

# **Pak-Afghan Relations Post 9/11: Prospects & Opportunities**

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## **ABSTRACT**

Although Afghanistan shares a common religion, race, history, ethnicity and geography with Pakistan, yet the relations between both have never been smooth and remained estranged. The nature of Pak-Afghan relations saw many ups and downs in past decades and has always been flimsy and they are found in murky waters. Since Pakistan's independence, there have been concerns and determination to have jovial and friendly relations between both the countries. The relationships between the two neighbors can be described as challenging and complex. The detriments that mainly manipulate these relationships have been questionable and experienced ebb and flow for historical and geopolitical reasons with the exception of brief interludes. This distrust at times bordering on hostility continues to date although some has been done to improve the working relationship by third parties i.e., US and EU. In the changed regional context of post 9/11 developments carry hallmark significance in the world history as it has brought both the countries at the brink of major national disasters. The post 9/11 scenario provided an opportunity to Pakistan to renew its diplomatic ties and political relations with Afghanistan and to reconsider her Afghan policy.

This paper aims at discussing the core problems and highlights the future prospects of Pak-Afghan relations in post 9/11 scenario, as it brought a drastic change in world in generally and in this region particularly. It is a turning point in history when Taliban government was ousted as a result of American military action in Afghanistan. The study will explore and reveal its overall impact on both the countries with the existing diplomatic relations, areas of hostility and economic relations with making suitable recommendations for strengthening political stability in the region.

## **Introduction**

The history of the tensions between Pakistan and Afghanistan goes back to the early nineteenth century, when Mr. Macnaughton, a British official was able to get the Lahore Agreement signed in July 1938 between the Sikh Government (Lahore Darbar) and an exiled Afghan Prince, Shah Shuja, and it was countersigned by the British-Indian rulers (Wakman, 1985: 33-34). Through this agreement, the Sikh Ruler got rights in those areas which are at present a part of Pakistan and are claimed by Afghanistan after partition of India in 1947. This claim was defended by the historical fact that Afghanistan, at one time in history ruled over this area.

This demand was prompted by the Afghan desire to gain access to the Arabian Sea. The leadership in Afghanistan wanted to annex this area but was not in position to implement in practice. Since then issue of Pakhtunistan has remained major factor for tension between the two countries. Despite facing the thorny situations, there have been certain times when the relations between Pakistan and Afghanistan have been genial. The Pak-Afghan relations can be better assessed and reviewed in the following four phases of history.

## 1. 1947-1978

It was the period when Pak-Afghan Border remained the main issue. Ever since the emergence of Pakistan in 1947, Afghanistan's relations with Pakistan saw many ups and downs. As an independent State, Pakistan applied for the membership of United Nations<sup>1</sup> (UN); it was Afghanistan, which opposed Pakistan's membership.

- In 1948, these relations have been tensed and rifts led to the closure of Pakistan Afghanistan Border.
- In 1951, Pakistani Prime Minister Liaqat Ali Khan was killed by an Afghan national.
- Muhammad Daoud (A great supporter of Pakhtunistan) came to power as prime minister in 1953 and remained in office until 1963.
- Pakistan joined American military pacts, South East Asian Treaty Organization<sup>2</sup> (SEATO) and Central Treaty Organization<sup>3</sup> (CENTO) in 1954 and 1955.
- In March 1963, Daoud resigned due to introduction of new constitution which barred immediate members of King Zahir's family from participation in the government (Emadi, 1997:10) and the relations between both the countries became a little normal as Kabul's focus on Pakhtunistan issue was reduced.
- During the Indo-Pak War of 1965, Afghanistan sided with Pakistan.
- In 1968, King Zahir Shah visited Pakistan.
- On April 1, 1970, abolition of One Unit took place and that reinforced the growing enmity between Afghanistan and Pakistan.
- In 1971, war between Pakistan and India, Afghanistan remained neutral.
- In 1973, Daoud returned to power that was considered a pessimistic development as he had been a great supporter of Pakhtunistan. He took decision to activate the Afghan military for war games in Nangarhar province<sup>4</sup> near Pakistani border in the winter of 1974-75. This action coincided with the outbreak of armed insurgencies in Baluchistan and NWFP (Journal of Strategic Studies, 2002).
- In early 70's, an insurgency started in Balochistan. Pakistan initiated the military campaigns. During one such campaign, between May 1973 and October 1974, Pakistan accused the Kabul government for its involvement (O'balance, 2002: 81). About 5,000 Afghans were trained in secret military

camps during 1973-75 (Weinbaum, 1994: 5). Due to communist nature of the Daoud administration, the relations between the two countries have been ruthless. It was the time when Afghan coup had taken place. It was the time when economic pressure was built on Afghanistan and thus Daoud made efforts for reconciliation.

- In June 1976, the then Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto paid an official visit to Afghanistan after two months, Daoud also visited Pakistan. These visits helped to diffuse tensions between two countries over the issue of Pakhtunistan.
- In 1977, when Prime Minister Bhutto released Abdul Ghaffar Khan, the relations got a bit better shape.

## 2. 1978-1988

During this period, threats emanating from the Soviet invasion complicated the security situation on Pakistan's border. This attack changed geo-political situation of the region and Pakistan became frontline state and fought this war with American aid without its direct involvement. Pakistan opened its borders in the spirit of Islamic brotherhood to help the Afghan in distress. Pakistan also provided shelter to 3.2 million refugees. In return, Pakistan suffered with Klashinkov, drug and crime culture in its society generated time when Pakistan's alliance with Taliban formed the most powerful external influence in Afghanistan. As a result, *Tehrik-e-Taliban* (The Taliban Movement) in Pakistan was created.

December 1979 was the period when Russian invasion took place in Afghanistan. It was considered as the geo-strategic threat not only to Pakistan but to the Persian Gulf also. This entire situation enhanced American interest in the region. Resultantly, Pakistan became a key player of this new drift. The Carter Administration offered \$ 400 million aid to Pakistan but president Zia rejected this offer as peanut. The reason was its small size by it satirically hinted to the business of Carter family in peanut. Pakistan also demanded security for its borders in the case of Soviet invasion. In 1981, President Clinton took power with his tough anti-communist stance. President persuaded Congress to authorize \$ 3.2 billion for a five-year military aid program for Pakistan (Kux, 1996: 18).

It was the period when Afghan Jihad remained dominant. The Central Intelligence Agency<sup>5</sup> (CIA) kept providing assistance to anti-Soviet forces through Pakistani secret services, in a programme, called Operation Cyclone.<sup>6</sup> Many Muslims from other countries volunteered to assist various Mujahideen groups in Afghanistan. In Northern Afghanistan, hundreds of Afghan mujahideen were involved in cross-border political armed operation. This was the prime time when Pakistani Inter-Services Intelligence<sup>7</sup> (ISI) was involved in supporting these Mujahideens. Another major reason for Pakistan's interest in Afghanistan was its 'strategic depth' against India and the neighbouring Central Asian States.<sup>8</sup> Thus Pakistan tried to increase its political influence in Afghanistan.

### **3. Soviet Withdrawal**

The UN made considerable efforts for peace and settlement in Afghanistan under the Geneva Accords of April 1988. The departure of the Soviet troops officially took place on May 15, 1988, when the last Russian soldier crossed Oxus River<sup>9</sup>. Pakistan achieved a major geo-political victory. America provided massive aid both economically and militarily to Mujahideens, as it was the top agenda in the American policy of national security. After Soviet withdrawal, the global situation changed not only in Afghanistan but also in Eastern Europe as Brezhnev Doctrine<sup>10</sup> was expired and the Cold War was over. American objective in Afghanistan was to weaken the Soviet Union and for that very purpose it supported the resistance through Pakistan. The end of the Cold War provided new incentives and opportunities to the international community to work for collective peace, security and economic development in general and the war-torn Afghanistan in particular. But Afghanistan became a mixture of different factions in its society. In the absence of a common threat, these groups turned against one another. It was the time when Zia-ul-Haq died and CIA reduced its interest in Afghanistan. The late Benazir Bhutto, the then Prime Minister of Pakistan was not in favor of giving free hand to ISI without US support but military wanted to have control over Afghanistan.

#### **1. Post Withdrawal Era: Afghan Civil War**

When Russia was disintegrated, the Central Asia emerged as a greater economic market not only for Pakistan but also for Europe and America. Thus it helped in shifting Pakistan's strategy towards Afghanistan and regional progress. During the Cold War period, Pakistan had been focusing on the issues like Pakhtunistan and transit trade but the end of Cold War reduced tension and brought a long-term ally in Afghanistan. Pakistani President Zia-ul-Haq politicized Islam during this era.

After Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan, the country was caught up in the post-war fighting among various factions, which were not agreed on a durable power sharing arrangement. It also dawned upon Pakistan that Pan-Islamic Doctrine was no more successful. Pakistan recognized the Central Asian Republics (CARs) without any delay for its economic interests. The need of the hour was a friendly Afghanistan. During this crisis, a new force, the Taliban made an unexpected appearance and scored considerable victory. Pakistan vehemently supported Taliban government in Afghanistan and it helped in the creation of *Tehrik-e-Taliban* (The Taliban Movement) in Afghanistan.

### **Diplomatic Relations**

Pakistan has always been in favor of good, peaceful and friendly relations with its western neighbor so that both countries could successfully meet their challenges. A great example in this regard can be seen after the invasion of Soviet Union in 1979. Pakistan had favored Afghanistan's membership in the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation<sup>11</sup> (SAARC) but it was opposed by India. Currently the factors that brought Afghanistan into SAARC are primarily, the US and Indian support behind the scene (Spotlight on Regional Affairs, 2007).

After the fall of the Taliban regime, the interim government was established in Afghanistan on December 22, 2001 under Bonn Agreement, which was signed in Germany on December 5, 2001. This government was established under President Hamid Karzai, which was facing daunting task of rebuilding a land destroyed by war, hatred and hunger. Since that time, both Pakistan and Afghanistan have been engaged in diplomatic consultations. The official visit of President Hamid Karzai in February 2002, laid the foundation of renewed bilateral relations between the two countries and President Musharraf also paid a follow-up visit. Pakistan provided aid for reconstruction and rehabilitation of Afghanistan. Pakistan deployed its 80,000 troops along Pak-Afghan border in order to counter the terrorist elements and to secure the border areas as well as maintaining peace and stability in war-torn country.

## **Economic Relations**

Pakistan has been assisting land locked Afghanistan for its trade since 1947. Current Pak-Afghan bilateral trade stands at 1 billion dollar against 3 million dollars in 2002 (Pakistan Horizon, 2006). A Joint Economic Commission (JEC) was formed between Pakistan and Afghanistan in 2002 in order to re-examine their trade ties and make plans in order to strengthen their economic collaborations. Pakistan is one of the main trading partners of Afghanistan. During the Taliban regime, a Latin American company made efforts to start exploration of oil and gas from Turkmenistan. There are still possibilities existing for the feasibility of a gas pipelines through Afghanistan to Pakistan from Uzbek and Turkmen gas fields. A railway line from Chaman to Kandhar is also under planning.

Both countries are taking various steps in trade including the revival of Transit trade Agreement, signing of an investment protection treaty, and the Memorandum of Understanding<sup>12</sup> (MOU) for the construction of highways in Afghanistan, To open the branches of banks and starting construction of railway lines between Chaman and Spin Bodak and between Chaman and Kahndhar are also under consideration that would boost trade.

While Pakistan on its part had decided to reduce the negative list of six items under the Transit Trade Agreement converted to million dollars into aid; set up nine additional custom stations in the bordering areas and opening of trade route in Wazirstan.

## **Areas of Hostility**

Although Afghanistan is a Muslim country yet a hostile policy was pursued by it in early years of independence. A major example in this regard can be viewed by the strong opposition of Afghanistan against Pakistan's membership in the United Nations. The second major opposition was reflected in unfriendly propaganda campaign against Pakistan through media. The major reason behind all this activity was to compel Pakistan to accede the demand of 'Pakhtonistan' and that was shared by both India and the Soviet Union. Many other areas of hostility that have adverse affects on the bilateral relations of both the countries are given below:

### **1. Border Issue**

Pak-Afghan relations today are passing through a delicate phase of history. Whatever changes are obvious, in order to comprehend those, it is at the same time essential to understand its history of hundred years. This history starts when in 1893; Afghan Ameer Abdur Rehman signed an agreement with the British government to determine the boundaries and resultantly Durand Line<sup>13</sup> was formed. This historic line is there in the same state till date. The border issue is considered to be the first irritant in Pak-Afghan relations. No Afghan government has reconciled itself to admit the reality of the 2640 km long Durand Line as the official boundary line. The future of settling this dispute seems dejected as both parties have their own stance and their claims are based on different maps of the Durand line. Pakistan uses a British map while Afghanistan uses a Russian map drawn decade ago ([www.afghan.com](http://www.afghan.com)).

### **2. Joining of Different Camps**

In the Cold war era, the Soviet Union and America built the roads and trained military officers in their respective sphere of influence. Afghanistan was under Soviet influence but Kabul got more than \$1 billion of economic aid from both Superpowers. Thousands of military officers attended military colleges in the Soviet Union while the number of the military officers got training in America (Rubin, 1996: 71). In these years, Pakistan became an ally of US and an active member of American security alliance. It was the years of 1952 when Soviet Union that was already 'within gate' (Ma'arroof, 1990) enhanced its influence in Afghanistan and assisted in the exploration of oil. On the other side, the United States was determined to contain the expansion of communism in the world and particularly in South Asian region. Resultantly, it started developing diplomatic relations with those countries, which had geographical links with China and Soviet Union.

- a. The United States under its new policy in 1954 started giving substantial military assistance to Pakistan.
- b. In 1955, Pakistan converted its four provinces of West Pakistan into One Unit. Afghanistan showed its resentment over it and as a reaction, Pakistani embassy in Kabul and its Consulates in Jalalabad and Kandhar were attacked. Pakistan put ban on Afghan transit trade and closed its border with Afghanistan. This entire situation created Soviet interest in the region and it proclaimed aid to Afghanistan on Pakhtunistan issue. Thus Soviet Union made an attempt to have check on the American interest in the region that was thriving through CENTO and Regional Cooperation for Development<sup>14</sup> (RCD).

### **3. Indian Factor**

Afghanistan's friendship with India also has an impact on Pakistan's equation with Afghanistan. Even today India plays a negative role (Masood, 2007). Before 9/11, India was against the Taliban government and a great supporter of Northern Alliance. In order to build new relations in post-Taliban scenario, Prime Minister Manmohan Singh paid an official visit to Afghanistan in September 2005. (Pakistan Horizon, 2006). Thus India became an effective player in the post-Taliban Afghanistan. The nationalistic terrorist wave in Balochistan is found to have links with newly opened Indian consulates in Kandhar, Mazar-i-Sharif and Jalalabad. As a result, Pakistan asked the Afghan government not to allow India to open its consulates in the neighboring province of Pakistan.

### **4. Transit Trade Issue**

There have been massive cross-border operations, which were created under the Afghan Transit Trade Agreement between Afghanistan and Pakistan (ATTA).<sup>15</sup> Both countries signed this treaty in 1965 yet it has never been implemented. The reason lying behind is that the government has been trying to control the list of items that the Afghans can put through Pakistan due to "Widespread smuggling."

Afghanistan is encircled by mountains from all sides and its boundaries are joined with Pakistan and Iran on North South side. At the same time, it is a gateway to Central Asia. It was also known as Buffer State<sup>16</sup> between British India and Soviet Union during British rule in India. Thus it becomes very essential for Afghanistan to maintain good relations with her neighbors to maintain its supply line. In this connection, the then Afghan Prime Minister's role can not be brushed aside who lagged a crucial role for enhancing Soviet influence due two reasons:

- a. Transit question was to be dealt as a secondary issue.
- b. It would not be resolved unless the issue of Pakhtunistan is addressed.

The most of the trade of Afghanistan is carried out with Pakistan. Perhaps this is the main reason that both the countries are bound to develop good relations and this is the guarantee of the better future of both countries.

## **5. Drug Factor**

Still there has been a main obstacle that is deterring the progress of the relations between the two countries. The drug culture in Pakistan was introduced by Afghan refugees during the Afghan resistance against Soviet Union. Today's Afghanistan has acquired the 'Dubious Distinction' of being the largest narco-state<sup>17</sup> in the world after Colombia and South America (Nuri, 2007). Due to increased involvement of Pakistan in Afghanistan, the former has been facing an economic pressure. The emergence of the Golden Crescent<sup>18</sup> as the second largest opium producer in the world has caused the formation of the internationally organized drug trafficking and crime syndicates (Nojumi, 2002: 185). A counter Narcotics working Group, comprising the US, Pakistan and Afghanistan has been established to facilitate the discussion among three parties on the Narcotics issue.

## **6. Refugees Problem**

Pakistan is still providing shelter to 2.6 million refugees despite the downfall of Taliban regime. This problem has aggravated due to economic hardships. An agreement in 2003 was signed by United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees<sup>19</sup> (UNHCR) to repatriate Afghan refugees living in Pakistan but it has not been implemented so far.

## **7. Terrorism and Cross Border Infiltration**

The terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 changed the situation. These events brought global change and bound many countries to counter it. This date changed the global history and put the world under a new trial. The International system was challenged, as was the post-Cold War concept of global security (Nojumi, 2002: 221).

America turned towards Pakistan because Afghanistan was its door step neighbor and had much influence on Taliban regime and leadership. Pakistan agreed to a list of demands from US that included opening air spaces, ports and military bases for launching the possible attacks. "We stood with the United States, and we stand with the entire world, in opposing terrorism. Yet we face threats from within and without" (Musharraf, 2006: 222). Pakistan backed the US because Washington made it clear that terrorism was a threat and neutrality would not be an option. For the first time in Taliban history, they faced enemies wherever they looked. The US attacked on Afghanistan on October 7, 2001. As a result of which, Taliban as political forces were eliminated by creating a room for an Interim government. Taliban practically lost their control of the whole country.

One of the effects of 11 September, however greatly increased insecurity not only in those countries suspected of being associated with terrorism, but also in all

other states situated in the region. The US redefined her policy interest after 9/11. President Bush announced his policy which showed US interest to re-engage Pakistan. In post 9/11 era, US policy interest in region was to seek Pakistan's cooperation in hunting down those responsible of attacks. After 9/11 US was actively contacting Pakistan, so that American future design and strategy could be implemented. The US State Secretary Colin Powel made a telephonic call to Musharraf to discuss the situation and dictate what to do in Afghanistan. The US Ambassador Chamberlain presented this to President Musharraf on September 13, 2001. In this situation, Musharraf promised Pakistan's full cooperation in assisting the US for combating terrorism globally because 9/11 incident placed Pakistan between the devil and the deep blue sea. Pakistan had to change its policy towards the Taliban, viewing them as a strategic liability rather than an asset and that was clearly acknowledged by President Musharraf in his television address to the nation on September 19, 2001. He said that "At this juncture, I am worried about Pakistan only" and that "I give top priority to the defense of Pakistan. Defense of any other country comes later." Islamabad had to distance itself from Taliban ruled Afghanistan and agreed to provide help to Washington in "intelligence and information exchange" and American use of Pakistan "air space" for military action against Al-Qaeda and the Taliban controlled Afghanistan. Musharraf faced significant domestic risk. The campaign in the name of Operation Enduring Freedom<sup>20</sup> (OEF) made Pakistan a front line state in US led counter terror campaign. The factor contributed to Pakistan's renewed significance was not only its shared border with Afghanistan but it was also among the few countries, which had a formal diplomatic relations with a Taliban regime. Due to this policy, President Musharraf has been frequently criticized within Pakistan for cooperation too readily and conceding too much to the United States without adequate compensation. Instead of a one-item agenda focused on the war on terrorism, Pakistan is in the position to use the current situation of improved relationship to pursue a broad series of issues with Afghanistan. The policy pursued by the government of Pakistan is in the best interest of both countries in both the short-term and long-term interests. Operation against terrorists can be more successful by means of timely informed sharing between Afghanistan and Pakistan, while respecting one another sovereignty and values. Many of the top leaders of Al-Qaeda have been captured or killed by Pakistani security or law enforcement agencies based on the information provided by the U.S. intelligence. Conversely on some occasions US forces has acted unilaterally inside Pakistani territory. These incidents, which have mostly failed to achieve their intended objectives, often produce civilian casualties and loss of property on Pakistan's part. For example, on 13 January 2006, 13 innocent people were killed by a US air or missile attack (Dawn, 2006). America wanted to remain in the region due to its ambitions in energy of Central Asian Republics and is applying its military, diplomatic and economic powers to achieve it.

## **Bonn-Conference**

A conference was held at Bonn on 27<sup>th</sup> November 2001 under the UN drafted framework for the transition to democracy in the war-ravaged Afghanistan. The power was transferred from Northern Alliance to the Interim Administration. The Bonn Agreement acknowledged the right of the people of Afghanistan to freely determine their own political future in accordance with the principles of Islam, democracy, pluralism and Social Justice.

In Kabul, from 13 to 16 June, 2002, the elections of delegations to the Loya Jirga were organized. King Zahir Shah had returned to the country and was offered as the nominal head of the state. But he renounced any official role and Hamid Karzai was elected as Head of the State. These developments had important implications for the future of Afghanistan.

- a. Monarchy's political rule was ended apparently.
- b. The uncompromisingly Rabbani remained no more applicable or became obsolete and this political demise signified the devastation of political Islam. The expulsion of Taliban had discarded the Islamic fundamentalism.

Having all these changes on both sides, Pakistan and Afghanistan once again became a frontline state and a key ally in the global coalition against terrorism. Pakistan strengthened its security arrangements on Pak-Afghan border. Gradually, Pakistan started penetrating its Tribal Area by Pakistani Army and Mohmand Agency was the last Tribal Area that was directly penetrated in 2003 (Rizvi, 2003). All this situation is bringing benefits to few people like:

- Those among Northern Alliance who are included in Afghan Government have got so many suspicions about Pakistan as before 9/11, Pakistan has been a supporter of Taliban.
- Tajiks and Uzbeks because greater Pakistani influence with the Afghan Government might work at the advantage of Pakhtuns.

These elements being the opportunist are demonstrating the resentment against Pakistan in Afghanistan. They are in fact pressurizing the clashes observed in the recent times in Mohmand Agency reminds the pre-1979 period of Pak-Afghan Relations. The bitter reality that makes one surprised is that the Afghan President Hamid Karzai openly blames Pakistan for all the disturbances in the region. At times, the hostility shown towards Pakistan is unprecedented. Afghan tribal leaders are also playing their negative role and deteriorating the relations between both the countries.

The visit of Hamid Karzai to United Kingdom in November 2008 and meeting with British Prime Minister Gordon Brown seems to be a good hope for future. President Karzai has asked to invite Pakistani President Asif Zardari and former Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif with the patronage of Saudi King Abdullah for the secrets ongoing talks with Taliban. These secret talks are aimed at ending violence and involving borders.

## **Prospectus and Opportunities**

It is said about Afghanistan that if you want to have peace in the world, then maintains peace in Afghanistan. From Iqbal to the contemporary historians, all admit that Afghanistan is the heart of Asia and when the heart will be in order then the whole body shall be energetic and strengthened. The events of 9/11 proved to be a turning point for both Afghanistan and Pakistan along with the globe. Pak-Afghan trade has been unabated and Pakistan has been providing the transit trade facilities to the landlocked Afghanistan through its seaports. Based on India-Pakistan experience, the need of the hour is to initiate the Confidence Building Measures<sup>21</sup> (CBMs) between Pakistan and Afghanistan. Those should be in the areas of peace, science, political, cultural issues, trade and economic matters.

While having discussed the factors of hostility, it is found that the ground reality is quite different with Taliban, now creating in reverse as 'Ideological Depth' in Pakistan (Masood, 2007). If Pakistan is not involved in the creation of Taliban, it at least helped much in strengthening them. Having analysed the contemporary situation and scenario, it is found that the contradiction between the two countries is due to the reason that Afghanistan is making allegations that Pakistan supports cross-border infiltration. Thus in this kind of scenario, both the countries are facing serious challenges to their integrity and future prospects. Pakistan's role in Afghanistan can largely be determined by stabilizing its own tribal belt, Federally Administered Tribal Area<sup>22</sup> (FATA) and improving governance in NWFP & Balochistan. But the question arises, how this vision for the region can be achieved. The answer is very simple:

1. Economic and political linkages should be developed as the geographical locations of both the countries can become the hub of economic activities in all over Asia.
2. To win the battle of hearts and minds is crucial. The vast dwindling control of tribal minds has to be restored. Pakistan must launch some aid projects like India has made, such as Road, Building, Indira Gandhi Hospital, Habiba College in Kabul and Afghan National Parliament.
3. Repatriation of 2.6 million Afghan refugees.
4. The foreign funds from few Gulf countries to Afghanistan and to the tribal regions of Pakistan should be abandoned.
5. There is a dire need to watch out certain foreigner countries that are trying to fish in troubled waters. India's consulates in Eastern Afghanistan are found to be indulged in anti-Pakistan activities. But Afghanistan government claims that Indians are merely involved in reconstruction. It must have to be dealt seriously and the role of Indian consulates must be curtailed.
6. Media on both sides should play its positive role in order to minimize the distrust between the two countries.

7. Dialogue on multiple tracks must be started as like the recent Pak-Afghan peace Jirga. According to the Governor of Maiden-Wardag, Abdul Jabbar Naeemi, "Joint Peace Jirga would emerge as a milestone in the regional history as for the first people's representative from both the neighboring countries is assembled on roof whereas they discussed joint and common issues" (Daily *The Nation*, 15<sup>th</sup> August 2007).
8. China being an observer of SAARC can also play a role of mediator in overcoming the ongoing mistrust between Afghanistan and Pakistan.

## **Conclusion**

The study of the post 9/11 scenario pointed that Pakistan has always been in favor of having cordial relation with Afghanistan so that both countries could meet their challenges. Pakistan being a very active & significant neighbor of Afghanistan has a greater influence to maintain peace and stability in Afghanistan. During the Soviet Intervention, Pakistan provided all kinds of support to sustain the Mujahideen movements and basis for their training. After Soviet withdrawal, Pakistan succeeded in having a regime of her own choice.

There are several reasons of having Pakistan's influence on Afghanistan:

1. Geographically, Pakistan is very important for the transportation of every resource of Central Asian Republics (CARs).
2. America's political and strategic interests are observed in order to prevent Russian hegemony of expanding southward to contain Iran and a counter balance China.
3. Pushtuns of Afghanistan and Baluch live adjacent to NWFP and Balochistan provinces of Pakistan respectively. Same kind of ethnic groups are present on Pakistani side of border.
4. If a conflict occurs between India and Pakistan, friendly Afghanistan can play a vital role for the two. Thus it gives Afghanistan a strategic depth.
5. The Durand Line being porous allows the free movement of people on both sides. At the same time, NWFP Province is being claimed as their own by Pushtuns. It signifies that cordial and congenial relations between two countries are the need of the hour to keep this problem in check.
6. Refugees must go back; otherwise it will certainly lead towards aggravating the situation of Pakistan's internal stability.

There are areas where strategies remain strategies and do not personify in the form of action. In a gesture of boosting coordination, Karazai turned down 500 scholarships for Pakistan (Pak-Afghan Relations, Attempts to improve it, <http://sanjar.blogpost.com/2007/06/pak-afghan-relation-attempt-to-improve-it.html>). The analysis shows that the future of Pak-Afghan peace process is yet a far cry. Pak-Afghan relations will pose a serious threat and create enormous problem for policy makers in a foreseeable future. It can only be hoped that vision and sagacity will guide the policies of both the countries that will definitely support their national interests and promote stability in the region because peace and stability in

Afghanistan and cordial relations between Pakistan and Afghanistan are in the best interest of the Afghanistan and the whole region.

## Notes

1. It is an International Organization, found in 1945 after World War II. It was established to replace the League of Nations and to stop wars between the countries and to provide a platform for dialogue.
2. It was established on September 8, 1954 in Manila. Its member countries were Britain, America, France, Australia, Newzeland and Thailand. The purpose of the organization was to prevent communism from gaining ground in the region.
3. Its original name was Middle East Treaty Organization or METO, also known as the Baghdad Pact. It was adopted in 1955 by Iran, Iraq, Pakistan, Turkey, and the United Kingdom. It was dissolved in 1979.
4. It is one of the thirty-four provinces of Afghanistan. It is administratively subdivided into 21 districts. It lies in the east of the country. Its capital is the city of Jalalabad. It shares a border with Pakistan, and the two regions share very close ties, with large amounts of migration either way. Most of the province still uses Pakistani currency rather than Afghan money for commercial transactions.
5. It is a civilian intelligence of the United States go0vernment. Its primary function is to collect and analyse information about foreign governments, corporations and persons in order to advise public policy makers.
6. It was the code name for the United States Central Intelligence Agency program to arm the Afghan during the Soviet war in Afghanistan (1979-1989). It was the longest and most expensive covert CIA operations ever undertaken.
7. It is the largest and most powerful Intelligence Service in Pakistan. It is one of the three main branches in Pakistan Intelligence Agencies.
8. Geographical region covering the territory of five nation-states: Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan. These republics were part of the Soviet Union before gaining their independence in 1991.
9. It springs up in the Pamir Mountains (Western Asia), runs West through what was once Balochistan and forms part of the border what is now Afghanistan. Its present day name is Amu Darya (Amu River). This river of the Greeks has been known to the historical record for literally thousand of years.
10. It was a Soviet foreign policy, first and most clearly outlined by S. Kovalev in a September 26, 1968. This doctrine was announced to justify the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in August 1968 to terminate the Prague Spring, along with earlier Soviet military interventions, such as the invasion of Hungary in 1956. In practice, the policy meant that limited independence of communist parties was allowed, but no country would be allowed to leave the Warsaw Pact, disturb a nation's communist party's monopoly on power, or in any way compromise the strength of the Eastern Block.
11. Its Charter was formally adopted on December 8, 1985 by the heads of Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri-Lanka. It was the brain child of late Zia-ur-Rehman, the then president of Bangladesh. It was to provide a platform for the people of South Asia to work together in a spirit of friendship, trust and understanding. It aims to accelerate the process of economic and social development in member states.
12. It is a document, describing a bilateral or multilateral agreement between parties. It expresses a convergence of will between parties, indicating and inteded common live of action.

13. It is a boundary line between Afghanistan and Pakistan, having a length of 2,640 Km. This line is remembered with the name Sir Mortimer Durand, the Foreign Secretary of the British Indian Government. It was demarcated by the British and signed into a treaty in 1893 with the Afghan ruler Amir Abdur Rehman Khan. The treaty was to stay into force for a 100-year period.
14. The first transit trade agreement was signed between Pakistan and Afghanistan in 1965 under which both countries agreed to grant each other the freedom of transit to and from their territories. Under the ATTA, five routes were identified including those of Peshawar-Torkhum and vice versa, Chaman-Spin Boldak and vice versa, Ghulam Khan Kelli, Port Qasim and Karachi Port.
15. It was a multi-governmental organization which was originally established in 1962 by Iran, Pakistan and Turkey to allow socio-economic development of the member states. In 1979, this was replaced by Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO) in 1985.
16. A buffer state is a country lying between two rivals or potentially hostile greater powers which by its sheer existence is thought to prevent conflict between them. Buffer states when authentically independent typically pursue a neutralist foreign policy which distinguishes them from satellite states.
17. An area that has been taken over and is controlled and corrupted by drug cartels and where law and enforcement is effectively non-existent.
18. It is the name given to one of Asia's two principal areas of illicit opium production, located at the cross roads of Central, South and Western Asia. This space overlaps three nations, Afghanistan, Iran and Pakistan whose mountainous peripheries define the crescent.
19. It was established on December 14, 1950. It is a United Nations Agency mandated to protect and support the refugees at the request of a government or the United Nations itself and assist in their voluntary repatriation, local integration or resettlement to a third country.
20. It is the official name used by the US Government for its contribution to the war in Afghanistan, together with three smaller military actions, under the umbrella of its Global War on Terrorism (GWOT). It was originally called, Operation Infinite Justice.
21. These are agreements between two or more parties regarding exchanges of information and verification, typically with respect to the use of military forces and armaments. They aim to lessen anxiety and suspicion by making the parties' behavior more predictable.
22. The Federally Administered Tribal Areas in Pakistan are the areas, outside the four provinces bordering Afghanistan, comprising a region some 27, 220 km<sup>2</sup> (10, 507 Sq. miles)

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