An Analytical Study of Pakistan’s Policy Toward Afghanistan Before the Taliban’s Rise

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Abstract

Pakistan and Afghanistan are interlocked into numerous connections ranging from geographical proximity, ethnic religious commonalities to historical experiences. But no harmony of interests or shared strategic considerations for the region and the world as well could take place. From the outset Pakistan aspired to have friendly relations with Afghanistan. Since 1947 Afghanistan had been supporting Pakhtun separatists due to its denial of legality of the Durand line. To meet the challenges emanating from Afghan governments’ hostilities, a shift in Pakistan’s policy towards Afghanistan occurred when in the 1970s, it created links with a number of Afghan Islamists opposition leaders. In 1980s, these links fully matured with a new dimension to force a communist super power Soviet Union for its retreat from the backyard of Pakistan. Since then Pakistan has actively remained engaged with Afghan affairs. This study analyzes various phases and perspectives on Pakistan’s Policy towards a strategically important country, with which Pakistan’s peace and stability are divinely bound due to its geographical vicinity, racial, ethnic and religious intricacies.

Key Words: Afghanistan, Durand Line, Pukhtunistan, Afghan Islamists dissidents, Soviet invasion, Afghan Civil War, Najibulah, Peshwar Accord, Islamabad Accord, Pro-Pakistan Government in Afghanistan

Pakistan’s Restrained Policy towards Afghanistan

Pakistani leaders, right after independence, were eager to establish cordial relations with Afghanistan being an Islamic country in its neighborhood. On December 3, 1947, shortly after the independence of Pakistan, Quaid-e-Azam expressed his desire that the relationship between these two sister states i.e., Pakistan, Afghanistan may be of the greatest and most lasting friendships

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Prime Minister, Liaquat Ali Khan offered to discuss with the government of Afghanistan, “All matters of common interest relating to border areas, such as economic educational and moral uplift of the people on both sides of the borders. (Mehdi, 1991:115). Similarly Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, Pakistan’s Foreign Minister said on July 17, 1963 that Afghanistan is a neighboring Muslim Country, Because of these facts we have always desired to have with it the best of relations. (ibid) However, the unexpected hostile attitude of Afghanistan continued and put policy makers of Pakistan into a real doldrums. They found themselves crippled due to scarcity of resources to respond simultaneously the security threats emanating from Eastern and Western borders alike. Having negative posture on Pakistan’s independence, Afghanistan decision makers opined that the Durand line was a dividing line between the main branches of the Indus, which cruelly cut down blood relatives residing on both sides of the line.

Afghanistan continued with its negative posture believing that the Durand line had lost all legal validity after the withdrawal of the British forces from the sub-continent. But Pakistani policy makers were unconvinced because as a successor state, it inherited all the obligations and rights under the treaties and agreements which previously the administration entered into with Afghanistan. (Ahsan, 1988:25). Even Hamid Karazi expressed the same views in a statement regarding Durand Line. (Dawn, May 5:2013). Pakistan, endorsing the rights of a land locked state committed to provide trade facilities for Afghan goods to pass through Pakistani territory and allocated a number of railway carriages to transport Afghan goods. (Askari, Pildat Report, 2004)

Despite all positive responses to Afghan Government, it kept on deliberately indulging into infiltration of Pakistan’s tribal areas. In July 1949 Afghan parliament declared that, “it does not recognize that imaginary Durand or any similar line” (Griffiths, 1981: 66-67) and it also repudiated all the treaties of the nineteenth century. With the support of government functionaries, Kabul radio and the Afghan press intensified their propaganda, inciting the tribesmen living on the Pakistan side of the Durand line to revolt in the name of Pakhtunistan.

Shibil Siddiqui analyzes that “the support for Pukhtunistan and the rejection of the Durand line were designed to gain influence and leverage against Pakistan, as well as to potentially gain territory that may have provided Afghanistan with an egress to the sea”( Final Report: Walter and Duncan Foundation:11). Pakistan’s entry into the western alliance system and the military aid attached with these pacts, during the first decade of its existence not only disturbed India, but protests also came up from Afghanistan.
An Analytical Study of Pakistan’s Policy Toward Afghanistan

Afghanistan Ambassador Mohammad Kabir Ludin raised a protest note before Secretary Dulles on January 4, 1954 that the US military assistance to Pakistan might create a Power Vacuum with a chance to be exploited by any other foreign element. (Kux, 2001:60)

The relations between two countries were though disturbed but in 1954 showed signs of improvement. When Afghan government posted An Envoy of the rank of Minister at Karachi, Moreover, the Afghan ambassador to India, whom Pakistani generally regarded as the instigator of anti-Pakistan propaganda, was changed. Pakistani official circles applauded it as an indication of the change in the Afghan attitude towards Pakistan. Similarly, the appointment of colonel A.S.B Shah, who had been closely associated with Foreign Affairs, as Pakistan Envoy to Afghanistan was also regarded as a good omen for Pak-Afghan relations. (Qudoos, :102-108) However, this did not usher any meaningful change in the attitude of the Afghan rulers as they continued with using a weapon with the name of Pakhtunistan against Pakistan. In 1955 even Afghan consulates, situated in N.W.F.P, did not refrain from plotting against Pakistan. The same year when all the four provinces of West Pakistan merged into one unit, the Afghan rulers severely criticized this entirely an internal matter of Pakistan. Without any political and legal justification, Afghans organized massive protest demonstrations against Pakistan in Kabul, and attacked Pakistan’s Embassy. Pakistan alleged that during the attack, the demonstrator tore down the Pakistani flag, injured Embassy Staff, wrecked office, furniture and looted property. It also happened with Pakistan’s Consulates at Kandahar and Jalalabad. Pakistani people reciprocated the protest moves and attacked the Afghan Consulate in Peshawar. Consequently, diplomatic relations were broken off and Pak-Afghan border remained closed for almost five months. At this point of time, USSR being, completely, in an adversarial posture backed Afghanistan. During the visits of Communist Leaders Nikhtia Khruchev and Nikolai Bulganin endorsed India’s position on Kashmir and Afghanistan’s on Pakhtunistan with an announcement of $100 million economic Aid for Afghanistan. (Kux, 2001:77)

The Afghan hostility, energized by the USSR support, materialized into a fresh series of cross border infiltration in the fall of 1961 resulted in once again the closure of Afghan trade offices in Peshawar and Quetta. The suspension of Afghan transit trade crippled the Afghan economy, made it dependent on the only available transportation links to Erstwhile Soviet States of Central Asia and on limited access through Iran and India by air. Realizing the growing influence of the Soviet Union, the US policy makers urged Pakistan to ease the tension with Afghanistan. Therefore, Pakistan agreed to let build Americans the extension of railway lines from Pakistan to Afghanistan but only
near to Quetta. However, the insistence on the vision that except for “Pakhtunistan”, there was nothing to stop the two countries from coming closer to each other continued as it is. The most important moment in this part of history came when Sardar Daud, who had been the main Afghan exponent of “Pakhtunistan”, resigned from the Office of Prime Minister 3rd March 1963, and was, succeeded by Dr. Mohammad Yousaf.(Dupree,1980:554-556). Pakistan and Afghanistan stepped up with improved atmosphere because of the success of Shah of Iran’s mediation, and both signed Tehran Accord on May 30, 1963. Positively restoring diplomatic relations, both countries reopened the borders after a closer of 22 months, and trade between the two countries resumed. During the Indo-Pak War in September 1965, Afghanistan remained neutral despite having very close links with India and Soviet Union. A wave of rapprochement also prevailed during a King Zahir Shah’s visit to Pakistan in 1968 when he was given a warm welcome, A delegation headed by Finance Minister, Muzaffar Ali Khan Qizilbash, was sent to Afghanistan in May 1970 to unearth new opportunities of cooperation . The new Prime Minister of Afghanistan hoped that a “new era of mutual understanding” between Afghanistan and Pakistan would now begin. In a broadcast, over the Kabul radio on the 52nd independence celebrations of Afghanistan on August 25, 1970, the Afghan Premier Nur Ahmad Ahamdi welcomed the restoration of the former provinces in West Pakistan. He said this step would help in the establishment of closer Pak-Afghan relations, including an increase in cooperation and mutual understanding. (Jillani,1996: 36-45).In the early 70s, Pakistan policy was so much conciliatory that the government of Pakistan chose to remain silent, when the subcontinent was classified as the “Hindustan Peninsula” in joint communiqué issued at the end of King Zahir Shah’s visit to Moscow in March 1972. (Anees Jillani). King Zahir Shah during his visit to the Soviet Union during Indo-Pak war of 1971 refused to follow a more pro-Indian policy despite all insistence of Moscow. However, the main irritant Pakhtunistan remained intact as a day of this hypothetical state Afghan government officially celebrated throughout Afghanistan on 1 September 1972.

**Shadow of Hostility Revisited**

In January 1973, soon after the visit of the Afghan Defense Minister, General Muhammad Khan went to Moscow in February 1973, Afghanistan recognized Bangladesh. The latter developments in the internal politics of Pakistan like the removal of the National Awami Party (NAP) provincial government in Baluchistan and the resignation by the NAP government in NWFP, in reaction, Afghanistan intensified its hostile propaganda for what it described as the restoration of the rights of the Pakhtuns. The seizure of power by President Sardar Mohammad Daud through a coup on 17 July 1973 exacerbated the
An Analytical Study of Pakistan’s Policy Toward Afghanistan

already deteriorated relations. President Daud, a former, Prime Minister of the country from 1953 until his dismissal in 1963, ousted his brother in law King Zahir Shah, from the throne and proclaimed the country a Republic. In his first policy broadcast, he singled out Pakistan as the only country with which Afghanistan had differences over the “Pakhtunistan Issue”. This hostility was displayed in an international forum when the Pakhtunistan issue was raised by the Afghan Envoy in the Nonaligned Conference in Algiers in September 1973.

Changing dynamics of Policy of Pakistan: 1970’s

To counter the Afghan Government’s hostilities and unprincipled interferences in Pakistan’s internal matters, a shift in policy towards Afghanistan occurred when in 1970s Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto gave shelter to a number of Afghan Islamists opposition leaders, like Gulbadin Hikmatyar and Ahmed Shah Massuad and others. The Bhutto government wanted to pressurize Daud Government to abandon his support to Baluch dissidents and to change his Pakhtoonistan policy. With the help of Pakistan, these exiled leaders launched various insurgencies in Afghanistan such as in Wardak and Badakshan, in 1975. (Rubin: 100 & Haqqani, 2005:174) During the period 1973-77, almost 5000 dissidents had been given military training in a purpose built training camps. Naseereullah Babar, the then Inspector General Frontier Constabulary (IGFC) was of the opinion about this phenomenon that:

We had an interest in Afghanistan’s stability. We wanted to have a party through which we could influence events in Afghanistan; there had been some explosions in the frontier province of Pakistan. My advice to Bhutto was that Pakistan should take some counter measures. (Olivier Roy, 1986: 74)

Daud’s stance on Pakhtunistan got hardened after his visit to Moscow in June 1974 and the subsequent return visit of the Soviet President to Kabul in December 1975. Despite the hostile attitude and the propaganda of the Daud regime, Bhutto paid his second visit to Kabul as President of Pakistan. After the talks, both countries in a joint communiqué resolved to settle their differences through the application of five principles of peaceful co-existence. President Daud paid a return visit to Pakistan and he received a historic welcome. Nothing substantial came out of the talks but both the countries reiterated their determination to resolve their differences by peaceful means. However, political upheavals in Pakistan prevented further negotiation. General Mohammad Zia-Ul-Haq toppled down the Bhutto regime in July 1977. Zia visited Kabul in 1977 soon after assuming office, and President Daud paid a return visit in March 1978, which was his second to Pakistan within nineteen
months. He picked up the thread from where it left. Before the Bhutto’s and Zia’s to Kabul and the visit of Daud to Pakistan could facilitate any substantial change in the pattern of Pak-Afghan relations a major upheaval took place in Afghanistan. In April 1978, people’s Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) overthrew the Daud government. Nur Muhammad Taraki leaders of the Khalq faction of the PDPA, installed as a new President.

Attitude of Noor Muhammad Taraki, leader of the Khalq Party towards Pakistan was also not very friendly. In September 1979, another coup took place in Afghanistan. After killing Noor Mohammad Taraki and many of his colleagues, Hafizullah Amin took reins of the government. His regime was very short lived. He had started negotiations with Pakistan, when he had to face the same fate as his predecessor. There were constant violent changes in governments of Afghanistan. An estimated 350 Soviet advisers were present in the country at that time. Pakistan perceived this Afghan “revolution” as an expression of the Soviet expansion. By July 1978, the number of Afghan refugees had reached 124,000. (Humuyan, 1987: 56)

**Pakistan and Soviet invasion in 1979: A Proactive Policy**

On 26 December 1979, Soviet forces rolled into Afghanistan, a military move of the Soviet Union since WW2 into a country outside the East European Socialist bloc. This eliminated the Hafiz Ullah Amin rule and Babrak Karmal, an ex-vice premier of Afghanistan in exile, the leader of the Parcham Faction of PDPA, came back on a Soviet plane and became President of Afghanistan. This unprecedented Soviet move sent a shock wave to the entire world and generated worldwide condemnation over a super power’s aggressive posture against a meek and defenseless neighbor. Consensus Resolutions were passed in different international forums including United Nation (UN) the organization of the Islamic countries (OIC) and Nonaligned Movement (NAM) for immediate withdrawal. (Sattar, 2007: 156-70)

The global concern rounded around the historical factors of Soviet expansion such as its Southward expansion in Central Asia by the Czars, which even did not change after the communist revolution in 1917. In a secret agreement with Nazi Germany in November 1940, the Soviet Foreign Minister Moloto proposed, “The area South of Batim and Baku in the general direction of the Persian Gulf Should be recognized as the center of the aspirations of the Soviet Union, (Amin, 2007: 83).

The US led Western block visualized this move as a clear threat to American interests in the Persian Gulf and the Indian ocean, combined with the almost simultaneous development of the ouster of Pro-West Shah from power by
radical Islamist Al-Khomeni in Iran. Therefore, to secure an uninterrupted flow of oil from Gulf to West, US decided to set up a rapid deployment force. Through Carter Doctrine, categorically a message was sent to the world-communists—that an attempt by any outside force to gain control of the Persian Gulf region would be regarded as an assault on the vital interests of the United States and such an assault repelled by any means necessary, (ibid, : 84). The US activism over this move also entailed an underlying motive; it was to ensure the pro-US-Western Gulf States security and defense against any potential threat from Soviet expansionism. As Pakistan shared a long border with Soviet occupied Afghanistan, Pakistan immediately acquired geopolitical relevance in America’s global strategy. The US also felt that Pakistan could be useful for its policy-goals in the Persian Gulf due to proximity and linkages with the region. The Soviet Union itself explained this move in terms of regional global and internal developments. As expressed by some that the Soviet decision to intervene was in response to requests from the Afghan government, to save the Saur revolution from counter revolutionaries and their patrons. (Arif, 1996: 314). Soviet decision makers presumed it, to be a defensive step taken for the protection of Soviet Security interests in Afghanistan. It was also a response to the stepped up presence of the US in the Indian Ocean and Persian Gulf area, which intended, to fill the vacuum of power “emerged after the end of 150 years of British domination as no littoral state was capable to fill it. So many military bases were established. The Ultramodern Diego Garcia military base is one of the prime examples. Its construction began in March 1970, and became operational in 1973. The USA proved to be the first power in the region, with an intention to enhance the communication of the US Army in the Central and North Western region of the Indian Ocean and to the this region with the global US military capabilities of Ethiopia to the North Western coast of Australia. Actually, oil is the life of the western and modern industrial societies. The economic impact of the area becomes more evident following the imposition of an oil embargo after the 1973; Arab–Israel war as 60% of the world, imported petroleum comes from the Persian Gulf and the loss of this oil would be catastrophic for developed states. (Yevgeni,1988: 88)

The US justified its military buildup in the region on the basis of economic dimensions and interests. “The Indian ocean region has become a focal point of US foreign and economic policies and has a growing impact on our security”. Admiral Zumwalt of US Navy observed. (Black, 2002:230). Eventually Soviet Union intervention in Afghanistan and a huge network of military installations and communications in Central Asian Republics were meant to change the traditional relationship between sea-powers and land power in the Northern parts of the Indian ocean and Persian Gulf (Congressional Research Service, 1993: 86-89).
Afghanistan was only about 500 kilometers away from the strategic Gulf region from where the Soviet Union could impede the flow of oil. Selig. S. Harrison contradicted the prevailed perception and argued that,

“Moscow did not launch its invasion as the first step in a master plan to dominate the Persian Gulf as most observers believed at the time, rather, after stumbling into a morass of Afghan political factionalism. Soviet Union resorted to military force in a last desperate effort to forestall what it perceived as the threat of an American supported Tito on its borders. (Amin: 86).

Amin repudiated this viewpoint by stating, “It is difficult to sustain the argument that the Soviet Union “Stumbled” into Afghanistan in fact, it had built up secret Communist cells in the Afghan Armed Forces over a long period of time. Some of them had participated in the coup of Daud in 1973 and served as a coalition partner in his regime. Five years later, alarmed by certain moves by Daud to change his erstwhile Pro-Moscow policies, the Afghan communists with Soviet blessings seized power in April 1978 (p. 86). However, declassified Soviet documents repudiated this western and Pakistan notion (Rizwan, 2005: 97)

The Bhutto government created an Afghan Cell to formulate and coordinate Pakistan’s Policy vis-à-vis Daud Government. It comprised officials belonging to the Foreign Ministry and the Pakistan military’s ISI directorate under the headship of Prime Minister. The Afghan Cell worked in close collaboration with the sections of the military establishment responsible for implementing the Afghan policy. The cell used to closely watch over Afghan government’s policy towards Pakistan and plan the Pakistani response to it. The military’s assumptions of policy planning and implementation about Afghanistan cast deep effect on the Afghan Cell. On May 2, 1978 Foreign Ministry reactivated and revitalized the activities of Afghan Cell.

In the initial years, the martial law regime, to some extent, kept intact the policy parameters of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, as keeping close ties with oil-rich Muslim countries and similarly, Zia showed adherence to the improving relations with Afghanistan. However, Kabul seemed still perturbed over the issue of Baluch and Pakhtun leaders’ imprisonment. Zia regime released almost all nationalist leaders like Sardar Kher Bux Bajenjo and Abdul Gahffar Khan. This was surely a positive gesture on the part of Pakistan to repair the sour relations between Pakistan and Afghanistan. The internal development of 1977’s last part as president Daud’s deviation from Moscow’s overarching influence and increasing contacts with Shah of Iran, who later exerted its
Pakistan’s security and national cohesion seemed once again threatened as Baluch and Pukhtoon nationalists had full sympathies for PDPA. The likely consequences of PDPA revolution were perceptively seen by Pakistani Power Elite in resulting Soviet India nexus as a strategic move against Pakistan. Agha Shahi, during his visit to Washington, in October, 1979 conveyed the Pakistan’s perception, that “the historical role of Afghanistan as a buffer had disappeared and Pakistan found itself ill-prepared and ill-equipped to meet the Military threat” (Giridharas, et.al.2002). The Soviet Move offered Pakistan both challenges and opportunities at domestic and external level simultaneously. At domestic level, the prevailing political scenario at that particular time seems pertinent. General Zia imposed martial law, executed an elected prime minister of Pakistan and possessed an obvious intention to prolong his rule, so he was in dire need of legitimacy. His Islamisation of state concurred with Soviet intervention. An infidel power was at the doorstep of Pakistan, which inherently propelled the role of the religious political parties in Pakistan, ultimately supported his strong hold over the helm of affairs. With this unprecedented Mullah - military alliance, Zia-ul-Haq successfully managed opposition. On the external front during this period, Pak-US relations were at its lowest ebb. There were certain factors which, included Pakistan’s concerted efforts for acquisition of uranium enrichment technology; the abhorring of West of the religiosity of Zia’s regime; violation of human rights. But the Soviet invasion wiped out all these observations and apprehensions against Pakistanis and Carter Doctrine dynamics chose Pakistan as the Frontline state, for harboring sanctuary of Afghan Mujahedeen leader and receiving the refugees (Hilali, 2002 : 291-231 & Ahmed, 2002: 208-209). General Zia-ul Haq briefed up director Intelligence Agency DGCIA in 1981 about the perceived Soviet expansionism towards Southward. (Rais, 1994:66-67) However, Kux: (2001) opines that Zia exaggerated the Soviet danger to persuade the Americans to grab the maximum aid package for Pakistan (p, 262) The other countries, at critical times of Zia’s quelling of opposition parties and execution of late Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, found no other way except to give a shoulder to Pakistan. Therefore, not only the Western world but also the third world had to stand up with all condemnation for the Soviet Union. Islamic countries in an extraordinary meeting of Foreign Ministers on January 27, to 29, 1980, in Islamabad condemned the Soviet move (Bradsher,1999: 189).

The international backing of China, Egypt, Libya, Iran, Saudi Arabia, USA, and the West European countries ranged from diplomatic support to financial help,
from training facilities for resistance fighters to facilitate in arm procurement, from refuges settlement to propagation of resistance cause. While The US and Saudi Arabia meaningfully assisted Pakistan. (Weinbaum, 1991:72). This assistance was of two-dimensional. One from the government and the other from Rich Arab individuals, Saudi Arabia spent half of the money during Afghan Jihad. These finances were, either channeled through ISI or given directly to commanders. Saudi Arabia’s assistance objectives were of the manifold, as if the Soviet presence in Afghanistan posed a direct threat to the Persian Gulf and major oil routes, as perceived, increasing the vulnerability of Saudi interests in the region. From religious perspective, Saudi Arabia being the custodian of Muslim holy places, could not let anti God forces to be in the position to challenge Saudi guardianship of the Muslim world, So, the Jihad forged by Afghan Mujahedeen was inherently considered the responsibility of the Saudi Arab. Besides these, psychological leaning of Afghan Mujahed in and growing influence of religious political parties in Pakistan provided Saudi Arabia many opportunities to spread Wahbi creed, the one widely pursued in Saudi Arab. So, thousands of young Arabs came to participate in Jihad against infidel Soviets (Cooley, 19-20).

Pakistan apparently had three options at hand to deal with the Soviet Union: Firstly to confront directly, Secondly, to acquiesce this grave geopolitical change with borders. Thirdly, to mobilize the international community against the soviet designs for its violation of international norms of non-interference in an independent state. Pakistan decided to opt for the third option, as the geopolitical consequences did not permit Pakistan to show any activism in the name of Islamic Solidarity and directly involve militarily, as according to Agha Shahi. Pakistan preferred the third option. The one dictated by the geopolitical circumstances of the region. This course was difficult to sustain, especially, in the deteriorating political divergence of East-West relations. The emotional urge to demonstrate Islamic solidarity in full measure had to be restricted, so any direct military standoff was out of the question. The force of international public opinion and concerted political and diplomatic efforts appeared to be the only hope of withdrawal of the Soviet forces, according to Pakistani diplomats.

Pakistan, however, from 1980-1989, along with declared third option embarked upon another course, i.e. a clandestine assistance to Afghan Mujahedeen. It supported the struggle in Afghanistan through chosen resistance groups and leaders. Here dynamics of policy changed and the role of Secret Intelligence Agencies and Religious Elite became more active and prominent. General Zia-UL-Haq appointed General Akhtar Abdul Rehman as new chief of the ISI, who was remained the main proponent of Afghan policy side by side with Zia-UL-Haq. At this point of time, a difference of opinion
between the Civil Bureaucracy and Military coterie emerged perceiving the Soviet move with diversified angle. Military anticipated it as a direct threat to the security of Pakistan. There was a possibility of change in regional military imbalance, as perceived by military, side by side the opening up of two fronts. There was a presumption that Pakistan would be the next target of Soviet expansionism.

The then president General Zai-UL-Haq asked General Akhtar Abdul Rehman for an appraisal of the situation. He immaculately presented his point of view, which recommended for backing of Afghan resistance with the argument that it would be a move not only defending Islam but also in Pakistan. He had the opinion that the resistance by Afghans must become a part of Pakistan forward defense against the soviets. And if they are allowed to occupy Afghanistan too easily, it would then be a short step to Pakistan, he recommended for military option by providing a covert supply of arms, ammunition, money, intelligence training and operational advice and offering the border areas of NWFP and Baluchistan as a sanctuary for both guerrillas and refugees. (Yousaf & Adkin 1992:25)

The people in Foreign office had a diametrically contradicted perception. As specifically, Agha Shahi believed that the Soviet Union had no intention to move southward. Diego Cordovez (1995) referred Agha Shahi that the Soviet invasion of Pakistan was ‘very very unlikely’. He formed his opinion on the basis of diplomatic information that some very powerful people in Moscow regarded the invasion as a mistake and favored Soviet withdrawal if non-aligned coalition government could be established in Kabul (p, 58)Agha Shahi also had a dissident opinion regarding Pakistan’s responded strategy to this move. He did not show any inclination towards endorsing the US stance to deal with this with a confrontational approach. According to him it was a Super Powers’ rivalry and Pakistan should have kept it away from the direct confrontation, rather, opted for invoking the UN and other international organizations, which was less likely to threaten the Soviet Union and damage the Soviet Union and Pakistan Relations.

General Zia–Ul-Haq, within two years after establishing himself in the riddles of powers embarked upon the policy to launch a proxy war for America by supporting the Mujahedeen, the soldiers of God. There were seven recognized resistance groups based in Pakistan as the most of the leaders were already in exile in Pakistan. Out of seven, four were Islamic fundamentalists and three moderate Islamists.
Hizbe Islami (Gulbadin Hikmatyar)

This was a hard liner resistance group with an orientation towards radical revivalists. The original Hizbe Islami was divided into two major factions: Hizbe Islami (Hikmat Yar) and Hizeb Islami (Khalis) Hikmat Yar a Ghuari Pakhtun from the Baghlan province remained associated with the PDPA before adopting a radical Islamic stance. He fled to Pakistan in 1972, and with others founded Hizbe Islami and instigated anti Daud insurrection in Panjsher in 1975. Since then his base has been Peshawar. He also established a branch organization with the help of the Iranian revolutionary guard under the name of Jundullah. ISI and CIA promoted Hikmt Yar faction specifically ISI found compatibility of its Ideological ethos with Pakistan security interests.

Jamiat Islami (Bhrauandin Rabbani)

Buhrauandin Rabbani, a Tajik graduate from Kabul University and professor of Islamic law with prolific writings on religion and literature, founded Jamait Islam in 1978. He was the first who defected from Hikmat Yar and later Ahmed Shah Masood followed him. His followers joined the party which became later the most influential one, for Tajiks and other non- Pakhtoon minorities, as well as for some (Yousaf, Rahim–Ullah, 1997: 221) Pakhtoon in the North. Later many resistance groups and commanders of the Northern and Western areas of country collaborated with it. However, the party orientation was also revivalism of Islam, but has had moderate orientation since 1984. The party came into limelight when Ahmed Shaha Masood launched several offenses against Soviets in Panjsher valley between 1980-84 and became legendary events.

National Islamic Front (Gillani)

The leader of National Islamic Front Pir Syed Ahmed Gillani was a religious leader of international repute, a hereditary head of a religious order of Qadrai Silasla with an ancestry going back to the twelfth century, his followers included for both sides of the border. Before the 1973 coup, he was religious advisor of the king Zahir Shah. His political orientation has been described traditionalists nationalists and moderate, favoring a government incorporating Islamic law and Afghan traditions with a parliament based free elections.

Afghan National Liberation Front (Mujadidi)

Professor Sibghatallha Mujdadi belongs to one of the most prominent religious families of Afghanistan, the followers of the Naqashbandia Silsila. Amin- Tarki regime executed thirty members of his family. He himself remained
imprisoned under the Daud regime when freed lived in Denmark as Muslim religious leader. He studied theology in Al Azhar University. Later he joined Kabul University as professor of Islamic law. His party had been moderate traditionalists and nationalists, which wanted to revise the traditional color of Afghan society.

**Islamic Revolutionary Movement (Nabi Muhammadi)**

Moulvi Muhammadi belonged to the same generation of Rabbani and Mujaddi and Pir Gillani. He was a Pashtun, graduated from Al Azhar University. His zone of influence spread from tribal leaders to Mullahs in Kandahar and Helmand region, however a section of urban middle class also supported the movement. In the early 80s, the movement was a major political party. However, most of its commanders in Heart and Faryab joined Rabbani’s Jamiat Islami, especially from Tajik dominated areas. While his counterpart Hikmat Yar became a source of inspiration for radical Pashtuns. Consequently, Nabi Muamnnadi lost his support in Afghanistan.

**Hizbe Islami (Khalis)**

Malawi Muhammad Khalis led the defected group of Hizbe Islami. He was a Pashtun from Nanghar province, trained as mullah in the traditional Afghan religious school, later joined as lecturer in Kabul University. Khalis group was less radical in political orientation as compared to other groups. This Hizb was a tribal based, a better-organized party, with influence in strategic areas. The conflict between Hikmak Yar and Khalis emerged on the scene when in 1979. He blamed Hikmat Yar for avoiding combat. His party had better fighting skills for combat. He himself used to take active part in the battlefield.

**Ittehad -e- Islami (Sayyaf)**

It emerged in 1980, headed by Abdul Rashid Sayyaf, a Pashtun, who was originally a high-ranking member of the Muslim brotherhood with Hikmat Year as deputy. He had close contact with conservative Arab Elite. He was greatly responsible for a steady flow of substantial aid from Middle Eastern countries. In the beginning, he was with Hikmat Yar to reduce the influence of Khalis and Rabbani. Nevertheless, in 1983, he developed differences with Hikmat Yar and later he instituted his own Political party.

Besides these groups, there were some other groups backed by Iran, which added a sectarian dimension to resistance movements. These were Harkat -e-Islami of Sheikh Assef Moshsni, Hazara Nasr party, which recruited Hazaras working in Iran. These resistance factions received the aid and training from
Pakistan, the US, China, Iran and Saudi Arabia. ISI has been focusing upon these seven groups, helped in the planning of their combat operations and accompanied them as their advisors, and during 1984-87, almost 80,000 Mujahedeen got training in Pakistan by ISI. These seven Political parties submerged in an Alliance under the auspices of Saudi prince, Turki Al Faisal, the head of Saudi Intelligence Agency and ISI. (Muthair Ahmed, Unpublished Thesis) At the same time, Pakistan continued its diplomatic efforts to get the conflict resolved. It called upon the UN Security Council to condemn the Soviet invasion. However, USSR vetoed the resolution. The UN General Assembly in January 1980 passed this resolution by 104 votes. Pakistan realized that the world community was overwhelmingly against the Soviet invasion. From then on, it became a test of Pakistan’s international credibility to keep the number of votes increasing at each section. The number of votes rose to 123 in 1987.

In the Nonaligned Movement’s (NAM) meeting in New Delhi, November 1981, though India and some pro-Soviet countries tried to play down the Afghan crisis, but Pakistan and its friends succeeded in making the NAM to express concern over the continuing foreign-armed intervention in Afghanistan. Agha Shahi insisted on the insertion of call for the withdrawal of Soviet forces in the text of the final declaration of the conference. The fifty five countries out of ninety six present supported Pakistan. Mr. Agha Shahi requested the UN Secretary General to appoint his special representative as mediator. Pakistan proposed that Iran should be included in the negotiations and Iran in turn insisted that unless the mujahed in would include, it would not participate. Finally format of the talks was evolved and Kurt Waldheim appointed Perez De Cuellar as the special representative to act as a mediator between Pakistan and Afghanistan. Islamabad refused to recognize the post invasion Afghanistan regime and did not want to negotiate directly since that would imply recognition and confer legitimacy on it. The basis of negotiations was the four principles drawn up by the organization of Islamic Conference (OIC) in May 1980. These were: Preservation of the sovereignty; territorial integrity, political independence and non-aligned character of Afghanistan; The right of the Afghan people to the social system, Immediate withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan; Creation of the necessary conditions to enable the Afghan refugees to return to their homes in honor and safety. (Jalzai, 2003: 45). In February 1982, Mr Agha Shahi, the most prominent figure in Pakistan foreign office and a staunch supporter of non-military option and US role in Afghanistan, resigned and was replaced by Shahabzada Yaqub Ali Khan foreign minister who was the best choice for a military establishment to endorse its perception and objectives. (Grare, 2003: 103)

In June 1982, at Geneva, the UN under Secretary for Political Affairs, Diego
Cordovez, conducted the first round of indirect peace talks between the Kabul regime and Pakistani officials. The parties agreed to discuss the withdrawal of foreign troops, non-intervention and non-interference in the internal affairs of states, international guarantees of non-interference and the voluntary return of refugees to their homes. Nothing concrete took place after these talks until April 1983, when Cordovez opened a second round of talks in Geneva on Afghanistan settlement with representative of Pakistan and the Kabul regime. Iran also participated in these talks for the first time. In July 1983, U.S Secretary of State Schultz visited Pakistan, followed by Secretary of Defense Wein Berger’s visit in September and in August 1984, for three consecutive year, the UN sponsored talks took place in Geneva without tangible evidence of progress. The Americans at this stage were reportedly not happy with these peace talks. According to one analyst, in order to sabotage these talks, there were leaks in the American media, including the Washington Post, The New York times, and Time magazine on the event of each round of Geneva talks on how the American Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) was supplying arms to the Afghan Mujahideen through its Pakistani counterpart.

Earlier in March 1985, Pakistan’s General Zia had a one hour meeting with Gorbachev during Chernenko’s funeral in Moscow, he described it as a good meeting. The State Department sources, however, stated otherwise and said that the meeting went off badly and that Gorbachev had given Zia a warning. General Zia in Pakistan again took a hard line on the settlement of the Afghan question perhaps for fear of losing American support after Benazir’s return in April 1986. In May 1986, a Soviet-Afghan plane was shot down by Pakistani F-16, when it was found intruding 20 miles into Pakistan’s airspace. This was the first time that Soviet-Afghan plane was shot down in Pakistan since the Soviet invasion. Another SU-22 was hit over by Pakistan but it fell down in Afghan territory. In July 1986, Pakistani Premier Muhammad Khan Junejo visited Washington and the Soviet leader, Gorbachev announced the withdrawal of six Soviet regiments from Afghanistan by the end of the sponsored indirect negotiations in Geneva without reaching an agreement or setting the date of next meeting. (Jalalzai, 2003:48)

In October 1986, Defense Secretary Wine Berger again visited Pakistan. He said that he would not rule out providing AWACS (Airborne Warning and control system surveillance planes) to Pakistan, in view of continuous Soviet-Afghan violations Pakistan air space. As if challenging Wein Berger to fulfill his pledge, in March 1987, about 10 to 12 Soviet-Afghan warplanes violated Pakistan airspace over the Kurram Tribal Agency and bombed Teri Mangal, killing at least 51 people and injuring more than 100. In July same year, two car bombs believed to have been planted by the
Umbreen Javaid and Qamar Fatima

Kabul regime’s saboteurs, went off in a busy shopping area of Karachi, killing at least 72 people and injuring more than 250. While in Afghanistan, the Mujahedeen killed more than 1000 Soviet-Afghan troops in three days in a major offensive against Soviet-Afghan bases on a 654 kilometer stretch of highway between Kabul and Jalalabad in an operation, code named “Operation Avalanche “.( Marsden,1998:124). On January 1988, Soviet Foreign Minister, Edward Shevardnadze paid a three day visit to Kabul, and stated that the Soviet Union would like 1988 to be the last year that its troops remain in Afghanistan. And later, Gorbachev offered to withdraw Soviet troops beginning 15th May and ending than a month later, provided a Geneva agreement is reached by 15 March. The withdrawal, according to him would take place without any precondition for an interim government in Kabul.

Finally, on 14 April 1988, Afghanistan and Pakistan and the Soviet Union and US Secretary of State signed the Geneva accords. The U.S and SU singed as co-guarantor of the main agreement between Afghanistan and Pakistan (representing the Mujahedeen). The agreement provided for the withdrawal of the estimated 115,000 Soviet troops from Afghanistan beginning 15th May 1988 and ending nine months later; the voluntary and safe return of some five million refugees and a bilateral agreement between Afghanistan and Pakistan pledging non-intervention and non-interference in each other’s affairs. The obligations undertaken by the guarantors were “symmetrical” allowing the US to aid the Mujahedeen, if the Soviet Union continued to aid the Kabul regime. The Soviet government however, completed withdrawal by 15th February 1989 and thus ended a tragic era in a war in which, according to international observers estimate, over one million Afghans died as a direct consequence.

Policy in Post-Soviet Withdrawal Period:

After the Geneva Accords, Soviet intervention in Afghanistan ended. When the Soviet troopers left Afghanistan in February 1989, Pakistan played an active role to bring the Mujahedeen parties, both radical and traditionalist under a single umbrella. The last Soviet soldier pulled out of Afghanistan by February 1989 leaving Najibullah in charge of Afghanistan. The US was not interested to play any role in the quagmire of Afghanistan. It was involved with more pertinent issues related to China, and Middle East. The symbolic interest of US was a stable government in Afghanistan, which could ensure the peace in the country. So the external supporters of Najibullah and Mujahedeen as well were no more on the scene. Both, the Soviet Union and the US finally decided to exit from the scene by relinquishing all the Military assistance from 1 January 1992. Pakistan also showed its inclination towards a political settlement instead of Military solution. Addressing a Press conference at the
Foreign Office, Siddique Kanju enumerated Government of Pakistan’s policy to give full support to UN Secretary General’s Peace efforts. (Staff Study, Pakistan Horizon, 1992: 1-12) In Geneva Accords, Mujahedeen had no status or included in the official agreement. Already divided resistance groups received this agreement with varying opinions. “The factions of the resistance differed in their views on this agreement, and some groups rejected it simply on the grounds that the mujahedeen had excluded, said Karzai” (Mills, 2007:78). Even in Pakistan, the difference of opinion permeated as General Zia was interested to materialize an interim government in Afghanistan before the conclusion of the Geneva Accords. Selig Harrison states: there was a lack of unanimity during the 1987 with respect to the type of post war Afghan government that would best serve Pakistani interests. The ISI was more determined to install fundamentalists - dominated regime on the assumption that it would be very close to Islamabad. General Akhtar Abdul Rehman, the ISI Director argued that talk of political compromise would dampen the fighting spirit of the resistance groups. Foreign Minister Yauqub Ali khan maintained that a stable transition without bloodshed was possible only through a coalition that give a key role to moderate resistance elements, include PDPA participation, and suggested that Najibullah in this scenario would replace by neutral personality. (Cordovez and Harrison, 1995: 256)

The USA had no interest in the nature of post-Soviet Afghan government. So it did not endorse General Zia-ul-Haq point of view. Under given scenario, Prime Minster Junejo managed a consensual decision by convening an All Parties Conference and nineteen leaders endorsed the Prime Minister stand that an insistence on the formation of interim Government would delay the peace process and withdrawal of Soviet forces. So finally Geneva Accord made possible to achieve only one objective of Pakistan policy since 1979 i.e. withdrawal of Soviet Forces but the interests remained intact, which were ; the return of refugees, cessation of hostilities of the Afghan Government, and installation of a pro Pakistani government in Kabul.

The changed scenario and ground realities put Pakistan into the doldrums as new realities emerged after the sad demise of General Zia-UL-Haq, America lost all its interests in the region specifically related to Afghan affairs. Pakistan throughout the period of resistance against the Soviet Union endeavored to keep united various Mujahedeen groups, but tribal rivalries, theological differences and personal ego prevented them to get united even after the withdrawal of Soviet forces. At the end of 1988, even before the Soviet Withdrawal, Pakistan in anticipating the coming political scenario and in continuation of its policy to cobble together the divided Mujahedeen groups to have a client regime in Afghanistan, maneuvered the formation of Afghan interim government (AIG) carved out of the seven party alliance based in
Islamabad which materialized in February 1989. In this regard the Afghan Bureau in ISI played a key role with the support of CIA and Saudi Arabia to form this Interim Afghan Government (AIG) assuring that selected members were loyal to Islamabad’s interests. The main elements in this interim arrangement were Ghilazi Pushtoon.

Limited understanding of the Afghan traditions led Pakistani policy makers to believe that it would serve as a decision – making conflict resolving body, when at best, it allowed for leaders’ expression of views and ratification of decisions already made. Belatedly the Pakistani realized that AIG structure because it was considered a Pakistani creation would always have a legitimacy problem” assessed by Weinbaum Marvin (1991).

Iranian backed Resistance groups were kept outside of the interim administration, which widened the gap between Pakistan and Iran and bolstered the religious and ethnic dimension of the Afghan affairs as Iran, and Saudi Arabia openly supported resistance based on their religious and ethnic identity. The US did not want to give any role to Khomini regime in the Afghan crisis which could be later exploited to increase the geopolitical influence in the region. (Saikal, 1998: 72)

Pakistan showed full commitment towards the establishment of an Islamic government in Kabul. The various Peshawar based Pashtun groups received uninterruptedly the supply of assistance from Pakistan, USA and Saudi Arabia. Pakistani Intelligence agencies instrumented this support. As in AIG Mojeddidi and Sayyaf were elected president and prime minister respectively. Hikmat Yar became de facto Foreign Minister in this cabinet. Pakistan did not give this defacto government its diplomatic recognition and the purpose was to avoid any blame of dishonoring the Genève Accords. Soon after its creation, AIG, (Afghan interim Government) resistance groups attacked Jalalabad in 1990 with the support of the ISI. However, it failed to capture the city due to much better organized and much tougher military force of Najibullah’s govt. That had fully benefited from the resources provided by the Soviet Union for defending its strongholds and to support the urban population. “Resources supplied from the USSR, together with the printing of more Afghan money, gave the Afghan regime some scope to buy off influential local commanders.” (Malley: 170-2)

Pakistan’s policy during 1980-91 was based upon a desire to install a pro-Pakistani regime in Kabul, first, and then after the demise of the Soviet Union and independence of Central Asian Republics to have a geopolitical influence
An Analytical Study of Pakistan’s Policy Toward Afghanistan

in the region. The internal political changes did not usher any change in Pakistan’s policy vis-a-vis Afghanistan. Despite the fact that Benazir Bhutto became the prime minister in 1988-90 with an obvious desire not to follow the legacy of Zia’s policies. The primacy of military in Afghan affairs remained unchallenged, as the PPP government could not withstand in terms of its policy goals towards Afghanistan. Though by removing General Hamid Gul after the Jalaabad Fiasco from ISI, and appointing a retired General Sahamsar Rehmann Kali as DG ISI, Benazir showed some independence and lessen the role of intelligence agencies in Afghan affairs; specifically she wanted to civilianize the ISI but did not ushere any meaningful change. As commented by Rizwan Hussain:

The post Zia civilian governments of Benazir and Nawaz Sharif tended to follow the general parameters on Afghanistan laid down by the military. The Army retained the pivotal influence on the formulation of important domestic and Foreign Policy agendas (2005: 171).

Civil War in Afghanistan and Pakistan’s Role:

The holy warriors, no doubt with joint efforts, ousted the Soviet Union from their sacred land successfully. Nevertheless, they were inherently divided along the ethnic, religious, and geographic location lines, as an Anthropologist analyzed:

The Afghanistan resistance differs from most resistance and liberation movements in other parts of the world in that it is not based on a shared political ideology. It is not a centrally organized movement, and it is not animated by a vision of new reformed society. Its roots are deep in folk culture, and consist of three major components: (1) A clear and demanding conception of individual honor and self-respect as a basis for personal identity and value (2) A desire to live by one’s own local highly diverse traditions and standards. (3) An Islamic conviction (Najumi, 2002:83)

These resistance groups, despite success in their purpose to oust the Soviet Union from their land failed to bring stability, political reformations, and peace in the country. The Ethno-Political diversity of Mujahedeen created irrevocable hostilities, which bolstered in post-Soviet withdrawal period. These Mujahedeen represented the following Ethno-Political diversity of Afghan Society.
Table 4.3 Ethno-Political composition of Afghanistan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Group</th>
<th>Sect</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pakhtun</td>
<td>Sunni; small</td>
<td>8 Million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>component Hanfi; small component Hanfi; small component</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Shiite</td>
<td>8 Million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tajik</td>
<td>Sunni, Ismail,</td>
<td>4 Million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uzbek</td>
<td>Sunni</td>
<td>1 Million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hazaras</td>
<td>Shiite/Ismaili</td>
<td>800,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkemns</td>
<td>Sunni</td>
<td>200,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nuristanis</td>
<td>Sunni</td>
<td>150,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Omar Farooq Zaman, 2006, pp.79-85

The Najibullah government had full control over the major cities of Kabul, Mazar-e-Sharif, Kandahar, with some smaller cities as well, between the periods 1989-1992. Najibullah Government proved a hard nut to crack. “We in the resistance thought that Najibullah’s government would crumble and collapse. We were dead wrong about that,” said Karzai. (Mills, 2007: 81). The resistance groups were in control of the countryside, from where they attacked and launched rockets at the capital. Najibullah was also successful in mustering the support of ethnic and sectarian militia groups such as General Rasid Dostam’s jawazjani Uzbek militia in Northern Afghanistan, and an Ismaili Shiite militia from Baghlan of Syed Mansur Nadri. However, Najibullah’s manipulation of ethnicity to stabilize his regime and combat to resistance groups did not prove fruitful. On March 18, Mazar-e-Sharif swayed over by anti-regime forces. The ongoing squabbling finally ended in the rollback of Najibullah regime. On March 18, 1992 Najibullah announced that “once an understanding is reached through the United Nations process for the establishment of an interim government in Kabul, all powers and executive authority will be transferred to the interim government as of the first day of the transition period” (Maley, 188)

Thousands of people were killed in the fighting between the communists and the Mujahedeen in the period between the withdrawal of Soviet forces and the collapse of the communist regime (1989-92) The scenario emerged during this period had far reaching consequences for the coming political theatre in Afghanistan. The Militias of non-Pushtun Ahmed Shah Masood and Dostam
played a crucial role in overthrowing the Najibullah regime, which eventually resulted in strengthening the non-Pushtun elements in the body politic of Afghanistan. Rather Non- Pushtuns marginalized the role of Pushtuns first time after 250 years in Afghan Politics. They attained the control of Kabul.

Pakistan’s Afghan policy continued unaltered and followed a forward policy to set up a pro Pakistani regime in Kabul, and to keep intact the US interests in Afghanistan, which was vanishing after the Soviet withdrawal. (George Arney (1989). The Military Elite specifically ISI seemed to cling to the previous stance of bringing Islamists associated with Gulbadin Hikmat Yar and Pakhtoon groups in power in Kabul. While the Foreign Office and President inclined to invoke diplomatic pressure on Najib government for the solution of Afghan affairs. Since the Soviet invasion in December 1979, UN had kept on mediating in Afghanistan. The first round materialized in the Geneva Accords of 1988, which provided the basis for the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan. The second round of mediations began after the completion of the withdrawal of Soviet forces in 1989. The UN envoy in Afghanistan Ben Seven presented his formula which evolved during the April 1992 called for the communists to hand over power to a transition council, though Ben Seven formula and his attempt to flee Najibullah on his official plane from Afghanistan was turned down by war lords and Ahmed Shah Masood. Najib took asylum in a UN residence in the diplomatic quarter, where he resided until the day of his death by the Taliban four years later.

Pakistani role during the Soviet intervention urged it to end these factional differences, for to bring peace and stability on its western border, side by side, to end the “afghanistanisation” ( K.Wariko:71) of Pakistani society, which was the result of its proactive policy towards Soviet intervention and its hospitality for millions of Afghan refugees compelled Pakistan to install a friendly government in Afghanistan of Sunni Pathan. For this purpose Pakistan, mounted pressure on Pakistani based Afghan resistance groups for the signing of the two accords to manage the issues related to power sharing among warring factions. The demise of the Soviet Union and US disinterest in Afghanistan after 1989 gave advantage over the warring parties to the Afghanistan crisis as Pakistani agencies nurtured them. Pakistan’s Policy in the post-Soviet withdrawal period revolved around Civil-Military bureaucratic Elite’s perception of Security needs of Pakistan, which by virtue of its environment remained unchanged since its creation. In post-Soviet drawl period, Pakistan needed a pro-Pakistan government in Kabul. (Rupert, 1998 :764)
Peshawar Accord

The communist regime finally collapsed in April 1992, Pakistan played a major role in bringing Afghanistan out of the leadership vacuum created when Najibullah resigned on April 16, 1992, and extensive ethnic or factional fighting meant that there was no government at all in the country for one whole week. Major warlords such as Masood, Rashid Dostam and Hikmatyar (etc) had their eyes on Kabul and there was apprehension of massive bloodshed. Pakistan’s timely mediation Talks between the mujahedin resistance leaders averted it. The forces of Hikmatyar and Ahmad Masood were fighting even after the talks were underway. In their violent crossfire hundreds of people died. There were large weapons involved such as missiles, tanks, aerial raids. The power struggle had become entirely intra-Afghan in character. At this stage, the talks came to halt because of factional differences but Pakistan maintained a neutral stance. A broad based interim government instituted in 1989, refurbished by Peshawar Accord under the auspices of Pakistani government headed by Sibghatuualh Mujadidi assumed the control of Kabul and declared the Afghanistan an Islamic State of Afghanistan.

An Agreement concluded in Peshawar 24 April 1992, in the presence of the Prime Minister of Pakistan and representative of Iran, Saudi Arabia and the U.N. Sibghat-ullah Mujaddadi declared head of fifteen people Working Council to supervise the transition. He would be the acting president for two months and Rabbani would replace him for the next four months. After the six initial months, a Shooora would choose the government for the next eighteen months. After which elections would come into the process. The President would be answerable to the council consisting of Mujahedeen party leaders. Mujadidi transferred the power to Rabbani after the expiry of his term as per Accords requirement.

Table 4.4: Transitional Government

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Portfolios</th>
<th>Ethnic composition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Afghan Liberation Front:</td>
<td>Sibghatullah Mujdidi (Tajik)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First Two months</td>
<td>Burhanudin Rabbani (Tajik)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamiat –e- Islami</td>
<td>Gulbadin Hikmat Yar (Pashtun)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prime Minister:</td>
<td>Abdul Rasool Sayyaf (Pashtun)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hezb-e- Islami</td>
<td>Abdul Rasool Sayyaf (Pashtun)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministry of Interior:</td>
<td>Yunas Khalis (Pashtun)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This power sharing formula could not work as Gulbadin Hikmat yar, the proposed Prime Minster, refused to share power with Rabbani who became president in June 1992, thus began another round of fighting. Unfortunately, Afghanistan’s new leaders failed to bring peace in this war torn country. As commented by Rubin: when state institutions unravel, and armed factions emerge as the main form of collective action, interim governments offer no quick solution to the problem of political order. No government can compensate for the dissolution of the state” (Rubin. 1995: 236)

Islamabad Accord

On 19 December 1992, there was an announcement that One thousand members Shoora would decide about the future of Afghan government in accordance with the religious and tribal interests of the Afghan people. Finally, this Shoora reelected Rabbani as President for eighteen months, but opposition from the other parties led to heavy fighting in Kabul. Gulbadin Hikmat Yar rejected the decision of shoora as being illegal. In January – February over 1000 people were killed in Kabul. This ended only due to the mediation of Hamid Gul, the former head of Pakistan’s ISI, who had played the major role in supporting the seven Mujahedeen parties during the period of Soviet occupation. Pakistan sponsored further meeting between parties in Islamabad in March 1993. Being aware of the importance of a stable Afghanistan, The Pakistani Prime Minister Nawaz Shrif initiated these efforts in order to resolve the difference between the warring Afghan leaders. (The Nation, March, 5: 1993) SAUDI King Fahd sponsored this peace accord. (The Nation, March 8: 1993) Later, King Fahd invited all the Afghan leaders to Mecca, and they swore in the Holy Kaaba to stand by this agreement.
According to this Accord, Rabbani was re-elected as President and proposed Gulbadin as the Prime minister of Afghanistan. Unfortunately, the Accord met the same fate as that of the Peshawar Accord. Gulbadin Hikmat yar could not enter into Kabul peacefully, Prime Minister Hikmatyar in this capacity quickly dismissed Ahmad Shah Masood as the Defense Minister but Rabbani refused to accept this change. This disagreement resulted in attacks by Hikmat Yar on Kabul though he had to retreat, and Afghanistan once again slipped into an internecine civil war. By May 1993, there was an acute infighting between rival factions in order to control Kabul, as misunderstanding, personal enmities, vendettas, and lust of power crippled the whole process of peace. Unfortunately, the Afghan leaders, divided again and Pakistan, in the grip of internal political strife, could not exercise its influence on them. (Spotlight on Regional Affairs, 1996: 16)

On June 25, the government forces led by Masood attacked the opposition in Kabul and captured their headquarters, Bala Hesar Fort in Eastern Kabul and Maranjan, a strategic hill, East of the fort from which the opposition had frequently bombarded the city. During the next few days, Harkat Mohseny forces loyal to the government captured the Darul Amman Palace that enabled them to take the Micrøyam housing Complex. The government forces pushed the opposition from around the Kabul city and secured the city from rockets and shelling. According to the International Committee of the Red Cross, the fighting was so intense that the hospital workers were unable to evacuate the wounded. More than half a million of Kabul population fled to the city, Some 3,000 were killed and 19000 were wounded. (Steve, and Rupert., 1990: 27-28). This fighting devastated the remaining population and forced the people to live in the refugee camp at the Sar Shahi, situated in a stony plain desert, with a temperature of up to 48 degrees centigrade outside Jalalabad. There was no shade, little water, and enough food, and many of those who were able to reach Jalalabad had lost loved ones. The majority of these people were Afghan educated people who wished to rebuild the Afghan country one day. As Ahmed Rashid reports, in the words of Del Jan a widow with three small children, "I lived for twenty one years in Kabul in the home now it is destroyed and my husband killed. These mujahedin leaders are worse than the Russians," we want a neutral government that brings peace and cares for the people. “Even Najibullah would be acceptable now,” said Ali yar, a former professor at Kabul University, whose entire family was killed in Kabul (Najumi 114-116). Both Mujaaddi and Rabbani failed in their governance to rebuild a virtually destructed country. Shah S M Tarzi observed (1993:168)

On 1 January 1994, Dostam and Hikmat yar attacked Kabul intensely to drive out Masud and Rabbani forces. However, they failed to achieve their alliance
An Analytical Study of Pakistan’s Policy Toward Afghanistan

The armed conflict among these groups shattered Kabul and neighboring areas, causing more casualties among civilians and forcing 65,000 people to flee Pakistan in many directions of Afghanistan. Hekmatyar continued attacking Kabul with long-range rockets and artillery, increasing the number of migrants to 3000,000. (Marsden, 2002: 39) These events caused the Islamic government under Rabbni to continue fighting with Hekmatyar forces and to slip into a wider military clash with Dostam and Hizbe Wadhat. Resultantly, the government lost its credibility to run the country as a whole and provide security to its citizens. In the struggle for power between the Mujahedeen groups, about 80 percent of Kabul destroyed displacing thousands, killing hundreds of people. As rightly commented by Barnet R. Rubin, “as long as Soviet aid kept Kabul functioning, the structures of powers in these regions remained separate, but when the Soviet Union dissolved, so did the Afghan state, and Afghanistan was composed not of national republics but of hyper armed networks of power”. (Rubin, 2002:264)

The struggle for power among various Afghan factions had created anarchy and political vacuum in Afghanistan. While the fight for the power was on in Kabul, the rest of Afghanistan was also facing the same fate under regional Mujahedeen forces and commanders. At the end of 1993, five political armed groups controlled Afghanistan. The North was under the control of Dostam with the support of Hezb-e- Whdat and Ismili Shia. The East was under the control of Nanghar Shura led by Haji Qadir, in the South East, Pakitai was under the control of Mawalwi Haqni with the presence of armed groups loyal to Hekmatyar. The West had been in the control of Ismail Khan who was in the beginning neutral, but became an important supporter of Masud and Rabani in the following years. Masud Forces controlled Kabul and the Areas north of the capital. Neamtullah comments: …the Mujahidin leaders who had a great legitimacy base than the ex-governmental elements for establishing a national government lost their credibility. They victimized the victory of a nation that had lost too much and suffered so much for their personal, ideological and ethnic ambitions. The political and military shift by the armed political groups in many directions decentralized the social and political structure of the country once again. The cycle of violence and massive mobilization of the nation in an unclear direction with no popular leadership continued.” (Najumi: 117) UN initiated another attempt for political settlement of Afghanistan crisis when Mehmood Mesteri was appointed on 14 February 1994 to head the United Nations mission to Afghanistan who arrived in the region on 27th March 1994. Unfortunately, this round of UN mediation in Afghanistan had failed to achieve its objectives. The warring factions had no incentive to support a mediated solution. Mehmood Mesteri himself admitted that warring factions believed that the solution of all problems of Afghanistan
only lies in the use of military force. Similarly, interference by the regional countries complicated peace process despite the fact that all showed interest in peace in Afghanistan. He further pointed towards the adequate number, resources, and logistical support for the UN team for the negotiation process (Zahara, 1995, The Nation February 2, & Mesteri, 1996:17-30).

Conclusively, it is said that during the period 1992-1996, Afghanistan had been in the quagmire of the factional based power struggle of various groups. Change in loyalties and alliances became the characteristic feature of Afghan politics. Pakistan supported Hikmat Yar faction and disenchanted Rabbani and Masud. (Matinuddin, 2002: 125) Pakistan was not also comfortable with Rabbani’s Government decisions, as it had built close contacts with India, and with Russia. As commented by Hussian, Riffat “the internecine Civil war not only dashed Pakistani hopes of gaining access to the six Central Asian Muslim Republics through a friendly Afghanistan but also caused estrangement between Pakistani government and Rabbani.”(Giridharadas, Anand, et.al 2002: 191)

The Afghan civil war was most horrific one in Asia, as by the end of 1995, it claimed 70,000 lives and Pakistan at one time the ally of Mujahedeen was under the target of Mujahedeen’s’ brutality. The Pakistani embassy was burnt to ground on 6th September 1995 “the growing chaos in Afghanistan is fast becoming the biggest foreign policy nightmare for the Benazir government and the military, as well as a major embarrassment to Pakistan’s allies and friends” (The Herald, October, 1995:26).
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