



■ **Need of Good Relations**

Neither Pakistan nor Afghanistan can afford a policy of hostility. This will only strengthen the terrorists of the two countries. Pakistan cannot get power or gas from Central Asia bypassing Afghanistan. The extent of Afghan market's dependence on goods from Pakistan was indicated by the hue and cry in Kabul in the wake of the closure of Torkhum border. Pakistan still hosts over a million of Afghan refugees. Without peace both countries cannot aggrandize their power to peruse national interest either in internal or external affairs. Realism denies all such moral or hostile goals which set the country in less powerful state. Realism requires that both the countries treat each other with amicable manners and resolve their disputes peacefully.

■ **Dwindling History of Pak-Afghan Relations**

Pak-Afghan relations, being neighbors and Muslims states, started in August 1947 just after the independence of Pakistan. Both Islamic republic states also the part of South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) and designated by the united state as major Non-NATO allies. Afghanistan was the first Muslim country to refuse Pakistan as a sovereign state (1947-1949). The cold war between Pakistan and Afghanistan remains to constitute the NWFP as an independent Pashtun Republic or at least the Pashtuns should be allowed to opt for Kabul, beyond the demarcated Durand line on the Pakistan side. This claim of Kabul was invalidated by Islamabad on Pashtun belt of FATA, KP and Northern areas of Balochistan. In 1948, major events happened, as Bombing on Pakistan Assembly in Kabul; bombing on North Waziristan by Pakistan Air Force against Faqir (The main leader of Pashtunistan) the LPI leader. In Loyer Jirga invited by then government in reactionary steps, hostile course of action was adopted which sow the seed of hatred between these two countries.

Two major decisions made in Loyer Jirga and then government meeting as:
 + Afghan not only condemned the bombing in Afghanistan but also declared to support Pashtun resistance on all forums.
 + Afghanistan does not recognize Durand line as permanent boundary.

After that major events were: Soviet invasion, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia and USA extended support to Taliban to counter Soviet Union insurgency, rise up of terrorist organizations further added salt to an injury, as both countries blaming each other for their safe heavens. American invasion in the aftermath of 9/11 changed the course of relation. Durand line agreement invalidated by Afghanistan and series of skirmishes along it is

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continually sowing hatred among them. Recently, Torkham incident caused casualties and left many civil and armed persons injured on both sides.

■ Pashtunistan issues at the beginning stages of Pakistan

When Pakistan emerged on the global map as an independent nation, key problem faced by her the emergence of political-cum-militant groups, these political forces led Pashtunistan. Baloch Nationalist Party and figures in Balochistan; primary in Quetta, Pashtun nationalist, Charsadda, Peshawar, Banu, supported the Pashtun movements. The epicenter where the movement felt with greater intensity was the KP. On the other hand, militant aspects under the Faqir of LPI, the followers of Haji Turanzai, Mohmand, Bajour, here, Waziristan Assembly was established. It was called first step to the attainments of the Pashtunistan. Pakistan did bombing against it and Afghanistan condemned it. In FATA, four different newspapers started publishing weekly; the infamous was "Wahdat" means unity. Newspaper circulation in FATA and NWFP was free of cost, it was edited and financed by Afghan leaders not only this but Afghanistan provided lethal weapon in FATA. Observing the situation, the Prime minister of England warned Jinnah in letter about the activities and involvement of Afghan, India and Russia to create Pashtunistan.

Afghan Ethnic Groups and Their Representation in Government

Total population:

PASHTUN:	42%
TAJIK:	27%
HAZARA:	9%
UZBEK/TURKMEN:	12%
BALUCH:	2%
OTHER:	8%



Representation in the Wolesi Jirga (House of the People):

PASHTUN:	39%
TAJIK:	28%
HAZARA:	20%
UZBEK/TURKMEN:	8%
BALUCH:	<1%
OTHER:	4%



Representation in the Meshrano Jirga (House of Elders):

PASHTUN:	35%
TAJIK:	32%
HAZARA:	16%
UZBEK/TURKMEN:	8%
BALUCH:	3%
OTHER:	6%



■ Durand Line - An apple of discord

The Durand Line border was established after the 1893 Durand Line Agreement between British Mortimer Durand of colonial British India and Amir Abdur Rahman Khan of Afghanistan for fixing the limit of their respective spheres of influence. Pakistan inherited the Durand Line agreement after its independence in 1947 but there has never been a formal agreement or ratification between Islamabad and Kabul.

■ Argumentation on the Validation of Durand line

+ *Argumentation on the basis of International Law*

The Afghan government has decided not to formally accept the Durand Line as the international border between the two states, claiming that the Durand Line Agreement has been null and void in

"Afghanistan's concern for the unity of Pashtuns [was] not genuine because it [did] not include the Pashtuns (Pashtunistan) on its side of the line."

Omar Sharifi, a chair at the American Institute of Afghan Affairs)

the past. Pakistan claim is based on the international law, "If a bigger state disintegrates into smaller states, the treaties and agreement made by it don't become invalidated but inherited by newly born states".

Another, Kabul augmented that for the international agreement the acceptance, endorsement by two states is required. Kabul does not accept it as boundary; so, it should be declared as null and void. Islamabad replied, international law completely says for null or void both of the states come on same page, not only one state can accept and other rejects.

Durand Line disintegrates communities

Further, Kabul is of the stance that Durand line agreement was imposed on Afghanistan without Kabul will. As during the Peak of Great Game, British India Empire expanded West Southward and Russian empire east and northwards. Britain occupied FATA and London and Moscow to draw demarcation line to avoid direct collision between powers. Islamabad replies to this argument on the basis of four letters, which made public by British government in 1984.

- Two letters from Afghan Amir 'Abdur Rahman Khan'
- Two letters from Viceroy of British India

These letters clearly show that the Durand line was drawn by the Kabul will. Additionally, it got ratification from successively three Amir's from 1893-1935.

Afghanistan is concerned that Durand line was drawn at the heart of Pashtuns as it divide them into two (Bar: West and Lars: East) and it is a sheer brutality. Afghan made this argument on the basis of humanitarian basis. Pakistan countered this argument as it is not a new issue in the world of divisions, there are dozens of examples exit whole Arab world, the whole Europe, US-Mexico, Russia and Ukraine all have the same problems - even Central Asia also faces the same problem. If this is the case then re-boundaries should be done over the whole world. Besides, major percentage population of the divided communities in Pakistan; Wazir tribe 93%, Mohmand Tribe 67% and Shinwari tribe 84%; forms the majority - as majority attracts minority, it is the question in the realm of domestic jurisdiction rather than international law.

Due to conflicts, border management between Pakistan and Afghanistan could not be strong as to stop infiltration and black trading. Recently, in the terrorist attack on Peshawar Army Public School (APS) on December, 2014; Pakistani authorities claimed that militants have entered Pakistan through Torkham boarder. On 1st April, 2016, Pakistan and Afghanistan agreed on regulation that would require Afghan citizen to present validated and authorized document before entering Pakistan at Torkham. On 11 May, 2016, in the face of Afghanistan continues objection to fens boarder at Torkham, Pakistan left the Afghan government angered. Both the Pashtuns and Baloch gain much of their income from cross-border smuggling, says the USIP paper.

"The extremists who have taken root in the border area of Pakistan and Afghanistan have attacked us before. They are now attempting to destabilize, if not overthrow the Pakistani government and take back enough control, if not the entire country of Afghanistan."

(Secretary of State
Hillary Rodham
Clinton)

"The Afghan and Pakistan Taliban cannot simply be viewed as two sides of the same coin."

(Jon Lunn and
Ben Smith)

The issue of Strategic depth

There are various connotation of strategic depth, but territorial strategic depth is more relevant here. It is the farthest and safest point,

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where all forces and military installation remain safe. As we have security threats from India, in context of India our length does not matter but width matter for us. For materialization of idea the country should have physical installations like camps, troops and nuclear bomb. Afghanistan repeatedly blaming Pakistan in using Afghanistan as its strategic depth and quote General Aslam Baig said "Afghanistan is our strategic depth on the basis of territory". Pakistan repeatedly denied this statement. Kabul said that Pakistan has no direct presence but using her proxies; Afghan Mujhaideen; supported Taliban against government in 1990s and operating through Haqani networks onward 2001.

■ **Pakistan support to Taliban in Afghanistan; Game of Blames**

A question for support to Taliban in 80s, there was a war between communism and capitalism, the entire world supported capitalism, Pakistan too supported, and we accept this reality. In 1990s, Naseerullah Babar created Taliban in Chaman. Pakistan again indigenous; it was started Chaman to Kandhar (the largest province of Afghanistan). Taliban reached to Kabul and covered 80% Kabul. It was not so simple to enter. It only happened because people warmly welcomed them because civil war was at peak. Pakistan endorsed Afghanistan government, as Taliban is concerned, not only Afghanistan but Also Pakistan suffered. As 50,000 plus civilian casualties and 85 billion dollar plus loss Pakistani nation has suffered. Post 2001, the blame of Afghanistan based on Haqani network, let us see in the pages of history.

■ **TTP and Haqani; in the lens of realities**

Haqani network was established in 1981, participant in the war in Afghanistan, by Mulvi Jalauddin Haqani and his son Sirajuddin Haqani. It is guerilla insurgent group using asymmetric warfare to fight against US-lead NATO forces and Afghan government. This group operates on the movement based in Pakistan. In Afghan jihad in 80s, major commander Yousaf, USSR destruction in Afghan in three provinces; Helmand, Paktia, and Paktika by Haqani. Primarily, Paktia belongs to Khost (Khost province used to be the part of Paktika province in the past). All major attacks on Afghanistan were done by them. For example, Bagram Air Base attack, in 2011, embassy area of Kabul, Khost air base attack and Jalal-ud-Din air base attack were done by Haqani network.

On the other hand, Therik-i-Taliban founded in Pakistan in 2008 by Baitullah Masood as first leader, now, lead by Mulana Fazlullah from 7 November, 2013 to present. It was first restricted to South Waziristan after that it extended to parts of KP and Punjab. It involved in the terrorist activities in Pakistan. Though, series of claims are available which denied this fact:

- Kabul has persistently blamed Pakistan but the reality is told by Haqani network itself. Sirajuddin Haqani on BBC said that Haqani network has no training camp in the Pakistan belt, all its major basis in Afghanistan.
- CIA reports said that more than 70% presence of Taliban is in Afghanistan
- Al-jazeera report claimed that 70% of Pakistan is ruled by Taliban. So, Taliban is indigenous problem.
- On the repeated claim of the presence of Haqani network in North Waziristan, Islamabad provided evidence to Kabul and reiterated the non-presence and non-discrimination approach in Zarb-i-Azab.

Actually, matter is that Haqani network presence in Konar province and Nuristan province recognized by Kabul itself, ISAF and US forces. Afghanistan has no capacity to overcome insurgency that is what done by USA and ISAF, they could not win the game, instead badly failed in the Afghanistan.



■ **Pakistan Stance Regarding Haqani network**

Haqani network never had safe heavens in Pakistan but leadership has frequent heavens due to porous border. On other hand, TTP has proven presence in Afghanistan, but Afghan not taking steps to eradicate TT. So, they are playing games that they give Hakimullah and we will give Fazalullah

■ **Way forward**

Whatsoever, reality is an ideal situation for both of the countries as both have to get rid of the manifest of terrorism. It could have happen only if Kabul and Islamabad take sovereign decision and they are not influenced by Washington, New Delhi and NATO. There are many suggestions to have peace and good relations in the both countries. Firstly, joint military operation should be done in the border areas i.e. use of hard power immediately to get rid of hardcore terrorist after removing the hideouts along border; the strict security mechanism is needed to fringe the infiltration of the terrorists. Secondly, socio-economic measures of the war zone i.e. use of soft power to eradicate the hatred feeling among the people as India did, she gave INR 3 billion aid to Afghanistan, India main role in the construction of Dillaraam road (800 Km). Besides, construction of Salma dam, 5,000 plus scholar ships for the Afghani students, etc. However, Pakistan cannot compete India in economic aid but Pakistan also provided Afghanis students with 500 scholarships, Liaqaut Ali Khan University in Afghanistan, however, Pakistan has edge in Afghan peace process. APTTA landmark agreement in 2010, which allows Afghan trade through Pakistan via Wagah border with India, more treaties on economic cooperation like this is needed. Thirdly, an effective Intelligence collaboration, unlike previous treaty between NDS and ISI which ended at the breakout news of death of Mullah Omer due to the prevailing trust deficits. In the recapitulation, peace in both countries depends on each other; economic progress also dependent as Afghanistan proximity to Central Asian states; future of the region Silk road cannot be come into realm of reality until peace would be achieved in Afghanistan.