



GÜNEY ASYA STRATEJİK ARAŞTIRMALAR MERKEZİ
SOUTH ASIA STRATEGIC RESEARCH CENTER

**Güney Asya Stratejik Araştırmalar Merkezi (GASAM) ve Türk İşbirliği ve
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Afganistan Barış Planı

Mahmut Osmanoğlu

Gazeteci –Yazar

Ülkesi: Türkiye

Afganistan geleceği ile ilgili yeni bir kritik dönemim eşiğinde bulunuyor. Amerika başta, Afganistan'da menfaati olan taraflar yoğun bir şekilde barış görüşmeleri arayışı içerisinde.

Afganistan 15 Şubat 1989'da Kızıl Ordu'nun on yıllık bir savaş sonrasında arkasında bir enkaz bırakarak çekildiği dönemde de aynı durumda bulunuyordu.

Amerika ve SSCB savaşan taraflara silah sağlamayı durdurmak manasına gelen "negatif simetri" dışında bir anlaşma sağlamadılar ve Afganistan'daki savaş çekilme sonrasında da durmadı.

Şimdi aynı süreç tekrarlanma aşamasında bulunuyor. Yabancı güçlerin çekilmesi aşamasında köklü bir barış ve uzlaşma anlaşması sağlanmazsa Afganistan'ın bitip tükenmek bilmeyen iç savaş yaşadığı günlere yeniden dönülmesinden korkulur.

Şu an Taliban'la barış görüşmeleri yürütmekte olan Amerika'yı Afganistan'dan prestijine en az zararlar çıkarmak ve işgal sonrası birkaç üs elde etmekten ötesi ilgilendirmez.

Ülkeye uzun yıllardır müdahil ve menfaatlerini temin etme çabası içerisindeki komşu ülkeler de adil bir çözüm sunamazlar.

Dolayısıyla İslam âleminin soruna köklü çözüm için inisiyatif alması gerekir.

İslam âleminin bu tür inisiyatifler için yeterli kapasite, imkân ve yaptırım gücüne sahip kurumları olmadığını bilincindeyiz. Yine de mevcut kurumlarla bu tür çabaların sarf edilmesinin gereğine şahsen inanıyoruz.

Müslümanlar olarak bizim kendi sorunlarımızı içimizde çözmemiz gerekir.

Afganistan'ın gelmiş olduğu bu yol ayrımında barış sürecini kapsamaması gereken aşamalarla ilgili görüşlerimizi paylaşmak isteriz.



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Öncelikle ABD, NATO ve koalisyon güçlerinin uluslararası garantiler kapsamında kayıtsız, şartsız ve hızlı çekilmesi için bir takvim belirlenmelidir. İşgale karşı savaşan taraflar da bu güçlerin güvenli çıkışı için garanti vermelidir.

Bu noktada İslam İşbirliği Örgütü devreye girmeli ve savaşan tarafların tamamını kapsayan bir ateşkes ilan edilmelidir. Ateşkesle ilgili komşular ve perde önü ve gerisi müdahil güçlerden uluslararası teminatlar alınmalıdır.

Ateşkes ilanı ile birlikte İİÖ çekilen işgalci güçlerin yerini alacak Müslüman Ülkeler Barış Gücü (MÜBG) oluşturulması için çabalarına başlamalıdır.

Şu an Afganistan'da NATO bünyesinde asker bulunduran ama muharip güç kullanmayan Türkiye barış gücü oluşturulmasında önemli bir rol oynayabilir. Buna Afganistan'da savaşan taraflardan itiraz gelmez. ABD, NATO ve koalisyon güçleri çekilir ama Türkiye askerleri barış gücü organizasyonlarını yapmak üzere orada kalır.

Belirlenen takvime göre çekilen yabancı güçlerin yerini MÜBG alır ve bu geçiş döneminde olası çatışmaların önü alınır.

Bu arada, iktidardaki ve ona muhalif tüm yerli unsurlar arasında bir ulusal uzlaşma süreci başlatılır. Tüm tarafların bu sürece katılmaları önemlidir.

Yapılacak bir ulusal uzlaşma konferansı ile ülkeyi seçimlere götürecek tarafsız bir geçiş hükümeti oluşturulur.

Hükümette ülkenin etnik grupları adil bir şekilde temsil edilmelidir.

Ulusal uzlaşma konferansında, ayrıca, ülke yönetiminde (bürokrasi, ordu, yargı) etnik entitelerin adil bir şekilde yer alabileceği düzenlemeler yapılmalıdır. Ülkedeki hiç kimse bir ötekileştirme algısı taşımamalıdır.

Oluşturulacak tarafsız geçici hükümet, yabancı güçlerin tamamen çekilmiş olduğu ve onların yerini MÜBG'in aldığı bir ortamda altı ay içerisinde seçimleri yaptırmalı ve milletin iradesi meclise yansmalıdır.

Bundan sonrası Afganların bileceği bir konudur.



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Bu süreçte şu uyarıyı da yapmış olalım: İşgalci güçler Afganistan'dan çekilmeden önce yerli aktörler arasında bir ulusal uzlaşa sağlanamazsa, Afganistan'da "herkesin herkesle savaştığı" yeni bir kanlı dönem başlar.

Şu da unutulmamalıdır ki, Afganlılar eğer kendi aralarında anlaşır ve kendi düzenlerini kurmaz, kendi iç uzlaşa ve barışlarını sağlamazlar ise: nasıl ki önceki yüzyıllarda dönemlerinin süper güçleri Birleşik Krallık ve Sovyetler Birliğinin, bu yüzyılın ilk çeyreğinde de ABD'nin yolu Afganistan'a düşmüşse, süper güç olma yolunda yürüyen Çin ve Hindistan'ın da yolunun Afganistan'a düşmesini beklemek safdillik olmaz.



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The Afghan Crisis and the Way Forward

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Introduction

Many Afghans have been affected by the over three decades of continuing war in Afghanistan. In this period, Afghanistan has become subject to two invasions by the two super powers of the world. These invasions left two million Afghans dead and more than two millions wounded and with disabilities. The continuation of these wars has badly destroyed the infrastructure of the country. As a result, the basic sectors, such as health, commerce and governance have greatly suffered. Additionally, the increase in the use and production of narcotics, increasing unemployment and poverty as well as illiteracy make the biggest challenges for the country.

In most cases, Afghans have justified their fight as a defense of the sovereignty of the country, but the conflict has continued even after the withdrawal of the external invaders. The instability does not only affected Afghans but also the regional countries from different perspectives. However, some of the regional stakeholders continue to support the ongoing conflicts in Afghanistan, but history proved that war is harmful for everyone and no one can get benefits of it.

In the last few years, there is a hope for ending the prolonged conflict in Afghanistan, but unfortunately the lack of a comprehensive policy, good governance, and political-will prevented the dreams of Afghans to come true.

Afghans and the conscious regional as well as international partners need to work hard for finding an end to this war. The local and international civil society can use its pressure and Turkey can play a key role in finding a solution to this conflict.

This essay tries to look into the historical evolution of the conflict, its causes and possible solutions will be discussed.



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First Section

Background of Crisis and Struggles for Peace

First: Start of the Crisis

On April 27th, 1978 the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan took the power of the country through a deadly coup. They had Marxist-communist beliefs. The Afghan communists widely called "Khalqis" wanted to remove even their political opponents. The Muslim people of Afghanistan stood against them and announced Jihad (Holy War) inside the country. The stand of the people gradually included the whole country and the communist government was going toward decline. In order to secure their puppet government which they installed behind the scene after April coup, they invaded the country on December 25th 1979.

Around hundred thousand USSR troops armed with advanced military, deployed to fight against the national resistance. A great number of foreign troops with their advanced weaponry could not stop Afghans from Jihad.

Military analysts of the time believed that the resistance of Afghans against the Red Army of Soviet Union would be ended in few weeks. But this assessment was based on the experience of Red Army in Eastern Europe which was challenged in Afghanistan.

Afghans continued their struggle and the overall leadership of Jihad was taken by the people who had Islamic references and were not satisfied with the disarrangements in Islamic world. The reason of this in Islamic world was the ruling of Royal families or dictatorial governments who took the power through military coups and did not support the interests of Muslims in their own countries and destroyed them through putting them in colonization.

For this argument, they stated their objectives beyond the withdrawal of foreigners in the following pattern:

1. Withdrawal of Russian forces and independence of the country;
2. Establishment of Islamic system instead of the puppet government of Soviet Union;



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3. Help and support to oppressed nations in Islamic world; struggle for the independence of these countries from internal dictatorship and external colonization which included the independence of Palestine on the top and priority.

The announcement of these objectives got the Islamic world and western countries that they should act in the case of Afghanistan in such manner that after the success of Mujahedeen they shouldn't be any threat for the colonized systems in the world, Zionistic system in Israel and interest of West in the region.

Second: West and the Afghan Dispute

The western countries helped Afghans during Jihad as they were afraid of the expansion of Soviet Union towards Indian Ocean, their control on procurement ways of petroleum, and international trade ways as the control of Soviet Union was a threat to the strategic interests of the West.

This was the reason that they supported the Afghan Jihad and wanted Afghans to defeat Soviet Union. Meanwhile, they get involved in a long term war in Afghanistan so their casualties get increased and they get defeated in economical areas so couldn't compete West in any areas.

Western countries were emphasizing on three strategic points in Afghanistan:

1. Financial and military support of Afghan Mujahedeen to avoid the expansion of Soviet Union towards warm water and also weakening and destroying of Soviet Union in a long term war;
2. Preventing the establishment of Islamic state by the ideology of Jihadi leaders and a full understanding of Islam that will lead to the movement and civilization of Islamic Ummah;
3. Preventing that the Jihad of Afghanistan will cause problems to the partners of West.

West in the light of its strategy supported the Mujahedeen in financial and military areas so they could beat Soviet Union and compelled them to leave Afghanistan after a great loss in Afghanistan and in this area western countries and especially United States of America had very generous aids.



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West beside these aids tried to bring Jihadi leaders under their influence and convince them that they should leave their beyond Afghanistan objectives that was considered a big fly by some of the analysts and only focus on the withdrawal of Soviet Union forces from Afghanistan. They struggled for this objective and in the result there was no coordination by this Jihadi leadership on the issue of Afghanistan after the government of Najeebullah.

Russians were defeated in Afghanistan and in this ten years war there were great casualties for the Russians. Almost 14,500 Russian soldiers have been killed and 50 thousand others wounded. Soviet Union pull out its troops from Afghanistan in 1989. As the result of this pull out, the Soviet Union smashed into pieces and America succeeded against his strategic rival. This was the time when USA introduced itself gendarme of the region.

Mujahedeen were able to collapse the government of Dr. Najeebullah on April 28th 1992 but they couldn't solve the key issues of power sharing. As a result, the conflicts between the two major groups (Hizb-e-Islami & Jamiat-e-Islami) have been started. These parties were armed with advanced military equipment which was left from Post-Soviet Union and had greater influence in many of the country.

Although all sides tried to solve the problems among them through negotiation but, they didn't work and faithlessness increased to its highness among them and as a result internal war from 1992 to 1996 started and many innocent people were killed in Kabul. The key areas of the capital Kabul were destroyed and the hopes that were made by the Afghans and Muslim around the world by defeating communist regime dashed. They people of Afghanistan were tired of the situation and wanted to live in an atmosphere of peace and stability.

As the result of change and needs of Afghanistan the Taliban came into existence. Taliban in very short time were able to take the control on key areas in Afghanistan. This was the time when Osama Bin Laden who was in the East of Afghanistan and came at the time of Mujahedeen was able to make good relationship with Taliban and as the result the partnership between Taliban and Al-Qaida came into existence. As a result of this partnership further actions are developed to facilitate the 9/11 attack, 2011.



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Third: Afghanistan after 2001

In 2001, US invaded Afghanistan and ousted the Taliban rule. This assault which was for taking the revenge of September 11th incidents and death of 3000 Americans killed 40 thousand Afghans. And the reality is that no Afghan had hands in the September 11th incidents.

After US invasion and knock-down of Taliban regime, the new Afghan government established, and Taliban with Hizbi-e-Islami listed as terrorist groups. As the result of a US and its ally's military operations some of the Taliban were captured, some killed, and some were able to hide themselves in north and south areas of Afghanistan and Pakistan (Waziristan).

This scenario continued up to 2005 and after 2005 Taliban was able to gradually organize their lines and attack Americans in many areas of Afghanistan and the casualties of Americans went high.

Fourth: Strategic Change

When Americans came to know that the war in Afghanistan cost them a lot, casualties increased and they can't success through military ways tried to change their strategy. In this way, in 2009 in London Conference where the leaders of American allied countries gathered agreed on the following points:

1. The crisis in Afghanistan can't be solved through war. Diplomatic ways should be selected and opposition should be invited for peace negotiations. But their understanding from the peace was instigation of Taliban members to the government and that's why they allocated a high amount of money for this;
2. Security forces of Afghanistan (Army, Police, and Intelligence) should be empowered so they could meet the security needs. As the result the causality of westerns decreased and gradually the fighting & operational responsibilities be given to Afghan forces;
3. Regional cooperation for peace and stability of Afghanistan be strengthened and neighbors countries by taking their hands from oppositions should support Afghan government.



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As the result of this conference and Kabul conference which took place after six months; Afghan government called a Consultative High Assembly (Loya – Jirga) and in the result of this high assembly the High Peace Council of Afghanistan came into existence which will present the peace and negotiation strategy of Afghanistan to the opposition.

High Peace Council of Afghanistan in the leadership of Ustad Burhanuddin Rabbani one of the Jihadi personalities and ex-president of Afghanistan came into existence. This council was trying to encourage Taliban in different areas of Afghanistan for integration with Afghan government. Taliban took this action as a danger for them and started enemy stand against the council and as the result Ustad Burhanuddin Rabbani was martyred.

High Peace Council with many visits to many countries couldn't succeed to have a meeting with Taliban. President Hamid Karzai invited Taliban many times for peace negotiation but the inexistence of specific address of Taliban couldn't make it possible. As the result many voices from many sides demanded a specific address for Taliban that Taliban should be allowed to have a specific address for peace negotiation.

Fifth: Taliban Qatar Office

With all the changes in the strategy of America and Afghan government, Taliban had a firm stand that American forces should leave Afghanistan and the legitimate government that was removed through power and weapon should come to existence again. Taliban announced that they will not talk to government of Afghanistan and High Peace Council but showed their readiness for negotiation with America for solving bilateral problems. Americans also wanted the existence of a specific address for negotiation and as the result of agreement with American the Office of Qatar came into existence and the leadership of Taliban announced that the only door of negotiation is the very office.

Sixth: Softness of Taliban

When Americans announced that they will leave Afghanistan and when the office of Taliban was opened in Qatar. Taliban somehow showed flexibility in their stance and in the internal issues and behavior showed some softness. They also took measureable diplomacy in the general issues



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of the country. They announced that after the withdrawal of American forces they will not keep the power with themselves but by involving relevant Afghan sides will have negotiation. For the same reason, meetings between Taliban and some of the elites, political parties of the country took place in Dubai, Qatar and some other countries. Some visits to some other countries like China also took place by Taliban and sources near to Taliban said the purpose of the visit is to let these countries know about the stand of Taliban who are worried about the coming back of Taliban to power.

Seventh: Misunderstanding of Afghan Government

The ex-president of Afghanistan “Hamid Karzai” was repeating that the key of peace is with Pakistan and USA and if they want there could be peace and stability in the country and for the same purpose Hamid Karzai had almost 20 visits to Pakistan and many other visits by High Peace Council to convince them for peace process.

Pakistan for getting privileges from Afghanistan and America in this issue showed that the key of peace is with them and they have influence in the decisions. Therefore, many trilateral meetings (Afghanistan, Pakistan and United Kingdom) took place and in some of the meetings for peace and stability in Afghanistan some deadlines were also indicated but none of them got practical shape.

Eight: The New Government and Peace Issue

Dr. Ashraf Ghani in his election campaign repeated that peace issue will be in priority and the same issue was said on inauguration day of the new government of oath ceremony and this emerged many hopes among the Afghans.

President Ghani with this containment that Pakistan has role in peace and stability of Afghanistan visited Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirate and Pakistan as these three countries are counted as strategic triangle in the region. With this Mr. Ghani also visited China which has close ties with Pakistan. Afghanistan to express its goodwill to Pakistan kept its relationship colder with India as compare to Hamid Karzai’s term.



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With the killing of around 300 school students in Pakistan, analysts believed that Pakistan after this will jointly work with Afghanistan in peace and stability process. The general media also showed that based on the commitment of Pakistan the Taliban leaders might meet the Afghan group in March of the current year. But with the passage of time the hopes dashed as this meeting hasn't taken place.

Ninth: Base for Peace and Stability

A high number of analysts believe that in this recent compare to any other time, there is a good ground and base for peace and ending crisis and in this area there are following major factors:

1. US announcement of leaving Afghanistan till the end of 2016, although they will review their decision on the request of the president of the country;
2. Based on the agreement between the leaders of National Unity Government, there will be High Assembly (Loya-Jirga) after two years of the government in which they will bring some of the changes in the constitution;
3. The changes in Middle East and the possibility of emergence of Islamic State in Afghanistan satisfied almost all sides and parts to show their readiness for peace and stability.

Second Section

The Way Forward

After considering the past experience of peace and war in Afghanistan and the information that are discussed, the following steps are necessary for peace and stability:

First: The Mobility of Civil Society

Formation of pressure groups as an initial step towards ending war and everlasting peace should be encouraged inside the country which in reality should not only put pressure but should also become successful in national reconciliation and in ending the ongoing war. Such kind of groups currently exists, but they aren't coordinated with each other. Even in the foreign countries, many



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Afghans are working for peace and national reconciliation and in this regard they have founded civil society organizations. In this regard, if all the active sides come under one umbrella, make an axis of peace and dialogue, and by using different resources and civil society's pressure for bringing peace, so that all the sides should listen to their demands. They should try to get the support of all sides; get the support of people, civil societies, high peace council, Scholars' Council, Members of Parliament... etc. and in the end become successful in bringing the real Afghan-driven axis for peaceful reconciliation process. The Think Tanks within Afghanistan should, in a true sense, research about peace and stability and should indicate the reasons of war and its solutions. They should show the importance and necessity of peace and stability through conferences, round tables, and research papers and in this regards, they should show elites their responsibilities so they are able to provide the ground for negotiation in the country. These steps are important in making up minds

In addition, the mobility of international civil societies (think tanks and research centers) are also very important, so they put pressure on their respective countries, struggle for peace and stability and aware them about the bad effects of war.

Second: Creating a Neutral arbitrator Group

In the second step, a neutral arbitrator group should be created, which will plan for enduring peace and stability in the country. In the first step, they would tell the involved groups about the importance of national reconciliation, and in the second step, they should convince them about it. And step by step, they should indicate the demands of peaceful negotiations, and for its implementation purpose they should act neutrally and if there are obstacles in the path, they should act wisely as the secretariat of peace or we could call them the peace specialists. This group should be made up from political and academic elites. They should be experts in Afghan issues and must understand the factors and realities of Afghan society and must hate the ongoing war.

This group should not be a part of war or should not be engaged with those parties who are involved in the ongoing war. The group should independently solve the issues of the country and there strives shouldn't be for their own personal motives.



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Third: Creating a Guarantor axis for Peaceful Process

In the current situation, creating an external axis for peaceful process within the framework of Organization of Islamic Cooperation and United Nations seems to be fruitful. But it is important that the initiative of peaceful process should be Afghan-owned and must be non-aligned in the current disputes of the country, and shouldn't reflect the views of any opposition groups.

For the success of Afghan-led initiative, it is important to note that the external axis should support the process. For the implementation of Afghan-led peaceful process, they would help in providing grounds, enforcement and executive covering. They should also monitor the commitments made by Afghans in peaceful process and this is the way that the external pivot will be trusted by both sides that are involved in the problems of Afghanistan and should be counted as an important and key for all sides. These actions will play an important role in the implementation of commitments and will make the peaceful process more fruitful.

This guarantor axis for Afghan peaceful process will provide arbitrators working area and will help them in satisfaction of the involved sides in the issue of Afghanistan, whether it is Afghan side, regional sides (neighbors), or western sides (America & NATO). This will also help the involved sides in the issue of Afghanistan for a peaceful negotiation and provide grounds for trips of different delegations suggested by guarantor axis and they can always have close contact with guarantor axis.

Of course, Turkey in its current position can play a key role in creating such type of a guarantor axis.



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Mohammad Faheem DASHTY

President, Afghanistan's National Journalists Union

Country: Afghanistan

Since it is birth as a country, Pakistan has always had problem with Afghanistan. The Durand line is the base for all these problems.

Afghan leaders have had problems with Pakistan when this country was being separated from India. Mohammad Daud was one of the very severe opposition of Pakistan when working as the Supporting Prime Minister of Mohammad Zahir Shah and Foreign Affairs Minister or when he become the President of Afghanistan after throwing up a coup d'état against his cousin. Even once was a step far from the war with that country, sending the military troops to the borders of Pakistan.

The territorial claim of Afghanistan in relation to some parts of the Pakistan, not only brought up failure to Afghanistan to own those areas, but with the changes in the situation and the leftist parties being supported by Soviets Union in Afghanistan coming to power caused the situation to turn on in the favor of Pakistan.

In fact Pakistan is the only country who has been interfering in all issues of Afghanistan directly, continuously and broadly since 1978.

The Mujahidin leaders, seeking out for shelter in this country, even during the presidential regime of Mohammad Daud – and flow of refugees after the leftist parties came up with the power and specially existence of the Red Army in Afghanistan created good opportunities for Pakistan to interfere in Afghan affairs, while Pakistanis knew in case Afghanistan becomes powerful, the dispute on the territory can create a big headache for them and therefore, misused this opportunity.

Supporting the Afghan Mujahid Groups by Arabic and Western countries which should have naturally been done through Pakistan did not only created the occasion for Pakistan to penetrate



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over these groups, but also give them a big start for the economic empowerment of their country and even increase of military forces to the extent that this country was changed to a nuclear power in the region.

Pakistanis used to obscurely or clearly pick up their share of financial aids and arms being donated to Afghan Mujahidin group and the Arabic and Western countries who were striving to ground up the Soviets Union in Afghanistan had no other option but to waiver this abuse being done by Pakistan and even they were forced to assign some direct aids for the Pakistan.

Pakistan did not only used this opportunity to interfere in Afghan affairs, but it also picked up a wide profit to create balance in competing India (the historical enemy of Pakistan).

The startup which was interposed to Pakistan gave the conclusion to the leaders and mostly the military characters of this country that a puppet government in Afghanistan can also calm down the territorial disputes with Afghanistan and with creation of strategic depth in Afghanistan, Pakistan can have a better position competing with India.

A unilateral and very severe support from the Islamic Party of Hekmatyar and later Taliban groups shows the clear efforts of Pakistan in this regard; but instead going to the historical past of this issue – as it is clear as nothing could be added to that – the current position of Pakistan and its role being played in the future of Afghanistan and the region is way more important.

As per the reasons stated above, Pakistan was trying to create a puppet government in Afghanistan or at least keep this country to an extent of instability and crisis so that from the one hand Afghanistan wouldn't follow the dispute in regards to the territorial issues between two countries and from the other hand the loyal people to Pakistan create the opportunity to misuse Afghanistan in probable war of Pakistan with India.

These efforts were known as “StrategicDepth” phrase in the Regional Strategy of Pakistan, the phrases which might have omitted from the regional strategy, especially Pakistan's strategy for Afghanistan.

It was the last phase of the Parwiz Musharaf's presidential regime in 2007 that efforts to change the strategy of this country towards Afghanistan and support of terroristic groups were revealed.



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This time as usual, it was the Pakistani army to decide in this regard, but within the army, the existence of those circles who were coming up with new plans were in a weaker position comparing to those who were still supporting and being interested to the instability in Afghanistan and support to terroristic and extremist groups in Afghanistan.

The new plans designed by a number of circles in the Pakistani Army were due to deep understanding, such as injury of Pakistan's worldwide credibility, economic weaknesses, being lagged competing with India and conversion of terroristic groups to a severe threat and in fact losing control over a number of these terroristic groups.

Another important reason in this strategic change was the new position of Afghanistan in a competing mutual agreement with Pakistan. However the Afghan government has always denied this issue, but the truth is that a number of terroristic groups which are in opposition with Pakistan are now based in parts of Afghanistan (Eastern parts of Afghanistan which shares the borders with Pakistan and neighboring Balochistan areas) - and even there are some information that these groups have got the technical and financial support of Afghan and Indian governments too.

later on, the supporters of this new plan were increased in both the army and intra and outer governmental politician of Pakistan and this to the extents that in spite of the huge crises onto the Pakistani Army, the army did not show up to take part in internal affairs of this country, because in case of taking part in all these could lead to another coup d'état and this way Pakistan would have further isolated and the pressure by the western countries would have increased and meanwhile the threats of extremist groups would have intensified using the new opportunity.

Now it looks that the Pakistan's new strategy supporters have got better position and power to follow up this strategy.

As of now, the Pakistani army and politicians are trying to elaborate their new strategy to their supporters and convince them that they are loyal in their strategy and finally build their attraction support in this regard.



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The picture showing that the Pakistan's new strategy will help in bringing a better change in Afghanistan is not a true picture. To escape the crises which will be created due to economic and security challenges, Pakistan is trying to bypass supporting the terroristic groups and instead help the stability in Afghanistan, of course in the long term; this behavior of Pakistan will come up with benefits to Afghanistan.

However, it is not easy for Pakistan to go through this direction, but considering the changes which are due to be made in our region, Pakistan has no option but to follow this direction and experience show that Pakistan policy makers can be succeeded in such situations.

Accordingly, while there is a distrust on Pakistan's operations and procedure in Afghanistan and from the other hand Pakistan will also pay its efforts to maintain its interests to the highest extents, the new relations between Afghanistan and Pakistan would not be created as soon and that easy; but no doubt that relations based on bilateral support and respect could be formed anytime.

The major problems which are ahead of building relations between Afghanistan and Pakistan are multiple and varies from each to other.

- **The Diorand Border Line**

The Diorand Border Line was the main and major problem between two countries since the birth of Pakistan. From the Pakistanis point of view, this issue is already solved and this line is being recognized as the official border between the two countries. Pakistanis believe that Afghanistan can't have these parts following its claims in regards to ownership of some parts of Pakistan to Afghanistan in a bilateral deal and due to the international relations too, Afghanistan would come up with no success in this regard.

Therefore, there are still some concerns in Pakistan that formation of stability and a powerful government in Afghanistan, Afghans may claim this issue once again and create problems for Pakistan. Due to this reason, Pakistanis want to get rid of this issue before introducing their new strategy for Afghanistan.

During the past years the Pakistani authorities have brought up this issue with Afghanistan several times, but yet they have not received any response. The only way to



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this agreement anyway is the establishment of bilateral talks and if needed, the mediation of the international partners of Afghanistan and Pakistan can only be the solution to this problem and the result which could be imagined and assumed can be formed through such talks, not through chants regarding Pashtoonistan from one side or a total denial of the problem from the other side.

- **The Shared Rivers**

Pakistan is severely lacking water and this lack of water can create environmental problems for Pakistan and from the other hand can damage the agriculture of this country. Production of edible goods and its exports makes a major part of the Pakistan's economy and lack of resources can strongly injure the Pakistan economy.

India has built huge ports on its water shared with Pakistan and accordingly these ports has caused the less flow of water to Pakistan. Now Pakistan is worried that if Afghanistan also starts implementing such plans, water would be changed to an unattainable source in Pakistan.

Pakistanis has continuously insisted upon this issue in official and non official meetings and even through media and civil society outlets in that country.

In relation to this issue, Afghanistan and Pakistan need to agree upon exact terms and according to the international laws. Else, Afghanistan that needs to create better irrigation systems and production of power energy through different rivers, to use country's waters would not be able to achieve its aims. It is obvious that Afghanistan itself is not able to design big ports producing power and needs help and maybe loans from the international community, while the international donors and loan providers don't support such plans, only if there are major concerns over management and division of shared waters between Afghanistan and its neighboring countries.

- **Existence and Penetration of India**

Pakistan is seriously worried and concerned over the wide penetration of India in Afghanistan.

Pakistanis believe that India is supporting the opposing armed groups and trying to separate the Pakistani Taliban in East and South Afghanistan.



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One of the other concerns of Pakistan is the support of India from individuals and groups in Afghanistan who are the claimers of Diorand and Pashtoonistan issue. Indians have recently supported those civil society institutions and political parties in Afghanistan who are chanting about Pashtoonistan. In fact the Diorand and Pashtoonistan's issue has no strategic importance for India, but India is supporting the groups chanting Pashtoonistan, only to increase the concerns of Pakistan so that Pakistan follows up the instability in Afghanistan. From the other hand, those groups claiming the Diorand line and Pashtoonistan don't look from the point of strategic view, because they know that this claim is not close to the truth, but the chant only for their individual or group benefits.

This problem has got an easier solution, but only if both Afghanistan and Pakistan wants to follow such a solution. In this case, Afghanistan should make sure that existence of India does not threat Pakistan's security and political interests and prove this issue in action and from the other hand Pakistan should also not oppose the existence of India which could help in other aspects and bring positive change to Afghanistan.



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Afghanistan-Pakistan Relations

Rahimullah Khan YUSUFZAI

Journalist-Writer

Country: Pakistan

Pakistani Perspective

Other countries have interests in Afghanistan, but Pakistan has high stakes. Impact on Pakistan of whatever happens in Afghanistan is significant whether negative or positive.

Mistrust started soon after Pakistan's independence in 1947 when Afghanistan was the only country to oppose its membership in the United Nations by highlighting the issue of Pakhtunistan and the rights of Pashtun and Baloch people.

Afghanistan still hasn't formally recognized the Durand Line as an international border, though Pakistan has been downplaying the issue.

Former President Hamid Karzai memorably described Afghanistan and Pakistan as conjoined twins, and thus inseparable. As they say one can change friends but not neighbours. Afghanistan and Pakistan have to co-exist.

There have been some border clashes between the two countries in the past and Pakistan embassy in Kabul and consulate in Herat have been attacked a few times and even staff members killed.

Positive Ponds In Pak-Afghan Ties

There are many negative points in Pak-Afghan relations, but let's first talk about positives. King Zahir Shah told Pakistan not to worry about its western border with Afghanistan in 1965 when India and Pakistan went to war. Afghanistan had historical ties with India, but its sympathies in the 1965 Indo-Pakistan war and also the 1971 war were with Pakistan.

More than 100,000 Pakistanis are presently working in Afghanistan, most Afghans holding positions in bureaucracy and international organizations are Pakistan-educated and 70-80 %



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Afghans seeking treatment abroad come to Pakistan. Also, Pakistan is Afghanistan's biggest trade partner. More than 55,000 Afghans until last year used to daily cross official crossing points at Torkham and Chaman to enter Pakistan without visa (These numbers decreased after terrorist attack on the Army Public School in Peshawar on December 16, 2014 when Pakistan tightened security at the border).

Afghanistan is the third largest export market for Pakistani goods after the US and China. Pakistan's exports to Afghanistan increased from \$26m during Taliban rule in 2001 to \$1.2b in 2010, \$2b in 2011 and \$2.4b in 2014. If we include informal trade, the annual trade figure is estimated at over \$5b. Kabul and Islamabad want to take formal trade to \$5b and it is achievable. Afghanistan's exports to Pakistan are around \$200 million only as trade is in Pakistan's favour.

Unlike the past when Pakistan used its resources to assist Afghan armed groups and warlords, it is now investing in the Afghan people. Pakistan needs to befriend all Afghans instead of a particular ethnic group (Pashtuns) or militant faction (Taliban). Despite its economic woes, Pakistan gave \$500 million for Afghanistan's reconstruction.

The ongoing Pakistan-funded projects in Afghanistan include the Torkham-Jalalabad road, hostel of Rehman Baba School, Jinnah Hospital in Kabul, Aminullah Logari Hospital in Logar and Nishtar Kidney Centre in Jalalabad. Pakistani doctors have also held medical/eye camps in Afghanistan.

The completed Pakistan-sponsored projects include the rebuilt Rahman Baba School in Kabul, Engineering Faculty in Mazar-i-Sharif, Allama Iqbal Faculty of Humanities at Kabul University and Sir Syed Post-Graduate Faculty at Nangarhar University.

Pakistan is providing 3,000 scholarships to Afghan students for study in professional colleges and universities. Pakistan is also educating thousands of Afghan refugees' children.

Negative Points in Relationship

And now the negative points - full potential of the relationship would be realized if the political and security issues listed below are resolved.



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The relations have been troubled by the Durand Line border and Pakhtunistan issues, Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, Pakistan's support for Afghan mujahideen and later the Taliban, the ongoing conflict in Af-Pak region involving world and regional powers and non-state actors such as al-Qaeda, Islamic State, IMU, ETIM, Taliban & jihadi groups, the low-level insurgency in Pakistan's Balochistan province and India's role in Afghanistan.

Durand Line

More than 3 million Afghan refugees live in Pakistan, including almost 1.7 million who are registered (some unregistered refugees left after recent police crackdown). Perhaps nowhere else in the world so many refugees (5 million at one stage in the 1980s) have lived for so long in another country without causing any major social strife.

The problem is rooted in Afghanistan's support for Pakhtunistan and rejection of Durand Line border. Afghan governments, including those led by pro-Pakistan Afghan mujahideen and Taliban, never formally recognized the Durand Line. The 2,500-kms long border largely demarcated but disagreements exist at certain points. There were occasional border skirmishes, but these never got out of hand.

The biometrics system installed by Pakistan at Chaman border was destroyed by Afghans. Kabul also refused fencing and mining of border to stop infiltration of militants. Pakistan managed to fence 35 kms of the border at selected places as a joint project with Afghanistan/ISAF. Pakistan has been pushing for border management/controls, but Afghanistan until now was reluctant.

President Karzai once said Durand Line border was "a line of hatred that raised a wall between the two brothers." He also alleged that Pakistani officials asked him on every of his 20 visits to Pakistan to recognize the Durand Line. Afghan Mujahideen refused to accept it despite close ties to Pakistan. Taliban had a different view, remarking that there should be no borders between Muslims.

Pakistan's decision to dig a 480 kms long, 2.4m deep, 3m wide trench in its territory on a section of the Durand Line border in Balochistan was protested by Afghanistan. There are plans to dig trench on all of 1,100 kms border in Balochistan, but shortage of resources is coming in the way.



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Some Afghans said give us a permanent route to Arabian Sea via Balochistan and we will recognize the Durand Line. This long-standing issue could only be resolved if relations improve sufficiently.

Militancy & Insurgency

Following the post-9/11 US invasion of Afghanistan, cross-border infiltration of Afghan Taliban from Pakistan became a major irritant in Pak-Afghan relations.

Pakistan complained that fighters and weapons from Afghanistan were destabilizing its border areas. Several hundred Pakistani Taliban fighters from Malakand division and Bajaur and Mohmand tribal regions got refuge in Afghanistan's Kunar, Nuristan and Nangarhar provinces after the 2009 military operation and began using Afghan sanctuaries to launch attacks in Chitral, Lower Dir, Upper Dir, Bajaur and Mohmand. Pakistan is also concerned over the presence of Baloch separatists in Afghanistan (eg. BrahmadaghBugti was there and later assisted to seek political asylum in Switzerland).

The Afghan government and the US have been alleging that Afghan Taliban and Haqqani network use sanctuaries in Pakistan's tribal areas and Balochistan to launch attacks in Afghanistan. Afghans suspect Pakistan's support for Taliban is to install government of its choice in Kabul. Many Afghans believe Pakistani military is seeking "strategic depth" in Afghanistan in the event of another war with India. The denials by Pakistan aren't accepted.

Other irritants

Indian Factor

Pakistan is concerned about the rising Indian influence in Afghanistan and the use of Afghan soil to destabilize its Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Balochistan provinces. The trust deficit widened when Kabul signed strategic partnership agreement with New Delhi in 2011 and agreed to the Indian offer to train Afghan military officers. A similar offer by Pakistan was rejected. A growing number of Afghan officers are getting trained in India, including 1,100 in 2014.

General Raheel Sharif renewed the offer first made in 2011 to train Afghan Army officers. Also, made new offer to equip and arm Afghan Army brigade (which will obviously be fighting



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Taliban). Dr Ashraf Ghani was cautious as he is heading unity government with CEO Dr Abdullah and President Karzai had refused the offer. Finally, the Afghan government sent 6 cadets to Pakistan for military training (as a token). This could build trust as Pakistan is concerned that training of Afghan officers in India will influence (Afghan National Army (ANA)/Afghan National Police (ANP) against Pakistan (eg Soviet-trained Afghan Army officers staged coups in Afghanistan and enabled communists to come into power).

The supply of heavy Indian weapons to Afghanistan or Russian weapons paid by India could increase distrust between Kabul-Islamabad and Islamabad-New Delhi. (President Ghani's spokesman denied that he put the deal with India on hold. Ghani got 3 unarmed Indian Cheetal helicopters during his recent India visit). Indians were unhappy with Ghani that he gave Pakistan the lead role and India supporting role in Afghanistan). Diplomacy and political dialogue instead of weapons will bring peace to Afghanistan.

Karzai's 66-item "shopping list" to New Delhi in 2013 included tanks and spares for Afghanistan's small fleet of helicopters. Karzai wanted Indian instructors at the military academy in Kabul. New Delhi declined to deploy troops, including trainers, but increased the number of Afghan officers training in India to nearly 1,100 in 2014 from 574 in 2013.

The Afghan government needs to be sensitive to apprehensions of neighbours because there is this feeling in Pakistan that Afghanistan under Karzai didn't address Pakistan's concerns while forging close ties with India, particularly in security-related matters. Pakistan hasn't and shouldn't object to India's development assistance to Afghanistan.

Trade

Afghan transit trade through Pakistan continues to cause friction when containers/trucks bound for Afghanistan are held up at Karachi seaport or goods smuggled into Pakistan cause revenue losses and damage to its industry. Demand by Kabul and New Delhi that Islamabad should allow Indian goods to pass through Pakistan to Afghanistan is new addition to the contentious issues concerning the Afghan transit trade. (A happy President Ghani said during Pakistan visit that 13-year old issues were resolved in 3 days).



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Ghani's wish to develop Afghanistan's trade with Pakistan and India and strengthen trilateral commercial axis are hobbled by long-standing conflict between India and Pakistan. Initiatives such as the New Silk Route, Kashgar-Gwadar Economic Corridor are in early stage but interest of US, China and other countries would make these viable. In his India visit, Ghani said won't allow Pakistani trucks to reach Central Asian borders via Afghanistan if Pakistan didn't allow Afghan trucks with Afghan goods to drive up to Attari in India instead of Wahga inside Pakistani border.

Until last year, Afghanistan didn't want to discuss three issues – water, Afghan refugees and Durand Line with Pakistan. It agreed to discuss Afghan refugees issue after crackdown by police on unregistered Afghans in Pakistan after the terrorist attack on Peshawar school in which 153 persons, including 135 schoolchildren were killed.

Water Issues

Afghanistan and Pakistan discussed joint management of common rivers starting with 1,500 MW hydropower project on Kunar River, which is major tributary of Kabul River, but made no headway. Now China has stepped in to undertake this project with Afghanistan. Many in Pakistan believe it is in its interest to keep India out of this project.

World Bank projected 1.5% growth in Afghanistan in 2014, down from 3.7% in 2013 and 9.4 in 2012. There has been rapid decline in economic growth since Nato forces began withdrawing. There could be civil unrest if international assistance declines as projected and the Afghan unity government doesn't deliver. This could cause further insecurity in Afghanistan and impact relations with Pakistan.

China's Political Activism

Pakistan helped organize Chinese diplomats meeting with Mulla Omar, who assured that there would be no attacks from Afghan soil against China. (Chinese were only foreign diplomats who met Omar during Taliban rule). Chinese contacts with Afghan Taliban are old. (Taliban delegation visited China before Ghani visit to Beijing in late 2014).



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In July 2014 China appointed special envoy, Sun Yuxi to Afghanistan. China getting involved politically and on security issues in Afghanistan, banking on Pakistan to bring Taliban to negotiating table. This is first time that China is playing a political role as it is concerned about the power vacuum in Afghanistan after Nato withdrawal being filled by militants including East Turkestan Islamic Movement (ETIM).

Pak-Afghan Military Ties

The Afghan National Security Forces (ANSF) with a claimed strength of 350,000 isn't fully trained and largely untested in battle. The US spent \$62 billion on ANSF, but desertion rates are high. Lately skepticism on ANSF's real strength as US says the figures were inflated.

The prospects of Pak-Afghan military and intelligence cooperation have improved, but in early stage. There is yet no proper border management and joint operations haven't taken place. Afghan/Nato action against Pakistani and Afghan Taliban in Nangarhar killed 25 militants and injured TTP commander Omar Khalid Khurasani. (Kunarwas action mainly against Afghan Taliban in Dangam district). US drone strikes have increased and are targetting both Afghan and Pakistani Taliban. For the first time, 6 Afghan cadets are doing 18-month training at Pakistan Military Academy at Kakul near Abbottabad. Afghan officials earlier claimed their military officers unwilling to train in Afghanistan.

Military cooperation is vulnerable to political and security situation. Both Kabul and Islamabad are waiting and hoping for decisive action by each other against militants present in Afghanistan and Pakistan.

US Role

President Dr Ashraf Ghani and CEO Dr Abdullah's recent US visit did much to repair damage done to US-Afghan relationship, primarily during Karzai rule. President Obama pledged to continue funding for 352,000 Afghan forces until 2017, maintain presence of 10,800 US troops until end of 2016 instead of pulling out half by end 2015, and additional \$800m aid to Afghan government's reform agenda.

Peace Talks/Impact on Pak-Afghan Ties



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Pakistan's role – made two proposals to Afghan Taliban leadership – agree to peace talks with Afghan government and publicly dissociate from Pakistani Taliban

Taliban haven't yet formally agreed to the proposals. Taliban's RahbariShura (Leadership Council) didn't take decision as there is division in its ranks on holding peace talks with Kabul. Taliban Shura left it to supreme leader Mulla Omar (referred to as AmirulMomineen) to make final decision. Mulla Omar's fate unknown and even Taliban are now asking questions about his whereabouts. He is the final authority in Taliban decision-making and is holding Taliban movement together.

There are differences in Taliban ranks on peace talks – fighters and commanders mostly oppose, politicians mainly support talks. Pakistan hasn't yet applied real pressure on Taliban to accept its two proposals. However, Taliban are complaining of tremendous ISI pressure. They worry that feel will lose sanctuaries in Pakistan if don't agree. More Pakistani pressure could also cause split in Taliban ranks

Differences also exist in Afghan unity government on talks with Taliban as Ashraf Ghani is keen and Abdullah less inclined to do so. Abdullah wants conditional talks with Taliban and has said Taliban fighters willing to talk would have to stop fighting. The recent increase in Taliban attacks is causing decline in support for talks in Afghanistan.

The Spring offensive named "Azm" (Resolve) was launched by Taliban in late April. The increase in Taliban attacks means the chances of peace talks and its success would recede. Power-sharing between Taliban and Afghan government looks a difficult proposition.

Pakistan for the first time condemned Taliban Spring offensive recently. The blame-game between Kabul and Islamabad had stopped since Ghani's election but could resume if no peace talks. Kabul recently alleged that fighters from Pakistan entering Afghanistan to take part in Spring offensive, but Pakistan issued denial. Pakistan still trying to persuade Taliban to agree to peace talks with Afghan government, but the latter is getting disappointed due to the delay.

There were no peace talks in Qatar recently. It was just a conference hosted by Pugwash where 18-member delegation from Afghanistan and 8 Taliban representatives and some other Afghans



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attended in personal capacity and gave their views on how to restore peace in Afghanistan. The formal peace talks between the Afghan government and Taliban not yet in sight despite Pakistan's efforts.

The future of Afghanistan-Pakistan relations depends largely on the success or failure of peace talks involving Taliban.



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Afghanistan-Pakistan Relations

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Country: Afganistan

Pakistan's Hypocritical or Contradictory Positions

Introduction

The Bone Conference and the formation of the new temporary government of Afghanistan made lots of ray of hopes. Afghanistan availed an opportunity that progress and improvement will be bestowed upon this country and it will have better relations with the neighboring country specifically with Pakistan which shares equal culture, race, history and so on. If one of them confronts with any sort of trouble (destruction), intuitively the other one or the region or globally other countries will be adversary affected.

Since Afghanistan is a country which has experienced so many tragedies. In such tragedies, of course the neighboring countries or the international communities have intervened or intruded in it because communities can be geographically benefitted by Afghanistan.

A Short Glance to Afghanistan

Afghanistan is a landlocked country and its location is dangerous since it has boundaries with Pakistan, Iran, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, and China.

Looking back to the history, Afghanistan was a country where all the countries used to deliver their goods or commodities through it. Besides, economically it has a Silk Road which has great role in boosting the economy.

Moreover, Afghanistan was a country where super powers of the era came to rule or stay in the land such as the Alexander the Great, Changiz Khan, or Britain and recently the USA where some less of them could stay in here.



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The word Pakistan is the combination of Pakis and Land which means the land of the pures.

Pakistan is almost 60 years old country where the most residents come from Sindh that faces many troubles now a days.

Since the establishment of Pakistan in 1947, this country has been faced with multiple issues such as war with the neighboring countries, civil violence, poverty, floods, droughts, political instability, over population and such more countless issues.

On the other hand, Pakistan enjoys its climate, enough water, great agriculture, access to the rivers and geopolitical location which gathered and empowered Pakistan to have atomic weapons and be among the decision making countries in the region.

In conclusion, Pakistan benefitted itself oppositely from the issues that it has been suffering from which is aforementioned during the 60 years span of time.

Background of Afghanistan-Pakistan Relations

1. We can divide the breach of Afghanistan and Pakistan relations into four different categories:1947 – 1978 (1326 – 1357): The division of Pashtunistan.
2. 1357 – 1371: The era when USSR attacked on Afghanistan and Pakistan was directly helping Mujahideen to fight against USSR in Afghanistan.
3. From the success of Mujahideen till 1380 (Sep 11th) took place and Pakistan was supporting Taliban to insecure Afghanistan.
4. After 1385 when the Bone conferences took place and the main agenda was, Pakistan and Afghanistan should work to annihilate terrorism from the region.

Main Factors Affecting Afghanistan-Pakistan Relations

If we give a precise and careful attention to the Afghanistan-Pakistan relations, we will come up with the following points:

1. Land can be the main factor affecting the relations of the both countries.
2. Lack of contract of the division of the land.
3. Lack of enthusiasm of Afghanistan to separate the borders from Pakistan.



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4. Afghanistan's economical resources.
5. Afghanistan's relations with India

Pakistan's Hypocritical Stand on Afghanistan

Most of the media analysts have mentioned several times that Pakistan is playing double role mainly as on the one hand it helps NATO in supplying the weapons, food and other stuff either via road or air, but on the other hand they help Taliban in bringing insecurity and providing them their own land to get training in Pakistan and then fight in Afghanistan.

We can have the following factors in supporting my words:

First Factor

India and Pakistan's Conflict

The conflicts between these two countries have emerged right after the isolation of the land in 1947 and Britain have stepped out of their conflict.

So if Afghanistan establishes its relations with one of these mentioned countries, the other one will consider Afghanistan its enemy. Afghanistan's relations with Pakistan have gone worse since Pakistan separated from India in 1947 and Pakistan announced Durand line its borders with Afghanistan which was signed between Afghan government and Britain in 1893.

Pakistan believes that:

1. Pakistan believes that India manipulates Afghanistan against Pakistan.
2. India is doing its intelligence activities via using Afghan land against Pakistan.
3. It is all about suppressing Pakistan when Afghanistan maintains its relations with India.
4. Both countries have interest in Afghanistan but sometimes their interest cause conflicts.
5. India tries to stop Afghanistan's river from moving to Pakistan.

Second Factor

Pakistan deems Afghanistan as its strategic depth:



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While Pakistan is the strategy maker of the country, they were deeming that Afghanistan is the depth of their strategies. It means that Afghanistan's ruling government is a profundity for Pakistan's strategies. In this sense, if the ruling government in Afghanistan is not the puppet of Pakistan, at least it must obey Pakistan. Pakistan tends Afghan government to work for their interests and never should expect any trouble from Afghanistan.

Therefore, Afghanistan's current government is not in the favor of Pakistan. Pakistan feels that we are being threatened by the international community involved in Afghanistan.

Third Factor

Pakistan's strategic interests:

Pakistan thinks and believes that presence of international society in Afghanistan is against Pakistan's strategic interests. According to USA strategic policies, China must not be able to contest USA in an international stage in the coming decade, therefore USA wants to support and convert India as a strong competitor of China. It is only possible when US gives further importance to India in the region.

Handing over the Key Role to India in the Region:

1. Struggles for weakening Pakistan's effort against India.
2. Decreasing Pakistan role to deprive them from the public support.
3. Depriving Pakistan's nuclear power.
4. Increasing internal dissonance and the sense of failure in Pakistan.
5. Pakistan must face the encounter of Afghanistan not India.

Fourth Factor

Pakistan's unconditional propensity over Afghan leaders:

From the support of the *Jihad (holy war)* against former Soviet Union till now. Pakistan pretends that they have the right to have influence and control over Afghan leaders. Although Pakistan took greater advantage of that war and even it become the nuclear power through this phenomenon, besides this, they interfere in Afghanistan and they think that Pakistan is the only



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country to which Afghan leaders must obey and keep working for Pakistan's interests more than their own country.

Fifth Factor

The history of Pakistan-USA relationship

One the most important factors regarding Pakistan's positioning against Afghanistan is the long history of Pakistan-USA relationship. Pakistani analysts know USA as an untruthful side because they think all along the history USA has left Pakistan aside after reaching their interests and is not faithful to Pakistan. According to these experiences, the Pakistani think tanks and policy makers are much cautious and curious in dealing with USA. Therefore, Pakistan considers it in any kind of positioning and never believes USA's promises and at the same time this is the reason of USA's changeable and Decisive positioning.

Sixth Factor

Struggles for solving Durand line issue:

The (Durand Line) is the border, 2,640 kilometers (1,640 mi) long, between Afghanistan and Pakistan. It was established in 1893 by agreement between a British diplomat and civil servant of British India, and Abdur Rahman Khan, the Afghan Amir, to fix the limit of their respective spheres of influence and improve diplomatic relations and trade. From that period of time, Pakistan tries to get the advantage of war struck Afghanistan's current conditions and to win the game by any kind of tricks. Pakistan pressurized Taliban to sign again the agreement but Taliban were not the only representative of all Afghans so they could not sign the agreement of Durand Line.

Pakistan government has been influencing and threatening Afghan government to sign the agreement through endangering the country and many more pressures.

Seventh Factor

The Observance of Pakistani allies:



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One of the most aggressive background stimulation of Pakistan regarding Afghanistan issue is the observance of its allies. Indeed, Pakistan never acts against interests of its allies specially china and Saudi Arabia. For example, china's interests demands that in Afghanistan never deep-seat a government which allows US and NATO forces in the country. China believes that the long term presence of US and NATO forces threatens their interests in the region.

Eighth Factor

Obtaining financial, technological and weaponry assistance from USA:

Pakistan's hypocritical politics with Afghanistan is based on receiving assistance from US. Pakistan urgently needs US aid to be able to fight with or defend themselves from its everlasting enemy (India) so they can stabilize their army and other administrative activities.

In conclusion, Pakistan has received so much either legitimately and illegitimately assistance from US via using Pakistan's borders.

Ninth Factor

Pakistan to draw the attention of US:

Pakistan tries its best to grasp US attention because Pakistan's politicians believe that if US stands with any country either India or Pakistan so that country will be the winner of Kashmir issue. That is why, whatever US wants from Pakistan, Pakistan tries to avail it to the USA.

Tenth Factor

Fear of US and NATO:

The last but the least factor which adversary affects the relations is the Pakistan's fear of US and NATO. When US pressurized Pakistan to help them enter to Afghanistan, Pakistan helped USA in all areas. Since that, Pakistan tries to do all sort of intelligence and other stuff for US in Afghanistan.

Besides, most of Pakistan's authorities believe that it is dreadful diplomacy that they are using to benefit Pakistan.



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Conclusion

These contradictory actions undertaken by Pakistan i.e. on the one hand helping US and on the other hand helping terrorism have reasons which are mentioned as in the below:

Reason# 1: Pakistan tries its utmost to withdraw US troops from Afghanistan. The reason is not for the sake of religion but to keep their self-interest cause they think US can be harmful for Pakistan if they stay in Afghanistan.

Reason#2: Pakistan wants the authorities of Afghanistan especially the President to act in the favor of Pakistan and Pakistan will rule and preside over Afghanistan which is impossible. So, Afghanistan does not have any other alternative but to incline to India. As it inclines, Pakistan feels bad and here comes the gap between both countries.

Reason#3: As Pakistan tries to benefit themselves either financially, technologically, or weaponry is their right. But it will no longer be acceptable to sacrifice their neighboring countries for the sake of their self-interest.

Eventually, Pakistan should change their policy towards Afghanistan. Otherwise, not only Afghanistan but also Pakistan will be confronted with the problems that there will be no solution for any of them to survive.



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Pak Afghan Relations

Past Present & Future

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Country: Pakistan

Abstract

Among the neighboring states, Pakistan's fate is the most intertwined with that of Afghanistan, as the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA), Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa (KP) and Balochistan function as the main refuge and supply-route into Afghanistan. Despite shared geography, ethnicity and faith, relations with Afghanistan have never been smooth. A secure and friendly North-Western border has always been Pakistan's desire and security requirement vis-à-vis India which, could never get materialized because of Afghanistan's instable situation. Historically Pakistan attaches great importance to its relations with Afghanistan despite of the fact that for over past three decades, Afghanistan has been marred with internal and external conflicts and Pakistan got affected somehow or the other. The talk of strategic depth, Transit Trade, future Railway track and possible strategic alliance between the two countries are of paramount importance for the two nations. Recently the leadership of both the countries have shown keen interest in the revival of relations and taken new initiative to enhance the prospects of peace and prosperity in the region.

Introduction

The Great Poet of the East, Allama Muhamamad Iqbal said about Afghanistan long ago:

ملت افغان در آن پیکر دل است آسیا یک پیکر آب و گل است

واز فساد او ، فساد آسیا از کشاد او ، کشاد آسیا



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Means that Asia is the composition (body) of water and earth and the Afghan nation is like the heart of this body. If the heart is happy and healthy the Asia will be happy and prosperous and if it is ruined then Asia is ruined.ⁱ

Historical Perspective on Afghanistan

Afghan historians write of a 5,000 years of recorded history for the land we know as Afghanistan. This land, over these millennia, has been an arena for wars and invasions by many conquerors. Some historian have called Afghanistan the “round about of empires,” while others described it as “the cross-road of Asia”.ⁱⁱ

Many empires from Alexander the Great in the 4th Century BC, to Genghis Khan in the 13th Century, Tamurlane in the 14th Century, the Indian Moghuls in the 16th and 17th Century, the Persians in 17th and 18th Century, the British in 19th Century, the Soviets at the end of the 20th Century and now Americans in the beginning of the 21st Century, have all traversed the length and breadth of the Afghanistan, leaving their marks on the country and its population. A lasting sign of some of these invading forces is the people they left behind, (to which I shall return later).ⁱⁱⁱ

These centuries of wars and occupation have turned Afghans into a warlike people, not only defending their own land but also invading others. The Afghan Pashtuns used to be recruited by the ancient Persians in their forays into Middle East and Greece. The Greek historian, Herodotus in his book, the Persian Wars, talks of a people who wear animal skins, fight with bows and arrows and speak a strange Persian language and call themselves from Paktuik, Pakticus and Paktika. These are no doubt present day Pashtuns from the provinces of Paktia. They no longer wear animal skins and have replaced their bows and arrows with machineguns, rocket launchers and an array of comparatively modern weapons, thanks to British, Soviets and American occupations.^{iv}

Pashtuns were also the majority of Sultan Mahmood of Ghazni soldiers in the 10th century who built an empire extending from Ghazni the then capital of Afghanistan, eastwards to Delhi and westward to the Mediterranean. Pashtun rule in India continued on and off for several centuries by three main dynasties: The Ghories, the Lodies and the Suries, who are historically referred to as the *Delhi sultanates*.



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In the 18th Century the western Pashtuns rose against the Persian Safavids, in 1709 and overthrew that 150 year-old empire and then proceeded to occupy the whole of the present day Iran for three decades. In the 19th Century Afghans twice (1839-42 & 1879-81) fought against the British Indian forces and again in 1919 for the last time; In the twentieth Century, Afghans defeated the Soviet Union after ten years of war leading to the breakdown of Russian empire, and the liberation of Eastern Europe. It is with great regret that Afghans are now facing another (American) super power at the turn of the 21st Century.^v

War on Terror

The **War on Terror (WoT)**, also known as the **Global War on Terrorism (GWOT)**, refers to the international military campaign that started after the 11 September 2001 terrorist attacks on the United States. The then U.S. President, George W. Bush, demanded the Taliban regime, which ruled Afghanistan at the time, to hand over Osama bin Laden to the United States which they refused. The United States led a coalition of NATO and non-NATO nations in the campaign to fight against Al-Qaeda. George W. Bush used the phrase *war on terrorism* in an unscripted and controversial comment when he said, "This crusade – this war on terrorism – is going to take a while Bush later apologized for this remark due to the negative connotations the term *crusade* has to people, e.g. of Muslim faith. The word *crusade* was not used again.^{vi}

In the last decade the politics of Afghanistan have been influenced by NATO countries, particularly the United States. In an effort to stabilize and democratize the country the nation's constitution was adopted and an executive president was elected in 2004. The following year a general election to choose parliamentarians took place. Hamid Karzai was declared the first ever democratically elected head of state in Afghanistan in 2004, winning a second five-year term in 2009. The nation is currently led by President Ashraf Ghani who is backed by two vice presidents, Abdul Rashid Dostum and Sarwar Danish.^{vii}

Bilateral Security Agreement (BSA)

The post-2014 U.S. military presence has been contingent on signature of the BSA. Ex-President Karzai refused to sign the document after Afghanistan and the United States finalized it in November 2013, after several months of negotiations over outstanding issues such as U.S.



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Operational authority and an Afghan demand for a security guarantee. However, Karzai subsequently stated that the signature be left to his successor, who will have to implement it. Karzai might have also been trying to address domestic pressure from those who saw the BSA as a forfeiture of Afghan sovereignty; pressure from Iran not to have U.S. forces in the region; possible concerns that signing the document would immediately render Karzai irrelevant to international powers. As presidential candidates, both Abdullah and Ghani pledged to sign the BSA. U.S. officials and commanders expressed concern that the long dispute over the Afghan presidential election delayed the signature further and was complicating U.S. and partner country planning for the post-2014 security mission.^{viii}

The United States and NATO had hoped that the agreements would be signed prior to the NATO summit on September 4-5, 2014, but that deadline was not met. The Ghani-Abdullah election dispute was resolved in late September— Ghani was inaugurated on September 29, and the next day the BSA was signed between U.S. Ambassador Cunningham and Ghani’s newly appointed National Security Advisor Mohammad Hanif Atmar. Afghanistan’s parliament ratified the BSA in late November 2014.^{ix}

The presence of permanent American bases in Afghanistan shall have an impact on the regional balance of power and particularly Iran, Pakistan and China shall have serious considerations on this issue in the years to come.

NATO and US Conclude Afghan Mission

On December 28, 2014, at formal ceremonies in Kabul, NATO and the US formally concluded their combat missions in Afghanistan and began their transition to a “non-combat mission in a combat environment.” The transition mission is called “Resolute Support.”^x

Afghanistan and Neighboring Countries

Afghanistan is influenced by many countries and nations surrounding its geographical boundaries including Iran, Pakistan, Central Asian Republics (Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan), Turkey, Russia, China, and India. This article focuses only on Afghanistan relation with Pakistan however; it will be interesting to know a few facts about Indian



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involvement in the affairs of Afghanistan which it called an extended neighborhood before dealing with Pak-Afghan relations.

India

India has been trying to enlarge its footprint in Afghanistan ever since the fall of Taliban regime and widened its engagement in trade, investment, reconstruction and development of Afghanistan. At the first meeting of Indo-Afghan Partnership Council in New Delhi held on 2nd May, 2012, India announced to host a conference on Afghanistan for regional investors. It has also agreed to train Afghan Security Forces.^{xi}

Indian influence and their relationship with Afghan Govt and their political leadership is of paramount importance for a student of Pak-Afghan relations.

In this context the economic engagement with Afghanistan has emerged as a strong driver of India's policy towards Afghanistan. The policy was formulated with the view that economic reconstruction would generate political capital, which would re-establish India's traditional ties with the people of Afghanistan in general and *Pashtuns* in particular.

India also realized that in the long term, economic engagement has the potential to change the regional security environment by creating stakeholders within Afghanistan that would make its presence sustainable. Its reconstruction efforts included the building of roads, schools, bridges, the Parliament house, electricity generation and the laying of transmission lines. India has also built a very strategic highway from Delaram [province of Farah] to Zaranj [province of Nimruz] on the Afghan-Iran border. The Delaram-Zaranj highway gets linked to the Iranian city of Zahedan and the Iranian sea port- Chahbahar. The linking of Delaram-Zaranj highway to the Iranian highway network leading to Chahbahar port on the Arabian Sea has reduced Afghanistan's dependence on Karachi (Pakistan) port by more than 80%.

Another road, built by an Indian company with aid from the Asian Development Bank (ADB), connects Kandahar with Spin Boldak. The total aid to Afghanistan for developmental activities at present stands at US \$ 02 billion. Afghanistan figures predominantly in Indian foreign policy and New Delhi attaches' great importance to it which is always a grave concern for Pakistan because



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in spite of the brotherly relations with Afghanistan its soil has been used by Indian secret agencies to train disgruntle Pakistani youth for subversive activities in the country.

Pakistan

Pakistan and Afghanistan are immediate neighbors having 2240 km common border formally known as Durand Line. Among the neighboring states, Pakistan's fate is the most intertwined with that of Afghanistan, as the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA), Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa (KP) and Balochistan function as the main refuge and supply-route into Afghanistan. Pakistan and Afghanistan share many common features as nations in addition to a long boundary which plays important role in bonding the two countries together. Some of them are as follows:

- a) Both are Muslim countries and majority of the population belong to Hanafi Sunni school of thought particularly influenced by Deoband religious school of India and the traditional Soofis as well.
- b) A small but vibrant part of people of both the countries belong to Shia sect also.
- c) A large number of people living near the borders of the two countries are Afghans better known as Pushtoons and speak the same language.
- d) As mentioned earlier historically rulers from Afghanistan have dominated the Pakistani areas for centuries and other wise also.
- e) The border is porous due to geographical and natural factors and same tribes living on either side.
- f) Karachi Port has been for a very long time an access to the world for Afghans and still major portion of its imports and exports goes through this Pakistani port.
- g) Since British rule in India Afghan Transit trade takes place through Pakistan to Afghanistan by Torkham and Chaman Routes. Only in the year 2013-14, 42274 numbers of containers passed through these routes.



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Due to these and many more reason both countries are linked together in every respect making them indispensable and inter dependent on each other. Despite shared geography, ethnicity and faith, relations with Afghanistan have never been smooth. A secure and friendly North-Western border has always been Pakistan's desire and security requirement vis-à-vis India which, could never get materialized because of Afghanistan's instable situation.

Strategic Depth

There is also element of dissatisfaction on Afghan side about Pakistan ambition known as "Strategic Depth" desired by some Pak strategists in the 60's. It means that Pakistan can gain a kind of strategic depth against Indian threat if Afghanistan allows its space and territory to be used by Pakistan for military and defense purpose. This has been a bone of contention between the two countries and particularly used as a propaganda tool by Indian loyalist in Afghanistan in the media. This is against the interest of Pakistan. Now in the presence of NATO and ISAF forces in Afghanistan and both the arch rivals becoming nuclear powers it has no relevance and Pakistani leadership have time and again condemned this misinformation.

Afghan Refugees

Approximately 1.7 million officially registered refugees from Afghanistan are currently living in Pakistan, most of them in KP, the FATA, and in Balochistan. It is estimated that another million non-registered Afghan refugees have sought refuge in Pakistan. Pakistan was crucial for the provision of logistical support to ISAF in Afghanistan. It remains the principal artery for transporting supplies and fuel to Afghanistan, even though an increasing part of supplies to ISAF forces is now directed through the "Northern Distribution Network" (NDN).^{xii}

Trade Links

The two countries are closely linked economically: Pakistan is the largest trading partner of Afghanistan. Pakistan share in the Afghan exports is (25.9%) a little more than India which is (25.5%) and the share in imports is (23.3%) second to USA (29.1%). Export commodities include fruits and nuts, hand-woven carpets, wool, cotton, hides and pelts, precious and semi-



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precious gems. Imports include machinery and other capital goods, food, textiles, petroleum products.^{xiii}

To promote trade, the two countries established a joint chamber of commerce in November 2010. Earlier on, in July of that year, both signed the Afghanistan-Pakistan Transit Trade Agreement (APTTA), which succeeds the Afghanistan Transit Trade Agreement (ATTA). The new agreement allows Afghan exports to India using the land border between Pakistan and India, although Afghan trucks are not allowed to pick up Indian goods and have to return empty. Moreover, it envisages the use of Afghan territory for trade between Pakistan and the Central Asian countries. Implementation of the agreement began in June 2011 and signifies great success for the Canada-brokered “Dubai Process” whose aim was to build understanding and co-operation between the two countries in a number of key areas, such as infrastructure, trade, customs, counter-narcotics, and law enforcement, among others.^{xiv}

Pakistan Afghan bilateral trade is on the rise for the last ten years. The balance of trade has always been in favor of Pakistan. Over the years the bilateral trade has raised up \$2508.7 with the balance of trade US \$ 2164.7 million in favor of Pakistan.

Pakistan Major Infrastructure Project in Afghanistan

- Expansion of Jalalabad Torkham Road
- Pakistan allocated USD 330 million for the reconstruction and development of Afghanistan
- Pakistan provides Afghans with 2,000 fully-funded university scholarships each year.
- 30,000 Afghans have completed their graduation/post-graduation from Pakistan's institutions.
- Education institutions built by Pakistani finance of worth \$ 29 Millions are Rahman Baba High School Kabul, Allama Iqbal Faculty of Arts at Kabul University, Sir Syyed Faculty Jalal Abad and Liaqat Ali Khan Engineering Faculty at Balkh University, Future of Pak-Afghan Relations Relationship^{xv}.
- Delivery of 200 Trucks, 100 Buses, 50 Ambulances and Mobile medical units.
- Provision of 10 millions schools books and other items to the Afghan students.



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- Pakistani oil and gas development company will help Afghanistan in oil and gas exploration.
- SNGPL and SSGC, both gas companies in Pakistan will help develop the Afghan transmission network.
- Water and Power Development Authority (WAPDA) of Pakistan to help Afghanistan develop hydro electric power generation on Kabul River.
- Pakistan offered machinery and equipment to Afghanistan to develop untapped mineral deposits in the country mining centers.

Pak Afghan Railways

Pakistan inherited a great railways system from their British rulers after its independence in 1947 stretched throughout the length and breadth of the country it measures 11778 KM mainly broad gauge. This railway track is connected to Afghanistan at Torkhum and Chaman borders. However there is no railway system in Afghanistan but has great potential and desire for it to cater for its cargo from the port of Karachi. There are good prospects of extending the railway track to centre of Asia through Afghanistan to the Central Asian Republics (CARS). Recently Pakistan has initiated a feasibility study for Pak-Afghan railway links. China has extended support to this vital project. If implemented it will change the destiny of the people of this region and greatly enhance the Pak-Afghan share in the global economic market.^{xvi} The China sponsored Kashgar-Gawadar Economic Corridor Project worth \$22 billion in Pakistan can also be connected through rail and highways to Afghanistan which is another significant development in future.

New Initiatives in Pak-Afghan Relations

Afghanistan's new president Ashraf Ghani visited Pakistan in November 2014. Pakistani leadership used this opportunity in a positive way and PM Nawaz Sharif extended full cooperation to his Afghan counterpart. Both countries decided to fight their common enemy "terrorism" and assured to cooperate. The new Afghan regime has been willing to work with the Pakistani military in curbing terrorism in both states and it is also stressing Pakistan to boost up the TAPI pipeline functioning. It can be seen that Ashraf Ghani is offering a sort of olive branch to its Eastern neighbor to restore the relations. It must be noted here that with the sole exception



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of the four years of Taliban rule (1997-2001) over Afghanistan, successive governments in Kabul have displayed varying degrees of disaffection towards Islamabad. Afghanistan besides its own security concerns also need to understand Pakistan's latent threats and security concerns. Two countries need to make a tango. Both countries need to craft regional peace and prosperity.^{xvii}

Pak-Afghan Relations-New Turn

A new turn came into Pak-Afghan relations after the deadly attack on Pakistani School on 16 December last year in which the terrorist coming from Afghanistan mercilessly killed 152 innocent students in Peshawar. Immediately a working relationship emerged between the political and military leaders of the two countries and both took keen interest and made all out efforts to take action against the killers and there perpetrators.

Conclusion

Historically Pakistan attaches great importance to its relations with Afghanistan despite of the fact that for over past three decades, Afghanistan has been marred with internal and external conflicts and Pakistan got affected somehow or the other. The time has come to say goodbye to the past rivalry and welcome the new era of cooperation. Stability and security in Afghanistan is important for Pakistan. This is the time to join the broken pieces of thread together. If we see from the optimistic side then, with the partial NATO drawdown in Afghanistan in late 2014, there has been an increasing momentum towards peace in the region. This outcome has mainly arisen due to change in the government in Kabul and might be fully realized due to China's increasing interest in Afghanistan. Pakistani business's have their eyes fixed on Afghanistan in order to access Central Asian markets.

Afghanistan has started to see regional and international players as partners rather than opponents and is looking forward to economically benefit from a partnership with important regional and global players such as India, Pakistan and China. In this effort, it might actually establish regional and global integration. This is a juncture in South Asia's post-colonial history where it is most pertinent to perceive neighbors as partners rather than foes. Foreign actors like US, Britain and EU must also help them for achieving their goals.



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Lastly political stability in both countries is a key to strengthen relations. With Ashraf Ghani and Abdullah Abdullah on the driving seat, it appears they are all set to forge new partnerships and building new linkages.

The future of Pak Afghan relations depend heavily on peace and stability in Afghanistan. The process of dialogue with the Afghan resistance movements particularly Taliban led by Mullah Umar who were ousted from the government by American forces at the end of year 2001, initiated by Ashraf Ghani Government and supported by Pakistan, is of great significance. Dialogue with another resistance leader Eng. Gulbadin Hikmatyar has also been initiated. The intra Afghan dialogue is of vital importance to Afghan nation. If it is successful then Afghans may be able to avoid another era of blood and destruction as it happen in 90's after the withdrawal of Russian forces from Afghanistan. The regional powers particularly Iran, Pakistan, Turkey and China can particularly play an important role in bringing peace and stability to the country. This is imperative for peace and prosperity of the whole region.

Muslim Ummah in particular and world at large can greatly benefit from the peace and prosperity of this region. The Pakistani and Afghan leadership must realize the importance of fraternal relation between two countries and rise to the occasion to strengthen brotherly relation between the two nations. These relations and a strategic alliance between the two countries are not meant against any third country but are of vital importance for the wellbeing of more than 20 million people.

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