

Afghanistan: Quest for Peace and Stability (Historical Context)

Iram Khalid*

Abstract

In the politico-strategic perspective, Afghanistan is considered one of the most difficult and challenging countries in the world. Its fragmented society is a major hurdle in the way of its nation building and state formation. With its multi-ethnic and multi-linguistic groups, it is a complicated country on the global map. In this situation, it can be imagined that the internal peace is linked with the lowest credibility of the Afghan warlords, unpopular and corrupt leadership, and the centuries old traditional legacy. Resistance against the social and political order has remained the core feature of Afghan society. Throughout its history, several internal and external players have been involved in their game of interest. Now-a-days, these warlords are involved in tactical and vicious alliances due to which they have lost their ideological reasoning. This paper is an attempt to critically analyze the situation of this country and to present an insight of the overall situation.

Key words: Geo-strategic location, destabilization, social order, transitional phase, political elite

Introduction

Afghanistan's history is full of external interferences, internal troubles and continued hostilities between various segments of its population and religio-ethnic clashes led by respective warlords. In its modern history, the situation got further worse by the Soviet invasion, followed by mujahedeen's resistance and presently, the US led NATO occupation on this country. Therefore, the struggle for power, tussles between different segments of society, dysfunctionality, parochial political culture and disharmony, has never allowed Afghanistan to

* Author is Associate Professor at Political Science Department, University of the Punjab, Lahore – Pakistan.

move towards a democratic state. In the 1980s, the tussle between the two super-powers was at its peak. By the late 1990s, the Taliban movement had taken control after the Soviet Union itself collapsed. In late 2001, the Taliban were toppled by Northern Alliance. It is common knowledge that American policy in Afghanistan is proving a permanent source of destabilization. After a long struggle and experiencing many efforts by external actors to take control of Afghanistan, the people of this country are still far from peace and prosperity.

Needless to say, the situation of Afghanistan directly and indirectly affects on its neighbors, particularly Pakistan - as both countries share a long border and common religio-cultural traditions. In addition to its instable and volatile neighbor in the west, Pakistan's eastern border is also not safe. It may be mentioned here that the survival of national prosperity depends upon many factors; one of the most important is the security matter. Since independence, security has remained a serious challenge to Islamabad. Unfortunately, in the beginning, the Indian government did not accept Pakistan as sovereign independent state and exercised every step to evolve worst circumstances for this country. After few months of independence, Kashmir became a bone of contention between the both states. Furthermore, it also generated other serious security crises, e.g., water crisis, dam's construction issue and emergence of freedom movement in Kashmir. Indian government argued that without financial and military assistance of Pakistan, the leaders cannot launch independent Kashmir movement in the area. However, Pakistan's Foreign Ministry clearly condemned the Indian allegations. It always argued that its support for the Kashmiris based on ethical and moral values in the light of United Nations Resolution of 'Rule of Self-determination'.

In search for national security, Islamabad approached to Washington and signed SEATO and CENTO agreements. It was the beginning of pro-American foreign policy to seek national interest. The political observers argued that in presence of Kashmir issue, Pakhtoonistan issue, water crisis and including internal factors, it was the last resort option to co-hand with Washington for national life survival. This was because of what the foreign policy makers defined the high level of concerned issues with Indian government, e.g., Kashmir issue, Sir Creek issue, water crisis, influx of millions of refugees and generated threats to Pakistan's security. In these circumstances, it has been observed that two immediate neighboring states, India and Afghanistan constituted core threats to Pakistan's security. This was in

spite of the fact that since its inception, Pakistan wanted to strengthen diplomatic and strategic relation with its neighbors. With reference to the context, it is noteworthy that Barry Buzan has distinguished between strong and weak states. According to him, 'those states which are internally facing high level security concerned issues should be considered as weak states. On the other side, where institutions and territory are clearly defined, the states are strong.' Buzan concluded, unless the internal dimension is relatively stable as a prior condition, the image of state as a referent object of security faces in to a meaningless blur (Buzan, 1988:69).

In light of prevailing circumstances, Islamabad continuously attempted to keep its internal and external issues stable, although for doing so, occasionally it had to redefine its foreign policy parameters in accordance with its surrounding changing geo-strategic environment. These changes also badly affected Pakistan's internal and external image. One of the most important events was Soviet Union's intervention into Afghanistan in pursuing warm waters in 1979. It was difficult for Pakistan to keep itself aloof from this situation, although its internal circumstances did not allow facing Red Forces. The American diplomats finally settled game of chess in Afghanistan against Moscow and given economic and military assistance to Islamabad's military government for its historic services as to play leading state role to check Soviet designs. Afghan war was entitled as Holly war and the Mujahedeen were provided financial and military training and resources to fight against communist regime. Behind the Afghan Mujahedeen, two intelligence agencies (i.e., American CIA and Pakistan's ISI) designed entire game of war to defeat Soviet Union. During the Afghan Jihad, it was observed that Pakistan's intelligence Agency ISI, played a vital role to set country's foreign policy features. The ISI position was as middle man between American and Afghan Mujahedeen. The CIA was responsible for handover weapons to Pakistan and it was ISI which accessed to Afghan Mujahedeen (Baxter and Kennedy, 2000:158-159). American intelligence officials were dependent upon ISI's officials to know about ongoing performances. It is reality that America gave maximum concession to Islamabad, even on various occasions. The Indian Government raised objections that US military assistance to Pakistan will disturb balance of power structure between Pakistan and India but Washington was keen to dismantle Soviet ideology and thus it did not want to miss 1980's opportunity. Finally, the American efforts came true and Soviet Union agreed to sign Geneva Accord. No doubt, Soviet Government signed

Geneva Accord but it continued to assist Najeeb Ullah in Afghanistan whose ideas and policies were pro-Soviet. It was the turning point for Pak-Afghan relations because majority of the Afghan Mohajareen turned down Jihad by stating that Soviet had left Afghanistan, so negotiations should be continued with Najeeb Ullah for future. On the other hand, some Afghan Mujahedeen argued that jihad should be continued because Najeeb Ullah had pro-communist thinking and Soviet Union was indirectly supporting him. Mujahedeen's division was a new emerging problem for Islamabad as some of their groups begun to oppose ISI's instruction. This was because they were not happy due to Pakistan's Pushtoon ethnic policy in context of Afghanistan's future government. Ahmad Shah Masood and Abdul Rasheed Doustum were not pleased with Islamabad. They argued that Islamabad is seeking for a Pro-Islamabad government, based on Pushtoon ethnic factor. In Afghanistan, Larry Goodson, in one of his articles (entitled: *Foreign Policy Gone Aury: The Kalanskanikovization and Talibanization of Pakistan*) said, 'Over time, the ISI come to view situation in Afghanistan as its own domain, driven by its own institutional responsibility for Pakistan's involvement in the war there, the high percentage of Pushtun officers in key ISI positions and the instability of Pakistan's post Zia governments. This initiated the process that led to the situation today, where Pakistan finds itself supporting a movement in Afghanistan which it cannot control and which often pursues policies counter to Pakistan's interests' (Weinbaum, 1991:71-72).

Afghanistan's strategic importance

It is well argued that Afghanistan has remained the most difficult and challenging region in the world. Reports, research papers and official documentations clearly indicated Afghanistan as greater significant place throughout centuries now and then. As Eden Naby and Ralph Magnus said, 'Afghanistan has been a vital link between Europe and Asia for thousand of years, of prime strategic importance since Alexander the great's time. In the future, Afghanistan is liable to retain that strategic importance. Think of China, Russia, India, Pakistan and Iran. Think of their hopes and fear, Think of our own. Then look on the map at Afghanistan, then think again' (Magnus and Naby, 1998: xii). William Malay expressed an interesting note in writing 'acknowledgement' of his famous book entitled: *The Afghanistan Wars*, that late Louis Dupree warned me "Once Afghanistan get into my blood, I could never be rid of it" (Malay, 2002: viii). Subash Chakravarty in the his book (entitled: *Afghanistan and the Great*

Game) argued that Afghanistan geographically and culturally locates the Northeast Portion of the Iranian Plateau through which India linked with Middle East and China and Central Asia. In late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the Imperialist powers always designed the Great Game Imperial Chess board on this region. With reference to the context, it is noteworthy that Ralph Magnus and Eden Naby drawn the following five phases of Afghan history, i.e.:

- From 500 BC to 700 AD it is called Pre-Islamic Period.
- From 700 to 1709, Afghanistan had been remained committed to the Medieval and late Medieval Islamic Period.
- The period of Afghan Empire begins from 1709 and ends at 1826. From 1826
- Between 1919 and 1973, Afghanistan is studied as categorically under constitutional monarchies, e.g., 1923, 1931 and 1946.
- The period 1919-1973 revealed around world changes scenario, e.g., to 1919, the Great Game period appeared on world atlas, which is also known as European Imperial period (Magnus and Naby, 1998:34) decolonization, rule of self determination and two great wars including beginning of the cold

Political Developments in Afghanistan

Throughout its political history, Afghanistan has never been remained colonized but in and pre and post-colonial periods, its status has been remained as Buffer Zone and challenging region. The Indian British Government drawn Durand Line in 1893 and secured its defensive and economic perspective. The basic objective of 1893's Durand Line was to keep Soviet forces away from Arabian Sea and to maintain Afghan government status to be as independent state, not to be under the influence of the Soviet Union. The Anglo-Afghan Treaty of 1857 ((Magnus and Naby, 1998:24-25) given assurance for mutual respect and friendship which grew out of continued British worries about Russian expansion and Afghan fears of Russian backed Iranian aggression. As in 1857, the Indians raised a Revolt against the British government in the Sub-continent, the Afghan government did not support to revolt although it had to face strong criticism from its population. In against the Iranian adventure in Herat, the British government waged a war and finally Herat was restored under Dost

Muhammad through the British government assistance. Lord Lytton expressed the British view about Afghanistan as, 'Afghanistan is a state too weak and barbarous to remain isolated and wholly uninfluenced between two great military empires.... We cannot allow Sher Ali to face under the influence of any power whose interests are antagonistic to our own' (Carr, 1958: xiv-xv). During 1878, Afghan Amir Sher Ali rejected to follow British Indian government instructions and in the meanwhile opened negotiation window with Moscow. In against of this development, the British government overthrew Amir Sher Ali and placed his son Amir Yaqoob Khan as new ruler who was ready to sign Gandamak Treaty with British Government, called as 'eternal peace and friendship'. In fact, Lord Lytton's statement and frequent Anglo-Afghan wars represented great game concept which complexed Afghanistan and placed it as significant character of entire 'Great Game Novel'.

Later on, Amir Habibullah Khan's (1872-1919) contribution was milestone feature in the history of Afghanistan. Amir Habibullah Khan followed modernization route to introduce good governance in Afghanistan. He was the first ruler whose intention was to develop Afghan society on modernization and liberalization path. In this context, he developed strong trade relations with Soviet Central Asia and the British Indian government. During his regime, Mahmood Beg Tarsi introduced the idea of modern education, formation of press and pragmatic politically motivated debates.

It is the known fact that Mahmud Beg Tarsi was himself deeply inspired by the Pan Islamic movement and made possible effort to translate the Afghan society feature by combining modernization and Islamization. In Afghan newspaper named, *Siraj ul Akhbari Afghanistan*, he wrote articles to expose imperialist design and the British Indian policies. Furthermore, he advocated to Japanese forces against Russia and declared Japan's triumph as victory of Asia over Europeans (Magnus and Naby, 1998:39). However with the passage of time, the circumstances changed and few Afghan young men who returned from Turkey, criticized his policies and demanded abolition of Royal absolutism by replacing enforcement of the constitutional state machinery. On international front, the British Indian government showed strong critical reservation against his Anti Britain policies. The First World War collapsed Ottoman Empire and the European power successfully designed imperialist infrastructure to get complete domination over the natural resources of the whole Muslim World. In

this way, the Muslim World came under the control of direct and indirect European imperialism.

Amir Habibullah Khan drawn policy features by keeping these above mentioned changes in world politics and attempted to take advantages. Bolshevik revolution was hope for him to counter European Imperialism but Afghanistan's role as Buffer zone state had remained still. Afterward, Amanullah Khan (1892-1960), similar to his father-in-law Habibullah Khan, also adopted Pan Islamic thought and continued his assistance to Amir of Bukhara. As he realized that Bolshevik revolution successfully captured the entire Russian society, he reshaped his foreign policy and established strong diplomatic relationship with Russian government. In 1921, Afghan Bolshevik Treaty was signed which in fact was a successful attempt of King Amanullah to counter the then prevailing challenges. Interestingly, on one hand, he pressurized Russians in context of returning of Afghan Territory, which Russia seized in 1885, (Magnus and Naby, 1998:45) while on the other, he kept his connection with Amirs of Bukhara and Khiva whose rebellion movements was against Bolshevik revolution. It is noteworthy that a large number of his own people ignored his policies and also denied to follow treaty's clauses. In contrast, Amanullah went on his own way and decided to entertain Ibrahim Beg and given him shelter, as well as thousands of the Central Asian insurgents who were involve in fighting with Red forces. During his regime, he established constitutional monarchy and introduced modern reforms in education. However, his policies with regard to institutional change remained under influence of state and Islam relations. During this process, Hizbi Niqadbar (veiled party) established a revolt against the modern thinking of Amanullah and challenged to writ of government and later on successfully over thrown his government. Finally in late 1928, Amanullahs regime collapsed although he sought help form his military, religious leaders and Pushtoon tribes but all his efforts did not come true. The political observers examined Amanullah Regime as reformist and modernist regime which genuinely tasted the word 'Independence' (Magnus and Naby, 1998:45).

It is noteworthy that during his short period, Amir Habibullah II reversed social reforms in marriage custom, education and status of women. He abolished corporation, lowering taxes and returning of the courts and jurisdiction of the Muslim Ulema. In addition, he permitted journalists to carry on their journalism but they were strictly informed that those writings, which will contradicted to Islamic teachings, will not

be published. Main problem before Amir Habibullah II was bad economic condition which hampered to state's institution. The British Indian government and the Russian both realized that absolute weak state cannot be in their respective strategic and trading benefits, so Amir Habibullah II regime was replaced. While in doing assessment of Amir Habibullah personality, the observers concluded that no doubt he had charismatic personality but he was not capable to regulate state matters.

During Nadir Shah (1883-1933) regime, political and social infrastructure of Afghan society revolved around to avoid civil war by taking some concrete steps for controlling mal-administrative practices. Nadir Shah signed a non-aggression treaty with Russia and so long as he continued to provide financial and militant to leading man of Central Asian resistance leader, fighting against Red Army (Magnus and Naby, 1998:47). After Nadir Shah Assassination, Shah Mahmud Khan (1890-1959) established his regime and introduced liberal political system in order to follow actual spirit of democracy. For this objective Shah Mahmud Khan focused on educational and institutional infrastructure and called for an agenda 'constitutional democracy'. Again, the circumstances of the country changed and his cousin Sardar Muhammad Daud Khan over thrown him. Daud Khan emphasized on modern advanced Army and followed modernization thinking to upgrade socio-economic issues. In addition, to support legitimacy to his program, he highlighted issue of Pushtunistan for achieving emotional attachment with East Pushtuns whose intention was to sabotage Durand Line, divided the Pushtuns by the British government. Daud Khan agreed that all successive agreement on Durand Line were between the Afghan and British government in capacity of Sub-continent but after its division, Durand line has no more legitimacy because the Afghan government has no intention to follow Durand Line Agreement with Pakistan.

During the Cold War, Daud government looked at American camp for seeking support on Durand Line, issue but it failed to do so, because Washington engaged itself in Middle East politics. In these circumstances, Daud government moved towards Soviet Union for enhancing economic and military capabilities to counter Pakistan. Daud autocratic style of government and his ambitious desire to counter Pakistan on Pushtoon issue made him liability and risk for Afghanistan. Whereas, Pakistan ignored Pushtunistan issue but it remained continuous source of concern to security issue. No doubt,

security interests are linked to stability on Pakistan's Western and Northern borders. Since independence, Pakistan's leadership seeks peace, stability and normal relations with Afghan government. On December 3, 1947, Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah said, 'I desire that relationship between these two sister states, i.e., Pakistan and Afghanistan may be of the greatest and most lasting friendship and I do hope that coming negotiation may take place will secure and strengthen all the more the goodwill and friendship between these two countries which already exist' (Mahdi, 1999:115).

Just after independence of the Sub-continent, the British government denounces all those boundary agreements which came to place after successive diplomatic negotiations with the British government. The Afghan government opposed to Pakistan's entrance in United Nations and evolved unique and difficult security threat situation as it stated that Durand Line will not be acceptable for the Afghans with Pakistan. The Afghan government rejected the Durand Line as an international border between Afghanistan and Pakistan. The nature of Pakistan's relations has been predominantly shaped by Durand Line, laid down territorial claims over the areas of KPK, The Afghan government argued that legitimacy of the Durand Line became at stake when Pakistan as an independent state came into existence on 14th August 1947. On question of Durand Line legal status, the Kabul government stated that credibility of the Durand Line was attached with the Indian British Government as the later decided to liberate sub-continent the agreement lost its strength.

On the other hand, Pakistan argued that Durand Line agreement no doubt was adopted foreign policy of the British government, called 'forward foreign policy' (Goodson, 2001:31) having objective of containing the Russian's sphere of influence but also all Afghan successive governments had followed the Agreement with letter of spirit. In addition, the areas which are included in Pakistan had been remained under domination of the British government under 1935 Government of India Act, political and economic reforms are introduced in accordance with this Act, so Pakistan has legal possession of these areas. Durand Line official status cannot be challenged and it cannot be examined under the International Law. Moreover, the Pakistani officials argued that second argument, related with International Law, also confirms to their stance over Durand Line issue. According to the principles of International Law 'res transit cum oere' treaties 'of extinct states concerning boundary lines remains

valid and all rights and duties arising from such treaties of the extinct state devolve on an absorbing state' (Lauterpach, 82). As per defined legality of Durand Line Agreement, the British government advocated to Pakistan's stance, encouraged to its image at regional and global level. Lacking of financial resources, Kashmir issue and Durand Line conflict were like nightmare for Pakistan's policy makers. Ian Stephen said, 'It was evident that if, on Pakistan's birth, coordinated movements opposed to them could be produced in Kashmir and Afghanistan both of them predominantly Muslim territories and near to one another, the new state might be still born, crushed by a sort of pincer movement' (Siddique, 2000:31).

New Great Game and Afghanistan

Afghanistan is a land locked state, having features like vast mountain range, the Hindu Kush encircled it from North East to South West and finally remained strategically most important area not only in past but also in future. It will not be exaggerated in saying that Afghanistan, as land locked state, having 'buffer zone' (Malay, 2002: 6) status remained the part of Old Great Game and still targeted in light of New Great Game. People of Afghanistan are identified as the Afghan and literary meaning of Afghanistan is 'lamentation'. Border between Afghanistan and Russia was established in result of diplomatic negotiations between United Kingdom and Russia, legitimized the forward policy of the British government. Durand Line Agreement 1893 was a major source of friction after the Sub-continent partition in 1947. As talking about Afghanistan's population, it is believed that till 1979, the country's population was approximately 13.05 million, including 0.8 million nomads.

Declining social order

Afghan society is a multi ethnic society, broken up into tribes, sub-tribes, clans and families, each has its own ethnic, cultural and social values (Malay, 2002: 6). In presence of diversified ethnic population, the Afghan society has uncompromised social environment. It is observed that cultural and ethnic dominancy prevails in all over Afghanistan. Anthony Smith defined ethnic groups as 'pointed to a collective name a common myth, of descent, a shared history, a distinctive shared culture, association with a particular territory and a sense of solidarity as the salient makers of ethnic distinction.' (Malay, 2002: 9). Social order of Afghan society is regulated by the ethnic and

traditional values, which have been given meaningful importance not only in day to day matters but also in institutional frame work of the Afghan government. Relationship between state and society has been remained slide towards disorder. Two factors are important of this declining social disorder. First, state had not remained accountable to any institutional mechanism. Second, national political elite has not legitimate identical place within entire political system. Max Weber, a German sociologist says, 'social order is sustained if individual behavior is patronized in the myth of acceptance by the ruled, is often called "legitimate" domination.' (Malay, 2002:16). According to Max Weber, a sound disciplined historical institutional mechanism is the heart of social order of society and state.

Resistance within the society

Resistance against the social and political order of the central government had been remained core feature of the Afghan society if it thinks those policy matters in against of traditional cultural and ethnic factors. It is, carefully examined that the political ruling elite introduced moderate educational and social reforms had to face huge criticism from the Afghan Ulema who have credible wordings within society as contrast to the national political ruling elite. In Afghanistan, King Zahir Shah and Prime Minister Daud launched modernization model for patronizing socio-economic areas by adopting three fold strategies. According to this strategy, expansion of education, infrastructure development with foreign aid and agriculture development was planed. The political observation reflected the mental inclination towards the communist ideology, which did not attract to the traditional Islamic society. The historical legacy of the traditional Afghan society cannot be ignored, unless the societal issues are address, the possibility of receiving good results looks difficult. In matter of retrospective, rapidly increasing gulf between national political elite and clan's or tribal chiefs disturbed the social order of the Afghan Society.

Empirical study of Afghanistan reflects the posed threats of the imperialist powers. The state's exploitation continued throughout the 19th and 20th centuries in terms of gaining maximum economic and strategic benefits internally and externally. The internal divisions of the country presented tempting opportunities for intrigue and influence. But even when this influence was backed by military force, the divisions of the country meant that any alliance created as many enemies as it did friends. Moreover, Afghan supporters of the imperialists were trained

as allies of the infidels. Afghanistan became the final victim of the external interference (Magnus and Naby, 2002: xii). Ultimate and final victim of the Cold War was Afghanistan, where game of chess was designed for global hegemonic power. Idea of Soviet expansion was restricted by the Afghan mujahedeen, assisted financially and military by combined efforts of two intelligence agencies, i.e., CIA and ISI. As the Soviet forces left Afghanistan, Washington turned over its coat and ignored social, political and economic infrastructure of the Afghan society, faced continuous human capital destruction.

Soviet withdrawn and its impact

Expectations of the deprived and down trodden Afghan society have remained fiction after Soviet forces withdraw due to Afghan war lords. Their concerned areas were personal gaining, smuggling, puppy cultivation, and the formulation of militant groups. The struggle of the Afghan government among the Afghan warlords ruled out the concept of legitimacy. Islamabad government did a lot to arrange peaceful agreements among the Afghan lords but the required positive internal political harmony for institutional mechanism was non-existent. Islamabad Accord and Peshawar Accord failed to remove difference among the Afghan warlords, based on ethnic factors. The lowest credibility of the Afghan warlords, governments evolved frustration among the common Afghans, whose eyes were in searching for peace, stability and economic resources. In analyzing the common Afghan resistance against the mal-administrative practices of the Afghan warlords, the few militant mujahedeen established an organization, called Taliban organization, attempted to revamping there infrastructure.

No doubt, a lot has been published about the issues of Taliban organization but stories are still mysterious. It is said that Taliban Organization was established by Pakistan and former Pakistani Federal Interior Minister Naseer Ullah Baber, during Benazir Bhutto's Government. It was widely considered that if Taliban's presence will introduce peace and stability in Afghanistan, better conditions will be available for the construction of oil and gas pipeline projects, derived from Central Asian States, and finally funded by the US multinational oil companies, No doubt, Washington left Afghanistan as bleeding wound but emergence of Central Asian Republics characterizes as weak economy, secular governments, mal-administrative practices, bad human rights record and ethnic terrible identities. Apart from these

facts, Washington's one objective was to secure a place from where it should always be in position to dominate regional politics. Rapidly increasing globalized challenges have raised the importance of land locked geo-strategic location of Central Asia region. In presence for china and Russia, Washington was seeking, its economic, strategic interests.

Afghanistan: New transitional phase

The 9/11 Terrorist attacks licensed Washington to attack Afghanistan for eliminating Al-Qaeda, terrorist organization infrastructure. The political observes argued that the Americans always followed their national interests because changing pattern of regional political realities attracted to Washington to redefine her relations with the regional political matters. According to the American myth, the national interests can not be ignored at the expense of respective ideology. Once in past confrontation between two ideologies, i.e., capitalism and communism evolved tense environment and generated block politics further hampered the cause of United Nations. The stage prepared in Afghanistan against communist ideology was again redesigned but now the characters were changed. The situation became more terrible when it was clearer that American political think tanks manipulated the new thinking. George Bush Senior officially stated that Washington will treat China as strategic competitor and India was placed as strategic partner. This new thinking was clearly reshaping the American methodology to examine the ground realities in light of Central Asian and South Asian politics.

During Bill Clinton presidency, the US administration announced China not as strategic competitor but as strategic partner in dealing with regional issues. In same manner China changed its attitude towards India and during official visit to new Delhi, the Chinese leadership focuses to interlink 'Trilateral Alliance' (Gulshan, 2006:27) (China-India-Russia) to articulate common interests and challenges as Soviet Union dissolved and Central Asian Republics emerged on the world map. After the 9/11 tragedy, instead of dominating the region, the Chinese leadership treated entire regional political environment as social reality. During Taliban regime, the Chinese leadership stated that Taliban government should be treated as social reality and it is responsibility of regional and international state actors to accommodate Taliban within international political spectrum. One concerned issue of China has been to lemmatize the influence of

Washington which had developed strategic and economic ties with India. Growing influence in Central Asia and South Asia is the pre-standing feature of the Indian government. To keep this line feature, the Indian government attempted to focus on marginalizing Islamabad's interests in Afghanistan instead of persuading its own national interests as regarding about economic factors.

Conclusion

The above discussion highlights that Afghanistan is a complicated region due to its multi-ethnic factor. The ethnic tribes, e.g., Pushton, Hazara Uzbek and Tajik have financial and military assistance from across state. It is examined that Islamabad focused on establishing Pushtoon Government in Kabul because of having cultural and lingual ties. Besides this, other ethnic identities have their reservations about this segment of Pakistan's foreign policy. On many occasions, Ahmad Shah Masood (Late) stated that while distributing weapons and financial assistance to Afghan mujahedeen during Afghan war against Soviet Union, Gulbadin Haykmat Yar having Pushtoon identity received maximum support (Ishtiaq, 2004:18). In dialogues process for establishing interim government in Afghanistan, i.e., Peshawar accord and Islamabad Accord, the important post-folium were reserved for Pushtoon. Due to this ethnic factor, Islamabad government assisted to Taliban organization which left great problems for Pakistan within Afghanistan. It is observed that Iran had to formulate its own line of action to deal Afghanistan and opposed to Taliban regime in Afghanistan. The political analysts stated that for achieving security interests, Iranian government deployed its forces on Afghan-Iran border. During the Taliban regime, Nawaz Sharif government had to face severe diplomatic consequences with Iran where its official spokesman said that Taliban policies are subjected to Islamabad. In reply, Nawaz Sharif said that Iran is our natural ally its reservations about Taliban would be removed. It was also observed that Taliban-Iran relations reached at lowest ebb when some Iranian-Afghans were killed by the Taliban militants. It was Pakistan's pro-Pushtoon Afghan policies which diplomatically isolated Islamabad. On issue of Taliban policies, Iran associated to India for countering prevailing circumstances. In the same capacity Islamabad's flight to Central Asian state's economy hampered due to Taliban's extremist policies. Pakistan approached Taliban government but received no positive response. It goes without saying that Pakistan paid more than its capacity in Afghanistan. The observations estimated that Afghanistan's

internal peace is associated with ethnic factor which valued to ethno-politics instead of national politics. Ethnic disturbance challenged the Afghanistan's stability and limited to depressed Afghan society.

According to Aabeha Dixit, 'Even the Gods in despair have not been able to stop the warring factions in Afghanistan. At this time, main issue or challenge in Afghanistan is national and state building. After removing Taliban government, Hamid Karzai established interim government in result of successful efforts of international community, in light of Bonn Accord. One of the major drawbacks, of Bonn Conference was related with absence of Pushtoon representation, Northern Alliance was given full confidence and assurance to deal Afghanistan international matters but Taliban representatives were not invited. With the passage of time, due to continuous disturbing law and order situation in Afghanistan, it is felt that unless each fraction is not included in institutional framework, the situation cannot be improved. Afghanistan is a country which lacks the transitional process of democracy, it has seen constitutional democracy, authoritarianism, monarchy, and totalitarianism but every political regime has been lack of legitimacy. Each government tried to borrow economic, educational and institutional programs from abroad but did not understand the aspirations and social values of Afghan society. Power sharing among ethnic groups blocked state building and nation building process. Permanent lacking of consensus reaped that harvest, which pressed the role of common Afghan within state. The body language of national political elite is totally different from actions, ideas and thoughts, including attitude of each common Afghan. Widespread disintegration of Afghan society has made common Afghan a serious question mark before the international community. No doubt international community helped Karzai government by assisting financially, but each program failed due to Afghan warlords' opportunist attitudes, which resultantly led to prolong civil war in this county. It is observed that Afghan warlord alliance is tactical alliances and lost their ideological reasons. Now, the important issue is to develop the better understanding of Afghan society where Islamic religious sanctions as well as the authority of tradition both prevail in a balanced environment but in different self-perceived context.

References

- Aslam, Siddique. (2000). *Pakistan Seeks Security*. Oxford University Press, Karachi, Pakistan.
- Barry, Buzan. (1988). *People, State and Fear; the International Security Problem in International Relations*. National Book Foundation, Islamabad.
- Craig, Baxter and Charles, H. Kennedy. (2000). *Pakistan 2000*. (ed.), Oxford University Press, New York.
- Gulshan, Schdeva. (2006). 'India's Attitude towards China's Growing Influence in Central Asia'. *China and Eurasia Forum Quarterly*, Vol. 4-3.
- Ishtiaq, Ahmad. (2004) *Gullbadin Hikmatyar: An Afghan Trial from Jihad to Terrorism*. Pan Graphics (Pvt) Ltd., Islamabad.
- Larry, P. Goodson. (2001). *Afghanistan Endless War: State Failure, Regional Politics and the Rise of the Taliban*. University of Washington Press, Washington, DC.
- Marvin, Weinbaum. (1991). *War and Peace in Afghanistan: The Pakistan Role*. *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 45 - 1.
- Niloufer, Mahdi. (1999). *Pakistan's Foreign Policy 1971-1981: The (Weiner, 1978) Search for Security*. Ferozsons Pvt. Ltd. Rawalpindi.
- Oppenheim. International Law*. Lauterpach (ed.), ch. 1st.
- Ralph, H. Magnus and Eden, Naby. (1998). *Afghanistan: Mullah, Marx and Mujahideens*. West View Press, Pak Book Corporation, Pakistan.
- Sir Olaf, Ca roe. (1958). *The Pathans*. St. Martin's Press, New York.
- William, Malay. (2002). *The Afghanistan Wars*. Palgrave Macmillan publication, New York.