

Analyzing the Dynamics of Pakistan-Afghanistan Relations: Past and Present

Umbreen Javaid

University of the Punjab, Lahore.

ABSTRACT

Pakistan and Afghanistan, despite the convergence of prolong socio-cultural and religious heritage and geographical contiguity, the episodic distrust between the two countries has been highlighted in the historic narratives by various experts. The divergent perceptions developed by the political dynasties in Afghanistan accompanied with the disgust towards subcontinent due to the policies of colonial masters still haunt the literature dealing with the foreign policies of both countries. Involvement of super powers and regional powers in Afghanistan further complicates the situation for both countries. The ongoing reconstruction process in Afghanistan and Pakistan's will to uproot religious militant networks provides a prolific hope not only for the regional actors but for the world at large. The chronology of the bilateral relations has been deeply dealt with in this paper aimed at providing the course of relation from colonial to post 9/11 contemporary scenario in the South Asian region replete with various opportunities for enhancing mutual understanding and cooperation between the two countries.

Key Words: Pakistan, Afghanistan, regional security, bilateral, terrorism

Historical Contextualization

Pakistan, since her inception, embodied the principle of establishing friendly relations with Muslim countries in the very foundations of her foreign policy. This friendly narrative grew out of the speeches of Jinnah in first constituent assembly of Pakistan where he focused on nourishing cordial ties with all the states of the world in general and with Muslim states in particular. This became a guiding principle of Pakistan's foreign policy formally enshrined article 40 of the constitution of Pakistan which states,

“The State shall endeavor to preserve and strengthen fraternal relations among Muslim countries based on Islamic unity, support the common interests of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, promote international peace and security, foster goodwill and friendly relations among all nations and encourage the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means”(“The constitution of Pakistan 1973,” 1973).Paradoxically her relations with neighboring Afghanistan a predominantly Muslim majority state have remained strained if not hostile. The course of relations between the two countries as moved in a very opposite direction much against what M. A Jinnah had foreseen on 3rd December 1947 on

South Asian Studies 31 (1)

the eve of receiving special representative of King of Afghanistan to Pakistan. M. A. Jinnah expressed his goodwill in the following words, "I desired the relationship between the two sister nations may be of the greatest and the most lasting friendship, and I hope that the two Governments will soon be able to settle and adjust, in a spirit of goodwill for the benefit of both, all those matters which require our immediate attention, and I do trust that the coming negotiations, that may take place, will secure and strengthen all the more the goodwill and friendship between our two countries which already exist("Pakistan and Afghanistan two sister nations ", 2003).

Pakistan's ambition to carve out brotherly relations with its neighboring Muslim country could not be reciprocated as successive Afghan government had been nurturing negative attitude towards newly born state of Pakistan this antagonistic mindset of the Afghan governments at roots in the shared colonial history of the two neighboring countries. The sorry scheme of events that has led to estrangement in bilateral relations between both countries is deeply enmeshed in a series of events that can be grouped into three distinct phases; pre-colonial, post-colonial and post 9/11.

Fault-line in Pre-Colonial Era

The monarchical government in Afghanistan and British colonial master had been at ease till the partition of the subcontinent despite the cruel fact that British government in South Asia used Afghanistan as buffer zone against the huge white bear. The partition gave new impetus to the silent hostility building in Afghanistan. It was over the issue of Durand line. The premises upon which the logic of, denying Durand line as permanent boarder, was built could not be conceived cordially in Pakistan. It was the claim to the inheritance of all the British pacts signed with neighboring countries by Britain before 1947. The antagonizing claims over the geographical boarders have diverse interpretations on both sides. The modern history of Afghanistan dates back to 1747 and Afghan governments believe in the permanence of Durand line. The creation of Pakistan was not welcomed in the power corridor of Afghanistan. The Pashtunistan stunt in 1947 in which Afghan government claimed the entire North West Frontier Province (currently Khuyber Pakhtun Khaw) forced Afghan government to vote against Pakistan in United Nations the only dissenting vote against Pakistan. Afghan government considered that their ethnic identity rather than a provincial status of Pakhtuns of Pakistan should be taken into consideration while demarcating the international boarder. Pakhtunistan in historic imagery of Pakhtun nation has been portrayed as an historical shared homeland and they considered that this homeland was divided in 1893 in order to serve the nefarious designs of British government. The claim of Pakistan government in support of the permanence of the Durand line is that she is home to a large chunk of ethnic Pushtoon community as compared to Pushtoons residing in Afghanistan. This deeply rooted pre-colonial estrangement latter on recurred frequently in bilateral

relations between the two countries. All this occurred due to one reason that was imagining geographical borders in the labyrinths of history. The divergent claims of both sides to be the once decision maker of others territory is a chapter in the history of both nations without any reasonable conclusion. The three Franco-Afghan wars in 19th and 20th century cultivated deeply rooted ill will against Pakistan as British operational headquarters were then on present Pakistani soil. All this convinced the afghan decision makers to put Pakistan on the defensive in United Nations. Latter Pakistani political transactions with afghan government bore the brunt of the colonial decision when Pakistan was not even present on the map of the globe. Pakistan wanted its border with Afghanistan to be a settled fact as she knew that subcontinent has been invaded 90 times from the North(Burke & Ziring, 1990). These alarming facts of history compelled Pakistan to shun the Afghanistan's Pukhtoonistan stunt once and forever and it could never happen without declaring Afghan border a permanent settlement under international law.

Resurgence of Colonial Reflections in the Post 1947 Era

It is an undeniable fact that Pakistan since its inception maintained an attitude of benign neighbor as she believed in the fact that in order to have cordial relations with its neighbor she had to deal amicably as neighbors cannot be chosen. The major issues that hampered smooth bilateral relations were Pakhtunistan and Durand line. Afghanistan considered that the communal divide in subcontinent in terms of India and Pakistan should further divide the north western territory to give Pakhtoons a homeland. Majority of the decision makers in Afghanistan considered Pakistan to be a product of ethnic tensions and they ignored the religious and ideological factors behind the creation of Pakistan. The initial phase of interaction between the two neighbors started with a malign intent and it continued till 1963.this phase exposed the vested interests which widened the gulf between two states. These issues questioned the survival of Pakistan as she envisioned a nightmare to be sandwiched between two hostile neighbors. Pakistan did not ignore the coinciding of Pakhtoonistan stunt with the Indian invasion of Kashmir. So these differences drove Pakistan to search for alliances outside its own region. Moreover in view of already tense ties with Pakistan Kabul openly joined hands with India to object to any possibility of improvement in Pakistan-U.S relations. This caused America to refuse arms aid to Pakistan.

Another major event that caused unrest in Afghanistan was the decision of Pakistani government to constitute one unit comprising all the western provinces in Pakistan including north western frontier province. This decision invited a fury of mass protest in Afghanistan. Ref 18 .But new developments emerged after Pakistan's joining of SEATO and cento. America did not want to lose Afghanistan to Soviet Union .On the other hand Pakistan could never underestimate the soviet India Afghanistan nexus against its burgeoning military ties with United States. Pakistan was fighting for its survival and had to search for friends. Pakistan escaped from its region due to hostile neighbors and when United States came to

South Asian Studies 31 (1)

help Pakistan militarily, Pakistan's neighbors started the propaganda of bringing cold war to south Asia. This further alienated Pakistan and Afghanistan and Afghanistan started looking towards Soviet Union as a counter weight to improved U.S-Pakrelations. It was during this era that Soviet Union softly invaded Afghanistan initially by making roads and infrastructure and then virtually invaded Afghanistan's territory physically. All this convinced Pakistan that she needs reliable friends outside her region .Pakistan during this era started counter weighting soviet afghan nexus by improving her ties with United States. On the other hand the economy of land locked Afghanistan started deteriorating as Afghanistan became totally dependent on soviet union for transportation .These Afghan-Soviet improved ties were taken with apprehensions in United States and she started stressing Pakistan to give Afghanistan a transit route or a railway link .ref 27. These developments latter on proved to blessing in disguise as Pakistan in 1965 fought war with India and Afghanistan did not try to take advantage of Pakistan India war .The chain of events brought the two neighbors further close to each other as Pakistan in 1971 disbanded one unit and reinstated the autonomous province of north west.The East Pakistan debacle made it clear to the Pakistani foreign policy makers that Pakistan's defense cannot be ensured until and unless its relations with Iran and Afghanistan are molded for greater cooperation. It was felt necessary to secure borders with these two Muslim states to channelize all the military resources to the eastern border with India. Both Afghanistan and Iran remained neutral during the war of 1971 between India and Pakistan. In order to reciprocate friendly gesture of Afghanistan, Pakistan's then President Z.A Bhutto choose Afghanistan as the first foreign country to visit. Shortly after his visit, first lady Begum Nusrat Bhutto also paid a visit to Kabul and agreements on economic cooperation were concluded. But soon things turned against Pakistan when in 1973 king Zahir Shah was ousted from power by Sardar Muhammd Daoud Khan, a staunch proponent of the idea of Pashtonistan. Involvement of USSR, though denied by him, could not be ruled out as USSR was the first state that recognized Daud's government. King Zahir Shah and his prime minister were not very popular with the soviets for his pro-western leanings and the lukewarm stance he had on the issue of Pashtunistan with Pakistan(Ghaus, 1988).

Daoud's rise to power sent a threatening message to Pakistan owing to his obsession with the idea of Pashtunistan which he called "lost Lands" of the Pashtuns. His first broadcast speech confirmed Pakistan's suspicions wherein he designated Pakistan as the only state with Afghanistan had political disputes. It is worth mentioning that the very idea of Pashtunistan was not clear in the mind of Daoud like many other staunch supporters of this idea. Answering to the question of an Indian journalist as to what constitutes Pashtunistan, Daud casually replied as "this is well known" (Mukerjee, 1975).

It is thus no wonder that Pakistan Afghanistan relations soon became hostile and a blame game ensued as the two countries accused each other of supporting dissident groups in their respective countries. To make the situation more complex,

Daud's government faced three counter coup attempts which he believed were backed by foreign powers implicitly implicating Pakistan. On the other hand Pakistan strongly believed in involvement of Afghan hand in supporting and abetting rebels in Baluchistan and Pashtun belts. Prime Minister Z.A Bhutto in his letter to UN Secretary General stated that, "we have irrefutable evidence that the present Afghan government is systematically organizing the commission of acts of terrorism through hired elements.

The relations deteriorated to the extent that Afghan president refused to attend the Islamic Summit Conference which was hosted by Pakistan on February 21, 1974 and sent his representative Abdur Rahman Pazhwak who raised the issue of Pakhtunistan in the summit but could not get attention. The relations were so strained that air service between the two countries was suspended in the same year. Afghanistan was blamed to be involved in stirring anti Pakistan sentiments in what is now Pakistan Khyber Pakhtunkhaw province and supporting and providing training to Baluch rebel groups.

Both Daoud and Z A Bhutto realized the gravity of situation and preferred to lower tensions. Daoud was trying to distance himself from the soviets and was forging good relations with Iran, Pakistan and India. In 1976 as a token of good will a dancing and singing troupe from Pakistan was sent to perform for the afghan national day celebrations. Daoud on the other hand after receding from the soviet influence was inclined to settle the Pakhtunistan issue once and for all. But unfortunately this could not be materialized as Z A Bhutto's government was toppled and the negotiations were halted. Negotiations with Pakistan's new president General Zia ul Haq could not be resumed as Daoud himself was removed from power in April 1977. The soviet factor again was believed to be at work as many observers believed that by alienating himself from the Russians, Daoud intentionally signed his own death warrant at least in political terms (Schofield, 2008). Thus, Daoud was soon removed in the Saur (April) revolution by the staunch communist factions. After removing Daoud from power, the Soviet backed communist groups reorganized and Afghanistan soon became a Soviet suzerain. This presented a nightmarish scenario for Pakistan as its fears of encirclement by a disastrous coalition of Afghanistan, India and USSR were being confirmed. "With the invasion of Afghanistan on 27th December, 1979, Pakistan was confronted with a direct threat on its western border. Even if an armed invasion was a remote possibility, there was a real concern that Moscow would help separatist movements in Balouchistan and NWFP (*Pakistan: The contours of state and society*, 2010). The Soviet intervention in Afghanistan not only posed a threat to security of Pakistan in the real sense but it also provided Pakistan with ample opportunity of asserting its influence in the global politics as the global environment at that time was charged with cold war rivalry between the USA and USSR. The deployment of Soviet troops, together with the arming of a government of Moscow's own making in Kabul inevitably dragged the United States of America. Pakistan- US relations before Soviet invasion of Afghanistan had become very strained owing to the former's clandestine nuclear program.

U.S.A had pressurized Pakistan to abandon the nuclear program and to this end imposed the Symington Amendment on Pakistan in April 1979 designed to economic aid to Pakistan. But the invasion of USSR in Afghanistan altered the whole equation at once. "In December 1979, only a few months after their imposition, all sanctions against Pakistan were lifted by Washington and replaced with generous aid. By 1981, the US and Pakistan were discussing a \$3.2-billion aid package. By 1985, Pakistan was the fourth largest recipient of US bilateral military assistance, after Israel, Egypt and Turkey. With the approval of a \$4.02-billion military and economic aid package in 1987, Pakistan became the second largest recipient of American aid, after Israel. Focusing on its enhanced geo-strategic importance in the cold war, the US no longer seemed concerned about Pakistan's nuclear program or lack of democracy, or the human rights violations of its military regime (Ali, 2016).

Pakistan, owing to the convergence of interests with those of U.S.A in the backdrop of Cold War came into lime light and assumed the status of the 'most allied ally'. It served as a conduit for supplying weapons to the guerilla fighters against the soviet expansionism. The resistance was successfully carried out which culminated in the withdrawal of USSR and consequently its dissolution. When the dust of war settled "Taliban" under the leadership of Mullah Omer grabbed the reins of power in Afghanistan while the U.S, after settling the score with USSR left both Afghanistan and Pakistan alone to deal with the ruins of a bloody war. Pakistan found an ample opportunity to assert its influence on the newly formed government to insulate her security and to avert the possibility of a two front war. The notion of 'Strategic Depth' was also an influential factor in Pakistan's attempts to have a friendly, benevolent government in Afghanistan. Analyzing Pakistan's support for Taliban, (Rashid, 1999) comments depict the true intention behind Pakistan's support for the Taliban regime, he writes,

"Pakistan believes that a Taliban controlled Afghanistan will be an ally and give its army strategic depth in its ongoing conflict with India. In particular, Islamabad considers support for the Taliban necessary because of its dispute with India over Kashmir"(Rashid, 1999).

For the following decades till the tragic incidents of 9/11, Pakistan enjoyed complete influence over the Taliban regime in Afghanistan. The ascendance of Taliban friendly regime to power materialized Pakistan's ambitions of securing a strategic depth for her military and her fears of encirclement faded away. The rise of Taliban also brought far reaching consequences for Pakistan in terms of extremism, violence and sectarianism as a natural spill over in its immediate neighborhood. The country also became a safe sanctuary for religious extremist and terrorist groups operating inside Pakistan which later on transpired as the biggest threat to the survival of Pakistan. The threat of terrorism and violent religious extremism which has been haunting Pakistan embodies the Afghanistan factor as an important cause of its drift into extremism. After the tragic incidents of 9/11 followed by the American led coalition against networks of terrorism, the

Taliban regime was overthrown and American led military coalitions assumed a supervisory role in reconstruction and formation of democratic institutions. The U.S intervention in Afghanistan has far reaching implications on Pakistan and Afghanistan bilateral relations owing to the changing regional political and strategic realities in the post 9/11 world.

Post 9/11 Scenario

The defeat of Taliban regime in the aftermath of U.S invasion of Afghanistan completely changed the regional political and security environment for Pakistan. The backing of Northern alliance dominated regime by the United States, the staunch opponents of the pro Pakistan Taliban regime, put Pakistan in a very uncertain situation as Pakistan itself was an ally in toppling the Taliban regime and thereby facilitating the rise of factions with known pro India leanings. This meant that Pakistan's decades long efforts to see a pro Pakistan government in Afghanistan owing to her fears of a two front war coupled with her desire to gain strategic depth in case of a war with India ended up in frustration. "The strategic Depth Pakistan had acquired evaporated almost overnight" with an additional problem of growing Indian influence in the post 9/11 Afghanistan" (Pakistan-Afghanistan Relations and the Indian Factor, (Ahmed & Bhatnagar, 2007). Moreover, Pakistan has had a bitter experience regarding her involvement in the Afghan war against Soviet intervention on behest of USA. After accomplishing her desired goals i.e. forcing Soviet forces to withdraw from Afghanistan and with the disintegration of Soviet Union, U.S.A left the region refusing to extend any kind of help in reconstructing the war torn region owing to various strategic compulsions and more pressing issues at the international front. "US interest further removed from the scene by Iraq's invasion of Kuwait in 1990... Afghanistan retreated to the bottom of the list of international community's priorities"(Schofield, 2008). Pakistan on the other hand faced imposition of sanctions on her nuclear program, a step that exhibited American indifference towards her former ally once her goals had been achieved while Afghanistan was left alone to deal with the fierce infighting that followed the soviet withdrawal and the gigantic task of reconstruction. Pakistan's defense analysts and policy makers fear recurrence of such a vacuum in the aftermath of U.S exit from the war torn Afghanistan. The vacuum would then be filled by the Indian influence as she has been playing a very active role in Afghanistan with the tacit intention of countering Pakistan's influence in the country.

The Indian Thorne

In the contemporary scenario, India is bent on expanding her role in Afghanistan, a development that stirs suspicion and fears of encirclement in Pakistan and is viewed as "serious security threat" to Pakistan by its military establishment (Hussain, 2012). India's foremost interest in Afghanistan is to counter Pakistani

South Asian Studies 31 (1)

influence in order to prevent Afghanistan from being used as a support base for anti-Indian radical factions based in Pakistan. This Indian fear was stated clearly in the statement of India's permanent representative to the U.N in 2008 as "security within Afghanistan, and coordinated efforts to stop terrorists from operating with impunity beyond Afghanistan's borders must be the paramount priority of our collective efforts in Afghanistan" (*India's foreign relations, 2008: Part I, 2009*) India, in the post 9/11 scenario finds ample opportunity of restricting Pakistan's influence in Afghanistan. Indian involvement in Afghanistan is also influenced by the 'Gujral Doctrine' which posits that India, being a dominant power in the region has a duty to support and strengthen its neighbors without expecting reciprocity (Shukla, 2008). The Indian involvement in Afghanistan consists of three fold investment strategy ranging from humanitarian assistance, infrastructure projects to capacity building. A total of around \$799 million is being invested in Afghanistan for various projects ranging from education to food assistance to rehabilitation of roads and construction of Parliament building for Afghanistan. Various other small projects aimed at training Afghan security forces and civil servants along with the establishment of universities, schools and hospitals are also underway. According to report of European Union Security Studies, India was the 5th largest development donor country having spent \$2 billion in the country (Gross, 2014). The Indian Embassy in Kabul gives a detailed account of Indian development projects in Afghanistan as "India has played a significant role in the reconstruction and rehabilitation process in Afghanistan. India's extensive developmental assistance program, which now stands at around US 2 billion, is a strong signal of its abiding commitment to peace, stability and prosperity in Afghanistan. This makes India one of the leading donor nations to Afghanistan and by far the largest donor in the region. Government of India has taken on a number of medium and large infrastructure projects in its assistance program in Afghanistan. Some of these include: construction of a 218 km road from Zaranj to Delaram for facilitating movement of goods and services to the Iranian border; construction of 220kV DC transmission line from Pul-e-Khumri to Kabul and a 220/110/20 kV sub-station at Chimtala; upgrading of telephone exchanges in 11 provinces; expansion of national TV network by providing an uplink from Kabul and downlinks in all 34 provincial capitals for greater integration of the country (Embassy of India).

All the these projects are concentrated around the Afghanistan- Pakistan border "upsetting Pakistan, which has accused Indian consulates of being fronts for espionage" (Price, 2013). India is investing heavily in Afghanistan not only financially but culturally as well. Religious seminaries in Afghanistan are being influenced by Indian Deobandi narrative. Moreover Indian ties with Afghanistan especially its working on Jalalabad-Chahbehar road to rid Afghanistan of Pakistan's transit route is being taken in Pakistan as collusion against it. This naturally raises the already existing distrust and fears in Pakistan regarding Indian designs in Afghanistan.

The Indian factor is not the only factor that has emerged as a major fault line in defining Afghanistan-Pakistan relations in the post-soviet withdrawal. There are various other issues that frequently haunt bilateral relations of both these countries.

The Refugee Dilemma

Pakistan, being a neighboring state of Afghanistan has been serving as a preferred destination for its refugees in times of wars and large scale internal violent movements (Conrad, 2004). It is thus no wonder that Pakistan became host to some 3.5 million refugees which were contained in 340 camps along the Afghanistan-Pakistan border. The figure rose to a staggering 5 million in the wake of American attack on the Taliban regime pursuing perpetrators of the tragic terrorist incidents of 9/11. As a matter of fact Pakistan is not a signatory to the UN convention relating to the Status of Refugees 1951 or 1967 protocol and her meager economy, by any stretch of imagination can never afford to shoulder the gigantic task of hosting 5 million refugees. The issue of refugees has been creating problems for Pakistan and many believe that the deteriorating situation of law and order in the country, the smuggling of guns and lethal weapons, and the black market of narcotics all have their roots in the issue of Afghan refugees who have been living and moving freely in Pakistan for the last 20 years or more. "In fact, Afghanistan is the pivot in the narcotics issue because it produces more than 90 percent of the world's opium from which heroine is manufactured and much of these drugs are smuggled through Pakistan and Iran (Khattak, 2014)." The rising number of heroin addicts in Pakistan is attributed to the issue of refugees who play a major role in drug trafficking. In 1982 the reported number of Heroin addicts in Pakistan was estimated to be 100000 in 1982 which increased to 450000 in 1986 and it reached a hovering 657,842 heroin addicts in 1987. As in 2015, the figure has reached around 7 million drug addicts with a clear correlation between increase in number of drug addicts in Pakistan and increase in poppy cultivation in Afghanistan coupled with a resurgence of the influx of Afghan refugees as a consequence of U.S war on terror (Dawn, July 06, 2015).

There is also increase in crimes rate, anti-government activities, which the Pakistani officials says are not solely caused by Afghan refugees. But actually their arrival has deteriorated the situation (Ghufran, 2010).

Cross Border Terrorism

The seeds of mutual discontent between Pakistan and Afghanistan lie in the long porous border between the two countries. The geographical border in itself is not the underlying core issue rather the cultural and racial overlapping of Pakhtun identity is always at the centre of tense border relations. Pashtuns are present on both sides of the border, they share same racial identity, linguistic uniformity, a homogenizing religion and above all a feeling that Pashtun identity is under threat due to diplomatic discords of Pakistan and Afghanistan. Cross border terrorism in

South Asian Studies 31 (1)

the current scenario has assumed the configuration of biased mutual blame game between both the countries. The American claims that safe havens of terrorists are present in the Pakistani side are unfortunately reinforced by the Afghan nodes in favor of American claims. Drone strikes which assumed a continual solution for Americans raised very unfamiliar apprehensions in Pakistan over the issue of non NATO status of Pakistan. Pakistan several times proposed the fencing of Afghan borders which were very surprisingly vehemently opposed by the Americans. More over several quarters in Pakistan also opposed this Pakistani proposal of sealing the mutual border. Pakistan claims that the mantra of cross border terrorism will continue and it will assist the terrorists especially in their hit and run strategy. It has been stressed time and again by both the neighbors that they should share intelligence with each other in order to suppress the menace of terrorism. Both the countries have moved positively in this direction although occasional sparks hamper the efforts of mutual trust on both sides of the border.

The Intermittent Bleak Future

Despite having a bumpy relationship both Pakistan and Afghanistan share many strong common factors and both the states have been trying to balance the bilateral relations. Pakistan in this regard has taken the initiative and has been investing in Afghanistan to contribute towards the ongoing reconstruction process in the war torn state. Pakistan has completed the Torkham- Jalalabad road construction process along with her contributions in various other projects like construction of Jinnah Hospital Complex, Kabul and establishment of Allama Iqbal Faculty of Arts at the Kabul University. Besides, Pakistan is also offering scholarships for thousands of Afghan students. Pakistan has also showed positive attitude in facilitating Afghanistan for her transit trade as the latter is a land locked country and Pakistan serves as the nearest sea-lane corridor for her. Afghanistan is also the third largest market for Pakistani exports and there is a greater room for increasing the trade volume. More over the current Pakistani government seems to be enthusiastic regarding the operational feasibility of the Trans Central Asian –South Asian pipeline named Torkmanistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan-India pipeline. This pipe line will not only bind Pakistan Afghanistan fate regarding convergence of regional strategic interests but will increase the confidence of America in energy sector of this area. The only hindrance so far is the preciously desired peace in the region which cannot be achieved without bilateral confidence. TAPI pipeline will enable Pakistan to position herself as an independent entity without the energy doles of Middle Eastern states. It will open a gate way for central Asian republics and even Afghanistan to act as a transit for the other partners of the gas pipe line. Pakistan is also interested in constructing Gwadar-Khuzdar-Rathodero Rail link in order to integrate Afghanistan in the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC).

Afghanistan has also shown maturity in the recent years by helping Pakistan in hunting down the terrorists wanted in Pakistan. The signing of MoU for

intelligence sharing between the Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) and the Afghan intelligence outfit National Directorate of Security (NDS) is considered as a milestone in enhancing the bilateral cooperation and ensuring peace in both countries. Both the countries need to settle their bilateral issues which emanate from mutual distrust and the traditional blame game keeping in view the changing geo-strategic scenario of the South Asian region if both these countries wish to enjoy the dividends of mega projects backed by major powers aimed at enhancing trade and commerce.

References

- Ahmed, Z. S., & Bhatnagar, S. (2007). Pakistan's foreign policy analysis. *Pakistan Horizon*, 60(2), 159-174.
- Ali, M. (2016). Islamabad policy papers. from <http://www.ips.org.pk/security-and-foreign-policy/1080-us-aid-to-pakistan-and-democracy.html>
- Burke, S. M., & Ziring, L. (1990). *Pakistan's foreign policy: An historical analysis*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.
- Conrad, S. (2004). *Kleine Geschichte Afghanistans*. Munich: Beck.
- The constitution of Pakistan 1973 (1973).
- Dawn. (July 06, 2015). Around 7 million drug addicts in Pakistan, Senate told.
- Embassy of India, K. A. Indo Afghan realtions. Retrieved from <http://eoi.gov.in/kabul/?0707?000>
- Ghaus, A. S. (1988). *The fall of Afghanistan: An insider's account*. UK: Brassey's
- Ghufran, N. (2010). Afghan migration threat or opportunity for Pakistan. *BIISS Journal*, 31(2), 130-142.
- Gross, E. (2014). Afghanistan, The view from India: EUISS.
- Hussain, S. (2012). Issues and challenges in Pakistan-Afghanistan relations after 9/11. *South Asia Studies*, 27(1), 32-47.
- India's foreign relations, 2008: Part I*. (2009). (A. S. Bhasin Ed.). New Delhi: Ministry of External Affairs and Geetika Publishers.
- Khattak, A. (2014). Changing regional context beyond 2016: Pakistan-Afghanistan relations (pp. 12): PILDAT.
- Mukerjee, D. (1975). Afghanistan under Daud: Relations with neighboring states. *Asian Survey*, 15(4), 301-312.
- Pakistan and Afghanistan two sister nations (2003). Retrieved from <http://www.quaid.gov.pk/speech14.htm>
- Pakistan: The contours of state and society*. (2010). (S. Mumtaz Ed.). Karachi: Oxford University Press
- Price, G. (2013). *India's policy towards Afghanistan*. London Chatham House.
- Rashid, A. (1999). The Taliban: Exporting extremism. *Foreign Affairs*, Summer 1999.
- Schofield, V. (2008). *Afghan frontier: At the crossroad of conflict*. London Tauris Parke Paperbacks.
- Shukla, S. (2008). Indo-Pak relations: Gujral to Manmohan Singh. *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, 69(4), 11-26.

Biographical Note

Prof. Dr. Umbreen Javaid is Director, Centre for South Asian Studies and Chairperson, Department of Political Science, University of the Punjab, Lahore-Pakistan.