solution to resolve disputes.

Core Argument

It is argued that Pakistan's Afghan policy throughout had been led by the major powers interests and ambitions. The argument is that the Pakistan's Afghan policy under the two consecutive democratic governments (PPP- 2008-2013, PML-N- 2013-2018) mainly had been guided by US global agenda narrated by the Bush doctrine. The structural constrains under shadowed the prospects of normalization of bilateral relations between the two countries.

Research Questions

1. How Pakistan's foreign policy dimensions changed towards Afghanistan in post 9/11?
2. What were the structural differences between the foreign policy of Pakistan people's party (2008-2013) and Pakistan Muslim League-N (2013-2018) towards Afghanistan?
3. How civil-military relations effected the relations between Pakistan and Afghanistan during 2008-2018?
4. What are the future prospects of cordial Pak-Afghan relations?

Theoretical Framework

Neo realism is a theory of IR also known as Structural realism seeks to explain how states foreign policies are shaped and reshaped according to the changes and requirement of international structure. In case of Pakistan's Afghan policy there had been shift in approach. Kenneth S. Waltz

introduced structural realism in his book *Theory of International Politics* in which the theory claims that the structure of the international system is the main factor in shaping the behavior of the states. According to structural realism the theorist believes that in contemporary international system policies are always made in best favor of states. Policy makers of a state always try to fit in an international system. Their policies are according to international structure. They try to best fit in an international system. Kenneth Waltz emphasized that to understand international politics we must understand the nature of international system. It's necessary to understand the political environment within which states interact. Having a war that were based on assumptions of human nature or nature of the state were incomplete as human naturebased theories could not define why states having different political system behave similarly in similar circumstances, his first and second image of understanding international politics. These first and second image theories were unsatisfactory to explain the required changes in relation between states which lay a stress that problem themselves arises from the environment of international system. In difference to these two images, third image theory focuses on anarchy in international system and its setbacks for states. These were the most effective explanations of war and its other outcomes. They were most likely sufficient in nature as they as they need no indication to the system of states involved human nature or particular leaders of particular states. As a result, Waltz constructed a third image theory regarding international politics that conclude that under anarchy states take action to the most important variable in international system, the distribution of capabilities. For Waltz and other structural realists structure of international system limits the foreign policy options available to state and control the international institutions in effective ways. Changes in international structure that includes the rise of new powers ultimately lead to changes within international institutions. Rising states pose a challenge to others and inspire them, almost automatically, to balance against the challenger either internally, by arming, or externally, by allying with other states. To ensure long term survival states are compelled to look forward to future power shifts and prevent them through policies. In a self help system where security and survival are always at chance, states are forced to obey general imperatives and do so regularly. While Waltz acknowledges that states do not always behave as the international system requires them to. International system socializes states over time to balance against rising great powers and to copy the successful security behavior of their peers regardless of their leadership and domestic political differences. Neorealist's look forward for states to balance against rising challenger states. For structural realists, states are

compelled to select foreign policies that are most appropriate. Neo structural realists believe that states construct their foreign security policies primarily with an eye to the threats and opportunities that arise in the international system. States construct their foreign security policies primarily with an eye to the threats and opportunities that arise in the international system. Since their very survival is at stake if they fail to secure themselves properly from anarchic international system, where the slightest misstep could lead to defeat in war. Neorealist structuralist generally agree that international cooperation is possible, neo realists are much more doubtful of its chances for long-term success. According to neorealist logic, NATO should have dissolved in the 1990s after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the bipolar structure that had led to its formation. Instead, NATO was transformed in the decade following the end of the Cold War, taking on new tasks and responsibilities. This contradiction may be apparent, however, only because such adaptation can be viewed as reinforcing the neorealist thesis that institutions reflect the existing international structure: when that structure changes, they must change accordingly if they are to survive. Thus, NATO was able to survive because it underwent a transformation. At the same time, NATO's adaptation reflects the neoliberal-institutionalism argument that international organizations can modify national interests through the process of cooperation. Central to neorealist structural theory is the levels-of-analysis question i.e., the question of whether international inquiry should be focused at the individual, state, international-system, or other level. Introduced in the 1950s as part of an attempt to make research in international relations more scientific, the levels-of-analysis question provided a conceptual basis for addressing issues such as the effect of structure (bipolar or multi polar) on the behavior of states or other units. At the same time, it offered a means of distinguishing between different sources of explanation and different objects of analysis. The state is assumed to be the main player of international life and is always seeking ways to guarantee its own security in an uncertain and dangerous world. The main ways to provide for one's security is to have strong national capability, both economic and military, or to ally with others states if necessary. This is why the focus on power, simply defined as the capability of a state, is put in focus. The states with the most power become the major players internationally (great powers) as their actions determine much international outcome, fight the most devastating wars and in short control the arena of states. Having this point in mind, it is important to note that while focusing on state behavior as a whole, the main focus is on great powers, and thus realism becomes a theory that focuses mainly on great powers politics. The neo-realist, or structural, approach instead finds

the determining factors of action in the structure of the international system, which is one of anarchy. This anarchy, or lack of an international centralized government, leaves states in a system where they enjoy limited choice of action if they want to survive. In Kenneth Waltz's words "Structures encourage certain behaviors and penalize those who do not respond". This is the main distinction between classical and structural realism, and although they both focus on much of the same issues such as balance of power, they find the roots for their beliefs on different levels; human nature and systemic. This also leaves us with some interesting reflections. Whereas Morgenthau assumes that states are inherently aggressive due to their lust for power, this is not the case in a structural world. Structural assumptions are much more kind, since they only assume that states wish to survive, not that they are aggressive by nature. Pakistan's afghan policy remains more into global orientation rather than regional or neighborhood. Both PML-N and PPP were left with no option but to join and fight US led global war on terrorism keeping in view the Pakistan's own security concerns.

Research Methodology

This is a qualitative research. It is descriptive and analytical. The sources used in this research work are secondary, data collection based on books, articles, journals, newspapers, online data access and historic literature published by renowned scholars. The official statements by government representatives had been taken in account.

Delimitation

This study aims to identify the factors that troubled the Pakistan Afghanistan relations. Policies of Pakistan People's party (2008-2013) and Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz (2013-2018) towards Afghanistan are focused.

Significance of Study

This research is significant to explain Pakistan's foreign policy towards Afghanistan in the respective governments of Pakistan People's Party (2008-2013) and Pakistan Muslim League-N (2013-2018). Having cordial relations with Afghanistan is always the key priority of Pakistan's Foreign Policy and an important visualization of a peaceful neighborhood. Pakistan always tried to enhance good and friendly neighborly relations with Afghanistan on the basis of mutual respect. Key points of Pakistan's foreign policy towards Afghanistan comprise of people to people contact,

strengthening trade ties, to improve economic incorporation, peace building of Afghanistan, non-interference policy and to make sure not to allow the use of their respective soil against each other. It also explains Pakistan's security linkages with Afghanistan. 9/11 incident turned to be a nightmare for Afghanistan as well Pakistan. US-led coalition invaded Afghanistan, overthrew Taliban since then Afghanistan outer and inner appearance changed a lot. Ongoing tension in Afghanistan also affected Pakistan in the shape of unarmed refugees along with militants, human trafficking, terrorist attacks and suicide bombing. Pakistan has to make sure to safeguard its borders in order to protect its territory. Pakistan is also conscious about the Indian involvement in Afghanistan. Afghanistan close ties with India are not in favor of Pakistan, as India always tries to find a way to destabilize Pakistan. This study is important as it presents best analysis of Pak-Afghan policy options, positives and negatives of PPP and PML-N governments towards Afghanistan, Challenges faced by both governments and outcomes of their policies. This research would be helpful and improve the understanding of the international relations students.

Organizational Structure

The introduction contains an overview of the topic under discussion. It also gives an understanding of Pakistan's Afghan policy under the regimes of PPP and PML-N from 2008-2018 through generating a statement of problem with the arguments. It also discusses the questions raised to properly understand the phenomena.

Chapter one: is an overview of Pakistan's Foreign policy towards Afghanistan.

Relation between Pakistan and Afghanistan were often highlighted by hostility and mistrust. Afghanistan opposed Pakistan in United Nations. Afghanistan's aggressive attitude towards Pakistan was one the main reason for bitter relations. Afghansitan's constant support for pashtunistan and non-acceptance of Durand line caused major hurdles in the way of smooth relations. Afghanistan's close ties with India added fuel to fire. After the end of Taliban rule successive government of Afghanistan maintained cold behavior towards Pakistan. Both countries were often involved in blame game.

Chapter Two is "Pakistan Foreign Policy under PPP's Regime (2008-2013).

Pakistan relations with Afghanistan went through many ups and downs. Pakistan wanted to maintain friendly relations with Afghanistan but many times several factors destabilize their relations. Involvement of India and US created barriers to strengthen the relations of immediate neighbors, Pakistan and Afghanistan. Pakistan people's party came into power in 2008. After holding the office PPP want to establish healthy relations with Afghanistan. The major problem or agenda which PPP faced was war on terrorism. US demand Pakistan to give her full support to combat terrorism. PPP tries her best to enhance relations, make policies on countering terrorism, and resolve issue of afghan refugees.

Chapter Three Pakistan Foreign Policy under PML-N Regime (2013-2018).

The successor of PPP was PML-N. Just like PPP, PML-N government also wanted to establish cordial relations with Afghanistan. PML-N focus was to eliminate war on terror but also to stabilize flatter economy and afghan peace building. Afghan refugee's recognition and their safe return to Afghanistan was also the agenda of PML-N government. PML-N government tries to decreases bilateral stress with Afghanistan.

Chapter Four "Comparative Analysis of Pak-Afghan Relations under PPP and PML-N governments".

In the past years from 2008 to 2018 a democratic transition has been witnessed in Pakistan which is still practicing. Pakistan made an effort to improve its relations with its neighbors but every time due to certain activities these efforts got dumped by the international community via criticism. The Pakistan coalition with USA against Afghanistan in the war on terror put Pakistan in an awkward position in South Asia Region. However, both PML-N and PPP government tried their best to stabilized Pakistan relationship with Afghanistan in their respective regime. Both states performed and designed their policies according to the need of time

Conclusion will be based on the outcome of research as well as practical recommendations and way forward.

CHAPTER 1

PAKISTAN'S FOREIGN POLICY TOWARDS AFGHANISTAN; AN OVERVIEW

1.1 Phase-1) 1947 – 2001

Pakistan after its birth pursued a policy of friendly ties with Afghanistan. Relations between both however, go through several levels of antagonism and normalcy. For better understanding of the relations between Pakistan and Afghanistan and the conflicts and issues Pak-afghan relations are divided into three phases. First phase is from 1947 to 1963. This intended an unhealthy start of the bilateral relations originating from the establishment of Pakistan in 1947 and it prolonged till 1963. Unfolding Pak-afghan relations president Ayub Khan elaborated important misconceptions present in most of the afghan population that predisposed future and matters of interstate relations in negative route.¹³ Pakistan with a lack of infrastructure essential for any state would be not capable to survive as sovereign and independent state therefore, it would be sensible on the part of Afghans to open up their claim on Pakistan's territory especially assumed under Durand line before it was incorporated. The second misconception was held unspecified panic among rulers of Afghanistan that Pakistan's survival for democratic system of governance would affect the position of Afghanistan's rulers.

Pakistan after independence struggling for better relations with its neighbors having inherited a unsympathetic neighbor larger than its size, determined to undo the decision of partition of subcontinent and to re-emerge as united India. Therefore to counter this negativity Pakistan aimed to maintain cordial relations towards all states specifically with its neighbors. Pakistan's strong affiliation with Islamic ideology has promoted it to grasp cordial and friendly relations. Pakistan already dealing with the danger in east could not afford another hostile in west.

13 Mohammad Ayub Khan, "*Friends Not Masters*," A political autobiography. Oxford University Press, 1967.

1.1.1 Controversial Issues between Afghanistan-Pakistan

Afghanistan refusal to accept Durand line as an international border between Pakistan and Afghanistan and its continuous demand of Pakhtoonistan created problems between both the states. Afghanistan was the only country opposed admission of Pakistan in United Nations, conditioned its acceptance upon the condition of right of self determination to be specified to the peoples of NWFP, Pakistan. Pakhtoonistan issue and blame on Pakistan for harsh treatment of Pathans were the reasons behind the Afghanistan refusal in UN to accept Pakistan as sovereign state. These complaints were highlighted by Afghans rulers just to draw away the attention of their country's economic backwardness and their flaws. Afghanistan's press media covered a high profile misinformation to force Pakistan to agree on their demand of Pakhtoonistan. Despite of these disturbing facts Pakistan wants' non cordial relations with Afghanistan so she took a step and appointed Mr.I.I Chandigar as ambassador to Afghanistan with a delegation led by Sardar Abdul Rab Nishtar.¹⁴

To maintain favorable conditions, mutual peace and harmony and to win loyalty of tribes Pakistan upside down British policy of stationing troops in Pathan tribal areas by withdrawing its own troops.¹⁵ This signal of Pakistan's respect for tribal traditions was shared by the Loya jirga of Pakistan's tribal agencies by declaring their faithfulness to Pakistan against India. A lot of efforts were made including withdrawal of Afghanistan of its negative UN vote and most importantly exchange of ambassadors in 1948 could not bring Pakistan and Afghanistan together.

In 1949 Afghanistan's loya jirga added fuel to fire when it is announced that agreements related to Durand line was cancelled and Afghanistan is not recognizing Durand line.¹⁶ Situation became worse when in 1950 Afghan king Zahir shah made an anti Pakistan speech. Afghan officials did

¹⁴ Muhammad Ikram Rabani, *"Pakistan Affairs," Carvan book house, Lahore 4th Ed, 2006.*

¹⁵ Dennis Kux, *"The United States and Pakistan, 1947-2000: Disenchanted Allies,"* (Washington D.C Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2001).

¹⁶ Fazal Habib Curmally, *"The Great Game and the Durand Line," The Defence Journal, Karachi, Vol.13, September-October 2009.*

not stop the progress on announcement but took a step forward by setting pakhtoon parliament inside Pakistan's tribal areas. 17To boast Pakhtoon revolution in tribal areas of Pakistan irregular forces crossed Pakistan's border in 1950-1951. Afghanistan never accepted hidden involvement in cross border activities. Pakistan denied Afghanistan's claim of impartiality as a result of growing mistrust both countries withdrew their ambassadors for sometimes.18

Situation got worse when an afghan national held responsible in the assassination of Pakistan's Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan in 1951. To be in opposition Kabul warmly joined India to go up against Pakistan for US arm aid to Pakistan. On January 4, 1954 Afghan ambassador Mohammad kabir protested to Secretary Dulles that military help to Pakistan from US might create power emptiness in Afghanistan. On December 1954 Afghanistan request for US arm's hold was cast off mainly with the soviet feedback rather than Pakistan's reaction.

Pakistan's joining of SEATO and CENTO for defense was two more steps which intensified the situation between Pakistan and Afghanistan. Pakistan's administrative units are modified as one unit in 1955 for incorporating as western and eastern parts of Pakistan. Afghanistan opposed the decision and started massive rallies, Pakistan embassy in Kabul was attacked and Pakistan's flag was ill-treated. In reaction afghan embassy in Peshawar was attacked and Pakistan officially banned afghan goods. US played to its role to cool down the relations between Pakistan and Afghanistan by fearing Soviet Union may use the opportunity by filling the space created in Afghanistan.19

In November 1955 a new direction was directed in Pakistan-Afghanistan relations when Moscow brutally reacted against Pakistan for joining SEATO and CENTO. Communist leaders Nikita Khrushchev and Nikolai Bulganin made a highly exposed visit to India and Afghanistan. In India Communist leaders approved New Delhi's position on Kashmir and in Afghanistan announced Moscow's support for the Afghans on Pakhtoonistan committing \$100 million economic aid and

17Mujtaba Razvi, *The frontiers of Pakistan: A Study of Frontiers problems in Pakistan's Foreign Policy* (National Publishing House Karachi, 1971).

18 Dennis Kux, *"The United States and Pakistan, 1947-2000: Disenchanted Allies,"* (Washington D.C Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2001).

19Manzur Qadir, "The Foreign Policy of Pakistan," *Pakistan Horizon* 13, no. 1 (1960): 3-12.

also open military aid.²⁰ Against Pakistan this visit showed a new player in indo-Afghanistan nexus. Afghanistan for all its intentions and to fulfill her purposes became economic city state for USSR.

1.1.2 Cold War Actors (US & USSR) and the Pak-Afghan Relations

By sensing the situation that Afghanistan might side with soviet union, US and others powerful states of world including Egypt, Iran and Saudi Arabia tried to solve the tension and laid their role to make healthy relations between Pakistan and Afghanistan and also perused Pakistan not to get harsh its diplomatic relations with Afghanistan.²¹ To normalize the relations Pakistan's President Iskandar Mirza and prime Minister Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardy visited Afghanistan in 1956 and 1957 respectively. Than afghan officials king Zahir shah in 1958 and Prime Minister sardar daud Khan in 1959 visited Pakistan. These visits helped a lot for understanding on both the sides. Daud Khan and Iskinar mirza decided to transfer political issues to minor priority and agreed to survey US suggestions which accepted establishing a shipment zone in Karachi, rolling stock for Afghanistan trade, building railway tracks into Afghanistan at the borders of Chamman and Landi Kotal and improving the situation of roads.²² Prime Minister Daud Khan tried to play the game from the both the sides by assuming the situation and high spirit between the leaders of cold war. In president Ayub Khan's point of view Daud khan believes that Soviet Union will win the cold war so wanted Moscow's friendship at any cost. Invasion of aid from communist became so important that the Russia had taken over Afghanistan. They were modifying road networks in Afghanistan in such a way that they could intentionally use it later for their own purpose. US did not liked the idea of Pakistan for adopting harsh and tough frame for Afghanistan that had conveyed its future to soviet as US feels it was probably to move forward Afghanistan to soviet

²⁰ Muhammad Ikram Rabani, "*Pakistan Affairs*," Carvan book house, Lahore 4th Ed, 2006.

²¹ Hussain, Rifaat. "Pakistan's relations with Afghanistan: continuity and change." *Strategic Studies* 22, no. 4 (2002): 43-75.

²² Mujtaba Razvi, *The frontiers of Pakistan: A Study of Frontiers problems in Pakistan's Foreign Policy* (National Publishing House Karachi, 1971).

zone. Americans use of Peshawar airport for U-2 flights encouraged soviet to go through in Afghanistan and threatening Pakistan for the serious results for being collaborating in U-2 flights. Since the start of U-2 flights episode Soviet Union supported every single afghan development to ruin Pakistan. Indian involvement and USSR's support to Afghanistan opened another gate for cross border tension into Pakistan by afghan's in fall of 1961. These incidents led the termination of Pakistan-Afghanistan relations. Trade offices in Peshawar and Quetta were closed. Afghanistan ruined diplomatic agreements, closed its borders and also cancelled transit trade. Land lock Afghanistan was successfully cut off from rest of the world depending on its road links with Soviet Union, imperfect contact with Iran and through air with India. Break down with Pakistan effected Afghanistan's economy and also political system. Fearing growing interest of Soviet Union in Afghanistan, US offer its goods to both the countries to cope with the situation. To decrease the influence of soviet union over Afghanistan US presented an offer to invest for the extension of railway links from Pakistan to Afghanistan and forced to reopen Afghan trade offices for short-term. Pakistan agreed to reopen rail link near Quetta but denied at some point in Peshawar.²³

1.2 Phase 2) 1963-1978;

1963 accord turns out to be a healthy start between the relations of Pakistan and Afghanistan. Both the states agreed to re-open their closed borders and to re-establish diplomatic relations. Pakistan and Afghanistan agreed to solve mutual problems in agreement with international law and also to create an atmosphere which gave a chance to both the states for mutual trust and understanding.²⁴ Re-opening of trade and bilateral relations gave an opportunity and hope to the economic atmosphere of Afghanistan. The responsibility to manage good relations between Pakistan and Afghanistan was laid on the shoulders of Afghanistan Prime Minister Daud Khan who resigned on March 1963. Daud's Khan Resignation gave new turn to the relations of Pakistan and Afghanistan and by the mid of 1963 both the states settled their diplomatic terms. These expansions cut out Kabul's focus on the Pakhtoonistan issue and make a way easy for

²³ Dennis Kux, *"The United States and Pakistan, 1947-2000: Disenchanted Allies,"* (Washington D.C Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2001).

²⁴ Hussain, Rifaat. "Pakistan's relations with Afghanistan: continuity and change." *Strategic Studies* 22, no. 4 (2002):42-71.

Afghanistan rulers to think in more relaxed view. The relations were strengthened to such an extent that in Indo-Pakistan war of 1965, Afghanistan gave her support to Pakistan. This stance of Afghanistan gave Pakistan a chance to focus on the war with India and to be less anxious about the security of its western border. In 1968 King Zahir Shah was given a warm welcome during his state visit to Pakistan.²⁵ King Zahir Shah searched facilities on how to make an increase in trade and economic cooperation.²⁶ Islamabad decision to break up one unit further strengthened the relations of both the states. Afghanistan also preserve firm impartiality during 1971 Indo-Pakistan war.²⁷

Normalization of relations that occurred in 1963 resignation of Afghanistan Prime Minister Sardar Daud Khan turned things in better way for both the states. Bilateral relations were matured enough to eradicate the atmosphere of mistrust when scattered by changes in Kabul's corridors. In July 1973 Sardar Daud, a passionate defender of Pakhtoonistan issue, overthrew King Zahir Shah while he was in Europe with the support of leftist forces and in collaboration of Soviet.²⁸ These leftist forces were primarily from Parcham wing of Communist People's Democratic Party (PDP). Sardar Daud discontinues monarchy and start off a nation under his own presidency.²⁹ Pro soviet elements that gave their full support to Sardar Daud took full advantage and interfered in state policies that were supposed as a disturbing development in Pakistan. During his last term as Prime Minister Pakistan-Afghanistan relations remained stressful and could not improve till his resignation. Recognition of power by Sardar Daud Khan in which afghan armed forces, leftist and pro soviet elements played a vital role was considered as a negative and threatening development in Pakistan. Keeping his evidence in view of his support for separate tendencies in Pakistan it was feared that he would again play his role for pro-independence movement amongst Pakhtoons and Baloch entities across Durand line. It did happen in Balochistan when Afghanistan provided shelter

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶Mujtaba Razvi, *The frontiers of Pakistan: A Study of Frontiers problems in Pakistan's Foreign Policy* (National Publishing House Karachi, 1971).

²⁷ Ibid

²⁸Calvocoressi, Peter. *World Politics, 1945-2000. Essex: Pearson Education, 2001.*

²⁹ Ibid

to the Bugti and Marree rebellions in mid 70s. In 1974-75 Sardar Daud mobilized his armed forces to Pakistan-Afghanistan border to give a motion of harmony to Baloch insurgents. In reaction to this Pakistan also stationed her forces on western border. Pakhtoon rebellion was a new phenomena however baloch uprising was not new but addition of their old command. Baloch and Pakhtoon demand for political independence was a intentional demand by Kabul to break up Pakistan. Pakistan decided to support anti Daud forces to end Sardar Daud administration. Pakistan also welcomed Afghanistan Islamists with anti communist, anti Daud forces.³⁰ Components i.e., Gulbadin Hekmat Yar, Ahmad Shah Masood and Burhan-ud-din Rabbani runaway to Pakistan and managed their forces against communists followed by Daud Khan.³¹ They gained force and power in few years and achieved a position of armed opposition. 5,000 Afghans were taught and trained by Pakistan in its undisclosed military camps.³²

Iran also didn't liked Sardar Daud administration to support Baloch independence as it could also trigger her baloch undeveloped population. Daud Khan noticed an uprising of soviet in Afghanistan's internal matters and anti Pakistan policies were harmful for Afghanistan than doing well.³³ By sensing the situation Sardar Daud invited Pakistan's Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto to visit Afghanistan. Opposite to reality Bhutto was given a warm welcome on June 1976 and Sardar Daud also visited Pakistan on same year in august. These visits helped to reduce tension and create a healthy atmosphere between the two states. Bhutto agreed to discharge National Awami Party (NAP) leaders that were blamed of supporting Pakhtoonistan claim while Sardar Daud decided to identify Durand Line as frontier between both the states.³⁴ As Sardar Daud distanced himself from communist forces required aid from Iran and mistreated both wings of PDP

³⁰Kamal Matinuddin, *Power Struggle in the Hindu Kush: Afghanistan, 1978-1991* (Wajidalis, 1991).

³¹Khawar Hussain, "Pakistan's Afghanistan policy," *Monterey California*, June 2005, https://calhoun.nps.edu/bitstream/handle/10945/2132/05Jun_Hussain.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y (accessed February 2020).

³²Marvin G Weinbaum, "Pakistan and Afghanistan: The strategic relationship," *Asian Survey*, June. 1991.

³³Babar Shah, "PAKISTAN'S AFGHANISTAN POLICY: AN EVALUATION." *Strategic Studies* 20, no. 2/3 (2000): 168-224.

³⁴ Ibid.

in 1977.³⁵ The process of was again derailed when Bhutto administration was dismissed in July 1977 and Sardar Daud was also dismissed in April 1978 by communist forces.³⁶ People's Democratic Party took over the government in Afghanistan. Noor Muhammad Taraki took an oath as president, Hafiz Ullah Amin as Prime Minister, and Babrak Karmal as Deputy Prime Minister. Country was given the new name as Democratic Republic of Afghanistan (DRA). Communist redesign antagonizes land owners which results in massive protests all around the country. The revolutionist of Iranian revolution also added their piece of paper to situation and desires and hopes to the elements resisting communist regime in Afghanistan. Communist reforms in Afghanistan were perceived as a serious threat in Pakistan. Alongside supporting and maintaining forces against communist administration in Kabul, Pakistan had to crowd almost 150,000 refugees in Pakistan right after the Saur revolution.³⁷ PDPA signed friendship treaty in December 1978 with Soviet Union. History repeated itself on September 16, 1979 Hafizullah Amin put on another rebellion move against government by killing Taraki, and became new president of Afghanistan. Amin was found not as much of obedient and conquer Kabul at the end of 1979 discharges Amin and placed Karmal as new president.

1.3 War of Independence against Soviet Union:

Invasion of Afghanistan on 27th December 1979 killed Hafizullah Amin and appointed Babrak Kamal as a president placed hurdles for Pakistan as it brings Red Army very close to Khyber Pass.³⁸ Khyber Pass is the gateway for invading South Asia from the north side. This invasion was noticed in Pakistan and concluded as a striking move more than a help. At the time Moscow took over the control on Afghanistan it severely irritated Zia's logic of Islamic brotherhood.³⁹ This invasion clashed with the post chaos in Iran, Baloch uprising in Balochistan, and continuous doubtfulness in Pakistan. Russian armed forces were placed with such a strategy

³⁵Peter Calvocoressi, *World politics since 1945* (New York: Routledge, 2013).

³⁶ Ibid

³⁷ Hussain, Rifaat. "Pakistan's relations with Afghanistan: continuity and change." *Strategic Studies* 22, no. 4 (2002):42-71.

³⁸ Peter Calvocoressi, *World politics since 1945* (New York: Routledge, 2013).

³⁹Dennis Kux, *"The United States and Pakistan, 1947-2000: Disenchanted Allies,"* (Washington D.C Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2001).

that it took half an hour time of Persian Gulf, Indian Ocean and Baloch area to reach. Pakistan was considered as a finishing stop by the defenders of warm water theory for soviet forces.⁴⁰ Therefore movement of soviet forces in Afghanistan was conceived as a threat regarding to security of Pakistan, Persian Gulf and Iran. A major challenged was faced by Pakistan that how to strategically face and connect it as a accomplished fact or to offer full support to freedom fighters or to assemble international community to exert pressure on soviet union along with underground support to resistance forces. According to ex-foreign secretary and Foreign Minister of Pakistan, Mr. Abdul Sattar *“The Soviet military intervention provoked a deep sense of alarm in Pakistan. Suddenly the buffer disappeared and if the Soviet rulers consolidated their control in Afghanistan they could use it as springboard to reach the warm waters of the Arabian Sea. Pakistan could not afford to acquiesce in the Soviet intervention. But neither could it afford a confrontation with a super power. Islamabad therefore decided on the middle course, avoiding confrontation but raising a low pitched voice of concern and protest”*⁴¹

America’s concern for regional security was badly affected with the collapse of Shah of Iran and considering Soviet Union as a major geostrategic hazard not for Pakistan only but also considered for Persian Gulf and American interest. USA makes an attempt to support regional security network of its own to take full control over communist expansions. On 4th May 1980, President Carter declared

“We will provide military equipment, food and other assistance to help Pakistan defend its independence and national security against the seriously increased threat from the north.”

Pakistan as concerned with much for its security allowed US to use of its territory to unfold proxy war against communist regime. For the sake of economic and military support US offered a support of \$400 million which was rejected for being insufficient as compare to the intensity of threat.⁴² Despite the fact that military and economic agreement not became successful it did not affect

40 Imtiaz Shahed, Pakistan Affairs, Lahore, Advance Publishers, 2008.

41 Abdul Sattar, "Afghanistan: Past, Present and Future, From Jihad to Civil War," *the institute of regional studies, islamabad* (1997): 462-63.

42 William Branigan, "Pakistan seeks billions in US Aid." *Washington Post* (1980), Washington Post, January 23rd, 1980

widening intelligence cooperation between CIA and Inter Services Intelligence (ISI). In early 1981 new government of Ronald Regan came to the fact that the situation was not at it seems so increased assistance of military and economic aid up to \$3.2 billion for five years.⁴³ Ammunition, Arms and equipment for Mujahiden was channeled through Pakistan's ISI.⁴⁴ Secret aid for uplifting, training, supplying and directing Mujahiden into the fight went to 400\$ million in 1984 from 60\$ million in 1981.⁴⁵ Hezb-i-Islami of Gulbuddin Hekmatyar was Frontline beneficiary of this aid as they showed to be reliable and justified resisting force.⁴⁶ On November 1986, Gorbachev visits India and want a political solution for Afghanistan that could ensure sovereignty of its own and nonaligned standing. This development makes a way easy for diplomacy and Pakistan started negotiations on time framework of intentional withdrawal of Soviet. Diplomatic institutes were busy in making concluding version of Geneva Accord on the other hand hidden bomb blasts in different cities of Pakistan were happening to upset the upcoming withdrawal process. On 10th April 1988 blowing of Ojri camp ammunition dump was one of its damages. On 14th April 1988, peace accord was signs between Pakistan and Afghanistan in Geneva having two superpowers as its guarantors. Features of the accords are as following:

- I. Soviet troops must have to depart from Afghanistan within the time frame of nine months and also half of them to leave in the first three months.
- II. Superpowers which are in this accord were to make sure one year suspension of armaments deliveries.
- III. Superpowers have the authority to arm their allies should there be no violation of one year suspension of weapons deliveries.
- IV. On cross border activities Accord called for ban.

43 Ibid

44 Tara Kartha, Pakistan and the Taliban: Flux in an old relationship, Strategic analysis: A monthly journal of IDSA, October 2000.

45 Ibid, p.274

46 Marvin G. Weinbaum, "Pakistan and Afghanistan: Resistance and Reconstruction," international journal of middle east, *Cambridge university press Westview Press*, no.29 (2016).

Soviet left according to schedule. Soviet withdrawal goes along with eight years of civil war that distressed the leftovers of Kabul and its surroundings. Withdrawing Soviets left important war ammunition dumps and gadgets that encouraged staying of Dr. Najeeb Ullah Government. American's on the other hand stopped deliveries of weapons, missiles and war instruments to the Mujahideen consequently preventing them to fight. Disintegration of Soviet Union gave rise to the collapse of Najeeb Ullah government in 1992 and Sibghatullah Mojadedi formed an interim government. Power sharing measures under Peshawar accord organized by Pakistan badly failed when Burhanuddin Rabbani and Ahmed Shah Masood collaborated to remain Gul Badin Hikmatyar out of supremacy. This latest power game triggered another civil war on ethnic lines. Rabbani by misusing his power re-elected himself as president on June 1994. Rabbani's extension to his power was a disloyalty to Peshawar Accord. The fighting of different groups of Mujahideen from 1992-1994 resulted in a number of immense loss of men and objects that included the loss of up to 45000 dead and almost same number were injured. This entire scenario in Afghanistan stated it as a failed state. Pakistan blamed Rabbani for the chaotic condition. Situation became so worse that Pakistani citizens in Afghanistan were declared as enemy agents, Pakistan embassy in Kabul was closed and also Pakistan-Afghanistan border. Over the ashes left by the war lords in south Afghanistan a new force was proceeded with the name of Taliban.⁴⁷ A roughness was created by Rabbani's disloyalty and Pakistan assumed Taliban as an alternative to change Rabbani.

I.4 Emergence of Taliban and Pakistan's support for peace:

Pakistan who was anxiously waiting for peace and stability in Afghanistan found an opportunity for revitalization process. Harmony and stability in Afghanistan was necessary for willingly return of more than 2 million refugees to their native land. Extended illegal activities of different Mujahideen groups gave rise to Tehreek-i-Islami-i-Talibaan Afghanistan on September 1994.⁴⁸ It was a whole new movement with a manifesto as following:

⁴⁷Seth G. Jones, *In the graveyard of empires: America's war in Afghanistan* (WW Norton & Company, 2009).

⁴⁸Anwar-ul-haq ahady, "Kamal Matinuddin, *The Taliban Phenomenon: Afghanistan 1994-1997* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1999). Pp. 306." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 32, no. 4 (2000): 586-588. p.26

- i. To implement laws according to Islam on areas under their control
- ii. To restore peace and social order
- iii. To neutralize war lords either by convincing them or by force
- iv. To regain control over the areas enlightened by Taliban
- v. To defend Islamic values and customs of Afghanistan

Taliban ideology soon became a supreme reality, assembles energy and grew as a powerful force in Afghanistan. Pakistan was in a chaotic situation over the Afghan civil war as she thinks it might hit its territory but on the other hand most of the people who lived in refugees camps during Soviet occupancy were taught in Pakistan so they had soft corner for Pakistan. Taliban's attack of Toba Achakzai weapons and Spin Boldak Ammunition Dump on October 1994 was one of the outstanding example of strategic and quickness of operation that helped them to possess almost 80,000 Kalashnikovs and thousands of weapons.⁴⁹ Taliban's military involvement helped Pakistan's goods to reach to Central Asia and to get free from the hold of warlords. Taliban expended their authority and in the year of 1995 they occupied nine provinces. Taliban were at their peak of victory and recognition. India gave her full support either financial or diplomatic to Ahmed Shah and Rabbani in order to improve their capability to hold up Taliban ongoing pressure. Reports showed that Indian shipments landed at Bagram air base in the year of 1995 and also Indian plans belongs to Rabbani forces.⁵⁰ With the certain passage of time Taliban succeeded to make their hold on 27 out of 32 provinces by the end of May 1997. India followed the rule that your enemy's enemy is your friend. So India gave her full support to Rabbani and Ahmed Shah as they both expanded their differentiation with Pakistan over Taliban issue. India also succeeded in creating a bad image of Pakistan in front of Iran by misguiding that Pakistan on behalf of USA is in support of Taliban with the aim to separate Iran. India's plan in Afghanistan is to stop Pakistan to unifying a Muslim block that would give tactical depth to Pakistan at the time when opposing India. India was also terrified from Taliban's support to Kashmiri Freedom fighters so she wants to give her support to Rabbani and Ahmed Shah to tackle Taliban in Afghanistan. Taliban's movement got fame soon; they took over control on the areas under their control and bring peace

49 Ibid., 60-61

50 Ibid. 62-95

and stability.⁵¹ Pakistan Consul General in Herat stated that: they brought peace; they gave free education and medical treatment and justice. They were the respected people in Afghanistan.

Pakistan wants a secure and established Afghanistan with a supportive government in Kabul that could promote the return of 3 Million refugees and also give safe entrance to Central Asian Markets. It was a first time that Pakistan found a friendly government in Afghanistan and that having no ties with India.⁵² Pakistan provided full diplomatic, economic and financial support to Taliban government. Pakistan's bend towards Taliban government was due to number of geo-economic and strategic factors, as following:

- i. Rabbani's betrayal and involvement of India
- ii. Taliban's were in a position to protect trade routes to land locked Muslim countries of Central Asia
- iii. Taliban's Islamic principle would help them in giving anti Indian force and prevent them to use India-Afghan land against Pakistan.
- iv. Afghanistan controlled by Taliban would also give an opportunity to Kashmiri Mujahden in their schooling and fight for freedom from India.
- v. Taliban proved to be consistent force that was organized enough to control war lords and ended the civil war that was assumed to be spread into the Pakistan's land.

To strengthen its relations with Afghanistan, Pakistan declared their relations with Taliban government on 25th May 1997.⁵³ Taliban government make a strong hold on most of the Afghanistan including capital and the areas of different ethnic groups. Soon after the recognition of Pakistan, Saudi Arabia and United Arab Emirates recognized Taliban government. Recognition

51 Walsh Declan, "As Taliban Insurgency gains strength and sophistication, suspicion falls on Pakistan," *The Guardian*, November 13, 2006, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2006/nov/13/afghanistan.declanwalsh>, (accessed May 2020).

52 Michael Griffin, "Reaping the whirlwind." *The Taliban Movement In Afghanistan*, (London Pluto Press, 2001).

53 Anwar-ul-haq ahady, "Kamal Matinuddin, *The Taliban Phenomenon: Afghanistan 1994-1997* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1999). Pp. 304." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 32, no. 4 (2000): 586-588.

of Pakistan increased the differences between Iran and Pakistan. Pakistan-Iran ties faced a major setback when Taliban ordered Iranian Embassy in Kabul to stop working and to leave Afghanistan within 48 hours. USA response over Taliban administration was not so admiring. Taliban was stated as indigenous movement by then Assistant Secretary of state. With the passage of time USA behavior towards Taliban started to change because of their aggression and most importantly presence of Osama Bin Laden. US senate passed a resolution on 5th May 1999 demanding President Bush not to accept any administration who is against women's right. Pakistan offered straight help of 6\$ Million to Taliban administration for trade services.⁵⁴ US intelligence concluded that Pakistan was funding Taliban government with weapons and food etc. Taliban's ways of enforcing Islam and cruel nature set an area on an alarming point. Taliban who were the rulers of nearly 90% area of Afghanistan rejected to talk with Northern Alliance as alliance associate. Pakistan's demand of broad based government turned Taliban administration to Osama Bin Laden for economic hold up. Taliban allowed Osama to live in Afghanistan and in return he provided workers, labor forces, and money and trained Arab fighters to take part in Taliban military campaigns in the north.⁵⁵ Pakistan was struck between US and Taliban's. Killing of Iranian diplomats in Herat aggravated Iran. In order to maintain its terms with Iran and to counter USA's pressure Pakistan decided to maintain a distance from Taliban. Iran closed its border with Afghanistan in 1998. UN Security Council adopted a resolution No. 1214;

1. Come to an end with Northern Alliance
2. Stop protecting militants and also to stop narcotics trade
3. Have peace talks with opposition
4. Movement of show disapproval for killing Iranian diplomats
5. Condemn murder in Mazar-e-Sharif

Pakistan main purpose to support Taliban government was based on its national concern but on the other hand she wants to bring Opposition and Taliban on one page. On Pakistan's interference Taliban agreed to assemble meeting with anti Taliban Alliance at Ashkabad in 1999 on a memo of

⁵⁴Seth G. Jones, *In the graveyard of empires: America's war in Afghanistan* (WW Norton & Company, 2009).

⁵⁵ Ibid. 64.

peace, cease fire and terms for broad based administration in Afghanistan. UN adopted resolution No. 1267 on 15th October 1999 that clearly mentioned Taliban to give away Osama Bin Laden. UN also imposed economic sanctions on 14th November 1999.⁵⁶ Pakistan's decision to have broad based government in Afghanistan remained unchanged in Pervez Musharraf government also. ECO Ministerial Conference was held in Tehran in June 2000, where Pakistan Foreign Minister clearly announced that Pakistan is in support of every peace initiative whether it is from UN or Iran and Pakistan was also in favor of peace agreements accepted by Afghans.⁵⁷ Due to the efforts of Pakistan in peace process and maintaining stability Afghanistan closed three training camps broken down on narcotics factories and restricted Osama's trained Arab fighters also. ⁵⁸

Taliban's positive response helped a lot to maintain peace and stability in region but the incident of 9/11 changed whole scenario at once. Osama Bin Laden was declared master mind of the whole incident by US administration. Pakistan condemned this terrorist attack.⁵⁹ US warned Taliban and demanded to handover Osama or be ready for the results. Taliban government refused to give Osama. Their refusal added fuel to fire and in reaction US attacked Afghanistan, destroyed camps and also collapsed Al-Qaeda and Taliban.

1.5 Pakistan-Afghanistan Relations after 9/11:

The incident of 11 September, 2001 changed the situation across the globe and Pakistan found itself stuck between the evil and deep sea. It started a new phase of Pakistan's foreign policy in general and Pakistan-Afghanistan in particular. Pakistan was clearly notified by USA "either to be with us or against us".⁶⁰ George W. Bush made it clear that USA would not make any difference between the facilitators of terrorist and those who helped them. Pakistan had to make a tough choice to side with USA in war on terror, against Al-Qaeda and Taliban or go through with USA revenge. Pakistan chooses to be international union and provide flight passage and air bases

⁵⁶ UNO Resolution No. 1267, 15th October 1999

⁵⁷ Afghans to decide on Loya Jirga, *The Frontier Post*, Peshawar, June 5, 2000

⁵⁸ Afghan Training Camps Abandoned: Says BBC, *The News*, Islamabad, June 25, 2000

⁵⁹ Musharraf, Pervez. *In the line of fire: A memoir*. Simon and Schuster, 2006.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 201

for handling and recovery to US led militant attack over Afghanistan in 2001.⁶¹ Pakistan to prevent war did it best to reconcile between US and Taliban. Former head of CIA, George Tenet stated in his book that Pakistan helped in arranging meetings between US and Taliban for peaceful solution.⁶² Pakistan's DG ISI, Lt.Gen Mahmood Ahmed with a delegation also visited Taliban leader Mullah Omar on 17th September 2001. Attack on Taliban and Al-Qaeda camps from US was huge and destroyed them badly so as a result many militants disappeared and isolated in Afghanistan and some spitted to Iran and Pakistan. Within 7-10 weeks after the US attack over Afghanistan, Taliban were routed out, scattered and the capital also fell on 13th November 2001. Afghanistan being a gateway to Central Asia provide shortest and safest route for expending wide energy resources of Central Asia to other parts of the world. Downfall of Taliban government gave a way for foreign elements to enter into Afghanistan to safeguard their tactical interest. After breakdown of Taliban administration US arranged a meeting with selected tribal chiefs in Germany to make a decision over interim government under Hamid Karzai administration with a six months short term mandate. Pakistan supported the decision and Hamid Karzai paid official visit to Pakistan in 2002. Pakistan offered all kind of help to Afghanistan. Pakistan's President Pervez Musharraf also visit Kabul in April 2002 and announced 100\$ Million aid. In 2004 and 2005 Pakistan also supported peaceful conduct of presidential and parliamentary polls of Afghanistan. Pakistan also sealed its border to safeguard against any attack across the border to secure election process. President Pervez Musharraf visited Afghanistan as first Head of State after election process. Soon the relations between Pakistan and Afghanistan started to decline again, trust shortage increased and president Karzai which was once pro-Pakistan started blame game over Pakistan for facilitating terrorist. Bonn conference mistakenly mistreated dominant tribes while giving political position in additional setup of Afghanistan. This blunder turned to be disaster as it helped to give kick start to Taliban insurgency. Another Bonn scheme that turned into a huge mistake was keeping Pakistan out of the process. Since India has found a space to further strengthen its ties with Afghanistan and also to do secret activities in Balochistan through Baloch insurgents and FATA throughout TTP to destabilize Pakistan. Formation of Indian delegation all

61 Ibid., 204-207

62 George Tenet and Romulo Rodrigues Dantas. *"At the Center of the Storm: My Years at the CIA."* *Revista Brasileira de Inteligência* 3, no. 4 (2007): 109-114.

along with Pakistan-Afghanistan border set Pakistan concerned of security risk. This task force of India is doing less charity work and more run spy networks to weaken Pakistan. Number of anti Pakistan activities have been reported in Balochistan and FATA by this task force of India. Yousaf Raza Gillani, Pakistan's Prime Minister has submitted many proofs of Indian participation in Balochistan on 16th July 2009, to Indian counterpart in Egyptian resort of Sharmel Sheikh Summit. Proofs included names and Photographs of the Indian administration members meeting with Baloch insurgent Brahamdagh Bughti and many other militants in Afghanistan and Pakistan.

1.6 Challenges and Opportunities

The significant challenges of Pakistan-Afghanistan are

- a) Durand Line
- b) Pakhtoonistan issue
- c) Interference into the internal matters and Involvement of India and others

1.6.1 Durand Line:

From the last 62 years Durand Line is an issue that created so many hurdles between Pakistan and Afghanistan relations. On 12th November 1893 an agreement was signed between British Government and Afghanistan to define a boundary line between the two. The agreement was signed by Afghanistan's Ameer Abdul Rehman Khan and British Foreign Secretary, Sir Mortimor Durand. Agreement was remodified in the time period of different rulers. In the autobiography of Abdul Rehman Khan Boundary line was stated from Chitral and Baroghil pass upto Peshawar and to Koh-i-Malik Siyah. Acceptance of the boundary line created doubtfulness among Afghan peoples and various governments and this lack of trust added fuel to fire and created an atmosphere of distrust against each other. The agreement was clear and simple to understand but lack of information and misguideness caused serious problems. Durand line is the only boundary line that was demarked through mutual understanding and also it is the only border which Afghanistan is not willing to accept.

1.6.2 Pakhtooistan Issue:

Afghanistan always contends Pakhtoon areas of NWFP (KPK) and Balochistan as an important part of Afghanistan that they think were vigorously taken over by British India.

Afghanistan claims that the Pakhtoons living across the Durand Line are one and the line separated Pakhtoons into two parts. Afghans were unable to realize that Durand line was not a random drawn line but physically drawn and was accepted border. Another attention-grabbing phenomenon of Pakhtoonistan is that it was appropriate on the unification of Pakhtoon with Afghanistan only and not Afghanistan based Pakhtoon with NWFP (KPK). Afghan impression of Pakhtoonistan based on only those Pakhtoons who lives in Pakistan. Every time when idea of plebiscite was given Afghan administration rejected it very harshly. Afghanistan confronts Pakistan's right to govern Pakhtoon areas as successor state. Afghanistan supported pakhtoon uprising and also launched and supported baloch arms insurgents to weaken Pakistan. At first Pakistan reacted diplomatically and politically by closeness of borders and by disconnecting afghan trade transportation via Pakistan. Trade blockage affected very badly on Afghanistan's economy and socio-economic development. The question remains on page during an era of Sardar Daud Khan in 1947-1963 and in 1973-1978. The problem remained in suspension with Sardar Daud stepping back from power in 1963 and later with his murder in 1978. However communist system from 1978 to 1995 and Northern Alliance administration since 2002 remained successful in making the issue alive for their interest. Despite much struggle and pressure from Pakistan Taliban refused to support Durand Line. Afghan President Hamid Karzai also quoted that a line of hatred that raised a wall between two brothers

1.6.3 Interference into the internal matters and Involvement of India and others:

Afghanistan supported Pakhtoon uprising but also hosted baloch insurgents to weaken Pakistan internally. Sardar Daud era was full of incidents that exhausted the situation and helped a lot to create an atmosphere of distress between Pakistan and Afghanistan. Arm's resistance in Waziristan and Baloch uprising in Kalat from 1948-1949 are intense examples. To cease Kalat joining with Pakistan, Prince Karim started the first armed operation against Pakistan on April 16, 1948.⁶³ Later he was captured by Pakistan's armed forces and sentenced to prison. Connection of Indo-Afghan and Russia was cleared behind Baloch revolution in 1958,1960s and 1970s respectively. Pakistan supported Afghan Mujahiden against communist regime, than against Najeeb Ullah and than against Taliban was due to fact that Pakistan wanted to create a friendly relations with Afghanistan. India's and Russia's support for Northern Alliance was due to fact that

63 Martin Axmann, Back to the future: *The Khanate of Kalat and the genesis of Baloch nationalism, 1915-1955*. (Oxford University Press, USA, 2008).

they wanted to make anti-Taliban and anti-Pakistan government in Afghanistan. Taliban's success paved a way for Russia to supply weapons whereas India started airlifting non-military equipments to Northern Alliance armed forces through Iran. In the start of 2001 USA joined trio of Iran, India and Russia as a fourth member in respect to give aid to Northern Alliance in an aspect to change Taliban administration. The blame game started again. Afghanistan accused Pakistan for the overflow of terrorist entering into Afghanistan from Pakistan. Not giving any credit to Pakistan's efforts against militant groups Afghanistan started a blame game and ruined the relations. Afghanistan was also failed to give satisfactory answers to Pakistan on a matter of India's involvement in Afghanistan just to destabilize Pakistan. As compare to Pakistan's efforts and struggle to maintain healthy relations, peace and stability Afghanistan's efforts were limited.

CHAPTER 2

PAKISTAN FOREIGN POLICY UNDER PAKISTAN PEOPLE'S PARTY REGIME (2008-2013)

2.1 An overview

The Pakistan relations with Afghanistan went through many ups and down. Several times Pakistan tries to maintain its relationship with Afghanistan but due to the presence of non-state actors such as presence of India and United States of America in the internal affairs of Afghanistan disturbs the Pakistan effort to stabilize its relationship with Afghanistan. Secondly, due to the disputed Pakhtoon areas and controversy on Durand line strained both states relationship and it is believed that as soon as the dispute over Durand line has not been resolved between Pakistan and Afghanistan the Pakistan will hold a very strong strategic interest in Afghanistan.

There is a power play in the South Asian region in which Pakistan and India are continuously interfering in the internal affairs of the Afghanistan in order to maintain or advance their regional hegemony and that is the main reason that whenever the debate of Pak-Afghan relation initiated the involvement of India is always highlighted. Unfortunately, India never lose any chance to disrupt Pakistan therefore India maintained their presence everywhere especially in the areas where Pakistan also retain any stakes because the main agenda of India is to destabilize the Pakistan. Similarly the lack of effective cooperation on the borders in South Asia is the central issue in the region. After the deadliest 9/11 attack⁶⁴the US involvement in the Afghanistan Pakistan became prominent that deteriorated the Pak-Afghan relations much as Pakistan was pressurized to be allied with the US in the war against terror so as a result when Pakistan joined US against the interest of Afghanistan the Antagonism of Afghanistan against Pakistan increased. Correspondingly when Zardari took the office in Pakistan the democracy was evolved that was the

64 Mohib Ullah Durani and Ashraf Khan. "Pakistan-Afghan Relations: Historic Mirror." The Dialogue 4, no. 1 (2002): 25-61.

new chapter in the politics of Pakistan after a long rule of Pervaiz Musharraf. 65. However, in the era of Peoples Party the political system of Pakistan witnessed a democratic rule. The party suffered from deep corruption, incompetency, instability and many conflicts with other institutions but the PPP government tried their best to support and assemble all the four provinces of Pakistan. PPP government supported equally all the ethnic groups in Pakistan so Pakistan was not separated in term of ethnicity under the PPP government. Though long debate short this chapter will analyze the relationship of Pakistan and Afghanistan in the era of Pakistan People's Party in which Asif Ali Zardari was the Leader so this chapter will analyze how the government of PPP shaped their policy agenda in smoothing Pakistan's relationship with Afghanistan. Furthermore, what agreements both states government signed what initiative they took to address the challenges and how much effective their policies were.

2.2 Pak-Afghan relations in Post-Musharraf regime

The ex president of Pakistan Pervaiz Musharraf showed unconditional support to the Afghanistan during his tenure however, in the post Musharraf regime a democratic government in Pakistan was established that was led by the Pakistan People's Party PPP. PPP government also acknowledged and continued the policies and supported the US and Afghanistan in the war against terrorism. Moreover, the PPP government tried their best to reform the foreign policies of Pakistan especially regarding to Afghanistan. 66

Similarly, India showed huge presence in Afghanistan after 9/11 and in 2010 India became the second largest donor in Afghanistan and hence India cashes much of its economic relations with Afghanistan and that was the greatest threat to the Pakistan. However, as the PPP government announced to maintain the cordial relationship with Afghanistan they proved it to be true by signing several cooperative agreements with the Afghanistan regarding trade, reconstruction, security, economy and energy and hence they proved them to be very cooperative and sympathetic towards reconstruction of war torn Afghanistan. In 2012 Pakistan released around 13 Taliban as a

65 Bijan Omrani and Frank Ledwidge, "Rethinking the Durand line: The legality of the Afghan-Pakistani frontier," *The RUSI Journal* 154, no. 5 (2009): 48-56.

66 Saad Shabbir and Vaqar Ahmed, "Welfare Impacts of Afghan Trade on the Pakistani Provinces of Balochistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa," *Stability: International Journal of Security and Development* 4, no. 1 (2015).

good will gesture for Afghanistan and Pakistan enforced to maintain diplomatically an ideal image in front of the international community and Afghanistan but unfortunately the enemies of Pakistan tried their best to destroy the reputation of Pakistan. However several efforts were carried out in post-Musharraf regime for instance, a tri-lateral meeting between British Government, Pakistani government and Afghan government was carried out in which Pakistan's president Asif Ali Zardari and Army Chief General Kayani, the Afghani President Karzai and Afghan chief of Army staff participate and in that meeting the government official decided to take measures to secure a peace deal with Afghan Taliban in order to maintain regional peace and curb terrorism. Furthermore, Pakistan's relations with the Afghanistan were destabilized during the PPP regime because of the USA coercive diplomatic tactics. USA always forced Pakistan to "Do More" and that is why despite Pakistan wishes to not to interfere in afghan politics Pakistan became one of the most important pillar in US afghan interest and it was the US that was the main brain behind all the complexities of Pakistan and Afghanistan while the Aggression of Afghanistan was further aggravated because of India's involvement especially the RAW agents who never misses any chance to deteriorate Pakistan

2.3 PPP policy Agenda towards Afghanistan

In 2008 general elections held in Pakistan in which Pakistan People's Party won. The PPP government led by President Asif Ali Zardari adopted a rapprochement policy towards Afghanistan. Pakistan's institution refusal to end support for Quetta Shura⁶⁷, Haqqani Network and other Afghan insurgents deteriorated the relations between both governments. However on the other side both country's government wanted to maintain cordial relations with each other for instance the President Karzai of Afghanistan attended the Oath Taking Ceremony of President Asif Ali Zardari of Pakistan in August 2008 on the invitation of President Asif Ali Zardari and that showed the Pakistan's government efforts and positive gestures toward maintain a friendly relations with the Afghanistan.

67 Steve Carpenter, *"Countering the Quetta Shura: a viable strategy to US policy in Afghanistan,"* Defense & Security Analysis 30, no. 3 (2014): 283-295.

In 2010 the Afghanistan-Pakistan Small Jirga met in Islamabad where both governments agreed to find out the network who will establish cordial relations with the insurgent for the political settlements. That idea resulted in growing series of Contacts with the Afghan Taliban representatives all across the globe particularly in Saudi Arab, UAE and other countries. Following year of 2010 the president Karzai made a High Council For peace⁶⁸ in that council many prominent leaders of Jihadi groups of Afghanistan were included that council met the delegation of Islamic Emirates who were from Peshawar, Waziristan and Quetta and these are prominent cities in Pakistan.

During the PPP regime the Pakistan maintained a safe haven for the Afghanistan Taliban and the Pakistan military continuously supported the Afghan Taliban and that was the main reason the PPP government refused to carry out security operations in the Baluchistan and North Waziristan as these were the areas from which deadliest terrorist attacks were organized against Afghanistan⁶⁹ hence, despite PPP agenda to maintain the cordial relationships with Afghanistan many factors played there role to deteriorate the relations. For instance during 2010 the Pak-Afghan relationship witnessed a twist when the Taliban Leader Mullah Baradar was arrested from the Pakistan at Karachi as a response to the joint operation conducted by the Pakistan Intelligence agency ISI and American intelligence Agency CIA and as result Pakistan relations with Afghanistan ceased for a while. However, during that time a rapprochement between Afghan government and Taliban took place without the involvement of Pakistan establishment and as a response Pakistan detained Baradar in order to give afghan Taliban warning that Pakistan will not tolerate any negotiation that would be carried out without Pakistan's involvement. The PPP government wanted to maintained the peace and stability in the Afghanistan however, the US factor could never be ignored because when the president Obama took office in 2009 the US department of state doubled its military aid for Pakistan's Civilian government of President Asif Ali Zardari in order to maintain Pakistan's loyalty towards United States against Afghanistan and terrorism. USA tripled its economic aid to Pakistan.

68 Khalid Iqbal, "*Afghanistan Land of Transitions.*" Defence Journal 16, no. 9 (2013): 59.

69 Christopher Alexander, "*Ending the agony: Seven moves to stabilize Afghanistan.*" The Afghanistan paper, no. 3 (2010): 4-9.

2.4 Agreements between both government

The Pakistan people's party encouraged the people to people interaction between both states i.e. Pakistan voluntarily provides settlements to Afghan Refugees and the PPP party deployed around 151000 troops on the western border of Pakistan in order to secure the Pakistan's border against the extremist jihadist and this showed that PPP government was willing to play their role for maintain peace and stability for Pakistan and Afghanistan. The president Zardari established a workable relation with the Afghanistan as well Iran.

Both governments designed a policy of collaborative assault to kill all the extremist jihadist through collective efforts of their intelligence services and security forces moreover, both countries signed several economic related agreements in order to have smooth flow of trade and stabilized economy⁷⁰. Both governments discussed several trade barriers which were creating hurdles in maintain smooth economic relations and as result signed various agreements regarding the financial, banking, trans-regional, intra-regional free trade agreements, energy and security. For instance both countries signed Pakistani Transit Trade Agreement in October 2010 that would provide Afghanistan benefit to export its goods to India up to Wagha border Lahore. Similarly in December 2010 an agreement of TAPI was signed it was a gas pipe line agreement between Turkmenistan, Afghanistan, Pakistan and India furthermore an agreement on CASA-1000 also stabilized the relationship between both state by leading their relation towards security and economic interdependence whereas that agreement was based on high-voltage DC/AC transmission system between Kyrgyz Republic, Tajikistan, Afghanistan and Pakistan.

In 2010, during the PPP regime Pakistan and Afghanistan government also signed the memorandum of understanding for the construction of land links to connect Peshawar and Jalalabad however its implementation was not carried out during the PPP regime. Furthermore, the Henry Clinton ⁷¹ launched an initiative over the Silk Road⁷² during 2011 and the biggest aim behind that project was to stabilize the war torn Afghanistan and its immediate neighbors at the

⁷⁰ Musa Javaid and Sara Meer, "*Pak-Afghan ties: views of Pakistan's political and religious parties*," Pak institute for peace studies (2014): 95.

⁷¹ Dennis Kux, "*The United States and Pakistan, 1947-2000: Disenchanted Allies*," (Washington D.C Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2001).

⁷² Ibid.

same time promote the integration of central and south Asian economy of the world. Moreover, the Pakistan's PPP government also showed a positive gesture towards Afghanistan by granting them the permission to use Gawadar port and Qasim port for the afghan transit trade along with the permission to use eighteen roads inside Pakistan to go to India. Pakistan announced to provide US led aid to Afghanistan for the reconstruction of schools, rail tracks, roads, universities and hospitals. However, in reciprocity the Afghan government granted Pakistan the permission to access the Afghan road to visit Central Asian republics for trade purpose.

Similarly, in 2010 the PPP government decided to enhance the cordial relation of Pakistan with Afghanistan from the economic perspective. Therefore, Pakistan decided to carry out reconstruction, technical project, transit trade and cooperation and for that purpose both states government decided to upgrade their trade to \$15 billion per year. Similarly, Pakistan signed different cooperative agreements including the student exchange program in which Pakistan's government announced 2,000 scholarships for Afghan students. Furthermore in the agricultural sector, the Pakistani government designed Pakistan-Afghanistan food bank along with the joint ventures on the energy sector.

However despite these efforts the relationship of Afghanistan with Pakistan went towards the mess as there was a continuous distrust between both government and blame game was very evident. Pakistan blamed Afghanistan that it is supporting insurgents to carry out attacks in the Pakistan and spreading hatred and animosity in pakhtoon and Baloch community of Pakistan furthermore Afghanistan is supporting terrorist group named Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan against the Pakistan. On the other hand Afghanistan accused Pakistan that Pakistan is playing double game by supporting NATO allies against Afghanistan in the war on terror as well supporting the insurgents inside Afghanistan in order to destabilize the Afghanistan. As a result of these distrust and accusation a proxy war was initiated between both states and rather than securing the interest of each other both states started stabilizing each other via proxy wars and insurgent attacks.

The PPP government carried out the reconciliation process in the Afghanistan as they designed a partnership of joint regional framework that supported the counter-terrorism efforts and improve trade and cooperation but the Assassination of High Peace Council leader Burhanuddin Rabbani deteriorate all the efforts and his death declined both states relations in 2011 however the relations somehow became better in 2012 when Pakistan released many afghan Taliban.

2.5 Challenges and opportunities;

PPP regime faced serious Criticism from the Afghanistan and international community because Pakistan did not carried out anti-militants attack against Taliban in the Quetta, North Waziristan and other tribal areas. So in the later years or the end tenure of PPP witnessed serious challenges because the Pak-Afghan Border issues continued, US entered in the territory of Pakistan in order to kill Usama Bin Laden and that operation was carried out in May 2011 in Abbottabad, NATO Air stroked on the Pakistani important military checkpoints that killed 26 Pakistani troops because of their continuous infiltration in the Pakistan and lastly Afghan Security Forces ASF and the Taliban further destabilized the situation under PPP tenure.

The most critical challenge during that tenure was the India that was carried out its continuous political, military and economic activities in the Afghanistan which as a result creating suspicion for Pakistan because growing India presence was the major threat for the stakes of Pakistan but Afghanistan liberal government was fully supported the India's activity and showed a cold behavior towards Pakistan in this regard as that strategic partnership between Afghanistan and India was marginalizing Pakistan⁷³

2.6 Analysis of PPP's Government policy towards Afghanistan

The PPP government played their best role as this government supported a trilateral relation in his tenure by its continuous efforts to satisfy the USA and Afghanistan. PPP government mange and carried out anti-terrorism strategies and joint efforts to eliminate terrorism. Pakistan is always criticized for supporting the Taliban secretly however Pakistani government decided to justified this thing in term of good and bad and then the government decided to differentiate that some Taliban are good while some are bad and Pakistan only supported the good one. The reason behind Pakistan much involvement in Afghanistan is just that the Pakistan wants a favored government or Pro-Pakistan government in Afghanistan that suits with the interest of Pakistan however unfortunately United States is playing diplomatically by covertly maintaining the Indian influence in Afghanistan in order to maintain equilibrium and that hurts the sentiments of Pakistan that is

73 Safdar Sial, *"Pakistan's role and strategic priorities in Afghanistan since 1980."* Norwegian Peacebuilding Resource Centre (2013): 1-10.

why Pakistan pursue the interventionist policies in Afghanistan. Pakistan realized it very well that Pakistan is important to USA as compared to any other state in Afghan factor because all the US supplies including military, food and economic aid are ran through Pakistan.

Similarly, The PPP government adopted the policy of Non-interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan and maintain the reconciliation, peace and stabilization in Afghanistan without providing any favor to any tribe or group to Pakistan hence their sole agenda was to maintain peace and cordial relationship of Pakistan with Afghanistan without supporting any terrorist or anti-terrorist group and the PPP government tried to maintain better economic relations with the Afghanistan by initiating comprehensive partnership, financial, banking, trans-regional, intra-regional free trade agreements, energy security and supply arrangements etc. Furthermore, the PPP government engaged Afghanistan on the border security cooperation, economic collaboration, intelligence sharing and collateral dismantling of militants from Pakistan and Afghanistan land⁷⁴. PPP government collectively with Afghanistan initiated a policy of coordinated assault in which both the Afghanistan and Pakistan conduct joint military ventures in curbing the extremist militants that were the threat for the internal peace and stability of Pakistan and Afghanistan and hence through these efforts they maintained a little stability in Afghanistan. Moreover the PPP young chairperson Bilawal Bhutto Zardari led a campaign through social media in spreading awareness and supporting Jihad against Taliban. All these PPP efforts were proved to be an eye opener for the international community and Afghanistan who were continuously criticizing the Pakistan, PPP government gave them the gesture that Pakistan is willing to support Afghanistan against the militants and there are some stakeholders who are supporting the Militants for their personal stakes otherwise Pakistan is very active in the war against terrorism⁷⁵.

However the PPP government fully supported the Pakistan army in counter-militancy operations in KPK (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) and FATA (Federally Administered Tribal Areas)⁷⁶ and the most

74 Iqbal Ahmad Khan, "Pakistan People's Party and the War on Terror," *Criterion Quarterly*, vol 3, November 18, 2012.

75 Musa Javaid and Sara Meer, "*Pak-Afghan ties: views of Pakistan's political and religious parties*," Pak institute for peace studies (2014): 95.

76 Dennis Kux, "*The United States and Pakistan, 1947-2000: Disenchanted Allies*," (Washington D.C Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2001).

prominent example was of the 2009 Sawat Operation that was equally supported by political and military leadership of Pakistan. The party manifesto of PPP was focused on to carried out military operations against the extremist militants that are destabilizing the peace and threat to security of Pakistan and the PPP government fully accomplished its manifesto target for instance the successful Sawat operation of 2009 is the great example.

Lastly, in the analysis of Pakistan-Afghan policy the USA and Indian factor should never be ignored. For instance, the trio of USA, Afghanistan and India always accused the Pakistan's intelligence agency involvement in the Afghanistan. They accused Pakistan many times behind because of the terrorist attacks in Afghanistan mainly in Indian embassy at Kabul in 2008, 2009 and 2010. Also those attacks that were took place on the Indian consulate in Kandahar on 2006 and in 2007 at Jalalabad.

To conclude, it is believed that the Pakistan foreign policy towards Afghanistan always remain dynamic rather than static. For this purpose several times the misunderstanding and clashes between Pakistan and Afghanistan occurred. As it is evident that India's involvement in the political affairs of Afghanistan is very prominent and India never lose any chance to use Non-state actors against Pakistan that is why in the Afghanistan there is a power play in which all the international actors playing their role and using the Afghan soil according to their respective interest. The relationship of Pakistan under the PPP government was not much cordial though PPP tried their best and even went against the wishes of Pakistan Establishment in maintain their relations with the Afghanistan and satisfying the international community but the distrust of Afghan Government over Pakistan remained that is not sort out even till now. However, both government carried out several operations, similarly took several efforts to maintain the bilateral economic relations. The foreign policy of Pakistan under Pakistan people's party regime was focused on maintaining efficient and friendly bilateral relations with the Afghanistan without interfering in the Afghanistan internal affairs and favoring any group residing in Afghanistan against the Afghanistan or fulfilling any political interest. The relationship between Pakistan and Afghanistan is like a see-saw in which India's involvement destabilize both relationship as Afghanistan always show a cold behavior towards Pakistan while a very warm attitude towards India. Despite several efforts of Pakistan Afghanistan never appreciate it and consider Pakistan its dual standard enemy who is Pro-USA while Afghanistan forgets always that it is Pakistan who

provide safe haven to its refugees and supported different economic activities in Afghanistan in order to stabilize its economy. However, PPP government has conducted several good will efforts towards reconciliation in different sectors they tried their best for the reconstruction of Afghanistan but due to the non-state actors their efforts were not much appreciated. It is believed that the world is an anarchical therefore every state should only focus on its own national interest rather than pleasing others. As under the PPP government the USA dulled its aid to Pakistan in order to maintain the Pakistan's loyalty towards America and unfortunately the PPP government started focusing on their personal interest rather than state interest and this led to America's intervention in the Pakistani border in order to kill Usama Bin Laden and that resulted in the huge criticism from everyone around the world. Pakistan needs to understand this that USA is never a good friend of Pakistan as it only uses Pakistan and plays diplomatically because deep down USA is trying to tighten the India's influence in Afghanistan in order to undermine the Pakistan's influence.

CHAPTER 3

PAKISTAN FOREIGN POLICY UNDER PAKISTAN MUSLIM LEAGUE-N REGIME (2013-2018)

An overview

The PML-N is the abbreviation of Pakistan Muslim League (N) party which was led under Nawaz Sharif. His party was considered as second largest democratic political party of Pakistan. The party served in the government in 1990-93, 1997-98 and 2013-18. So in the third tenure of PML-N government the Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif stepped towards improving Pakistan's Foreign Relations with India and decided not to interfere in Afghanistan. Similarly in 2014 NATO withdrawal its troops from Afghanistan and Pakistan gained settlement with the Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan and many other activities took place in PML-N government. This chapter will analyze the PML-N Foreign Policy towards Afghanistan, what agreements both government made to maintain peace and stability, what were the challenges and opportunities Pakistan and Afghanistan faced and how they overcome the situation.

3.1 PML-N Foreign Policy towards Afghanistan

After 2013 general elections PML-N became the ruling party of Pakistan for the third time. Prime Minister Nawaz Shareef associated Pakistan's stability in economic and political grounds with peace and stability in its neighbor countries. Nawaz Shareef top concern to stabilize an uncertain economic condition was difficult to achieve, without security and unstable condition in its neighbor. However PML-N government tried to decrease bilateral stress with Afghanistan to and contribute to post-transformation Afghanistan stabilization.

Under the Pakistan Muslim League-N regime Pakistan face very difficult strategic relations with its neighbors as the geopolitics of the world system was changing. However despite severe regional dynamics the PML-N government managed to maintained good neighbor relations with foreign countries that enable Pakistan to boom its economy and gained huge success through regional collaboration i.e. by entering in to several economic contracts with China, India, Iran and Afghanistan, strengthened Pakistan diplomatic relations and revitalized trade relations around the globe and hence the PML-N government tried their best to engaged Pakistan globally.

However the PML-N foreign policy focus towards Afghanistan was based on maintaining peace and reconciliation with Afghanistan and for that purpose PML-N government facilitated peace talks with Afghanistan. Moreover Pakistan Government designed Afghanistan-Pakistan Action Plan for Peace and Solidarity. This plan was successfully designed and implemented by the both countries government. Similarly PML-N government hosted Heart of Asia-Istanbul Process ministerial meeting, facilitated several peace talks and supported the Afghanistan reconciliation processes. All these efforts gave the gesture that PML-N agenda towards Afghanistan was based largely on facilitating peaceful relations with Pakistan. Additionally in that era the establishment of Pakistan also strived to build friendly relations with the Afghanistan and therefore Pakistan establishment promote Pro-Afghanistan image in front of all the ethnic tribes present inside and outside Afghanistan especially with the extremist militants and Taliban. In order to decline the threat of violence and extremism which was disturbing peace and internal stability of Pakistan as Pakistan inaction against Taliban results in internal destabilization of Pakistan that further apart Afghanistan and Pakistani citizens as anti-military and anti-Pakistan and that further trapped Pakistan in term of bad image in front of everyone that is why Pakistani establishment decided to be Pro-Afghanistan.⁷⁷

3.2 Agreements between both the countries

Pakistan's relations with neighbor Afghanistan have mainly described by common mistrust and aggression for most of the country's survival.⁷⁸ Both countries engaged in several joint action plans for peace in which both states prime ministers agreed to maintain good relations with each other. The PML-N government designed Afghanistan-Pakistan Action Plan for Peace and Solidarity (APAPPS) and under this framework both state leaders agreed to different principles which were designed under this process such as this process required both states to cooperate with each other and undertake effective measures against the security threats. Secondly both countries were required to support the reconciliation efforts towards each other and must denied to use their territories by other non-state actors against each other. They agreed not to violate each other's

⁷⁷ Safdar Sial, *"Pakistan's role and strategic priorities in Afghanistan since 1980."* Norwegian Peacebuilding Resource Centre (2013): 1-10.

⁷⁸ International Crisis Group. "Pakistan's Tribal Areas: appeasing the militants." *Crisis Group Asia Report* 125 (2006).

territories. Furthermore, both countries were agreed to avoid the public blame game to each other over minor or major issues that will lead to bad reputation in front of international community and in order to sort out these issues bilaterally Afghanistan-Pakistan agreed to use APAPPS mechanism to address their mistrust and differences.⁷⁹ PML-N government initiated the fencing of Afghanistan Border and facilitated the technical assistance and capacity building in Afghanistan with the joint collaboration of China-Pakistan-Afghanistan in which they trained 50,000 Afghans in different field of education. For refugees PML-N government took complimentary measures to their return to Afghanistan with huge dignity and respect as Pakistan was bearing the weight of Afghan refugees for over forty years. ⁸⁰

Additionally, PML-N also provided US led aid of 6000 educational scholarships to Afghan students and gifted 40,000 tons of wheat to afghan people. The government of PML-N also misses the additional regulatory duties on the Afghan Export to Pakistan. Hence after 2014 the relationship of Afghanistan with Pakistan went much better as there were several ups and downs which came in both states relationship like Pakistan-Afghanistan have suffered a lot because of the aggressive approach towards each other in order to vanish extremism and terrorism and that leads to more worsening of their relations.

Ashraf Ghani the President of Afghanitsan in 2014 took office as a prime minister and he undertook serious efforts to resume friendly and brotherly hood relations with Pakistan and he was more tilted towards Pakistan as compared to Karzai who was pro-Indian Ashraf Ghani visited Pakistan in 2014 where he addressed in speech that Pak-Afghan relations are going towards improvement in past two years and then both governments signed different trade agreements regarding to giving each other status of most favored nation in terms of trade and guaranteed to reduce trade tariffs, also Ghani maintained its close ties with the military establishment of Pakistan and sent afghan troops to Pakistan Military Academy for training.

⁷⁹Ahmad Shayeq Qassem, "Afghanistan's political reconciliation policy: Ill conceived and self-defeating," *Strategic Analysis* 38, no. 4 (2014): 476-492.

⁸⁰Nasreen Ghufuran, "Afghan refugees in Pakistan current situation and future scenario," *Policy perspectives*,3, no.2, (2006): 83-104.

Moreover, Afghanistan also signed Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) on the cooperation with the ISI regarding sharing intelligence and in order to act upon on these MOU Afghanistan cooperated with the Pakistan to break down all the afghan-based extremist militants groups who were launching attacks against Pakistan from Afghanistan moreover, Afghanistan also launched military operation with the help of Pakistan against Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) in Afghanistan and killed many of its prominent leaders so after these cooperative initiatives from the Afghanistan side Pakistan also reciprocated these efforts with good return and hence on July 7th, 2015 Pakistan insisted the representative of Taliban and bring them to the table for negotiations in Murree and this represent the first Pakistan's official effort towards peace and stability in Afghanistan.⁸¹

Fortunately, under PML-N the relation between both states started improving and communication and cooperation increased. Moreover Afghanistan also came to the point that now Afghanistan need to end these conflicts and blame game politics because it suits no one and ultimately Pakistan Afghanistan relation going towards betterment. Also, in December 2018 both states government signed Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) on working towards trust building and reconciliation that will lead towards progress, connectivity, cooperation on counterterrorism and security.⁸² Prime Minister Nawaz shareef expressed his wish to strengthen its relations with Afghanistan with the help of economic partnership and trade. For landlocked Afghanistan sea and land routes of Pakistan for their bilateral and transit trade are beneficial. Through Qasim port of Sindh transit trade via karchi is done and transit and bilateral trade is being carried out through a number of land routes and also through border crossing.⁸³ Torkham in FATA Khyber Agency is the only trade route between KPK and Afghanistan South Eastern province. North routes connect KPK Chitral and Upper Dir District and FATA Bajaur and Khyber Agency with Nuristan, Kunar and Nangarhar provinces of Afghanistan. Chaman border connects Balochistan and Kandahar

⁸¹Hargun Sethi, "A See-Saw Relationship: An Overview of Afghanistan's Ties with India and Pakistan," *E-International Relations*, August 6 (2020).

⁸² Sumita Kumar, "*Pakistan's Foreign Policy: Trends and Challenges*," Institute for Defence Studies & Analyses, 2019.

⁸³ Once fully functional, Gwadar port in Balochistan will also be used for Afghan transit trade. www.gwadarport.gov.pk.

province. It is also busiest route after Torkham. Balochistan Chaghi district and Kandahar province of Afghanistan are joined by Nushki border also contain major importance. Taliban's dismissal and US led production efforts shaped economic opportunities for Pakistan. Pakistani products demand was increased i.e. construction material, engineering material, food etc. In 2001-2002 bilateral trade was 0.82\$ Billion which rise to 2.5\$ Billion in 2012-2013. Pakistani exports which are around 2.1\$ Billion in the year of 2012-2013 are somehow same in 2013-2014. Afghan imports contain dries fruits, fresh fruits and carpets. Peshawar benefited a lot from this bilateral trade. Traders from Peshawar shared their view that Afghan consumers were the only reason of market's survival regardless of the militant's attacks. Bilateral trade with Pakistan fails to meet Afghanistan's needs. Transit trade is considered more important in this situation. UN convention on the Law of the Sea gave transit trade rights to Afghanistan. World Trade Organization also commends Pakistan to give safe access of Afghan goods to pass through its territory. Pakistan and Afghanistan government on March 2010 approved to double the level of bilateral trade to 5\$Billion by 2015. Efforts were made to improve the bilateral and transit trade to facilitate both the countries. For this cause 1965 Transit trade Agreement was replaced by Afghanistan-Pakistan Transit Trade Agreement APTTA on 18 July 2010. New policies are made in order to make trade matters better but new polices could slow down the bilateral trade process. These policies comprise Pakistan's decision to pay for goods exports to Afghanistan in US dollars instead in Pakistani currency. It is aimed to bring under control the informal economy from March 2014. Instead of utilizing banking channels traders from both the side used cash payments. Central Asia- South Asia Electricity and Transmission and Trade Project (CASA-1000) were signed between Pakistan, Afghanistan, Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan in February 2014. Another regional energy project was signed between Turkmenistan, Afghanistan, Pakistan and India known as TAPI pipeline. It would supply natural gas from Turkmenistan to India and Pakistan through Afghanistan. 75km Torkham-Jalalabad road agreement was remodeled. Nawaz Shareef also upgraded development support to Afghanistan which includes improving of Torkham-Jalalabad road.

Ashraf Ghani during his presidential campaign said his goal is to maintain healthy relations with Pakistan. Prime Minister Nawaz Shareef responded positively towards Ghani's plains. Pakistan's President Mamnoon Hussain attended Ghani's inaugural ceremony. In a meeting both agreed to engage on several multiple agreements to order to achieve peace and stability, economic and regional collaboration. President Mamnoon Hussain emphasized on the importance and value of

people to people exchanges and Ashraf Ghani laid a stress on economic, peace and trade associations.

3.3 Challenges and opportunities

The relationship of Pakistan and Afghanistan is always based on mistrust, deceit and lies. Both states government wanted to maintain better relations with each other but unfortunately all the efforts were mostly failed because of the lack of interest and trust of Afghanistan people upon Pakistan. But despite of many stakes and hurdles Pakistan always came forward to help Afghanistan in its peace and security but Afghanistan never appreciated Pakistan's effort. Afghan officials continuously accused Pakistan that Pakistan support Taliban and provide them safe heavens in order to wage war against Afghanistan. Pakistan always rejected these allegations. Pakistan retains no reason to create instability in Afghanistan and the sole interest of Pakistan is to have a friendly government in Afghanistan that would maintain cooperative relations. Unfortunately Afghanistan always give importance and attention to India over Pakistan and that is why mistrust of Afghanistan over Pakistan is a huge challenge. PML-N government wants to stabilize the destabilizing economy. Taliban's 2001 removal gave afghan insurgents safe place in Pakistan. Three main and powerful militant groups of Taliban's i.e. Gulbuddin Hekmatyar's Islami, Al-Qaeda linked Haqqani Network and Mullah Omar's Shurah were operated from Pakistan. These networks are also based in Pakistan. These networks are and will always busy in Afghanistan's efforts to deal with rebellion atmosphere after the security transformation in Dec, 2004. Afghan insurgents are associated with Pakistan's tribal militants who are parts of regional, sectarian and transitional jihadi groups. Along with the support of Afghan Taliban's Pakistani tribal extremist began to challenge state's writ in FATA and KPK.

Afghanistan's relation with India was due to unfriendliness with Pakistan. It was usually used to give explanation for Pakistan's control over Afghanistan.⁸⁴ Some political analyst considers that Pakistan's opposition with India is the main force behind its Afghanistan's policy. Pakistan

⁸⁴ Mary Anne Weaver, *Pakistan: In the shadow of Jihad and Afghanistan*.(Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2010)p. 79.

military establishment observed growing Indian control as a severe threat to its security.⁸⁵ On the other hand Pakistan military is really alarmed about Afghanistan's relationship with India. After the reinstallation of democracy in Pakistan, subsequent nine years of military law, defence institution in Pakistan controlled the Afghan policy. Existence of headship of three most important afghan mainly Pashtun, insurgents groups in Pakistan are also used as a force in dealing with Kabul and its worldwide followers by admittedly having peace talks with these groups even military claims restricted ability to control cross border attacks.⁸⁶ Pakistan's hold and control over Afghan militants is also utilized to make sure that it will have a major role in shaping Afghanistan political and security evolution.⁸⁷ Militant commanders and soldiers are closely observed, arrested and released at their will depending on their willingness to precede Pakistan's importance in negotiations with Afghanistan and its international partners. Regardless of refusal of having captured Afghan Taliban leaders, security agencies released many high profile commanders in the year of 2012-2013.⁸⁸ Member of a political party that go up against the involvement in Afghanistan asked, "Who arrested these Taliban and who released them?"⁸⁹ Chief justice of Peshawar High Court also question about the legal base of capturing, monitoring and releasing Afghan militants.⁹⁰ Insurgent's efforts to collaborate with Kabul and its worldwide partners independently of Pakistan are immediately prevented just as the case of Taliban commander Mullah Abdul Ghani Baradar. Mullah Bardar was the co-founder of Taliban movement. He was

85 Zahid Hussain, "Sources of Tension in Afghanistan and Pakistan: A Regional Perspective." *CIDOB Policy Research Project* (2011)

86 International Crisis Group. "Afghanistan's Insurgency after the Transition." *Crisis Group Asia Report* 256 (2014).

87 Syed, Baqir Sajjad. Pakistan played key role in U.S.-Taliban breakthrough, *Dawn* June 20, 2013. <https://www.dawn.com/news/1019403> (accessed June, 2020).

88 Pakistan releases three senior Taliban prisoners, *Dawn*, November 26, 2013. <https://www.dawn.com/news/1058732/pakistan-releases-three-senior-taliban-prisoners> (accessed june, 2020).

89 Crisis Group interview, Senator Afrasiab Khattak, November 2013

90 Legal glitch: On what grounds was Mullah Baradar released, asks PHC", *The Express Tribune*, November 1st, 2013. <https://tribune.com.pk/story/625386/legal-glitch-on-what-grounds-was-mullah-baradar-released-asks-phc> (accessed june, 2020).

also the deputy leader of Mullah Omar's Shurah when he was arrested in joint US-Pakistan raid in Karachi in Feb 2010. Numbers of requests are being made to release Mullah Bardar in an expectation of restart of negotiations with Taliban's. Mullah Bardar was released but apparently in custody by security agencies.⁹¹ According to 2012 NATO report, senior Taliban representative Nasiruddin Haqqani sustain residency in surrounding area of ISI in Islamabad. In a year it was reported that Nasiruddin Haqqani who had been involved in peace talks was killed in Islamabad.⁹² Many other Taliban commanders were also killed with some analysts in Jan 2014. ⁹³

Pakistan laid a stress on a united Afghanistan.⁹⁴ One of the retired military official stated that defence institution still make a division between Pashtun Afghanistan and an Afghanistan of others. He pointed to ethnic groups that are recognized as less controllable to enhance Pakistan's interest. The well-known Pakistan's Pashtun majority nationalist parties, KPK based Awami National Party (ANP) and Balochistan based Pakhtunkhwa Milli Awami Party (PKMAP) stated military interventionist policies that also include support for Afghan insurgents as damaging for Pashtuns of both the side of border.⁹⁵ Officials are well aware of the bitterness Pakistan has experience from Afghanistan's non pashtun groups for supporting pashtun insurgents. According to a political official, when a country is in hold or grip of Taliban you can't stay neutral towards all Afghans. ⁹⁶ Pakistan's establishment interfering policy in President Ashraf Ghani intention to

91 Afghan council says it hasn't met Taliban leader released in Pakistan, *Dawn*, March 15, 2014.

92 M.Ilyas Khan. Nasiruddin Haqqani: who shot the militant in bakery? *BBC News Islamabad*, November 12, 2013 <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-24917809> (accessed june, 2020).

93 Zia ur Rehman, , Who is killing Afghan Taliban in Pakistan, *The Friday Times*, January 24, 2014. <https://www.thefridaytimes.com/who-is-killing-afghan-taliban-in-pakistan/> (accessed june,2020).

94 Imam uddin. Peaceful, stable Afghanistan in Pakistan's vital interest: Sartaj Aziz, *business recorder*, August 21,2014. <https://www.brecorder.com/news/189809/stable-afghanistan-in-pakistans-vital-interest-sartaj-aziz> (accessed june,2020).

95 Crisis Group interviews, senior ANP, PKMAP leaders, Islamabad, Quetta, Peshawar and Islamabad, December 2013-September 2014.

96 Crisis Group interview, Pakistani politician with close links to his Afghan counterparts, Islamabad, September 2014.

made negotiations with Taliban and Hizb-i-islami also weakened Prime Minister Nawaz Shareef's efforts to improve relations with Afghanistan. 97

Afghanistan non acceptance of Durand line created major problems related to border issues. According to some senior analysts military is resisting to take steps against Taliban insurgents because having more and more enemies predominantly after the increase of militancy in tribal areas would not be in Pakistan's favor.⁹⁸ These militant units prolonged their operational room in FATA and KPK because of the wide-ranging civilian and military efforts to defeat insurgency which are based on peace deals having basics of umbrella organization, Tehreek-i-Taliban Pakistan TTP on one hand and heavy handed operations on the other.⁹⁹ TTP includes local, regional and transitional jihadi groups, a threat to Pakistan and as well as Afghanistan also. ¹⁰⁰ Number of sectarian groups of Pakistan i.e. sunni extremists Lashkar-e-Jhangvi LeJ targeted shia in Afghanistan. The attacks include bombing and heavy shelling in Kabul on Dec, 2011 and Mazar-i-Sharif.¹⁰¹ From Karachi to Quetta LeJ killed large number of shia's in Pakistan.¹⁰² Anti Indian oriented Jihadis i.e. Jaish-i-Mohammad and Lashkar-i-Tayyaba LeT, later it named Jamaat-ud-Dawa JD, keep close relations with afghan insurgent groups primarily Al-Qaeda linked Haqqani network. Both these networks conducted a number of attacks against Indian targets in Afghanistan that includes attacks in 2010 on Kabul's guest house, on the Indian consulate in Jalalabad and Herat

97 Afghanistan, Abdullah sworn in as part of Afghanistan's power-sharing arrangement, *The Washington Post*, September 29, 2014. https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/afghanistans-new-president-hold-me-accountable/2014/09/29/0f229a14-47c0-11e4-b72e-d60a9229cc10_story.html (accessed June, 2020).

98 Mona Kanwal Sheikh and Maja Touzari Janesdatter Greenwood. *Taliban talks: Past present and prospects for the US, Afghanistan and Pakistan*. No. 2013: 06. DIIS Report, 2013.

99 Countering Militancy in FATA, *Crisis Group Reports*, October 21, 2009.

100 Rahimullah Yusufzai, "A Who's Who of the Insurgency in Pakistan's North-West Frontier Province: Part One—North and South Waziristan." *Terrorism Monitor* 6, no. 18 (2008): 1-4.

101 Ernesto Londono, Dozens dead in rare attack on Shiite mosque in Kabul, *The Washington Post*, December 7, 2011. https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/rare-attack-in-kabul-targets-shiite-mosque/2011/12/06/gIQAVnEkYO_story.html (accessed June, 2020).

102 Pakistan: Rampant Killings of Shia by Extremists, *Human Rights Watch*, June 29, 2014. <https://www.hrw.org/news/2014/06/29/pakistan-rampant-killings-shia-extremists> (accessed July, 2020)

in 2013 and 2014 respectively.¹⁰³ Pakistan Taliban groups have safe and secure admission to Afghan heavens due to the close relationship with Afghan insurgents. TTP leader Mullah Fazlullah does his activities out of Afghanistan. He mainly works from Kunar and Nuristan areas. Attacks that include killing of 23 Pakistan Frontier Corps FC, on Feb 2014 raised the tension with Afghanistan. Military response to such attacks by launching missiles to Afghanistan's border added more bilateral tension.¹⁰⁴ Military has make sure that it would not give permission to any local or international militant group to operate in tribal border. ¹⁰⁵ Pakistan government and military ensured that operations would not distinguish between militants groups that also includes Haqqani network.¹⁰⁶ One of senior military representative gave a statement about Haqqanis that, there are favorites. Every intelligence in the world works with bad guys.¹⁰⁷ USA pressurized Pakistan to take action against Haqqani networks or to risk hundreds of millions of dollars from Coalition Support Fund. USA's management cleared that they had not received any evident of Haqqani's been targeted.¹⁰⁸ US also cleared the statement by saying that militants groups which also includes Haqqani network and Pakistani Taliban keep on threatening Pakistan, its neighbor and US.

103 Indian consulate in Afghanistan attacked by suicide bombers, *The Guardian*, August 3, 2013. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/aug/03/indian-consulate-afghanistan-suicide-bomb> (accessed july,2020).

104 Pakistan protests killing of 23 FC personnel in Afghanistan, *The Express Tribune*, February 20, 2014. <https://tribune.com.pk/story/674238/pakistan-protests-against-killing-of-23-fc-personnel-in-afghanistan> (accessed july,2020).

105 Over 900 militants killed in Waziristan offensive, *The Express Tribune*, September 4, 2014. <https://tribune.com.pk/story/757619/over-900-militants-killed-in-waziristan-offensive> (accessed july,2020).

106 Katharine Hourled and Ahmad Jibran, Pakistani officials: any militants in North Waziristan a target, even Haqqanis, *Reuters*, July 1, 2014.

107 Zarb-e-Azb: Gear up for the 'forever' war, *The News*, October 14, 2014. <https://www.thenews.com.pk/archive/print/641004-zarb-e-azb-gear-up-for-the-%E2%80%98forever-war%E2%80%99> (accessed july,2020).

108 Militants slip away before Pakistan offensive, *The Wall Street Journal*, July 17, 2014.

6.4 Refugees in Pakistan:

Sharing culture, ethnicity and religion thousands of Pakistani's and Afghans continued to cross border of 2640 km even in the times of cross border tension and insecurity. It is expected that between 50,000 to 60,000 people crosses the border. These migrations although enhance the relations of two as they strengthen people to people relation but they also promote illegal activities i.e. illegal migration and terrorism etc. Pakistan has not signed 1951 refugee convention neither it's 1967 protocol, however it hosts 1.63 million registered and 1.40 million unregistered Afghan refugees. Instead of giving legal status to the first group of refugees following the soviet intervention in Afghanistan in 1979 military commander General Zia-ul-Haq kept exploiting the Afghan jihad for internal and external causes. He used Islamic expression of brotherhood by referring Afghan refugees as "mohajirs" and their hosts (Pakistan) as "ansars".¹⁰⁹ Pakistan's refugee policy is based on principles of intentional (voluntary) and regular returns included in tri-party agreement between Pakistan, Afghanistan and UN High Commissioner for Refugee UNHCR. Refugees must obtain Proof of Registration PoR cards issued by government with UNHCR help which enables the holder as Afghan citizen living in Pakistan.¹¹⁰ Those who are without the PoR cards supposed to be illegal even though some contain asylum cards that save them from deportation. Logistical limitations and fear of exploitation and ill treatment stopped many of them to get registered. Many of refugees illegally acquired Pakistani National Identity Cards.¹¹¹ UNHCR also interviewed asylum seekers to determine their refugee status and trustworthiness of claims. Government is in view of new law regarding refugees that will give legal rights to Pakistan. This law will help Pakistan about the legality of asylum claims also allowing UNHCR to play its role. This law helps Pakistan to regulate refugees more effectively.

109 Aurangaib Khan, Analysis: The sticky question of refugees, *Dawn*, July 29, 2014. <https://www.dawn.com/news/1122288> (accessed july,2020).

110 Zafar Bhutta, New policy to guide Afghan repatriation until 2015, *The Express Tribune*, August 4, 2013.

111 Zahid Gishkori, NADRA starts crackdown against fake CNICs, *The Express Tribune*, September 22, 2012. <https://tribune.com.pk/story/440765/identity-cards-operation-nadra-starts-crackdown-against-fake-cnics> (accessed Aug, 2020).

From 2002 UNHCR managed voluntary return of 3.8 million registered refugees.¹¹² UNHCR return packages that covers total costs and 150\$ per person increased in March 2014 to 200\$. Security situation in Afghanistan goes with ups and downs that are why most of the refugees don't want to go back. According to Danish refugee council survey 83% of refugees did not want to return back. Refugees which are registered in Pakistan face the condition of doubt and fear. PPP's government extended PoR many times. PML-N government extended stay of refugees after negotiations with Afghanistan until Dec 15, 2015.¹¹³ PoR renewal starts in late Feb 2014 in two stages. First for the expired cards in Dec 2013 and second for those children's born to registered parents at the end of 2014.¹¹⁴ Government prohibited registration of unregistered Afghans who live illegally in Pakistan and could be moved back to Afghanistan. Pakistan deported more than 10,400 unregistered Afghans in 2013 and it continued to 2014.

Federal Minister for States and Frontier region SAFRON Abdul Qadir Baloch Government wants to register the unregistered Afghan refugees but that also would not be sufficient enough to solve the refugee problems.¹¹⁵ SAFRON Minister Abdul Qadir Baloch on Oct 2013 stated no more refugees to Pakistan. He said local residents are left with no option other than to fly towards Pakistan in case of Afghanistan unstable situation but observing this scenario we are not welcoming further refugees. He further added Pakistan is hosting Afghan refugees for several decades that cost more than 200\$ billion, he says people of Pakistan will not tolerate further refugees anymore.¹¹⁶ Adding to this statement KPK governor Sardar Mehtaab Ahmed Khan said,

112 "2014 UNHCR country operations profile-Pakistan", UNHCR website (www.unhcr.org).

113 Tahir Khan, Just like home: Afghan refugees can open accounts, get driving permits, *The Express Tribune*, August 18, 2013. <https://tribune.com.pk/story/591718/just-like-home-afghan-refugees-can-open-accounts-get-driving-permits> (accessed Aug, 2020).

114 NADRA issues PoR cards for 1.6m Afghan refugees, *Pakistan Today*, February 25, 2014. <https://archive.pakistantoday.com.pk/2014/02/25/nadra-issues-por-cards-to-1-6m-afghan-refugees> (accessed Aug, 2020).

115 Zulfiqar ali, Registration of illegal Afghan begins next month, June 20, 2015. <https://www.dawn.com/news/1189356> (accessed Aug, 2020).

116 Zulfiqar Ali, More Afghan refugees not welcome: minister, *Dawn*, October 26, 2013. <https://www.dawn.com/news/1051934> (accessed Aug, 2020).

our infrastructure and economy have badly damaged just because of these refugees.¹¹⁷ On Feb 2014 terrorism and crime rate increased in Pakistan. Peshawar government held these refugees 80% responsible for these crime activities and wanted to hold them in the specific areas. Ethnic values also helped to shape policy towards Afghan refugees. Balochi people are curious about migrants could make them a minority in their country. Quetta which crowd approximately 11% of the afghan refugees are bashed for everything i.e. consuming province's (Balochistan) resources, involved in smuggling armaments, working on behalf of Balochistan based Afghan insurgents that involve Mullah Omar. Much of Baloch political leaders believe that peace of their province is linked with the return of refugees. They also worried about the unstable situation of Afghanistan as they think it will bring more refugees to their province. While Balochi separation has confirmed not to attack these refugees but sunni extremists organization having strong links with Afghan insurgents have repeatedly targeted the Shia Hazara community. Assuming the civil war and most importantly Taliban rule and law hundreds and thousands of Hazara refugees connected to their ethnic families in Balochistan.¹¹⁸ Due to several attacks from Sunni extremist Lashkar-i-Jhangvi many Pakistani and Afghan Hazara refguess moved towards the safer cities i.e. Karachi, Islamabad and other cities. Pakistani Hazara and Afghan Hazara fear for their lives. PoR renewal began in Feb, 2014. Sindh's Chief Minister Qaim Ali Shah asked federal government to stop exercise in province pointing 2.5 million aliens were participating to social disturbances in Karachi and Hyberabad.¹¹⁹ Yet Pakistan and Afghan Talibans found shelter in Pakistan predominantly Pashtun slum settlements like urban areas of Sindh. In this condition it is necessary to monitor and control their activities however it should not make any effect on the rights and protection of Afghan refugees. Refugees are being targeted. Rawalpindi police conducted an operation on January 2014 to drive out Afghan refugees and on the same month they arrested 16 undocumented Afghan refugees. They attacked on Afghan settlements making their target on both PoR holders and undocumented refugees. Attack in Islamabad on Judicial Complex in a month of March and

¹¹⁷ KP governor tells Kabul to focus on return of Afghan refugees, *The Nation*, July 26, 2014.

¹¹⁸ Imran Yusuf, Who are the Hazaras?, *The Express Tribune*, October 5, 2011. <https://tribune.com.pk/story/267225/who-are-the-hazara> (accessed Aug,2020).

¹¹⁹ Hafeez Tunio, Monitoring provincial borders: Sindh asks centre to stop registration of Afghan refugees, *The Express Tribune*, February 27, 2014. <https://tribune.com.pk/story/677124/monitoring-provincial-borders-sindh-asks-centre-to-stop-registration-of-afghan-refugees> (accessed Aug,2020).

on April 2014 attack on market was connected with Afghans as a result houses of migrants and Afghan refugees were demolished. The basic principle of non-refoulement in 1951 convention and its 1967 protocol prevents not to force refugees or asylum seekers to go back to a country in which they would be in danger. While Pakistan is not a part of 1951 convention but the basic idea of non-refoulement fulfill the criteria of International Customary Law which also applies to Pakistan and also recognized by Pakistan establishment. Pakistan might be unwilling to absorb and neutralize the refugees but it must respect its legal obligations. Pakistan should equalize Pakistan born refugees and their children. By taking some steps i.e. making long term legal rights and protection of their lives Pakistan would ensure that millions of Afghan refugees living in its land make up it as good will representative of Pakistan.

It was believed that under the PML-N administration Afghanistan and Pakistan faced good relation which were never been seen in the past 15 years but unfortunately this pleasant relationship phase did not long much especially when the Mullah Umar the prominent leader of Taliban died the Afghan-Taliban peace process derailed and deadly attacks in Afghanistan revived and Ashraf Ghani blamed Pakistan for these attacks and renounced the afghan-relations with Taliban so this became greatest challenge for Pakistan and now both states government came to the point that one of the greatest challenge between Pak-Afghan relation is not Taliban, Al-Qaeda or any other extremist Terrorist faction rather the state-to-state relations with each other are the most problematic challenge . 120

In the presidency of Ashraf Ghani Pak-Afghan relation went from cooperation to schism and that was critical for the regional peace in fact china act as a broker to advised Pakistan to have cooperation with Afghanistan and for that purpose in 2017 Shanghai Cooperation Organization SCO summit was held in which the issue of cooperation and counterterrorism was addressed and after it the Chinese foreign minister went to Pakistan and Afghanistan and asked for the trilateral cooperation towards counterterrorism and maintaining cooperation with each other relation so the

120 Hargun Sethi, "A See-Saw Relationship: An Overview of Afghanistan's Ties with India and Pakistan," *E-International Relations*, August 6 (2020).

China intervention is the good opportunity for Pakistan because it sideline the Indian and USA involvement in Afghanistan.

6.5 Analysis of PML-N Policy towards Afghanistan

Under the PML-N government agreements were reached to address several issues such as war against terrorism, cooperation on security and peace, extension of bilateral economic cooperation, elimination of violence and terrorism, the return of refugees and other political cooperation such as agreement to not use Pakistan or Afghan soil by any Non-State actors such as militants or intelligence agents of international actors against each other territories.

The overall foreign policy of the PML-N indicated peace, stability, and cooperation towards Afghanistan. The PML-N government was credited towards insisting and engaging Taliban to come towards negotiating table for the peace talks however that effort did not went well as Afghan government failed to manage peace with the Taliban and Taliban also did not stop from launching attacks such as attack in the Afghanistan parliament and Kabul airport attack to which Afghan Government blamed Pakistan denoted that Afghan Government dumped Pakistan government efforts towards peace.

Similarly, PML-N government emphasized on maintaining active and cooperative relations with the neighbors rather than indulging in wars and that is why the government focused much on maintains good neighboring relations with Afghanistan and India. Furthermore, the PML-N government actively addressed and managed the Afghan Refugees issue and carried out the registration system for the refugees and the government also called for the border management system in order to stop the terrorist infiltration in Pakistan and Afghanistan.

Lastly to conclude the chapter manifesto of PML-N government was to achieve peace by strengthening regional cooperation and for that purpose the PML-N government engaged Afghanistan in several economic cooperation agreements and trade related projects and also designed different initiatives for Afghan students as well. So the performance of PML-N government was much better because somehow it managed to maintain good bilateral relations with Afghanistan that were never seen in the past fifteen years. In a nut shell, the relationship between Pakistan and Afghanistan after the war on terror became more strained a sense of distrust emerged between them that more worsen both states relation rather then moving towards

cooperation and stability Pak-Afghan relation went towards hostility. Despite sharing same culture, religion, borders, and language to some extent both states failed to be each other strong neighbors and as a result cross border attacks and terrorism increased. Afghanistan after the war on terror tilted towards India despite rather than Pakistan however Pakistan supported Afghanistan much such as in training mujahideen against Soviet or giving shelter to Afghan Refugees etc. but sadly Afghanistan never appreciated the Pakistan efforts in fact they initiated the blame game and blamed Pakistan for all their internal destabilization. In the early years or in the PPP regime Pakistan was ignorant towards launching attacks against militants and it provides safe heavens to Afghan Taliban but after the deadliest violence and insurgent attacks by the Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) Pakistan came to the point that maintaining peace in Afghanistan should be the foremost priority for the Pakistan because in this way peace and stability will be maintained in Pakistan otherwise destabilization in Afghanistan will also destabilize Pakistan. Seeing away from security centric approach and focusing on people to people interactions, PML-N government took some positive steps that include strengthening economic terms and also by extending refugees legal stay contract by the end of 2015. Hence after this in PML-N government Pakistan Establishment tilted their strategic interest in Afghanistan towards peace, cooperation and brotherly relation with each other in which both states will counter terrorism through their joint intelligence and military operation and vanish all the deadliest planning of these extremist who were deteriorating the peace of both states and hence after 15 years the bilateral relations between both states came towards stability and cooperation. Pakistan attempted to normalize its relationship with Afghanistan and its policy of strategic depth by installing a Pakistan-Pro government in Afghanistan is always obstructed because of USA however still it is evident that Pakistan is the most important player on which peace and stabilization in Afghanistan is dependent so Afghanistan need to understand this fact that cooperation with Pakistan will be good for the better future of Afghanistan.

CHAPTER 4

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF PAKISTAN-AFGHANISTAN RELATIONS UNDER PAKISTAN PEOPLE'S PARTY AND PAKISTAN MUSLIM LEAGUE-N GOVERNMENTS

Overview

Pakistan and Afghanistan shared close cultural, ethnic, and religious ties with Afghanistan but unfortunately despite sharing these close ties with each other both states failed to maintain cooperative and brotherly relations with each other which they always aspired to maintain the reason might be the series of conflicts that pull apart both states these conflicts include Duran line issue, the soviet war in Afghanistan in which Pakistan trained mujahideen against soviet troops and from there terrorism emerged, also Pakistan was Pro-Taliban and they supported them against Afghan government, later on the role of Pakistan as a front state in the war against terrorism and its coalition with the USA against Afghanistan increased the cross-border militancy and extremism and all these situations strained relations with each other. However Pervaiz Musharraf came into power on Oct 12, 1999 overthrowing the government of Nawaz Shareef. The public disillusioned by the civil government's corruption and mismanagement welcomed military rule. Musharraf was seen as a transitional authority to a more stable and secular democracy. However, on the international front General Musharraf's military coup on October 12, 1999 added to the country's diplomatic isolation: additional American sanctions were imposed and Pakistan was suspended from the Commonwealth. In effect, Islamabad had only two important allies left: China and Saudi Arabia. On the domestic front General Musharraf undertook a number of measures to put the house in order. In his very first address to the nation. President Musharraf publicly condemned Islamic extremism well before 9/11 and envisaged Pakistan as a moderate Muslim state that would resemble Turkey rather than Taliban-ruled Afghanistan. The World Trade Center 9/11 attacks and events that followed began a new chapter in Pakistan's security policymaking necessitating a re-think on its earlier postures at home and abroad. Pakistan's decision to side with the US-led War on Terrorism began a critical phase in its security framework, blurring and meshing of external and internal security dynamics. The most controversial of the decisions the Musharraf regime took was his agreement to make Pakistan the front-line state in the US-led War on Terror in the immediate aftermath of the September 11 attacks. Islamabad's decision to join the US-led War on Terror heralded a critical turning point in its approach towards security and drove the country

into initiating a counter-terrorism policy at the national, regional and international levels. The Musharraf regime's decision was the product of multiple stresses and strains that Islamabad faced in the aftermath of the 9/11 World Trade Center incident. These ranged from the threatening posture of the United States to the possibility of India assuming a lead role in Afghanistan and changing the geo-politics of the region. US gave Pakistan a list of the following non-negotiable demands.

1. Stop Al-Qaeda operatives coming from Afghanistan to Pakistan, intercept arms shipments through Pakistan, and end all logistical support for Osama bin Laden
2. Give blanket over-flight and landing rights to U.S. aircraft
3. Give the US access to Pakistani naval and air bases and to the border areas between Pakistan and Afghanistan
4. Turn over all intelligence and immigration information
5. Condemn the September 11 attacks and curb all domestic expressions of support for terrorism
6. Cut off all shipments of fuel to the Taliban, and stop Pakistani volunteers from going into Afghanistan to join the Taliban
7. Note that, should the evidence strongly implicate Osama bin Laden and the Al-Qaeda network in Afghanistan, and should the Taliban continue to harbor him and his accomplices, Pakistan will break diplomatic relations with the Taliban regime, end support for the Taliban, and assist the U.S. in the aforementioned ways to destroy Osama and his network

General Pervez Musharraf in a public address to the nation on 19 September, 2001 proffered five reasons for choosing to offer unstinted co-operation to the US in its war against terrorism. The five reasons for choosing this course of action were;

1. Secure Pakistan's strategic assets
2. Safeguard the cause of Kashmir
3. Prevent Pakistan from being declared a terrorist state
4. Prevent an anti-Pakistani government from coming to power in Kabul

5. Have Pakistan re-emerge politically as a responsible and dignified Nation

A critical point to be noted here is that though Islamabad abandoned its earlier pro-Taliban posture, it didn't amount to de-recognizing —India as a major security threat in its national security perspective. In fact, the Indian threat was quoted as one of the key reasons to justify Islamabad's pro-US role in the war in Afghanistan. Thus, General Musharraf's pro-US tilt in Afghanistan can be termed as a tactical move to end Pakistan's pre-9/11 problems relating to a faltering economy, diplomatic isolation and reining in the tide of political violence in the country, in addition to denying India strategic leverage and dominant role in the US led military campaign in Afghanistan. Policies of Pervaiz Musharraf regarding war against terrorism were carried by both Pakistan People's Party and PML-N. The neo-realist, or structural, approach instead finds the determining factors of action in the structure of the international system, which is one of anarchy. This anarchy, or lack of an international centralized government, leaves states in a system where they enjoy limited choice of action if they want to survive. Same applies on the condition or situation of Pakistan People's party and Pakistan Muslim League-N. US always demanded to "Do More" from Pakistan against War on terrorism. Pakistan left with no option rather to accept the demands of US. Both the political parties carried out the policies of Musharraf regime in order to stabilize the situation and for the betterment of a state. Pakistan People's Party remained focused to eradicate War on Terrorism and to safeguard its borders. Pakistan Muslim League-N also focused on eradication of terrorism along with betterment of the country.

Nawaz Sharif's convincing election victory in 2013 and the smooth transfer of power in the second historic phase of Pakistan's democratic transition had raised hopes that the prime minister would be empowered enough to wrest control over crucial areas of foreign policy from the military, including toward Afghanistan. His personal retention of the foreign policy and defense portfolios and stated desire to strengthen Pakistan's relations with its neighbors, and in the Afghanistan context to follow a "no-meddling" policy, appeared to bode well for mutual ties. Sharif's top priority, reviving a faltering economy, has motivated a rethinking of Afghan policy. Yet, while he remains committed to peace with Afghanistan, less than two years into his government, Pakistan's policy toward Afghanistan has changed little. According to a parliamentarian, because of the military's insistence on retaining control and the government's inability, or unwillingness, to push back, Afghan policy is still shaped by the baggage of the past namely the propensity to interfere in Afghanistan. This civil-military imbalance was also evident during the first phase of the

democratic transition following the 2008 elections. The Pakistan People's Party (PPP) government, led by President Asif Ali Zardari, had sought rapprochement with Kabul. The strong grip the army has on the civilian governments even when they are not in direct control is evident in the governments of both Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif. These civilian leaders were constantly trying to appease the military and the Islamists while trying to run a country with some semblance of control. They were naïve to think that their respective governments could get anything done with the military, ISI and the Islamists watching their every move. The military was able to easily dismiss these civilian governments with similar techniques that also disenfranchised the Pakistani population. They became apathetic to the repeated dismissals and general downward spiral of the country at the hands of the military and Islamists.

Its efforts were stymied by the military's refusal to end support for the Quetta Shura, Haqqani network and other Afghan insurgents. Much like its predecessor, the current Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N) government has also failed to assert control over developments in Pakistan's tribal borderlands, where militancy poses a threat to both countries. "The political leadership has no clue what is happening at the border, and has to take what the military gives us", a parliamentarian observed. The legislature has used various instruments, including resolutions, question time and hearings, to seek to address this information gap and to challenge the military's narrative on Afghanistan. For example, a defense committee investigation contested the military's claims that India had established several new consulates in Afghan provinces bordering on Pakistan. It found that New Delhi was operating longstanding consulates, and the overall number remained constant. Yet, parliament's weak research capacity and inadequate support staff limit its ability to acquire reliable information and analysis. If parliament is to play a more active role in informing policy, it must invest in the human and technical resources needed to build that capacity. The legislature is also contributing, albeit as yet in a limited way, to improving the relationship and tackling mutual distrust. In 2013, a parliamentary Pakistan-Afghanistan friendship group was established as a forum for legislators of both countries to discuss key concerns. A Pakistani parliamentarian and group member said: "There is an almost unanimous consensus (in the friendship group) on two matters: the seriousness of cross-border militancy and the need for greater civilian oversight over Pakistan's security establishment". Calling on both sides to acknowledge legitimate grievances with regards to cross-border militancy, he said: "This admission is important because it allows us to move forward, whereas the military refuses to acknowledge the problem

and says, “we’re doing all we can, we have checkpoints everywhere, we stop the militants”. He added, “voices in [Pakistan’s] parliament say: ‘No matter how many checkpoints we have, (militant) cross-border movement is still happening” Ultimately, however, the onus of Afghanistan policy falls on the executive. Since forming government, Sharif has repeatedly linked Pakistan’s political and economic stability with peace in its neighborhood. He must deliver on pledges of transforming Pakistan’s relationship with Afghanistan from animosity to one of trust and cooperation. Yet, the Sharif government could wrest some space for itself in determining the directions of the bilateral relationship by moving beyond a narrow security-centric approach. Focusing instead on expanding economic ties and improving the lot of millions of Afghan nationals living in Pakistan, it could build on gains made once his government overcomes its current political challenges, which already appear to be receding as the protests lose steam. As the second phase of the democratic transition stabilizes, the military’s room for man oeuvre will inevitably shirk, enabling the government to take the lead in devising and implementing security policy, including toward Afghanistan.

In the past years from 2008 to 2018 a democratic transition has been witnessed in Pakistan which is still practicing under Pakistan Tehrik-e-Insaaf (PTI). Pakistan made an effort to improve its relations with its neighbors but every time due to certain activities these efforts got dumped by the international community via criticism. The Pakistan coalition with USA against Afghanistan in the war on terror put Pakistan in an awkward position in South Asia Region. However, both PML-N and PPP government tried their best to stabilize Pakistan relationship with Afghanistan in their respective regime. Both states performed and designed their policies according to the need of time. Moreover, at the time of PPP the situation was very worst but with the passage of time the situation in Pakistan stabilized.

Over the past several years the PPP and PML-N government was very dominant in Pakistan so it is very difficult to analyze both government performance because in both government regime the situation was very different it was like moving from offensive to defensive and destabilizing situation to stabilizing situation therefore in both regimes Pakistan’s foreign policy was opposite so based on the above study conducted in the previous chapter the literature in this chapter will analyze the similarities and differences, challenges and prospects of PPP and PML-N Foreign

policy towards Afghanistan and a comparative analysis on the positives and negatives of Pak-Afghan Policy during both regimes.

4.1 Challenges and Prospects of Pakistan-Afghanistan relations during both regimes.

In past 10 year two different democratic regime emerged i.e. PPP and PML-N and both government tried their best to tackle Pakistan relationship with Afghanistan but still these civilian government has also faced challenges in its relationship with other states including USA, Afghanistan and India since 2008 as these states heavily criticized Pakistan for providing safe heavens to terrorist as during the PPP government Pakistan was hesitant to take any actions against militant and Pakistan was playing dually with Afghan Taliban and USA but during the PML-N regime due to the cross-border attacks and extremist TTP Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan criminal and violator activities inside Pakistan from Afghanistan provoked Pakistan to vanish these terrorist completely from the South Asian region because Pakistan have realized the fact that for the good of Pakistan peace in Afghanistan is necessary otherwise India will replace Pakistan as India already never miss a single chance to deteriorate Pak-Afghan Relations.

One of the greatest challenge under the PPP regime was the transition in the political system i.e. from military leader rules to pure civilian mindset government role so bringing both civilian and military mindset at one page for decision making was a very toughest task as Pakistan military attitude towards Afghanistan at the time of PPP was very resistant to collaborate. So under Pakistan People's Party government (PPP) Pakistan faced constrained relations from international community as US continuously criticized Pakistan that it has failed to tackle the Islamic militants and failed to maintain coalition with Afghanistan because of its unceasing sponsorship of the Afghan Militants furthermore the relationship with the US was also very weakest and both states antagonism further aggravated when US killed the leader of Al Qaeda Osama Bin Laden on Pakistani soil in its city Abbottabad on May 2011 and after that incident Pakistan realized US as an untrustworthy partner which is a threat to Pakistan.

Similarly another challenge during the PPP regime was the growing influence of India over Afghanistan that lessen the Pakistan influence and the relationship between Pakistan and Afghanistan were revolving around great distrust. Pakistan was hesitant to bring afghan-Taliban to negotiation table and the military attacks were increasing day by day especially in 2012 then later on Pakistan government decided to release prominent Afghan Taliban leaders and from there

the constrain in both states relation someway eased. The PML-N regime's top priority was to stabilize Pakistan faltering neighbor relations and revived Pakistan's poor economy. When PML-N government came to the power the president Karzai of Afghanistan was very optimistic towards Pak-Afghan Relations, on the other hand the PML-N leader Nawaz Sharif also hold a soft corner towards Afghanistan therefore during his visit to Kabul in November 2013, he clearly expressed Pakistan's supports towards Afghan Peace Process. PML-N government adopted the policy to stabilize the situation inside Pakistan and Afghanistan and they first started to promote Pro-Afghanistan image in front of the ethnic communities of Pakistan in order to win their confidence because under the PPP government the image of Pakistan was negative and hence through that way they declined the violence and extremism from Pakistan and under the PML-N the terrorism inside Pakistan was very controlled as compared to the PPP government Pakistan which faced a lot of deadly terrorist attacks.

4.2 A Comparison of Positives and Negatives of Pakistan-Afghanistan Policy during both regimes.

The Pakistan's People Party (PPP) government was the dominated party in the Sindh region of Pakistan whereas the PML-N government was dominated in the Punjab region of Pakistan. The PPP government was the monarchial nature government and it has more support from the feudal mentality people where as PML-N government gained strong support from the business class people. During the PPP government the Pakistan military establishment was very dominated in its policies towards foreign relation. The positive point under PPP regime was that despite the establishment interference in the Pakistan-Afghanistan policy the PPP government tried to stabilized Pakistan relationship with Afghanistan. For instance the first step towards Pakistan reconciliation with Afghanistan was Former President Asif Ali Zardari's invitation of his oath taking ceremony to President Karzai and that was the positive gesture of Pakistan towards Afghanistan.¹²¹ Secondly both states tried to establish cordial relation with each other and for that purpose they decide to find a midway to have settlements with the insurgents and that idea leads to the creation of High Council for Peace in which many leading heads of the Jihadist groups were included. The purpose behind creation of that council was to have a platform of negotiation with

¹²¹ Report, Asia. 2014. Resetting Pakistan's Relations with Afghanistan. Brussels: International Crisis Group.

Taliban so these were the government-to-government efforts of both states towards stabilization. The Pakistan role under PPP led government was very suspicious because Pakistan establishment was uncertain to do any operation against Afghan Taliban and international community many times accused Pakistan that it provided safe heavens to terrorist. For that purpose US launched military operation against Pakistan in order to caught Osama Bin Laden moreover the PPP government allowed the military to confront international community question regarding the US killing of Osama bin laden in 2011. The western establishment pressurized the PPP government to empower the Pakistan military especially ISI but the PPP government adopted the medium approach to have a balanced relations in Pakistan.¹²² Pakistan internal instability hindered Pakistan to maintain good foreign relations with neighbors.¹²³

Under PPP government foreign policies of Pakistan gradually modified especially after the incidence of 2011 US intervention in Pakistan in order to kill Osama Bin Laden which unfortunately killed 24 Military troops of Pakistan. US operation near Salala checkpoint raised a question that how United State hold capabilities to intervene or conduct any operation so from there Pakistan's relation with United States gone worst while civilians opinion and role in the foreign policy of Pakistan expanded. Furthermore the economic relations of Pakistan with Afghanistan also enhanced, both states signed several trading agreements in order to gain financial benefits and Pakistan became third largest exporter to Afghanistan and a relation of interdependence over economy was established between Pakistan and Afghanistan under PPP administration¹²⁴ however despite these reconciliatory efforts the relation between both states deteriorated because of the proxy games in which both Afghanistan and Pakistan military launched cross border attacks towards each other and an essence of distrust and blame game prevailed.

On the other hand, the PML-N manifesto towards Afghanistan was based on maintain the collaborative brotherly hood relation with each other and for that purpose PML-N government

¹²² Gavin Thompson, Pakistan in 2013, *House of Commons library*, December 6, 2012.
<https://commonslibrary.parliament.uk/research-briefings/rp12-76>.

¹²³ Amanda Snellinger, Pakistan: A Political History. *Encyclopedia of Asian History*, 2012.
<https://asiasociety.org/education/pakistan-political-history>

¹²⁴ Safdar Sial, "Pakistan's role and strategic priorities in Afghanistan since 1980." Norwegian Peacebuilding Resource Centre (2013): 1-10.

enthusiastically persuade to build friendly relations with Afghanistan by facilitating peace talks that supports Afghanistan reconciliation process.¹²⁵ One positive point which was witnessed under PML-N government was strengthening civilian control. When power was shifted from one democratic regime towards another the civilian control on the policies strengthened including the relationship with Afghanistan also increased and hence the PML-N government increased its relation with Afghanistan by focusing on the broader perspectives of development and economic expansion rather than bounding both states relationship to security ties.¹²⁶ For instance Afghanistan-Pakistan Action Plan for Peace and Solidarity (APAPPS) was the good move of PML-N administration in which both states will sort out their bilateral relations via settlements rather than wagging cross-border attacks or blame each other for tiny issue. Similarly, The Pakistan changed its policy of non-intervention in Afghanistan to be Pro-Afghanistan and then signed several Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) on the cooperation to undertake effective measures against security threat, bilateral trade, joint-military collaboration and to stopped use both state territories by the Non-state actors¹²⁷. Furthermore the PML-N government take actions to address different issues such as the war against terrorism, support on sanctuary and concord, allowance of consensual monetary help, eradication of violence and terrorism, the return of refugees and other political cooperation such as agreement to not use Pakistan or Afghan soil by any Non-State actors such as militants or intelligence agents of international actors against each other territories. Hence, several good measures were adopted from both sides towards reconciliatory efforts like, at first Pakistan showed hesitation to brought Taliban towards peaceful talks but under PML-N government Pakistan showed serious efforts towards peace and stability and they brought Taliban to the negotiation table in Murree. The government also addressed the Afghan-refugee crises effectively

125 Khurram Dastgir Khan, PML-N's foreign policy achievement, *The Nation*, October 31, 2018. <https://nation.com.pk/31-Oct-2018/pml-n-s-foreign-policy-achievement> (accessed Aug, 2020).

126 Group, Crisis. 2014. Resetting Pakistan's Relations with Afghanistan

127 Hargun Sethi, "A See-Saw Relationship: An Overview of Afghanistan's Ties with India and Pakistan," *E-International Relations*, August 6 (2020).

4.3 Similarities and Differences of PPP and PML-N Foreign policy towards Afghanistan:

With the revival of democracy from 2008 in the Pakistan both PPP and PML-N led governments were on one page regarding fighting against terrorism and extremism from Pakistan as well Afghanistan and for that purpose both regimes foreign policy clearly stated to fight against terrorism with the collaboration of international community. The manifesto of Pakistan People's Party Government stated to have considerable good relations with Afghanistan and prevented Pakistani soil to use against Afghanistan and PPP government also encouraged to dismantle all the militants group from Pakistani soil that was a huge threat to the peace in both states and the party sticks with the policy of Non-interference in the Afghanistan politics and not to favored any group or extremist militant factions and not waging cross-border insurgencies against each other territories 128 . Hence PPP government was very enthusiastic against combating the terrorism and extremism from Pakistan and Afghanistan and they seek to have a peace and collaboration with Afghanistan.

On the other side, the manifesto of PML-N government was to achieve peace and harmony by straightening excellent neighborly relations with each other via respecting each other territorial integrity and therefore the PML-N regime effectively engaged Pakistan in Afghanistan that were never seen in the past fifteen years. The PML-N government also adopted a very peaceful approach towards Afghanistan they focused towards the reconciliation efforts towards Afghanistan therefore the PML-N led government focused much towards the economic collaboration and contributed much in reducing the bilateral tensions between both states and therefore they have designed certain collaborative policies towards peace and reconciliation. Both governments tried to maintain good economic relations with Afghanistan under their respective regimes and entered into different trade agreements to revitalize Afghanistan's economic relations with Pakistan.

The most critical challenge to Pakistan under PPP and PML-N administration was India which carried out it continuous political, military and economic intervention in Afghanistan in order to maintain its ideal relation with Afghanistan and deteriorate Pak-Afghan relations as India is continuously carrying out infrastructure development in the war-torn Afghanistan and that gives India leverage over Pakistan similarly US also wants India's interference in Afghanistan internal affairs in order to maintain balance of Power in the region. US know Pakistan's presence in Afghan

128 Iqbal Ahmad Khan, "Pakistan People's Party and the War on Terror," *Criterion Quarterly*, vol 3, November 18, 2012.

matter is very significant but still in order to create destabilization in the region international power always want to ignite fire between Pakistan and Afghanistan and hence one of the common challenge or similarity during both regime towards the foreign policy of Pakistan that was observed was the international community role towards Pakistan.

4.4 Pakistan-Afghanistan Foreign Relations (2008-2018); Implications for Pakistan

Afghanistan is holding a position of strategic depth in the foreign policy of Pakistan. Since the inception of Pakistan, the relations went through series of repercussion. Many times both state leaders tried their best to design the foreign policy of their respective states that best suited or fulfilled the national interest of each other states but the series of events left a mark on the credibility of both states and that's the main reason that Afghan-Pakistan relations are characterized by mutual distrust rather than collaborative harmony, armistice and tranquility. The foreign policy of Pakistan has gone through various ups and downs starting from the war against soviet to the war on terror that change the essence of relationship between both states.

The Pakistan is playing an active role regarding peace, security, and stability of Afghanistan and that's the reason that on every single event of violence and extremism happen in each of the states, both states blame each other and then take counteractive measures to carried offensive attacks and hence these differences in Pak-Afghan relations are going on and on which is disturbing the regional peace so the security situation and peace has interdependent relation with Pak-Afghan relation therefore for a peaceful Pakistan the stability in Afghanistan is necessary. This chapter aims to analyze the Pakistan's foreign policy towards Afghanistan since 2008 to 2018 and what challenges Pakistan faced during these years and how Pakistan managed to address these growing situation in Afghanistan that create problems in Pakistan atmosphere.

The Pakistan always keep Afghanistan as its cornerstone in its foreign policy and that's the reason Pakistan acted as a front line state against the Soviet War in Afghanistan in which Pakistan trained mujahideen to prevent communist expansion in Afghanistan because Pakistan knew the Soviet expansion will undermine Pakistan interest moreover Pakistan hosted many Afghan refugees therefore the political turmoil and civil war in Afghanistan largely affect Pakistan interest and create unrest so that's the reason that Pakistan is pursuing the policy of to bring peace in

Afghanistan because peaceful Afghanistan will be beneficial for Pakistan¹²⁹. Similarly Pakistan-foreign policy during both government was based on the reconciliatory efforts to maintain the bilateral relationship with Afghanistan because the war on terror dilemma and Pakistan supports to USA against Afghanistan create a huge tension in Pakistan Foreign-Policy towards Afghanistan so the main aim of Pakistan's Foreign policy is to stabilize its bilateral relations with Afghanistan along with preserving its strategic interest with the USA therefore both PML-N and PPP regime tried their best to play diplomatically in a way that would satisfy USA and Afghanistan both. In the both regimes Pakistan Foreign policy objectives were somehow different regarding security for instance under PPP government Pakistan was reluctant to carried out any attacks against militants but soon when Pakistan realized that the Afghan-militants are harboring in Afghanistan and creating instability in the Pakistan which raised security dilemma question Pakistan immediately decided to take U-turn in its foreign policy and decided to carried out wiped out missions inside Pakistan like Sawat operation, Waziristan missions etc. so the decisions to carried out missions against extremist militants were carried out in the PPP government whereas practical actions by the Pakistani military were carried out under PML-N regime however both regimes fully supported the Pakistani military by controlling the situation diplomatically. There are several challenges under Pak-Afghan relations that undermine the ideal foreign relations prospects for both states these relations are given below:

4.4.1 USA presence in Pak-Afghan Relation

US involvement in the Pakistan-Afghanistan relation is considered to be the greatest challenge and we cannot ignore the US role in their relationship because it was the United State that provoked Pakistan to participate in Soviet War and War against terrorism because Pakistan is the NATO ally of the US. Terrorist camps in Afghanistan were demolished by NATO-led military operations and US. But the irony was majority of Al-Qaeda leaders and others militants of terrorist's organizations flew towards Pakistan and planned to attack US in different ways. From the time of 9/11 plenty of attacks were attempted on US and its allies. Some attacks remain successful and some disillusioned. These involve attack on Madrid in 2004 which took 191 lives, London subway system in 2005 which resulted in 25 casualties, attack on airlines in flight over

¹²⁹Maliha Zeba Khan. "Pakistan's foreign policy towards Afghanistan since operation freedom sentinel: an overview." *Margalla Papers* 21, no. 1 (2017).

Atlantic in 2006, Barcelona metro system in 2008, New York Subway in 2009, Time Square in 2010 and a lot more. US wanted full support of Pakistan to get rid of Al-Qaeda, Taliban and other militants groups from Afghanistan. Pakistan supported Taliban in Afghanistan and Islamist militants in Indian Occupied Kashmir. Pakistan was worried that sudden change in its foreign policy would result in severe criticism. Pakistan's strategic dimension had always been Indian centric and worried about two front structures where hostility with India was intensified by an unfriendly Afghanistan which had grabbed military mind of country for decades. Pakistan agreed to support US efforts to remove militants groups from Afghanistan at no cost wants it involvement to setup its stability vis-à-vis India. In Pakistan's military point of view involvement of US in Afghanistan advanced regional imbalance in regard to India and formed aggressive government in Kabul.

In 2017 the president Trump when took the office of USA he emphasized Pakistan to do more over Afghanistan and eliminate Afghanistan terrorism hence US always provoked Pakistan to do something in Afghanistan. In 2014 the NATO forces withdrawal from the Afghanistan and the USA war against terrorism and then USA formally concluded the War on terror¹³⁰ after 13 consecutive years of fighting however that was not the absolute ending of war from Afghanistan rather it was just like completion of one chapter and from there the USA initiate an new chapter that was Operation Freedom's Sentinel which is a succeeding mission of Operation Enduring freedom and in this mission the US military forces both combatant and non-combatant provide training or resolute support to the Afghan military forces and at the same time this operation is working on combating terrorism from Afghanistan. However US know that drawing down the security forces from Afghanistan will lead to the reemergence of violence and extremism in Afghanistan because a vacuum will be created in Afghanistan therefore US always persuade Pakistan to play its role in Afghanistan because USA realize that the Pakistan is the most important strategic ally for US and without Pakistan's involvement in Afghanistan problem, peace in

130 Idrees, M., and K. Anwar. "Pakistan and Afghanistan After 9/11: A Case of the Failing Bilateralism. Review Pub Administration Manag 5: 211. doi: 10.4172/2315-7844.1000211 Page 2 of 5 Volume 5• Issue 2• 1000211 Review Pub Administration Manag, an open access journal ISSN: 2315-7844 president Obama invited both the leaders to participate in the Strategic Review in Washington DC." In September 2010 *Foreign Ministers level meeting was held between the two countries during which pledges were renewed for countering terrorism [5]. In. 2010.*

Afghanistan is impossible. Whereas the US Higher expectations and India presence is the greater challenge as well prospect for Pakistan and it is up to the Pakistan policy makers that how they will tackle the Afghan Problem in long range.

4.4.2 Border issue:

Similarly the border recognition issue is the most problematic challenge to Pakistan because the lack of recognition leads to the illegal infiltration of criminals, militants, smugglers or traffickers which openly exit or enter in both states and this is considered to be the most critical challenge to the foreign policy of Pakistan. The issue encircling Pakistan-Afghanistan border and mishandling issues considered one of the controversial issues between Pakistan and Afghanistan. From 2001 both Pakistan and Afghanistan have been confronting severe domestic threats related to security, movement of militants across the border. Pakistan-Afghanistan border recorded unregistered movement of 50,000 to 60,000 daily having 90% travelling from Afghanistan to Pakistan. For this cause Pakistan had taken strict measurements on its border side and started phased fencing of its border with Afghanistan in KPK and Balochistan. In first phase Khyber Agency, Mohmand and Bajaur has been fenced and in the second phase remaining areas of border and Balochistan are fenced. Pakistan Army and Frontier Corps KPK constructed new forts and post on borders to enhance supervision. 205 security check points were established from Pakistan and 133 were made by Afghanistan. In addition to this 43 check posts and forts are in Pakistan having 63 border posts and forts are on under construction. Pakistan also installed aerial inspection and special radar system. Pakistan also ensured that no one enters into Pakistan territory without passport and visa. By all the efforts and measurements taken by Pakistan terrorists hidden places at FATA were demolished and removed and also terrorists activities in Pakistan were also reduced. Operation Zarb-e-Azab launched in 2014 helped a lot to eliminate terrorism and border management has become more successful. To stop illegal movement across the border and undocumented trade effective efforts were made by Pakistan. In Balochistan 100 km long channel was constructed by Pakistan at Chaman-Kandhar border in 2016.

As many times Pakistan address the stickiness on border issue but unfortunately afghan government always showed resistant attitude and opposed strictness on the Pak-Afghan border however the Pakistan's government took some effective measures like fencing in some areas, bio-metric identification and security checkpoints in order to prevent militant infiltration in both states.

In 2006 Pakistan under asked the Karzai for border fencing and plant mines in order to stop terrorist infiltration but president Karzai clearly rejected the idea however as border in 2250 Km long so it is difficult for Pakistan to cover every single corner of it but still Afghan government is very resistant on it till now. However afghan government protested for the border fencing and sent troops to the border while Pakistan also sent its frontier crops to Torkham Border and then both states deployed tanks, and armored personnel to the border and as result the border remained closed for three consecutive days in 2016 and no effective agreement were made on border fencing hence the border fencing issue is also the greatest challenge towards Pak-Afghan Foreign Policy.

4.4.3 Indian Factor

During King Zahir Shah Government India enjoyed good relations with Afghanistan. After Zahir Shah Removal from power India managed to maintain healthy relations with communist administration. Fall down of Soviet oriented government of Muhammad Najibullah and the ongoing civil war in Afghanistan make India less influential in the country. Even during the tenure of Burhanuddin Rabbani India was had less influence. Demise of Rabbani in 1996 and Taliban capture over power left India not as good as ever. Sudden factors effected the indo-afghan relations i.e. Taliban close links with Pakistan, deep rooted hatred with religious minorities and its aggressiveness towards India resulted in breakdown of Indo-Afghan relations. To oppose Taliban India build up a relationship with Tajik dominated Northern alliance of Ahmed Shah Masood. India's mistrust about Taliban turned to be sufficient when Indian aircraft was hijacked enrooted to New Delhi from Kathmandu. Then it flew to Lahore and then to Dubai and lastly to Kandahar. Taliban didn't allow India to do anything against hijackers. After negotiations with India Taliban let hijackers and also their terrorist allies to go unpunished on a demand to release three imprisoned terrorists i.e. Maulana Masood Azhar, head of an organization linked with terrorism and Jaish-i-Mohammed. Indian government also considers that Taliban are in support of Pakistan to allow Kashmiri terrorist to get trained within Afghanistan. When Hamid Karzai came into power India found its way to strengthen its relations with Afghanistan again. Karzai also want to cherish friendly relations with India as he bends more towards India then Pakistan. He also keeps its self busy in personal misgivings against Pakistan because of the reason that Taliban assassinated his father in Pakistan. Regardless of Karzai's wish to create close relationship with India, Pakistani objections firmly conveyed to US. Having much developmental work in Afghanistan presence of

India remained a challenge for Pakistan as India mislead. The continuous involvement of India in Afghanistan is the greatest challenge to Pakistan's foreign policy. Glenn A. Fine et al mentioned in their report to congress that "The USA believe that Pakistan is continue to disrupt the internal affairs of Afghanistan by its enduring support to Taliban in order to gain leverage because if Pakistan does not support Taliban or any extremist militant in Afghanistan the role of Pakistan in Afghanistan will be marginalized and India will gain preference in Afghanistan over Pakistan and that is the reason Pakistan wanted to continue instability in Afghanistan because India is the most critical factor in the foreign policy of Pakistan¹³¹ . Hence India is the chief investor in Afghanistan. After the end of Taliban government India is continuously engaged herself in destabilizing Pakistan through its agents across the border. For this sake India has build more than five hundred check points near Pakistan border line to assemble and engage militants into Pakistan. These militants are being trained to destabilize Pakistan. Balochistan Liberation Army (BLA) organization working in Pakistan's province Balochistan, funded and supported by India from inside of Afghanistan with the help of Indian spy agency RAW. RAW give training and provide weapons to BLA to create misbalance and instability in Pakistan. India through these activities wants to label Pakistan as failing and unsafe country. One of the main reasons is that India wants to disturb Pakistan's policy over Kashmir. Another reason of this policy is to cut off Pakistan in her neighbors and rest of the world. Afghanistan government bends towards India than Pakistan. India also provided armaments and also supports Baloch and Wazir insurgents economically. In Afghanistan, India also stared proxy war against Pakistan.

Furthermore Pakistan favored increased influence of Taliban in Afghanistan that will lead Pak-Afghan relations in to a favorable direction in the long term and counter India influence in Afghanistan that create instability in the region so in Pak-Afghan Foreign Policy India's presence cannot be ignore.

4.4.4 Refugees in Pakistan;

The refugees factor are among one of the critical challenge for Pakistan foreign relations because a huge number of Afghan Refugees are harboring in Pakistan that are now mixed up with

131 Glenn A. Fine, Steve A. Linick & Ann Calvaresi Barr, Operation Freedom Sentinel. *Report to the United States Congress*, January 1, 2018.

the ethnic communities of Pakistan in the tribal areas so whenever any violent activity by extremist militants are carried out in Afghanistan it creates security grievances within Pakistan therefore the refugees in Pakistan is the most gravest challenge similarly Pakistan is economically not much developed so Pakistan need to bear the weight of these refugees too however PML-N government designed effective measures for Afghan refugees but still this issue is not sort out

The Pakistan-Afghan relations when we compare to civilian perspective are much better as both states government designed their effective policies that persuade both states to have effective reconciliatory relations with each other. However, the main challenge to the Pak-Afghan relation is the military-to-military relations. For instance many times Afghan Government and media highlighted the factor that Pakistan military provide a shelter support to Taliban moreover Pakistan military support to Haqani network in Afghanistan and retain collaborative relations with Afghan Taliban and this collaboration is unacceptable by USA and Afghanistan and that's the main reason that Pakistan Military-to Military relations are hostile and decreasing the prospect for alliance on security matters from the foreign policy perspective.

The operations in Afghanistan started from 2001 after the deadliest 9/11 attack on the USA which provoked the USA to take counter measures against the terrorist and for that purpose USA intervene in Afghanistan because USA wanted to undermine the safe haven of terrorists which used Afghanistan as Terrorist bases so USA in order to disrupt the use of Afghanistan by terrorist as their bases for deadliest operation carried out two operations in Afghanistan i.e. Operation Enduring Freedom and Resolute Support mission by the NATO however these Mission concluded in 2014 when in Pakistan the PML-N government took power so after the end of 13 years long US combating Operation in Afghanistan a new transitioned mission on 1st January,2015 established with the name of Operation Freedom Sentinel which is an ongoing mission in Afghanistan however recently USA decided to leave Pakistan. So, in all these missions

To conclude the chapter, the relation between Pakistan and Afghanistan has never been easy since history both states interfere in each other internal affairs in order to destabilize the situation and hence the tension always increases in both states as Pakistan accused Afghanistan that they are supporting the Baloch rebelled in Waziristan and wage cross-border terrorist attacks whereas Afghanistan blamed Pakistan that Pakistan support insurgent in Afghanistan in order to destabilized the democratic government of Afghanistan and hence Pak-Afghan relation is build on

Suspicion rather than trust. The only reason to support Taliban in Afghanistan is that Pakistan wants a friendly government installed in Afghanistan that will keep good relations with Pakistan in Afghanistan.

CONCLUSION

Bilateral relations of Pakistan and Afghanistan went through many ups and downs. In history communist regime change in Afghanistan, Kabul's hostility held responsible for the worsening of relations. Afghanistan supported Pashtunistan issue and never accepted Durand Line as international border. Presence of Indian threat in the region Pakistan adopted defensive policy. Sardar Daud Khan reshaped Afghanistan's foreign policy hence enhanced the options for rapprochement between Pakistan and Afghanistan. However Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Sardar Daud couldn't managed to carry on the reconciliation process as they both are overthrown from power in their countries. Hence soviet invasion in Afghanistan turns to be violent in Pakistan-Afghanistan relations. Soviet existence in Afghanistan intensified Pakistan's security concerns forced her to adopt counter strategy that turned to support Afghan Islamist. Ultimately with the help and support of US, Saudia Arabia and other countries Pakistan managed to implement a victorious anti-soviet Afghan resistance operation. Taliban appearance after the civil war turned to be helpful in strengthening relations between Pakistan and Afghanistan. Both the countries developed strong relations for the first time. To sum up the whole scenario the tension and aggression between Pakistan and Afghanistan is deeply rooted in Afghanistan's uncompromising stance at Durand Line, interference of both sides in the internal matters and Pakistan's Military Afghan policy. US led multinational alliance forces in Afghanistan depends on the collaboration of Pakistan and Afghanistan. Betterment in the bilateral relations of both the sides is needed not only for the success of NATO in Afghanistan but also essential for bringing peace, harmony and stability in the region.

In 2008 Pakistan People's Party came into power and showed strong desire to enhance and strengthen relation with Afghanistan. President Asif Ali Zardari invited Afghan president in his oath taking ceremony. Hamid Karzai attended the ceremony and both presidents ensured to work together to combat terrorism. Asif Zardari visited Afghanistan in 2009 where bilateral issues were discussed and an agreement was signed to counter terrorism. In the same year US President Barak Obama invited both the leaders to take part in the Strategic Review in Washington DC. On 2010 meeting of foreign ministers were held where foreign ministers of both the side ensured to take measures to counter terrorism in the region. Afghan National Army was invited in 2010 by

Pakistan's Army Chief General Ishfaq Pervaiz Kayani to get training by Pakistan Army Institution in NATO headquarters formed in Brussels. In the year of 2010 Hamid Karzai visited Pakistan where Pakistan anticipated enhancing cooperation in transit trade, reconstruction and also technical projects. Pakistan and Afghanistan agreed to form communication network, improve education system by exchanging programmes and also to double the scholarship. Major steps were taken to improve agriculture sector. Pakistan-Afghanistan food bank was projected. In energy sector joint efforts were made for execution of Trans-Afghan energy project having focus on CASA-1000 and Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan gas pipeline. For afghan transit trade Pakistan allowed Gawadar and Port Qasim. Pakistan was allowed to use Afghan road in return for trade in Central Asian Republics. Pakistan also declared aid package to reconstruct rail track, roads and schools in Afghanistan. On 2011 Rabbani was assassinated and Afghanistan started its blame game by putting allegations over Pakistan. Pakistan refused these allegations and assured full cooperation over the matter. In response to this Karzai signed trade agreement with India and also allowed India to use Afghanistan land to plot conspiracy against Pakistan. India always wanted to use such kind of opportunity to disrupt Pakistan and show her game changer role in the world. But the facts showed that without Pakistan assistance no peace efforts can be beneficial for Afghanistan. Pakistan has an influence inside Afghanistan. Pakistan never showed any kindness towards militants inside Afghanistan. British Prime Minister David Cameron visited Afghanistan in 2012 where he invited Pakistan's Prime Minister Raja Pervaiz Ashraf in a meeting with his afghan counterpart for trilateral meeting. Both Prime Ministers settled to make Joint Commission to examine border issues. Pakistan also released some Taliban leaders as a good will gesture to further strengthen its relation with Afghanistan. Another trilateral meeting was also arranged by British government in which Pakistan's President Asif Ali Zardari, Chief of Army Staff General Ashfaq Pervaiz Kayani, Afghan Preisdent Hamid Karzai and Afghan Chief of Army Staff participated. They decided to take obligatory steps to safeguard peace deal with Taliban's. In a meeting they agreed to allow Taliban to open their office in Qatar for peace talks with HPC. In this meeting Pakistan forced Afghanistan to take back strategic agreement with India but Afghanistan refused to do so.

In 2013 general elections were held in Pakistan in which PML-N government came into power. Hamid Karzai expressed his desire for better relations between Pakistan and Afghanistan. Both the political leaders ensured to work together to eradicate terrorism from the region. Pakistan wants to

set up friendly relations with Afghanistan, for this purpose Pakistan's foreign policy advisor Sartaj Aziz visited Afghanistan to talk about bilateral issues. In return Hamid Karzai visited Pakistan to further discuss issues and projects of bilateral interests. During his visit Pakistan also released Taliban leaders. In 2014 Ishaq Dar Pakistan's Finance Minister visited Afghanistan to be present at Bilateral Joint Economic Commission. Ishaq Dar laid stress to involve Tajikistan to the Transit Trade Agreement. Pakistan ensured his cooperation in socio-economic development of Afghanistan and makes an investment in many projects i.e. 400 beds in one of Kabul's hospital, Liaquat Ali Khan Engineering University in Balkh, hostel for children's in Kabul etc. A month later after Dar's visit 26 business woman visited Pakistan to join Pakistan-Afghanistan woman conference held in Islamabad. General elections were held in Afghanistan in 2014 in which Ashraf Ghani, a Pashtun candidate won. In his oath taking ceremony Pakistan's President Mamnoon Hussain was invited. After the ceremony both sides ensured each other to make relations fruitful and also that Pakistan-Afghanistan now entered into new phase of bilateralism. Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif expressed his deep desire that stable and flourishing Afghanistan was very useful for Pakistan. He stressed that peaceful and prosperous Afghanistan would make trade relations easy for both the sides. A very brutal incident happened in Pakistan on December 2014. Terrorist attacked Army Public School in Peshawar leaving more than 132 children's died and some staff members. According to ISPR, TTP was involved in this cruel incident. Later on Pakistan's Army Chief General Raheel Shareef and DG ISI criticized Afghanistan and demanded to take strict action against Mullah Fazlullah, TTP leader who was hidden in Kunar, Afghanistan. Leaders from the side visited each other regions to solve different issues. Due to terrorist attacks relations between both sides were badly affected.

Pakistan and Afghanistan relations were highlighted by Trust Insufficiency which needs to be removed through diplomatic efforts. Geographically both countries are connected that advancement in one will have strong impact on other. As Pakistan's democratic changeover began two succeeding governments desired to strengthen relations with each other. These policies also include non-interference into each other's internal matters. First phase of transfer of power from one democratic government to another provided an opportunity to make stronger civilian control in excess of national security and foreign policy. However there are many opportunities for both the countries to strengthen their relations and make progress. Improving relations on the other hand require Pakistan to take strong steps to safeguard insecure lives of afghan refugees.

Pakistan's relationship with Afghanistan have been characterized by mutual suspicion, poor security, hatred and antagonism and it requires serious efforts and pure loyalty of both states leadership towards maintaining each other relationship but unfortunately the personal stakes of both states leadership increased this deep-stated animosity. Pakistan relations with Afghanistan never been much stable and cordial. However, Pakistan tried to normalize its diplomatic relations with its next door neighbor Afghanistan having many similar contexts. In post 9/11, Pakistan-Afghan policy had been into complex scenario due to US-waged war against terrorism. In post 9/11, the first elected civilian government Pakistan People's Party remains omitted to combating terrorism and dealing with security concerns. The successor of PPP was PML-N that also prioritized its Afghan-policy on the security concerns at large. The policies of both regimes were most notably constructive rather than destructive towards Afghanistan. Both Pakistan and Afghanistan needs to understand this fact that their security concerns are bind together. Mutual cooperation will not only good for the South Asian region but also for their economic development and strategic security concerns because no state ever developed by engaging in war. Both states need to realize their similarities and on that basis they need to enhance cooperation.

Similarly, Indian factor also contribute to undermining Pakistan's relations with Afghanistan like Indian diplomacy wanted to maintain its good relationship with Afghanistan so that they can used these friendly relationships against Pakistan. Moreover, India wanted to gain hegemony in the south Asian region and they do not like Pakistan's active interference in Afghanistan with the collaboration of USA that undermine India's role therefore they supported proxies inside Pakistan and Afghanistan in order to tarnished Pak-Afghan relations. Civilian leaders always designed their policies towards reconciliation whether it is towards Afghanistan, India, USA or any other leading state and it is evident that under the political leadership Pakistan foreign relations increased.

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