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US - Pakistan Partnership in Response to the Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan 1979-88: Causes, Dynamics and Consequences

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by

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Dedication to my mother, father and brother —

Razzia Khanom
Khawaja Mohammad Hassan
Khalid Zia

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Abbreviations

ASAT	Anti Satellite Weapons
ASEAN	Association of South East Asian Nations
ATT	Afghan Transit Trade
ATC	American Tobacco Company (USA)
AWACS	Airborne Warning And Control System (USA)
AWRP	Afghan Women Rehabilitation Programme
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BMD	Balistic Missile Defence
BPLF	Baluchistan People's Liberation Front
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency (USA)
CENTCOM	Central Command of United States (USA)
CENTO	Central Treaty Organisation
CPSU	Communist Party of the Soviet Union
DCI	Director of Central Intelligence (USA)
DEA	Drug Enforcement Agency (USA)
DIA	Defence Intelligence Agency (USA)
DPPA	Democratic Party of the People of Afghanistan
FY	Fiscal Year

FATA	Federal Administrative Tribal Area
FMS	Foreign Ministry Sales
GNP	Gross National Product
ICBM	Intercontinental Ballistic Missile
IDF	Israel Defence Force
IDF	Islamic Development Fund
ISI	Inter Services Intelligence
JCS	Joint Chief of Staff
JUI	Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Islam
JI	Jamiat-i-Islami
KGB	Komitet Gosudarstvennoi Bezopastnosti (Soviet Security and Intelligence Service)
KHAD	Komitet Hatzionalnyi Anti-Diversionnye (Russian) (Khedamati wa Atlaat Dawlati)
NAM	Non Aligned Movement
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NLC	National Logistics Cell (Pakistan)
NSC	National Security Council (USA)
NSDD	National Security Defence Directive (USA)

NWFP	North West Frontier Province (Pakistan)
OIC	Organisation of the Islamic Conference
PDPA	People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan
PDRY	People Democratic Republic of Yemen
PFY	Pakistan Fiscal Years
PL	Public Law
RDF	Rapid Deployment Force (USA)
RDJTF	Rapid Deployment Joint Task Force (USA)
SALT	Strategic Arms Limitation Talks
SAVAK	Iranian Secret Services
SCA	Soviet Central Asia
SCC	Special Coordination Committee
SDI	Strategic Defence Initiative ('Star Wars')
SEATO	South East Asian Treaty Organisation
SIPRI	Stockholm International Peace Research Institute
SSG	Special Services Group (Pakistan)
Spetsnaz	Soviet Special Forces

STAVKA	Wartime Soviet GHQ/High Command
TV	Television
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Education Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UN)
UNHCR	United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UN)
US	United States
USAIA	United States Agency for International Aid (USA)
USAID	United States Agency for International Development (USA)
USIS	United States Information Service
VOA	Voice of America (USA)
WFP	World Food Programme (UN)

"My spirit will remain in Afghanistan, even though my soul will go to Allah (God). My last words to you, my son and successor are: Never trust the Russians."

Abdur Rahman Khan
Amir of Afghanistan (1880-1901)

Afghanistan and the Region

Boundary representation is not necessarily authoritative.

Introduction

> ....Afghanistan would leave a legacy of distrust and resentment which, in retrospect was to make many quarrels of the past look like a series of minor family squabbles.[1]
>
> —Josef Joffe, 1987

The alliance between Pakistan and the United States during the Afghan crisis (1979-1988) was an excellent example of an opportunistic partnership between two unequal powers. The United States as a great power with global responsibilities and commitments took advantage of Pakistan's desperate need for military and economic assistance and its search for powerful friends to achieve some kind of parity with India, since Pakistan is unwilling to accept the role of an Indian satellite and sees military developments in India as potential threats. Pakistan's defence planners realised its economic and military weakness and sought external support in order to strengthen its bargaining position vis-à-vis India. In exchange for military and economic assistance, the US was given access to Pakistani bases and other vital facilities to expand the scope of its policy of containment of communism. Pakistan, as a weak state with regional interests, seized upon the opportunity offered by the US search for anti-Communist allies in Asia in order to achieve four major objectives:

- to receive US military assistance to bolster defence against Afghanistan and the perceived threat of its non-Communist neighbour, India;

- through US military power and political support, to strengthen its bargaining position over the Soviet-Kabul and Soviet-New Delhi axes which sought to isolate Pakistan;

- to receive massive economic aid from the US to accelerate its economic development;

- to secure the US guarantee of protection against a possible attack by the Soviet-backed Marxist government in Kabul and by India.

The joint Pakistan-US desire to strengthen Pakistan's economic and defence position, primarily against communism from the US point of view and principally against Afghanistan and India from the Pakistani point of view, produced seemingly complementary interests which facilitated a new alignment between the two countries. In the early 1980s over the crucial question of Pakistan's security, Islamabad's defence planners felt threatened by the Soviet Union or Afghanistan, the two countries against which the partnership was ostensibly directed to contain communism. Its leaders remembered Soviet encouragement and support for India's detaching the former East Pakistan in 1971 and setting it up as independent Bangladesh, as well as Soviet collusion with Afghanistan in helping nationalist Baluchis who sought more autonomy or even independence for Pakistani Baluchistan.[2] At that time, Pakistan's policy makers "repeated their request for much more substantial assistance and requested that the US assurances to Pakistan be interpreted to include a possible Indian attack"[3] vis-à-vis the Soviet Union. However, the United States, as the leader of the free world and champion of the containment policy, "expressed more tangibly" that the US would protect Pakistan's security against the Soviet threat under 1959 agreement and "its security interest would be better served by a broad understanding with the United States."[4]

In order to trace the transformation of the partnership between the United States and Pakistan, the present study will review how the Afghan crisis created disturbance and complications, which posed a threat to Pakistan's internal and external security environment. Moreover, the study concerns itself with international crises because it

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[1] Josef Joffe, **The Limited Partnership: Europe, the United States and the Burdens of Alliance** (Cambridge, MA: Ballinger, 1987), p. 2.

[2] Henry S. Bradsher, **Afghanistan and the Soviet Union**, new and expanded ed., (Durham: Duke University Press, 1985), p. 221.

[3] Zia ul-Haq was not satisfied with the mutual security agreement between the US and Pakistan, signed in 1959. He demanded a guarantee of Pakistan's security from India. The US however, made it plain that this could not be the case and that the US commitment involved the Soviet Union only. See Zbigniew Brzezinski, **Power and Principle: Memoirs of the National Security Advisor 1977- 1981**(New York: Farrier Strauss and Giroux, 1983), p. 449.

[4] Ibid.

begins with the premise that an international crisis derives from the dynamics of perception, action and interaction of actors in the external sphere. Therefore, the manner in which global actors perceive and interpret a crisis-situation and the subsequent actions and interactions that follow have a critical bearing on the initiation and the outcome of an international crisis. The study will show that the decade of the 1980s started disastrously for international and regional security and for the global political system, because it changed the shape of regional and global politics. It also seriously jeopardised the security of a weak state.

The study describes and analyses Pakistan's security problems in the wake of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan because, for the first time since its formation in 1947, Pakistan came to perceive a grave security threat from the northwest. A basic purpose of the research is to uncover ideas and viewpoints about Pakistan's security within this landscape. Thus, the main research goal is to explore systematically Pakistan's perception of the security dilemma that confronted it during 1979-88. The research examines the multi-pronged threat to Pakistan's security, including projections of complete emulsification, internal instability and erosion of its economic and political vitality in the face of the on-going Afghan crisis. The study explains the internal vulnerabilities of Pakistan's security and describes Pakistan's perception that the Soviet-India axis desired to use the Afghanistan crisis to destabilise Pakistan, because Moscow believed that Pakistan was giving substantial support to the Afghan *mujahideen*. India's intention was perceived as being to destroy the structure of Pakistan's armed forces or capture a sizeable portion of terrain for the achievement of dominant power status in the region.[5] The Soviet Union's goal was perceived as the achievement of access to the Persian Gulf and the complete encirclement of China.

1. A Critical Review and Appraisal of the Debate

The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in December 1979 and the subsequent withdrawal obviously offers itself as a paradigmatic example of an international crisis. In the nineteenth century, Afghanistan, a landlocked and mountainous country in the mouth of South and Southwest Asia, had been a focal point for nearly a century of Anglo-Russian

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[5] Francis Fukuyama, **The Security of Pakistan: A Trip Report** (Santa Monica: Rand Corporation, 1980), p. 19.

competition in what Rudyard Kipling had called the "Great Game." Britain and Russia had vied with each other for the strategic prize of the gateway to the fertile plains of South Asia and the Indian Ocean. None of the powers succeeded in subjugating Afghanistan.

The latter half of the twentieth century saw Afghanistan capture centre-stage again as the epicentre of an international crisis, which erupted when the Soviet Union as a superpower became locked in a Cold War directly with the United States. Soviet intervention of Afghanistan in 1979 introduced a grim dimension to the power structure between Moscow and Washington. The Soviet Union's perception of the situation in Afghanistan underwent a fundamental transformation. Its involvement began as a reaction to the domestic developments in Afghanistan and later expanded into a geopolitical offensive. The Kremlin leaders were influenced by the fate of the Afghan revolution and, later, the desire to protect global and national security interests. The Soviet Union chose to explain its actions in terms of proletarian internationalism and the Brezhnev doctrine. Its decisions to use force and the coercive-defensive bargaining strategies that followed were responsible for initiating the international crisis. Thus, the Afghanistan crisis was symptomatic of the beginning of the end of the US-Soviet détente.

The Soviet incursion into Afghanistan triggered a wave of responses across the globe and particularly affected the security and foreign policy postures of the United States and Pakistan. These countries emerged as the key actors in the unfolding situation whose perceptions, actions and interactions would determine the contours of the crisis. This was a struggle for global influence between the United States and the Soviet Union. Both superpowers employed a variety of methods to maintain their hegemony. It precipitated the collapse of the Soviet Union, leaving Soviet communism to be remembered largely as the twentieth century's most extraordinary political and intellectual aberration.

A crisis actor may be defined as any independent entity which is an active participant in the crisis and contributes to the crisis process directly through actions and interactions with the other crisis-actors. The United States, Soviet Union and Pakistan were the important players of the Afghanistan crisis. The United States was the major actor to

contain Soviet expansion whose main ambitions were believed to be the overthrow of capitalism and democracy and the control of the Persian Gulf, the "oil jugular"[6] of the West. In the case of Pakistan, significant changes were brought about by the development of the Afghanistan crisis. Pakistan emerged as a "front-line" state and found herself uncomfortably placed in the emerging Moscow-Kabul threat scenario. Thus, Pakistan was the smaller player in the game although it was the principal channel through which assistance was provided to Afghan freedom fighters. At that time, history seemed to be repeating itself because, thirty years previously, the Eisenhower administration had entered into a mutual security arrangement with Pakistan and provided sophisticated military hardware and economic assistance. In the same vein, the Reagan administration also entered into a new alignment with Pakistan and showed its willingness to break with the unhappy past and supply ultra sophisticated military equipment to boost the security of Pakistan against the Communist threat.

In between these two peaks of US interest stretched a valley of reduced American strategic interest in Pakistan. During the period of the Carter Administration in particular US policies toward the Soviet Union were ambivalent and Afghanistan was on the lowest level of US priorities. Moreover, Carter's response to Afghanistan was too late as a whole. His policies were intended to restore real communication, using concrete actions and not just words to send strong signals of US disapproval. However, the situation completely changed when Ronald Reagan came into power, with tough and harsh anti-Soviet rhetoric, and the Afghanistan issue came to be seen as a serious challenge to United States power. Reagan frequently asserted that Afghanistan was a major source of friction in US-Soviet relations. His administration sharply criticised the Soviets for their conduct of the war and levelled widely publicised charges against them of using chemical weapons. The Reagan administration made it clear in general terms that the US had to do more militarily to protect the Persian Gulf region. In the Reagan era, the Soviet Union came to be seen as a greater threat to peace and Afghanistan was kept on the top of the agenda. Reagan did not fail to heed the dire and desperate interpretations of the Soviet action nor to treat Afghanistan as a strategic challenge and a turning point in the superpower relationship. Reagan did not take Carter's "wait and see" approach, but adopted a harsh policy towards the Soviet Union. Actually, Reagan's

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[6] Richard Nixon, Victory Without War 1999 (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1982), p. 115.

policies of military support to the Afghan *mujahideen* were better suited to the uncertainties and ambiguous nature of the Soviet threat.

On the whole, Reagan was more successful than Carter in defending the Gulf and augmenting American capabilities to fight against the Soviet Union. More broadly, the United States was willing to pay a price, especially since the political and economic costs were much lower for the US than the Soviet Union. Globally, however, the Soviet Union was clearly not a status quo power-except in those areas where its influence had already grown. It may or may not have been what Henry Kissinger called a "revolutionary" power, but it was certainly a revisionist one. Thus, it was clear that the support and provision of weapons to the *mujahideen* by the United States changed the face of world history. The war proved that Afghanistan was an unachievable political and military target for the Soviets and subsequently Afghanistan became a bleeding wound for the Soviet Union.

Moreover, continued military stagnation, domestic pressure and political instability within Afghanistan compelled the Soviets to move in the direction of accommodation. The ideological content of their rhetoric was considerably muted and the emphasis shifted to pragmatism and flexibility. The perception of threat or imminent danger was replaced by an awareness of dysfunctional consequences. In this regard, the *mujahideen*, the Marxist government in Kabul and the United Nations contributed to the crisis process in a secondary capacity. While the *mujahideen* and the Kabul government acted at the behest of their respective mentors (Pakistan and the Soviet Union), the United Nations offered itself as an instrument in the final peace negotiations. Therefore the present project analyses the Afghan crisis from the perspective of the Pakistan-US partnership within the overall context of the crisis process.

2. Thesis Objectives and Justification

The basic purpose and objective of this part of the study is to explain why the research is structured in the way it is and to explain the goals that this study sought to achieve. This is not a theoretical dissertation and I have no specific theoretical model to explain the empirical study. I do not pretend to claim that my research provides a path-breaking response to larger questions that other students of international politics have left

unresolved. Rather, I was drawn to analyse the crisis-situation when East-West relations were at the heart of international politics and the Afghanistan crisis was intrinsically important to bolster the American containment policy against the Soviet Union. Although the crisis time has passed, case studies of allied controversies still have a place in the scholarly literature and I will be content if the analysis provides insight into how and why the Afghanistan crisis was played out in the context of Pakistan-US alliance relations.

My endeavours have not been entirely atheoretical. I have been attentive to the kinds of theoretical questions explored in similar studies and my thinking about the Afghanistan crisis has to some extent been informed by insights drawn from some of the theoretical literature. In addition, I was drawn to this case because it had significance beyond the narrow controversy that, for the most part, was played out in the early days of the 1980s. It also confirmed to a large extent the slowness of the Carter administration over definitions and response to threat outside the NATO area. Although the Afghanistan crisis was rooted in the particularities of divergent stakes in East-West relationships, it was also rooted in the contrasting power, roles and responsibilities of allies. The initiation of the crisis-situation in 1980-81 is analysed by examining the varying perceptions of the USA and Pakistan and their subsequent actions and pattern of interactions. The period of crisis dissolution serves as the second focal point of inquiry. The following important research questions are explained within the frame of reference provided by the Afghanistan crisis:

- How did the United States and Pakistan perceive the Afghanistan crisis-situation during 1979-1988?

- What were the factors and compulsions to the convergence of the policies of Pakistan and the United States to contain communism?

- Why did the US and Pakistan perceive the crisis-situation in the specific way they did?

- How did the United States and Pakistan react in the international arena in each of these time periods?

- Did the United States and Pakistan achieve their objectives?

- What was the impact of the Afghan war on Pakistan society at the macro level?

3. Contribution of this Research

I attempt to answer these questions through a methodology which combines empirical analysis and historical illustration. The study seeks to present a detailed analysis of the Afghanistan crisis to illustrate broader dynamics within the national security framework of Pakistan and the United States. In thinking about the initial causes of the crisis and the divergent responses of the crisis actors to it, I frequently focused on the levels-of-analysis question (though more implicitly than explicitly), specifically on the interplay between narrow particularities and idiosyncratic factors on the one side and the broader, systemic ones that pushed the US in different directions. For the United States the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan was most threatening because of its implications for the Persian Gulf and oil supplies. If the Soviets had long term designs in the region, or if their presence in Afghanistan created opportunities independent of their immediate motives for going into Afghanistan, the vital interests of the US and its allies were at stake.

I explain the Afghan war from Pakistan's perspective as its policy makers perceived and handled the crisis. My analysis indicates that Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was the architect of the Afghan policy and Zia ul-Haq maintained Bhutto's legacy to defend Pakistan's interests. I argue that the Afghan crisis was unusually promising because it provided an opportunity to the United States and Pakistan to engage each other in partnership, based on common concerns to stop Soviet expansionism. I also evaluate Carter's thoughts, showing how he tried to practise détente without deterrence, as he tended to underestimate the Soviets' military power and the wider significance of the intervention in Afghanistan. The Soviet Union had gradually strengthened its position and credibility and the Carter administration was divided in its realisation of the serious consequences of the Soviet invasion. I illustrate Pakistan's "front-line" position and its threat scenario from Soviet-backed communist government in Kabul. I also describe how Pakistan

became a partner of the major actor in the unfolding game of the Southwest Asian power politics.

I point out that after the Pakistan-US partnership, Pakistan improved its relative power position and acted as a principal channel to provide military assistance to Afghan *mujahideen*. Pakistan devoted its resources against the Soviet Union and cooperated with the United States to contain communism. The US also used Pakistani military bases and its forces to help the Afghan *mujahideen* against Soviet expansionism. I illuminate two most important points which no other Asian and Western writer has discussed in relation to the Afghan crisis. I succinctly examine the circumstances under which Pakistan allowed the Israeli secret service to train hundreds of Afghan *mujahideen* and explain the intensity of the Soviet threat when US deployed medium range nuclear bombers and ground forces in Pakistan to protect its security. Moreover, I assert the costs and benefits of the decade long partnership and show how the Afghan war corrupted the Afghan commanders, Pakistan army officials and society. I assess the consequences of the war for Pakistan in the light of empirical evidence.

In contrast to President Jimmy Carter's lack of response to the Soviet aggression in Afghanistan, the Reagan administration reacted more strongly. As Robert Rothstein theorised in 1968, great powers ally because of threats to the balance of power within the entire system, while small powers ally because of threats to the regional balance. It follows from that, that great powers would also be more sensitive to global threats. In large part, this is because great powers, who bear the primary responsibility for responding to threats, not only define their interests more expansively than lesser powers, but also tend to be more sensitive to ambiguous evidence and more averse to marginal losses.[7] Moreover, threat assessment is a complex process. It involves not merely perceptions of immediate threats to values that are intrinsically important, but also guesswork and fears about patterns of future conduct. It is a mosaic comprising factors that are both concrete and abstract, objective and psychological. As Raymond Cohen has defined, states view other states' actions through the lens of the written or unwritten 'rules of the game' that obtain between them, rules that provide signposts of future behaviour. According to Cohen, "threat is not an invariant attribute of particular

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[7] Robert Rothstein, **Alliances and Small Powers** (New York: Columbia University Press, 1968), pp. 14-17 and 19-25.

situations but a function of the particular bilateral rules of the game between the actors involved."[8] Thus, it is not surprising that Cohen finds a "significant correlation" between rule infringement and a resulting sense of threat.[9]

In the same way, Edward McWhinney in 1964 identified three ground-rules in the 'game' between the United States and the Soviet Union: (1) no surprises; (2) economy in the use of power; and (3) mutual self-restraint.[10] The Soviet invasion contravened all three and was clearly a "brutal infringement" of the rules, as far as the US officials were concerned.[11] President Jimmy Carter was very much concerned that the Soviets were changing the rules of the superpower relationship and he was looking for signposts of future Soviet behaviour.[12] Thus, despite his early weakness, Carter eventually acted very much as earlier presidents had, by responding in alarm to ominous signs, such as "firsts" or "precedents" in Soviet behaviour, or a Soviet willingness to cross lines, in either a geographical or a conceptual sense.[13]

The connection between threat and rules of the game is important because of the fact that the "rules" of the US-Soviet game were so very different from those of the regional allies of the United States. The regional powers were less troubled by the possible implications and the indirect threat posed by the Soviet Union. Henry Kissinger distinguished this situation in terms of America's global interests and its allies' regional interests.[14] Thus, the US adopted a multilateral approach to counter the Soviet aggression and moved to augment its position and defence capabilities in the Persian Gulf region. In the end, my reason for choosing this topic for my thesis is not only because I have found it a very interesting and fascinating topic of study, but also my

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[8] Raymond Cohen, **International Politics: The Rules of the Game** (New York: Longman, 1981), p. 144.
[9] Ibid., p. 141.
[10] Edward McWhinney, **The Pursuit of Power: Global Competition Between US-Soviet Union** (New York: Praeger, 1964), pp. 34-36.
[11] Ibid., p. 58.
[12] As Raymond Cohen claims, statesmen often fear that rules, especially those that are more tacit than explicit, are "wasting assets" subject to "extinction." As in Carter's case, this fear leads to demonstrative behaviour, designed to reinforce the message that rules continue to operate. Raymond Cohen, **International Politics: The Rules of the Game**, pp. 114-25.
[13] See Thomas G. Hart, "Perceiving Afghanistan: Some Questions About the Applicability of Theoretical Insights in Analysing Perceptions in a Current Crisis," in Christer Jonsons, **Cognitive Dynamics and International Politics** (New York: St. Martin's, 1982), pp. 195-96.
[14] Henry Kissinger, "A New Atlantic Charter," **Survival** Vol. 15 (August 1973), pp. 188-92.

hope of bringing everything I have learnt in this research to a study about the complex issue of the Afghan crisis with special reference to Pakistan's security.

At the beginning of the Afghan crisis there were divergencies of interests and Pakistan was unwilling to jeopardise its significant political and economic relations with both Afghanistan and the Soviet Union. The Pakistani leadership was willing to maintain détente with Moscow, even at the expense of discord with United States, an uncertain ally in the 1970s. At this time, the threat posed by the Soviet presence in Afghanistan was too ambiguous and remote in the eyes of the Pakistani leadership. They were unwilling to make gestures toward solidarity with the United States because of a lack of trust in Carter's leadership and more broadly, due to past experience.

The present research has two qualifying limitations to its explanation of the crisis-situation. These limitations were serious matters, particularly in dealing with the conjunction between a small state and great power. The first limitation is that I make no claim to having supplied all the details of answers to the questions raised in the research. This is not a high level insider's account, nor is it one sufficiently removed from events to profit from detailed documentary evidence. Thus, if the big picture is fairly clear, there are small gaps and uncertainties in places. As is typical in studies of Asian-American affairs, there are also asymmetries in the distribution of available information. In part, I am sure, this is my fault because I am more conversant with the US and Pakistani sources as compared to Soviet-Afghan literature. More importantly, though, the asymmetry is also a simple function of the availability of resources. Particularly on matters of foreign policy, Washington is more open than the Third World countries. The documentary stream is much wider than elsewhere, and in the media and elsewhere, information flows more freely. Even the universe of relevant secondary materials on foreign affairs and national security is vastly larger. I have drawn heavily from Pakistani and Afghan sources of materials and I have tried to surmount ethnocentrism. However, even so, I have also leancd heavily on United States sources.

The second limitation is epistemological. In explanations of why individuals or states behave as they do, certainty is often a scarce commodity. On some questions here, something approximating certainty is easy to attain. In many instances, however, multiple causal factors were at work and it is impossible to weigh each with confidence.

Instead, I survey each and attempt to identify, at least very roughly, the relative importance of each. In a study such as this, it would be convenient if one causal factor were paramount. That would readily facilitate the approach of organising the research around a central hypothesis. In fact, if the evidence is viewed somewhat selectively, such an approach is possible. In explaining differences over the East-West dimensions of the issue, one could focus on divergent threat perceptions, or differing interests, or tactical disagreements, or even domestic politics and make a strong case. But as elegant as reductionist explanations may be for hypothesis-testing and theory-building, they do not always capture real-world complexities.

4. Methodology and Structure of the Thesis

The structure of the thesis is a traditional one because I employ straightforward analysis and both inductive and deductive reasoning. I have used a wide variety of primary and secondary sources of material and a small number of interviews. I also rely on government documents, newspapers, newsweekly accounts, statistical abstracts, transcripts of national radio broadcasting and news agency reports. I am reasonably confident that a convincing and comprehensive picture emerges.

In addressing the various questions and assessing the factors that shaped the partners' behaviour, I faced certain organisational dilemmas. I wish I could say that after wrestling with these dilemmas I found the ideal organisational solution, but I did not. All of the obvious approaches, country-by-country, issue-by-issue, and organisation centred on explanatory factors (dependent variables), had major shortcomings, not the least of which is the inexact fit with material based on close narrative analysis. Thus, I have employed an organisational hybrid which, taken as a whole, is at times awkward but does present as complete a picture as I have been able to produce.

This study has been divided into six chapters. Each is allowed to speak for itself and to present its own point of view without being subjected to a judgement afterwards. All the chapters present their material in an organised structure; where feasible the structure is similar from one chapter to another. More important, each chapter's discussion attempts to dissect issues in an analytical and systematic fashion. Ideas are developed and analysed and, where feasible, their current consequences or their likely consequences in

the future are traced. Thus, the study has been organised structurally as follows: The **Introduction** delineates the goals of the work, introduces and discusses the scope of the topic, and preferred modes of interpretation and puts forward the broad theses.

Chapter One focuses on the study of the geopolitical environment of South Asia and deals with the superpowers' struggle for global influence in South Asia. It is shown that the United States employed a variety of methods to get access to South Asia which is a gateway to the oil-rich Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean. Background material is provided to the general evolution of the USA's strategic and economic interests.

Chapter Two is devoted to the elaboration of Pakistan's security dilemma and its hostile external security environment vis-à-vis India, Afghanistan and the Soviet Union. The major portion of this chapter discusses Pakistan's threat perception in the wake of the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan. It is argued that this event was the most important turning point for Pakistan because this was the first time that the country had faced a two-front threat to its security, in the northwest from the Soviet Union and Afghanistan and in the east from the Soviet ally, India.

Chapter Three focuses on Pakistan's response to Soviet invasion and its support to the Afghan *mujahideen* struggle. The discussion explores Pakistan's attitude and interests to support Afghan *mujahideen* groups in the struggle to find a durable, inter-regional solution to its security. In the arena of crisis, Pakistan adopted a pragmatic approach and its foreign policy was driven by cooperation rather than competitive notions of security. Pakistan provided sanctuary, training and shelter to Afghans and Pakistan's support to the Afghan *mujahideen* had a great affect on Soviet domestic politics, as shown when the Soviet subsequent reversed its foreign policy and decided to withdraw from Afghanistan.

Chapter Four describes in detail the United States' reaction to the Soviet military invasion of Afghanistan. The US considered the Soviet move as a major geopolitical offensive outside its sphere of influence. The act was regarded as part of a grand design aimed at bringing the strategically vital Persian Gulf region within the political grasp of Moscow. The discussion highlights US methods to prevent the Soviet military adventurism, including unilateral sanctions and Carter's commitment to defend the

Persian Gulf from external threats. It is shown that it was Reagan's doctrine that pushed the Soviet into a defensive position, subsequent to which the Soviet empire crumpled.

Chapter Five analyses the United States-Pakistan partnership to support the Afghan *mujahideen* against the Soviet Union. The study illustrates the fact that the US and Pakistan compromised with each other in order to contain the Soviet threat. It is shown how the US decision to give military aid to Pakistan and the Afghan *mujahideen* was dictated by strategic and political considerations.

Chapter Six presents a balance sheet of the crisis-situation. It seeks to explain comprehensively the advantages and disadvantages of the Afghan war for Pakistan, describing and analysing the impact of the Afghan crisis and its cost and benefits. Attention is drawn to the alarming threat, political, economic, social and environmental posed to Pakistan's domestic security by the huge number of refugees.

In the **conclusion** I sum up whole debate, I offer some final thoughts and provide something of an epilogue, summarising relevant assessments. I also comment briefly on why the Afghanistan crisis, like so many of the alliance's earlier crises, faded into irrelevance, and I return to a theme raised at the outset, the duality of stability and instability within the major actors, marked by enormous resilience and by its abiding vulnerability to shocks arising from serious disagreements over the handling of Afghan war and the management of relations between smaller actors.

CHAPTER ONE

The Geopolitics of US Interests in South Asia

"Of all the elements that make up history, geography is the one that never changes."[1]

—— Otto von Bismarck 1815-1890

South Asia is a most complex, volatile and politically explosive region and it remains the most enigmatic and baffling in the world. It is also one of the most socially divided and fertile regions. The region of South Asia mainly consists of seven states: Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka. About one-fifth of humanity lives between the western reaches of Afghanistan and Pakistan on one side and the eastern reaches of Bangladesh and India on the other (Map-2). The region is a zone of affinity and differences. It has diverse political, economic and cultural traditions and different levels of development in each sphere. It is one of the most heavily militarised and bureaucratised zones in the world and it has a variety of complex and violent primordial ethnic groups.

1. The Rise of South Asia[2]

South Asia is of nearly continental dimensions in itself and it is one of the six major divisions[3] of the Asian continent, covering approximately two million square miles (1, 725,000 sq. miles) or four and a half million square kilometres (4, 468, 000 sq. km). The inhabitants of South Asia number over one billion, one-fifth of the world's population, making this one of the major population clusters on the earth. Only East Asia rank as so large a population cluster as South Asia. Not merely on the basis of population alone, but also on account of its cultural, political and economic importance, South Asia ranks as

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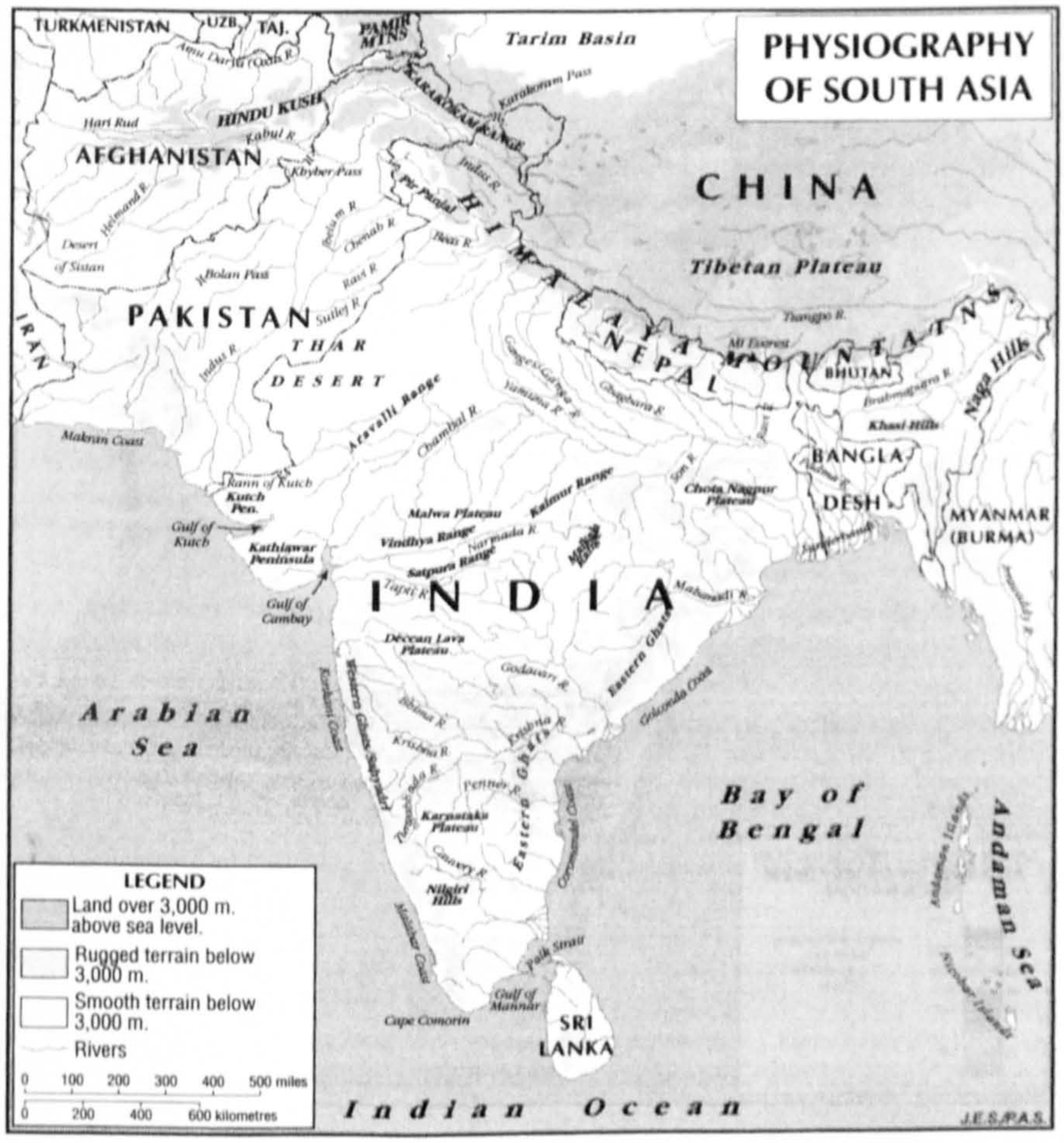
[1] Alan Palmer, **Bismarck** (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1976), p. 106.

[2] The term "South Asia," apparently first used by the US State Department after the World War II to designate all the newly independent states (India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka) of the area, also includes the three smaller states of Bhutan, Nepal, and Maldives. In general, the term Asian was commonly used in English to refer to South Asians, and this usage is prevalent even to this day. Thus, the terms Asian or South Asian refer to people originally from what are now India and Pakistan. See Richa Nagar, "Communal Discourses, Marriage, and the Politics of Gendered Social Boundaries Among South Asian Immigrants in Tanzania," **Gender, Place and Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography**, Vol. 5, No. 2 (July 1998), p. 119.

[3] Asia can be divided geographically into as Southwest Asia, Southeast Asia, East Asia, North Asia , Inner Asia and Central Asia.


PHYSIOGRAPHY OF SOUTH ASIA
TURKMENISTAN
UZB.
TAJ.
PAMIR MTNS
Tarim Basin
Aqtau
Darya (Oxus R.
Karakoram Pass
HINDU KUSH
Hari Rud
Kabul R.
AFGHANISTAN
Khyber Pass
CHINA
Indus R.
Helmand R.
Desert of Sistan
Jhelum R.
Chenab R.
Beas R.
Tibetan Plateau
Bolan Pass
Ravi R.
PAKISTAN
Sutlej R.
IRAN
THAR DESERT
Tsangpo R.
Mt Everest
NEPAL
BHUTAN
Ganges (Ganga) R.
Yamuna R.
Ghaghara R.
Brahmaputra R.
Naga Hills
Aravalli Range
Chambal R.
Khasi Hills
Makran Coast
Rann of Kutch
Kutch Pen.
Son R.
Chota Nagpur Plateau
BANGLA-DESH
Gulf of Kutch
Malwa Plateau
Kaimur Range
MYANMAR (BURMA)
Vindhya Range
Narmada R.
Kathiawar Peninsula
Satpura Range
Mahanadi R.
Tapti R.
Gulf of Cambay
INDIA
Deccan Lava Plateau
Godavari R.
Eastern Ghats
Arabian Sea
Western Ghats
Coromandel Coast
Krishna R.
Penner R.
Bay of Bengal
Andaman Sea
Karnataka Plateau
Kaveri R.
Nilgiri Hills
Malabar Coast
Palk Strait
Gulf of Mannar
Cape Comorin
SRI LANKA
Andaman Islands
Nicobar Islands
LEGEND
Land over 3,000 m. above sea level.
Rugged terrain below 3,000 m.
Smooth terrain below 3,000 m.
Rivers
0 100 200 300 400 500 miles
0 200 400 600 kilometres
Indian Ocean
JESPAS

one of the most vital centres of human affairs in the present world. Its vast expanse, roughly rectangular in shape, stretches from its mountain and sea boundaries with Southwest, Southeast Asia and the Chinese-Russian Far East southward to tropical lands washed by the Indian Ocean. Geopolitically, South Asia is a distinctive region; Stephen Cohen classifies it as an independent geopolitical region.[4] It is big enough to be a subcontinent in its own right, and it has been and is separated from the Eurasian power by the massive wall of the Himalayas, from the Middle East by the Hindukush and other mountains of the Northwest frontier, and from Burma and Indo-China by lower but heavily-forested jagged mountain ranges.[5]

The evolution of the South Asian region has a long history of over 4,500 years, an even longer history than the Indus civilisation. Its early civilisation, revealed in the cities of the Indus basin, Mohenjodaro, and Harappa, and dating from 2,500 BC, had contacts with the Mesopotamian civilisation. The history of the region reveals an endless succession of invasions by various peoples, all contributing in some way to the cultural growth of the land, giving a complex character to its civilisation. The term "South Asia" has always been a little vague. Some scholars include Southeast Asia, others Southwest Asia and some refer to Southern Asia which includes all three. A recent vogue among historians has been the use of the term, "Tropical Asia." Cohen describes the term South Asia as a replacement of the terms "Indian Subcontinent"[6] (or simply the Subcontinent), "Hindustan," and "Bharat." The word "India" is a European corruption of *sindhu* (meaning "river" in Sanskrit, whence also *Indus*) and was transmitted to Europe through Iranian usage and the writings of ancient Greek geographers. The term has been applied in the sense of Greater India to all of South and Southeast Asia since the fifteenth century.[7] The concept of India as a precise geographic and political entity dates from the nineteenth century, during the period of British rule in South Asia. In imperial days the region could have been referred to as 'The Indian Empire.' The term 'Indian subcontinent,' also used because of historical and geographical forces was itself a vivid reminder of regional imbalance. Since the partition of the Indian empire, the term has

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[4] Stephen Philip Cohen, "Image of Peace and War in South Asia," A Ford Foundation Project, New Delhi, (15 July 1992) (unpublished paper), pp. 1-9.

[5] Graham Chapman, "Regional vs. Regional Determinism: India, Pakistan and Bangladesh as Inheritors of Empire," in David Arnold and Peter Robb (ed.)., **Institutions and Ideologies** (Surrey: Curzon Press, 1993), p. 7.

[6] The term Indian subcontinent was used for the whole geographical area of South Asia i.e., including Pakistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Nepal, Sri Lanka and the Maldives. See Stephen Philip Cohen, "Image of Peace and War in South Asia," pp. 4-7.

[7] Norton Ginsburg, **The Pattern of Asia** (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1958), p. 458.

been apt to give offence to Pakistanis and to Bangladeshis, whereas 'South Asia' is neutral and inoffensive.[8]

However, the region of South Asia came into being with the British withdrawal from the region in 1947 and the term "South Asia" has come to be widely used since the 1950s to describe the region and its present-day status, as the group of seven countries mentioned above. Although their status is disputed,[9]Afghanistan, Tibet and Burma, despite their have important geographical, historical and cultural affinities with South Asia are best generally regarded as buffer zones between the great regional powers.

2. Geopolitical Importance of South Asia

In terms of geopolitics, the South Asian region has traditionally been looked at as a unified entity. The region is Indo-centric and all other six countries of South Asia are located around India, without any mutual geographic contiguity. The location of South Asia is important to the West and to the growth of Japanese industrialisation. It is located between the energy-rich Persian Gulf and the Asia-Pacific, and borders both Russia and China. The air and sea routes that connect Europe and the Middle East with the Far East and Australiasia pass through or near the South Asian region. It also serves as a bridge between East Asia and West Asia, and Central Asia and East Asia. Moreover, strategically, South Asia is not only important in itself, but has the potential to affect developments in other areas of great significance as well. It is a peninsula, jutting into the Indian Ocean,[10] with the Bay of Bengal on the east and the Arabian Sea on the west. The renowned naval strategist Alfred Mahan described the strategic importance of the Indian Ocean in the following words:

> Whoever controls the Indian Ocean, dominates Asia. This ocean is the key to the seven seas. In the 21st century the destiny of the world would be decided on its waters.[11]

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[8] B. H. Farmer, **An Introduction To South Asia** (New York: Methuen & Co, 1983), p. 1. The author is a witness that during the South Asian Conference in Dhaka in 1976, one of the speakers used the term **'Bangla-Pak Subcontinent'** instead of Indian subcontinent. See complete details in his book chapter 1.

[9] Bhabani Sen Gupta puts Afghanistan into the South Asian region. See Bhabani Sen Gupta, **South Asian Perspectives** (New Delhi: B. R. Publishing Co, 1988), p. 5.

[10] The Indian Ocean is the smallest ocean in the world with the area of around 28,400,000 square miles or 73,600,000 square kilometres. See **Encyclopaedia Britannica**, Vol. 9 (Chicago: William Benton Publishers, 1974), p. 307.

[11] This statement is commonly attributed to Alfred Thayer Mahan but it has proved difficult to find the original source. However, he is quoted in C. F. Monorajan Bezboruah, **US Strategy In the Indian**

In fact, Mahan's views about the Indian Ocean are valuable because the Indian Ocean enjoys an immense significance among the littoral states and against the background of superpower rivalry in the region.[12] Geographically, the ocean is surrounded by India, Pakistan and Iran to the north, the Arabian Peninsula and Africa to the west, Australia, the Sunda Islands of Indonesia and the Malay Peninsula to the east, and Antarctica to the south. In the southwest, it links to the Atlantic Ocean south of the southern tip of Africa and to the east and southeast it is connected with the Pacific Ocean. Its choke-points such as Cape of Good-Hope (Africa), Strait of Bab-el-Mandeb (Red Sea), Strait of Hormuz (Gulf), Strait of Malacca (between Malaysia and Indonesia), and Strait of Sunda (between Java and Sumatra) have substantial strategic influence. This fact was well acknowledged by the famous Portuguese navigator Alfonso d' Albuquerque who spoke of "three keys" to the Indian Ocean: the strait of Malacca and Singapore in the east, the strait of Hormuz at the entrance to the Gulf and the strait of Bab-el-Mandeb at the entrance to the Red Sea in the west.[13] Moreover, the strategic importance of the Indian Ocean is also linked with the concentration of many of the raw material resources of the world, such as, oil, rubber, manganese, copper, gold, tea, cotton, rice and jute in the various littoral states. Therefore, South Asia is a major supplier of export cargoes to the Indian Ocean and it is a junction between the western and eastern halves of the ocean.

South Asia has been recognised as a geographical area of major strategic significance through which pass the routes connecting Europe, Africa and Asia. The region of South Asia is important because of its connection with the vital sea-lines of communication in the Indian Ocean and its being sandwiched between two politically volatile and economically critical regions, i.e., the Persian Gulf and Southeast Asia. Thus, South Asia forms an integral part of Mackinder's "world Island," that is, the Euro-African-Asiatic land mass, the most important single geographical unit in the world.[14] Moreover, the major actors of the region, India and Pakistan, were in the second half of the twentieth century divided in terms of polarisation between the

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Ocean (New York: Praeger, 1977), p. 3; Amita Agarwal, Indian Ocean and World Peace (New Delhi: Kanishka Publishers, 2000), p. 1; Lt. General (Retd) Sardar F.S. Lodi, "Indian Ocean and our Security," http://www.defencejournal.com/2000/mar/indian-ocean.htm; and see Ranjit B Rai, "India's Maritime Ambitions vis-à-vis the Afghan War," http://www.indiadefence.com/ambitions.htm.

[12] Chundra Kumar, "The Indian Ocean: Arc of Crisis or Zone of Peace?," International Affairs, Vol. 60, No. 2 (Spring 1984), p. 234.

[13] Burrell R. M. and Cottrell Alvin (ed.)., The Indian Ocean: Its Political, Economic and Military Importance (London: Praeger, 1972), p. 1.

United States, the Soviet Union and China. In this context, India functioned as an important ally of the Soviet Union and Pakistan functioned as a broker for the West in relation to moderate Muslim countries in the Middle East and the Gulf areas and in relation to China.

3. US Involvement and Interest in South Asia Since 1945

Despite the inherent geopolitical importance of South Asia the United States' involvement in the region has fluctuated, depending upon its intensity and style of competition with other great powers at the global level. Historically, South Asia is an area about which Americans know little, where they have a restricted set of interests, and which has thus often been given little attention in the scale of the US priorities.[15] American strategic interests and perspectives regarding South Asia, from the very beginning, were strongly influenced by the British, who sought to guide the US to lead the world and control the strategic zones previously dominated by London. Olaf Caroe, the British diplomat, admitted that the British advised the US about the protection of Western interests in the Gulf and South Asia.[16] In fact, the United States is not a natural Asian power. It is geopolitically distant and its trading and investment involvement in the region was negligible during the Cold War period. The principal determinant of US policy towards South Asia has been the US perception of the region's relevance to the pursuit of its wider global geopolitical and strategic goals. Moreover, the US policy in South Asia has been shaped not so much with reference to the interests of the states of the region but based on US interests vis-a-vis the Soviet Union and China. The major American interest was to prevent the absorption of the area into the Communist orbit.

The political involvement of the United States in South Asia is a relatively recent phenomenon. It started only after World War II, from which the United States emerged as a leading world power. Before that time, there had been only limited commercial and cultural links dating back to the nineteenth century. The American Tobacco

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[14] See W. H. Parker, Mackinder: Geography as an Aid to Statecraft (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), pp. 185 and 223.

[15] Thomas P. Thornton, "The United States and South Asia," Survival, Vol. 35, No. 2 (Summer 1993), pp. 110; and see S. D. Muni, "The United States and South Asia: The Strategic Dimension," in Shelton U. Kodikara (ed.)., External Compulsions of South Asian Politics (London: Sage Publications, 1993), p. 58.

[16] Olaf Caroe, Wells of Power (London: Macmillan, 1951), p.112.

Company (ATC) engaged in tobacco trade with the South Asian states, and a number of American archaeologists, anthropologists, students of ancient history, educators and missionaries were attracted by the region's unique cultural, religious and historical aspects.[17] These socio-cultural, religious and academic groups were the main contacts between the United States and South Asia in the early modern period. The end of the British rule over the world, especially the withdrawal from South Asia to a reduced position East of Suez brought the United States into the region to help its embattled ally, Great Britain, and the area ceased to be under their sphere of influence.[18] The eclipse of the British marked a corresponding rise in status for the United States and the Soviet Union and the materialization of a bipolar global power configuration.

US policy toward South Asia has, however, been basically confused, inconsistent and reactive rather than calculated and long term. The continued absence of direct material interest has helped to limit American involvement in the region. Instead, the United States has been guided in its South Asian policy by its global interests and has therefore tended to view regional conflicts largely from a global perspective.[19] The resulting periodic modification of US regional policy to suit its global pursuits appeared to local states as a confused policy, lacking clarity and coherence both in its declaratory and operational dimensions. The primary objective of the next sections is to analyse the different US interests in South Asia, and its preparedness to undertake a serious political, economic and military action, irrespective of the cost involved. The dimensions of the superpower interests in South Asia can be defined in various categories such as political, economic and strategic, to achieve specific goals calculated to serve vital interests.

3-1. US Political Interests in South Asia

The US entered the subcontinent principally by way of the Middle East and Southeast Asia to protect the interests of the industrialised nations. A degree of natural affinity

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[17] Mahmud A. Faksh, "US Policy in the Middle East: Incongruity in Political Strategy and Action," **American Arab Affairs**, Vol. 2, No. 1 (Winter 1987-88), p. 38.

[18] Joseph J. Malone, "American and the Arabian Peninsula: The First Two Hundred Years," **Middle East Journal** (Summer 1976), pp. 406-24.

[19] See for more study about the US policy toward the countries of South Asia Norman D. Palmer, **South Asia and United States Foreign Policy** (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1966); pp. 28-46; W. Norman Brown, **The United States and India, Pakistan, Bangladesh**, (3rd ed.)., (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972); p. 57; and Werner Levi, **The Challenge of World Politics in South and Southeast Asia** (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1968), p. 118.

between Pakistan and its Western neighbours was part of the reason; more important, however, was Washington's mechanical concept of containment that required a chain of contiguous allies around the perimeter of the Sino-Soviet bloc. Moreover, the US policy of strategic distance from India was based on the US assessment of India's prospective role and capabilities that were seen as incompatible with the overall Western requirements in the region. India's image in the eyes of US future planners was that it was not capable of providing leadership to Southeast Asia in the struggle against communism. Pakistan, in their perceptions, appeared better placed to deal with its problems. In this context, the policy makers of the State Department on 3 April 1950 said:

> . . . it may in time become desirable critically to review our concept that Pakistan's destiny is or should be bound with India. . .the schism that led to the break-up of the old India was very deep. . . The development of a Pakistan-India entente cordiale appears remote. Moreover, the vigour and methods which have characterised India's execution of its policy of consolidating the princely states and its inflexible attitude with regard to Kashmir may indicate national traits which in time, if not controlled, could make India Japan's successor in Asiatic imperialism. In such a circumstance a strong Muslim block under the leadership of Pakistan and friendly to the US might afford a desirable balance of power in Asia.[20]

It was clear that a policy of containment of communism in Southeast and Southwest Asia predominated in the US approach and they found Pakistan more comfortable for US strategic interests as compared to India. Pakistan's assets, such as its religious identity with the Muslim countries of the Middle East, its geographical proximity to the oil-rich Persian Gulf and to Communist adversaries like the Soviet Union and China, and above all its potential and willingness to act as a regional balancer to India, were indeed tempting.[21] There was also general feeling by the American policy makers that by extending military assistance, Pakistan's friendship could be won and its opposition to the Communist nations strengthened. Olaf Caroe, a former Governor of the Northwest Frontier Province (NWFP) of Pakistan and Foreign Secretary of the British-Indian government, openly indicated to the Americans in his book, *Wells of Power*, that Western defence of the Middle East should be based on Pakistan, just as British

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[20] Report by the Foreign Relation Committee to South, Southeast and West Asia about the emerging situation of India, Pakistan and Iran. See **The State Department Bulletin**, 3 April 1950 (Washington, D. C: Government Printing Office, 1950), pp. 134-35; and see also R. K. Jain, **US-South Asia Relations 1947-1982**, Vol. II, (New Delhi: Radiant, 1983), p.16.

[21] S. D. Muni, "The United States and South Asia," p. 61.

defence of the Middle East had previously been based upon control of the subcontinent.[22] The United States also realised that with Pakistan the Middle East could be defended and without Pakistan it would be difficult to do so.[23]

Thus, Pakistan is the only country in South Asia and within the Muslim world which developed a close bilateral and multilateral relationship with the West in the 1950s. This was a time when Pakistan was becoming increasingly anxious to obtain US military and economic assistance without antagonising the Soviet Union and China. In general, Pakistan's purpose in joining the alliances was not to contain communism but to strengthen its defence and bargaining position vis-à-vis India, its arch adversary.[24] Therefore, Pakistan became an ally of the West in May 1954, when the Mutual Defence Assistance Agreement with the United States was signed. In 1954-55 Pakistan became a member of SEATO[25] and the Baghdad Pact (later known as CENTO),[26] which led to a close military relationship with the US. Washington had a chance to establish military bases in order to protect the oil areas of the Middle East.[27] In 1959, Pakistan also signed a bilateral "Agreement of Co-operation" with the United States and Pakistan was associated with the US through not one, but four mutual security arrangements.[28] *The New York Times* stated that discussions on a military alliance were to begin on the condition that Pakistan "was willing to consider an exchange of air bases for military equipment."[29] Moreover, the Pakistan military elites, especially General Ayub Khan, constantly pressed for larger allotments of arms and economic aid. His arguments were supported by many US officials who, convinced that Pakistan had adopted a firm anti-Communist policy, argued that it could only play a role in regional defence if it were given more arms than originally planned.[30] Policy makers seemingly believed that Pakistan assessed the Soviet military pressure as a significant

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[22] Sir Olaf Caroe, **Wells of Power**, pp. 179-180.
[23] Rekha Datta, "US Security Policy in India and Pakistan and the Question of Nuclear Proliferation," **Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies**, Vol. XXI, No. 2 (Winter 1998), p. 29.
[24] S. D. Muni, "Defence and Development in South Asia," in Bhabani Sen Gupta (ed.)., **Regional Cooperation and Development in South Asia** (Delhi: South Asian Publishers, 1986), pp. 18-36.
[25] **SEATO** (Southeast Asian Treaty Organisation) There were following members: Australia, France, New Zealand, Pakistan, Philippines, Thailand, United Kingdom and the United States. Official machinery disbanded in 1975, but obligations under the treaty remain in force. France maintains an inactive status.
[26] **CENTO** (the Central Treaty Organisation) was formed in 1959 after Iraq had withdrawn from the Baghdad Pact. His members were the UK, Pakistan, Iran and Turkey. The USA was also a member of CENTO committees but not of the organisation as a whole. This treaty ceased to be effective after the 1980s.
[27] R. K. Jain, **US-South Asia Relations 1947-82**, Vol. II (New Delhi: Radiant, 1983), p. 16.
[28] Mohammad Ayub Khan, **Friends Not Masters** (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), p.130.
[29] **The New York Times** (2 November 1953).
[30] **The New York Times** (15 October 1955).

danger, which made cooperation with the West desirable. In fact, some important officials apparently thought that Pakistan regarded the Soviet threat as a close second to that posed by India. Thus, Pakistan did become a member of Western military pacts and was sometimes regarded as 'America's most allied ally in Asia' and managed the problem of survival from the implacable hostility of India. Political analyst Nirad Chaudhuri quite logically argued that "India held the pistol at the head of Pakistan, until, in 1954, the American alliance delivered the country from the nightmare."[31] Under the influence of the alliance policy, Pakistan felt it had clearly come off better than India.[32]

Therefore, military alliances with Pakistan became a strategic necessity and the US acquired an image in India "as a friend of Pakistan and opposed to India."[33] Some Indian scholars have argued that the US attitude towards India has allowed India to believe that the US patronisation of Pakistan meant denial of proper status to India.[34] Moreover, the US military aid to Pakistan alienated India and pushed it toward the Soviet Union. Subsequently, India's willingness to expand relations with the Communist countries enhanced their international stature and made other Asian countries more receptive to Soviet overtures. The Soviet Union backing of India vis-à-vis Pakistan strengthened New Delhi's resolve to stand firm on Kashmir rather than seek a compromise, just as the alliance with the United States encouraged Pakistan to think it might succeed in pressuring India to be more accommodating. Thus, within a decade of independence, the two major nations of the region were caught up in the Cold War and their involvement in great-power politics enabled them to extract material benefits.

In the late 1960s and early 1970s the United States almost withdrew from South Asian affairs. The US adopted a neutral stance between the Indo-Pakistan war of 1965 and 1971 and terminated military aid to both countries, which hurt Pakistan more than India. The US neutrality made the Pakistani elites painfully aware that their "long nourished American equaliser" would not be available in time of crisis.[35] Greater

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[31] Nirad C. Chaudhuri, **The Continent of Circe** (London: Chatto and Windus, 1965), pp. 243-244.
[32] William J. Barnds, **India, Pakistan and the Great Powers** (New York: Praeger, 1972), p.103.
[33] B. K. Srivastava, "The United States and South Asia," **South Asian Survey**, Vol. 4, No. 1 (January-June 1997), p. 402.
[34] Annpurna Nautiyal, "Pakistan Factor in the Post-Cold War Indo-US Relations," **Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies**, Vol. XXII, No. 4 (Summer 1999), p. 34.
[35] Thomas P. Thornton, "South Asia and the Great Powers," **World Affairs**, Vol. 132 (March 1970), p. 352.

challenges to the US neutrality occurred during the Indo-Pakistan war of 1971 because the Soviet-India partnership and treaty of 1971 successfully neutralised the US and China. The US strategic stand off in South Asia changed the regional scenario and upset the 'balance of power' and left India "unchecked" to impose its will upon the other countries of the region.[36] This was a time when Pakistan was helping the Nixon administration's moves to improve relations with China, including the secret arrangements for Henry Kissinger's visit to Beijing via Pakistan in 1971. The US and China gave verbal support to Pakistan but both were helpless to defend Pakistan's territorial integrity. State Department and American public opinion were unfavourable to Pakistan and its army's action in the eastern wing.[37] In addition, the US showed their tilt to Pakistan but it was simply to avoid war in the region; they accepted the inevitability of Bangladesh, and only acted to save West Pakistan's anticipated disintegration.[38] The US conveyed to the Soviets that if they were not going to restrain India, the US might have to undertake tougher action.[39]

Practically, the US was not involved in South Asia until the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979. In general, the United States came to accept India as a regional power to assure peace and security in the region. In 1974, Secretary of State Henry Kissinger acknowledged that "the size and position of India give it a special role of leadership in South Asia and world affairs."[40] It was hoped that, ultimately, Pakistan and Afghanistan would also come under this collaboration. However, the Indian nuclear explosion in May 1974 and Pakistan's intention to go nuclear forced the US administration to take an interest in the region to prevent nuclear proliferation. The Carter administration took a strong stand against Pakistan's nuclear development, cutting off economic and military assistance.[41] However, the advent of the Iranian revolution and the Soviet adventurism in Afghanistan fuelled the long-standing Western fear of Soviet expansionism and gave an acute sense of urgency to the need to retaliate and stop the advancement of the Communists. US regional and global interests

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[36] The US interest in and Policies toward South Asia: Hearing before the Subcommittee on the Near East and South Asia of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, March 12, 15, 20 and 27, 1973 (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1973), pp. 167-182.

[37] See Henry Kissinger, The White House Years (Boston: Little Brown, 1979), p. 864; see also Seymour M. Hersh, The Price of Power: Kissinger in the Nixon White House (New York: Summit Books, 1983), p. 449.

[38] Ibid.

[39] Richard Nixon, The Memoirs of Richard Nixon (New York: Warner Books, 1978), p. 528.

[40] US Department of State Bulletin (25 November 1974), p. 16.

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compelled it to reestablish relations with Pakistan, which had become a "front-line state" as Zbigniew Brzezinski (National Security Adviser) mentioned in early 1980:

> Pakistan has become, through a combination of circumstances and geography, a vital strategic area in the world. Its strategic location can be a bridge between South and Southwest Asia which is a physical barrier to the southward expansion of the Soviet Union and it will be an adequate counterweight to an expansionist USSR.[42]

3-2. Western Economic Interests in the Indian Ocean Region

The Gulf is a part of the world where almost every sector is linked, directly or indirectly, to the oil business. Oil, as Henry Kissinger noted, is "the world's most strategic commodity."[43] A central goal of US policy in the Persian Gulf had been to keep oil in the hands of states of a very particular sort, and out of the hands of other sorts of states. Nixon called the Persian Gulf the "oil jugular" of the West and noted that Western dependence on imported oil was certain to grow, not diminish, for the rest of the twentieth century.[44] In the industrial age, energy is the lifeblood of the economic system, and economic power is the foundation of military power. The age of coal gave way to the age of oil and in the contemporary world, "oil is as necessary as blood" because it is the lifeline of twentieth-century warfare and industries—and access to supplies of oil have become a military necessity.[45] As early as the First World War Marshal Foch stated that "we must have oil or we shall lose the war."[46] Lord Curzon later claimed that "the allies floated to victory on a wave of oil."[47] In this regard, the Middle East had long been the crossroads where Asia, Africa, and Europe meet. Its oil is the lifeblood of modern industry, the Persian Gulf region is the heart that pumps it and the sea routes around the Gulf are the arteries through which that lifeblood passes.[48] Moreover, Gulf oil could also be used either as an incentive

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[41] See full detail of sections 699 and 670 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended in **Legislation on Foreign Relations Through 1981** (Washington: US. Government Printing office, 1982), pp. 177-181.

[42] Zbigniew Brzezinski, "Pakistan and US Strategic Interests in the Gulf," **US News & World Report** (October/November 1980), pp. 35-36.

[43] Henry Kissinger, "Energy Crisis: Strategy for Cooperation Action," Speech delivered on 14 November 1974 in Chicago, pp.1-5; and see Roy A. Werner, "Oil and US Security Policies," **Orbis** (Fall 1977), p. 651.

[44] Richard Nixon, **Victory Without War** (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1982), p. 115.

[45] Ibid. p. 116; and see Walid Khadduri, "Oil and Politics in the Middle East," **Security Dialogue**, Vol. 27, No. 2 (1996), pp. 155-166.

[46] Ibid.

[47] Lord Curzon, **Frontiers** (London: Clarendon Press, 1908), pp. 4-18.

[48] The US oil production will continue to decline, and the United States oil consumption will continue to increase as its economy grows. Since coal, natural gas, or nuclear power can not makeup the shortfall between supply and demand, then there will be no way to import more oil. The US Energy Department

or as a weapon to placate or coerce restive client states, and to procure new clients in strategically important areas of the world. Above all, the Soviets could use their control of Persian Gulf oil to exploit the divisions within the Western alliance.

Europe's shift of its basic energy source from coal to imported oil dramatically changed the geopolitical structure of the modern world. Japan relies on a bridge of oil tankers—one every 100 miles from the Gulf each day of the year. Moreover, the Gulf supplies 70 percent of Japan's oil needs as well as over half of European countries. The possibility that the Soviets might be interested in expanding their access to Gulf oil seemed quite real in light of the 1977 CIA report that warned the Soviet production would peak by the mid-1980s and decline thereafter.[49] Brent Scowcroft (National Security Adviser) warned that it would probably be "easier to defeat Europe at the Straits of Hormuz" than on the Central Front.[50] Four months before the Soviets entered Afghanistan, departing energy Secretary James Schlesinger warned darkly, "Soviet control of the oil tap in the Middle East would mean the end of the world as we have known it since 1945 and of the association of free nations."[51]

Moreover, the economic importance of the Indian Ocean area as a whole is linked with the concentration of many of the raw material resources of the world, such as oil, rubber, manganese, copper, tea, cotton, rice, jute and gold in the various littoral states.[52] Stalin highlighted the economic vulnerability of the West to resource interdiction back in 1921 when he argued: "If Europe and America may be called the front, the non-sovereign nations and colonies, with their raw materials, fuel, food and vast stores of human material, should be regarded as the rear, the reserve of imperialism. In order to win a war one must not only triumph at the front but also revolutionise the enemy's rear, his reserves.[53] In the same way, the Soviet president

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estimated that in 1995 the United States would import about 50 percent of its oil, while Western Europe would import about 70 percent and Japan 100 percent. Since the countries of the Persian Gulf hold 66 percent of the free world's proven oil reserves, they will supply the lion's share of oil imports of the industrialized democracies in the future. See Shahram Chubin, "Soviet Policy Toward Iran and the Gulf," **Adelphi Paper**, No. 157 (London I I S S , 1980), p. 6; and Richard Nixon, **The Real War**, Paperback (New York: Warner Books, 1981), p. 81.

[49] Central Intelligence Agency, Prospects for Soviet Oil production (Washington, D.C.: USGPO, April 1977; see also "Soviet as Oil-Independent Through 1980s," **New York Times** (19 May 1981), p.1.

[50] Quoted in Ronald J. Lieber, **Will Europe Fight for Oil?** (New York: Praeger, 1983), p. 2.

[51] Amos A. Jordan, "Energy and the Future of NATO," in Kenneth A. Myers (ed.)., **NATO: The Next Thirty Years** (Boulder: Westview Press, 1980), p. 285.

[52] Ashok Kapur, **Indian Ocean: Regional and International Politics** (New York: Praeger Press, 1983), p. 177.

[53] Quoted in Richard Nixon, **The Real War**, p. 25.

Leonid I. Brezhnev explained to Somalian President Said Barre, that "aim is to gain control of the two great treasure houses on which the West depends—the energy treasure of the Persian Gulf and the mineral treasure house of central and southern Africa."[54] Thus, a Soviet presence in Afghanistan posed a formidable threat to Europe in the west, China and Japan in the east and the countries of Central Asia, the Persian Gulf, the Middle East and Africa to the south. By 1979-80 the Western industrialized economies as a whole, including Australia and Japan, came to be absolutely dependent on the Gulf's oil resources; it accounted for 35 percent of France's oil, 32 percent of Italy's, 35 percent of Germany's and 100 percent of Japan's.[55]

Minor interruptions of imports that could be the cause of inconvenience and annoyance in the United States might create panic to its industrial allies. Thus, the Western anxiety and concern about the Soviet drive toward the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean was quite logical. In the same vein, the US had some stakes of its own in the area as a whole because of its dependence on oil and strategic materials. Nixon was one who really understood the Soviets and he argued that "the Soviet leaders have their eyes on the economic underpinnings of modern society. Their aim is to pull the plug on the Western industrial machine. The Western industrial nations dependence on foreign sources of vital raw materials is one of our main vulnerabilities."[56] In the circumstances, the US recognised that ensuring Persian Gulf security and stability as a vital US interest. This had implications for South Asia should the American position in the Gulf region itself be potentially outflanked by a thrust southwards through Afghanistan towards the Indian Ocean.

3-3. US Strategic Interests

The principal strategic interests of the USA in the region were and are maintenance of ability to keep the high seas open for navigation both for itself and its allies. As early as 1948, Harry Hodson had described a wider Gulf region as a borderland where great

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[54] Ibid.

[55] Along the entire 7,000 mile route from the Straits of Hormuz of Gulf to Japan, the strategic choke point through which 40 percent of the free world's oil passes—20 million barrels each day, 800,000 barrels every hour—there was one oil tanker every 100 miles bound for Japanese ports. See Alice Rivlin, "The World Oil Market in the 1980's: Implications for the United States," in Larry A. Berg, L. M. Baird and E. A. Varanini (ed.)., The United States and World Energy Sources (New York: Praeger, 1982), pp. 50-56; and Richard Nixon, Victory Without War 1999 (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1982), p. 116.

[56] Richard Nixon, The Real War, p. 26.

interests meet and clash. The area stretched in a rough, dangerous arc from Kashmir to the Northwest Frontier province of Pakistan, Afghanistan, Iran, and Egypt. For Hodson, this was the Arc of Danger.[57] The United States regarded the area of the Middle East as vital for her global interests and in any circumstances the US had to possess the capability to go anywhere and meet any potential challenge to friend or ally.

Before the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan, the USSR base at Marv[58] was its closest to the Straits of Hormuz. The Russians had first moved into the area in 1884 and Britain became concerned over Russian ambitions. The Russian ambassador in London argued that it was difficult "for a civilised power to stop in the extension of its territory where uncivilised tribes were its immediate neighbours."[59] The Russians eventually halted at the area along the Amu Darya (River) which formed the border with Afghanistan until Russian troops crashed across it in late 1979. There are no natural barriers separating Afghanistan from the Arabian Sea and the Straits of Hormuz if the Soviets succeeded in taking effective control of the Persian Gulf, then Europe and Japan would be at the mercy of the Soviet Union. Moreover, by the 1970s from Turkey to Pakistan, the countries of the "northern tier" that once held the Soviets in check were either in turmoil or gravely weakened. As Robert Thompson noted in 1974 "the Soviet Union had three fronts: "a Western Europe front, an eastern front facing China and Japan and a southern front facing the countries between Turkey and Afghanistan. The third front has been breached after the invasion in Afghanistan and the Soviet is moving southward toward to the Persian Gulf, the centre of the aspirations of the Soviet Union."[60] Harold Brown, the Secretary of Defence, highlighted the dependence of the West and the industrialised nations on the oil reserves in the region. The Soviet threat was the more ominous because, while the Western world was left extremely vulnerable due to its need for oil, the Soviet Union enjoyed relative self-sufficiency.[61] According to one assessment, "if every oil field in the Middle East were to cease production, the Soviet Union would be almost totally unaffected, while the West would face economic and social disruption of catastrophic proportions."[62]

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[57] Harry V. Hodson, Twentieth Century Empire (London: Faber & Faber, 1948), p. 158.
[58] Merv is one of the ancient city in Turkmenistan. In the Greek time, it was called Margiana, then after Ghengis Khan, it was called Merv. When the Russian took over and built a new city.
[59] Quoted in Richard Nixon, The Real War, p. 98.
[60] Robert Thompson, Peace is not at Hand (London: Chatto and Windus, 1974), pp. 54-76; Robert Thompson, "Communist Insurgencies From Asia to Africa," World Policy Journal, No. 2 (Summer 1984), pp. 86-92.
[61] See Department of State Bulletin (July 1982), p. 19.
[62] Jonathan P. Stern, "Gulf Oil Strategy," Washington Quarterly, Vol. 3 (Spring 1980), pp. 67- 70.

4. US Policy Towards Afghanistan

Despite its enormous potential importance, Afghanistan was neither the subject of, nor the catalyst for security debates in the post-World War II period. Even Britain, with its historic interests in the area, was a mere onlooker in Afghanistan. Europeans also spent little time worrying about Soviet encroachments in Afghanistan. The US government had recognised an independent Afghanistan in 1919 and formal relations were strengthened in 1934 when President Roosevelt, in response to a letter from King Zahir Shah, agreed to limited diplomatic representation in Kabul. The strategic significance of Afghanistan was realised by the Western powers during World War II and the US granted permission to the Afghan government to open its mission in Washington in 1943. In 1944 the Afghan government first sought American military assistance and training, but this request was ignored by Washington, largely because Afghanistan was perceived as a "backward" country existing in "isolation" which seemed to be under no threat of immediate Soviet expansion.[63]

Post World War II, the Afghan leader again requested American security assistance and according to the US State Department, the Afghans were willing to act as a base for "delaying action in the passes of the Hindukush" against the Russians, with US backing."[64] The Afghan desire to obtain US arms proved unsuccessful but both countries upgraded to fully-fledged embassies in 1948.[65] US economic assistance for Afghanistan was positively niggardly and the US under both Truman and Eisenhower rebuffed several attempts by the Afghans to balance their close ties with Moscow with improved relations with the United States.[66] The US indifference toward Afghanistan was the product of several not entirely consistent assumptions: Afghanistan was unthreatened, indefensible and, at the time, strategically less important. In addition, the

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[63] Muhammed R. Azmi, "Soviet Politico-Military Penetration in Afghanistan 1955-1979," Armed Forces and Society, Vol. 12 (Spring 1986), p. 332.

[64] US Department of State, Foreign Relations of the United States, 1948, Vol. 5, the Near East, South Asia and Africa, Part. 1 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1975), p. 490.

[65] "The United States and Afghanistan," Department of State Bulletin, Vol. 82 (March 1982), pp. 1-5.

[66] The Afghans requested military aid from the US in 1948, 1951 and 1954 and each time were refused. In 1949 at the time of Truman's Point Four technical assistance programme, the Afghans received an Export-Import Bank loan of $21 million, barely one-sixth of the $118 million requested. In April 1951 when an Afghan envoy expressed fears of Afghanistan's giant northern (Russia) neighbour, the State Department advised Truman to tell the Afghans to rely on the UN's collective security mechanisms. Presumably, the Afghans were aware of UN procedures and the existence of the Soviet veto. See more details Henry S. Bradsher, Afghanistan and the Soviet Union (Durham: Duke University Press, 1985), pp. 18-20.

US ignorance and reticence was a product of the fear that to extend influence towards Afghanistan might be considered provocative by Moscow. Leon J. Polluda attributes the failure by the US administration to grasp the strategic importance of Afghanistan, to ignorance of local conditions and to the fear of Soviet reaction to US overtures in a region contiguous to the Soviet Union.[67] However, the lack of Western interest in landlocked Afghanistan left no option for Afghan rulers but to remain unhealthily dependent on one foreign state, the Soviet Union, in key areas, notably military and economic development.[68] Thus, the US did not rate highly Afghanistan's strategic relevance to its global concern and it was not enthusiastic about a relationship with Afghanistan. A 1949 study for the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS) warned that:

> overt Western-sponsored opposition to Communism in Afghanistan might precipitate Soviet moves to take control of the country. Provocation would have been imprudent given that Afghanistan is of little or no strategic importance to the United States....Its geographic location coupled with the realisation by Afghan leaders of Soviet capabilities presages Soviet control of the country whenever the international situation so dictates.[69]

In the early 1950s the Afghan government headed by Shah Mahmud Khan, embarked upon a programme of modernisaing the Afghan armed forces which were "ill-equipped" and "antiquated."[70] For this purpose, Shah Mahmud visited Washington to seek military assistance but his request was turned down.[71] On 13 August 1951 Mohammad Daoud Khan, the war minister, made a formal request along with a list of weapons handed to the US State Department. The US reply, conveyed on 27 November 1951, was that "the $25 million cost would have to be paid in cash. The State Department also informed that "Kabul would have to arrange transit through Pakistan, and the sale would be made public." Afghanistan found these terms too harsh and called it a "political refusal."[72]

In 1953, when Daoud Khan became prime minister, Kabul renewed its quest for weapons to the United States. In October 1954, Daoud sent Mohammad Naim (brother

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[67] Leon B. Poullada, "Afghanistan and the United States: The Crucial Years," The Middle East Journal, Vol. 35 (Spring 1981), pp. 182-186.
[68] Anthony Hyman, "Afghanistan: War and Reconciliation?," Contemporary South Asia, Vol. 1, No. 3 (1992), pp. 381-392.
[69] US Joint Chief of Staff, "Programme of Assistance for General Area of China," 10 January 1950", item 33A in The Declassified Documents 1979 Collection Vol. 5, No. 1 (Washington, D. C: Carrollton Press, 1979); see also Bradsher, Afghanistan and the Soviet Union, pp. 18-20.
[70] John Keegan (ed.)., World Armies (2nd ed.)., (Detroit: Gale Research Company, 1983), p. 3.
[71] Leon B. Poullada, "Afghanistan and the United States: The Crucial years," pp. 184-185.

and foreign minister) to Washington to make a personal appeal to the US Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles. The US government informed the Afghan and Pakistani ambassadors that "after careful consideration, extending military aid to Afghanistan would create problems not offset by the strength it would generate. Instead of asking for arms, Afghanistan should established friendly relations with Pakistan."[73] The Afghans found it "frustrating that their confidential demarche to the US was revealed to the Pakistanis" and that they had been proffered the unsolicited advice "to abandon dispute unilaterally."[74] Robert G. Neuman (American Ambassador of Afghanistan 1966-73), commenting on the situation, said "John Foster Dulles had turned down the Afghan request for military aid because of fears of escalating the Cold War and of provoking a Soviet move against Afghanistan.[75] The US felt itself to be too far away and then its own security relationship with Pakistan created disappointment in the minds of Afghan rulers. Zalmay Khalilzad suggests that the US reluctance to provide military assistance was prompted by the fear that it might threaten Pakistan's security or undermine US relations with Pakistan, which was also a regional ally.[76] There was also confusion as to the exact strategic significance of Afghanistan and the impossibility of projecting military power to protect a distant country.[77]

In this regard, Western scholars give diverse interpretations and reasons to account for the American indifference towards Afghanistan. Joseph Collins argues that the main reason for refusal was the American perception of Afghanistan as an "economy of force area" whose importance, unlike that of Iran and Pakistan, was a derivative of more focal US strategic objectives in the region.[78] Raymond Garthoff points out that "the US ideological and political commitment with military pacts and its objections to neutralism"[79] kept it from closer relations with Afghanistan. In the same vein, Robert G.

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[72] Bradsher, Afghanistan and the Soviet Union, p. 20.

[73] Leo B. Poullada, "The Road to Crisis 1919-1980: American Failures, Afghan Errors and Soviet Successess," in Rosanne Klass, Afghanistan: The Great Game Revisited (New York: Freedom House, 1987), p. 43.

[74] Abdul Samad Ghaus, The Fall of Afghanistan: An Insider's Account (New York: Pergamon-Brassey's International Defence Publishers, 1988), p. 80.

[75] This is the view of two former US ambassadors to Afghanistan, Robert G. Neumann and Theodore L. Eliot, Jr. See Thomas T. Hammond, Red Flag Over Afghanistan: The Communist Coup, The Soviet Invasion and the Consequences (Boulder: Westview Press, 1984), p. 26.

[76] Ibid., pp. 24-26.

[77] Zalmay Khalilzad, " Afghanistan and the Crisis in American Foreign Policy," Survival, Vol. 22, (July-August 1980), p. 153.

[78] Joseph J. Collins, The Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan: A Study in the Use of Force in Soviet Foreign Policy (Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1986), pp. 19-20.

[79] Raymond L. Garthoff, Détente and Confrontation: American-Soviet Relations From Nixon to Reagan (Washington, D. C.: The Brookings Institution, 1985), p. 891.

Neuman indicates that "the United States turned down Afghan requests for military and economic aid because of its location and poor communications, as enormous logistical efforts would have had to be undertaken by the US where the risk of escalating the Cold War would have been high."[80] Neuman's successor, Theodore L. Eliot, Jr, argued that the United States close relations with Pakistan were the main reason not to support Afghanistan."[81] Moreover, "sending military equipment to Afghanistan would so alarm the Soviets that they would make some kind of move against Afghanistan."[82]

Kabul's difficulties with Washington were further compounded when it refused to participate in the collective security system embodied in the Baghdad Pact of 1955 without an adequate security guarantee from the US, primarily because of Pakistan's participation. In the circumstances, Afghanistan turned towards the Soviet Union for military and economic assistance. The Soviet Union endorsed Afghanistan's stand on the Pakhtunistan issue and provided some military and economic assistance and transit rights through its territory at a time when Pakistan had sealed off its trade route.[83] Leon J. Polluda contends that "flawed US perceptions and inadequate diplomacy contributed substantially to the unwise Afghan policies which in turn provided an opportunity to the Soviets to absorb Afghanistan," eventually.[84] Daoud, spurned by the United States in his quest for military support, signed an agreement with the Soviet Union which would make the Afghan army entirely dependent on its northern neighbour for arms, training and financing. With Soviet encouragement, Daoud reversed the post-war trend towards capitalistic — albeit monopolistic—development in Afghanistan and embarked the nation on a series of ambitious economic programmes.[85] The effect of Daoud's policies was to give the Soviet Union not only a great strategic stake in the country but also an ideological commitment to making Afghanistan's development work.[86] Afghan leaders insisted that their need to attain higher standards of living was more important than their

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[80] Neumann quoted in Thomas T. Hammond, **Red Flag Over Afghanistan** (Boulder: Westview Press, 1984), p. 26; Quoted in Leon B. Poullada, "The Road to Crisis 1919-1980: American Failures, Afghan Errors and Soviet Successes," in Rosanne Klass (ed.)., **Afghanistan: The Great Game Revisited** (New York: Freedom House, 1987), p.43; see also Bhabani Sen Gupta, **Afghanistan: Politics, Economics and Society, Revolution, Resistance Intervention** (Boulder: Westview Press, 1986), p. 15.

[81] Ibid.

[82] Ibid.

[83] Zalmay Khalilzad, " Afghanistan and the Crisis in American Foreign Policy," p. 153.

[84] Leon B. Polluda, "Afghanistan and the United States: The Crucial Years," p. 188.

[85] Daoud produced Five Year Plans like a Stalinistic five year plan. See Ministry of Planning, **Five Year Plan** (Kabul: Government of Afghanistan, 1966); and **Financial Times** (18 March 1969), p. 22.

[86] Bhabani Sen Gupta, **The Afghan Syndrome: How to Live With Soviet Power** (New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1982), pp. 32-34.

political predilections.[87] Daoud used the leverage of financial and technical assistance to seek to transform Afghanistan's rural economy into a model of Soviet-style centralised development.

In the 1970s, Afghanistan remained constantly in the lowest priority of the United States. The US policy was "flying blind" and was characterised by an absence of overtures toward the government in Kabul.[88] The State Department recognised that Afghanistan had little choice but to lean towards the Soviet Union given its geographical location, its desire to transform the economy and its concomitant need for economic assistance, defence requirements and its dispute with Pakistan.[89] The Nixon and Ford Administration became somewhat more attentive as a result of a 1973 coup that deposed the monarchy and brought the pro-Soviet Daoud back to power. Daoud brought members of the *Parcham* faction of the Afghan Communist Party (the PDPA) into his government and they adopted an aggressive stance on the issue of Pakhtunistan. At that time, the US advised Iran, Saudia Arabia and Kuwait to give economic assistance to Afghanistan, to encourage it to pursue a conciliatory policy towards its neighbours, especially Pakistan. The US objectives, up until the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, were defined as preservation of Afghanistan's independence and territorial integrity, creation of a viable political and economic system, prevention of such strong Soviet influence that Afghanistan would lose its freedom of action and improvement of Afghanistan's ties with Pakistan and Iran.[90] Thus, viewed through the prism of bilateral superpower relations, Afghanistan was outside the orbit of US vital interests and it had limited political communication because Afghanistan was in an area of Soviet strategic influence.

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[87] Peter G. Frank, "Economic Progress in an Encircled Land," Middle East Journal, No. 10 (Winter 1956), p. 58.

[88] US aid to Afghanistan declined every year during the 1963-73 period, with one exception Afghan Prime Ministers were not invited to Washington while they were frequently invited to Moscow, and neither Washington nor the US ambassador was very interested in underground activities in Afghanistan. See detail analysis Leon B. Poullada, "The Road to Crisis 1919-1980 American Failures, Afghan Errors and Soviet Successes," in Rosanne Klass (ed.)., Afghanistan: The Great Game Revisited, p. 53.

[89] Thomas Hammond, Red Flag Over Afghanistan, pp. 27-28.

[90] Ibid.

CHAPTER TWO

Pakistan's Security Dilemma

> "I believe...that a people must never value anything higher than the dignity and freedom of its existence...under most circumstances, a people is unconquerable if it fights a spirited struggle for its liberty..."[1]
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> —Karl von Clausewitz 1780-1831

Security is a multidimensional concept and its nature obviously differs from state to state. It involves the capabilities, desires and fears of the state and of the other states with which it interacts.[2] The term security, like national interest, is well enough established in the discourse of international relations to designate an objective of policy distinguishable from others. The fundamental objective of the state, George Kennan asserted, is: "to protect the security of the nation, by which is meant the continued ability of the country to pursue the development of its internal life without serious interference, or threat of interference, from foreign powers."[3] Security relates not only to the ultimate desire that the state should survive, but also to the desire that it should live without serious external threat to its interests or values that are regarded as important or vital.

This study advances a conceptualisation of security based on several levels of abstraction. At the generic level, security is defined as the protection and enhancement of values that the authoritative decision makers deem vital for the survival and well-being of a community.[4] This inclusive definition identifies the essence of security and the criteria for classification of an issue as a security concern, but it is of limited analytical usefulness. However, a hierarchic conception of security has both more internal coherence and greater external relevance, and, in many ways, security continues to rank high on national agendas everywhere. It may command enormous resources, including the sacrifice of life, liberty and property, the protection of which justifies the state in the first place. In general, "security" is a status of feeling free from fear, threats and danger. It is a main concern of

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[1] Carl von Clausewitz, **On War** edited and translated by Michael Howard and Peter Paret (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1984), pp. 177-221.

[2] Barry Buzan and Gowher Rizvi, **Insecurity of South Asia and Great Powers** (London: Macmillan, 1986), pp. 4-5.

[3] Quoted in John Lewis Gaddis, **Strategies of Containment** (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), p. 27.

[4] Muthiah Alagppa, **Asian Security Practice: Material and Ideational Influence** (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), p. xi.

individuals, groups, communities and states, since, by definition, it has an invaluable and irreplaceable role of maintaining survival.

1. The Perception of Threat to Pakistan's Security

The security of a state depends largely on a vigilant frontier policy. Historically, many mighty empires have collapsed because of wrong frontier policies; either by not keeping their frontiers intact from incursions or by allowing border skirmishes to develop into major conflagrations with neighbours. It is most tragic that Pakistan has been locked, ever since independence, in disputes with its neighbours, India and Afghanistan, over boundary delimitation and demarcation. In this context, India and Afghanistan have been the pivot of Pakistan's foreign policy and the main aim of Pakistan has been to obtain a shield against a possible attack from India and Afghanistan to maintain its territorial integrity, repeatedly threatened from the east and north-west.

1-1. The Indian Threat to Pakistan's Security

Since achieving independence in 1947, Pakistan has judged India its primary enemy. Afghanistan was seldom friendly but problems between the two countries were considered more irritants than threats. Pakistan has outstanding differences on territorial boundaries with India and Afghanistan. It is unfortunate that Pakistan is the product of a uniquely large redrawing, redefinition and relegitimatizing of boundaries. Not only were its border problems complicated, but the inherited borders constituted a major source of security problems. Pakistan as a successor state has long, unnatural and vulnerable borders.[5] It has tried to rectify and to legitimize the imperial legacy by making border agreements with all its neighbouring states, in order to obtain a clear delimitation of its territorial sovereignty. Further, Pakistan's strategic environment has been largely conditioned by its perception of a security threat from India, and India is still perceived as a major threat to Pakistan's continuation as an independent state; whereas India remains sensitive to any sign of improvement in Pakistan's military position.[6] Thus, as a natural balance has not existed between the two nations, Pakistan's formula has been to secure outside assistance to ensure guarantees for

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[5] Mujtaba Razvi, The Frontier of Pakistan (Karachi: National Publishing House Ltd, 1971), p. 47.

security and this basic goal has remained unchanged, though the method for its accomplishment has shifted considerably during the past fifty years. Initially, Pakistan preferred to wait and see if any nation would choose to help to ensure its desire for security. This attitude was revealed in 1946 by Firoz Ali Khan:

> If the Hindus give us Pakistan and freedom, then the Hindus are our best friends. If the British give it to us then the British are our best friends. But if neither will give it to us, then Russia is our best friend.[7]

Moreover, the creation of Pakistan was a result of conflicting Hindu and Muslim nationalistic movements. The polarisation occurred between India and Pakistan not so much because of irreconcilable incongruities or any deep-seated animosities but because of their separate identity and culture.[8] However, the bloody events at the time of partition created certain problems for Pakistan which played a significant role in the development of its defence and security policies. Thus, trouble began with the hasty departure of the British empire from the subcontinent. The desperate surgery carried out by the British left many serious issues unsettled. India refused to give Pakistan its due share of financial and military assets. There were other issues which exacerbated the mutual distrust between the two countries, like refugee rehabilitation and evacuees' property problems, the threat of diversion and stoppage of the waters of the river Indus, minority problems and the integration of the princely states like Junagadh, Hyderabad and Kashmir. From the beginning, India was determined to make things difficult for Pakistan. Moreover, many doubted the viability of Pakistan and expected that once the passion subsided, Pakistan would come back into the fold of India.[9]

Expressions of such sentiment, privately or publicly, were further strengthened by threatening statements and remarks made by important Congress leaders regarding the desire to absorb Pakistan or turn her into a satellite. The Indian leaders made no secret of their ambitious designs for Pakistan. Mr. Achary Kripalani, who was President of

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[6] Lawrence Ziring, "South Asian Tangles and Triangles," in Lawrence Ziring (ed.)., **The Subcontinent in World Politics: India: Its Neighbours and the Great Powers** (New York: Praeger, 1982), p. 29.

[7] Firoz Ali Khan, as quoted in A. B. Rajput, **The Muslim League Yesterday and Today** (Lahore: Sheikh Ghlum Ali & Sons, 1958), p. 109.

[8] After a thousand years in India, the Muslims still bear Arabic or Persian, rather than traditional Indian names. For this reason there is a vague but deeply held belief among the Muslims of the subcontinent that Southwest Asia is the repository of spiritual and cultural values. See for more details A. Roy, **The Islamic Syncretistic Tradition in Bengal** (Princeton, NJ.: Princeton University Press, 1983), pp. 63-67.

the Indian National Congress in 1947, declared, "Neither the Congress nor the nation has given up its claim of a United India." He described the day of Pakistan's creation as "a day of sorrow and destruction for India."[10] Sardar V.B. Patel, the first Indian Home Minister, incessantly emphasised that sooner or later, "we shall again be united in common allegiance to our country."[11] In later years, Congress leaders openly conceded that they had accepted Pakistan with mental reservations. Jawaharlal Nehru blurted out: "Pakistan is a medieval state with an impossible theocratic concept. It should not have been created, and it would never have happened had the British not stood behind the foolish idea of Jinnah."[12] Nehru, for instance, further told United Nations representative Joseph Korbel: "We want to cooperate and work towards cooperation, and one day integration will inevitably come. If it will be in four, five, ten years—I do not know."[13] Similarly, some years later, a former Congress President, Maulana Abu Kalam Azad, revealed that among others Sardar Patel, was "convinced that the new state of Pakistan was not viable and could not last. He thought that the acceptance of Pakistan would teach the Muslim League a bitter lesson."[14] Even Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi said at the time of partition: "We Muslims and Hindus are interdependent on one another: we cannot get along without each other. The Muslim League will ask to come back to Hindustan. They will ask Nehru to come back, and he will take them back."[15]

In this regard, relations with India have been very complicated and Pakistan has been described as having an obsessive "antipathy" toward India. As C. A. Salahuddin has observed, there are "a complex of social, religious, historical, political and psychological forces all tending in a sinister combination to antagonise the two states."[16] This matter has also been explained by Arshad Hussain, (Foreign Minister of Pakistan), who said, "I am not exaggerating when I say that in the whole range of

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[9] Mohammad Ayub Khan, Friends Not Masters: A Political Autoblography (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), pp. 115-116; and see Ehsan Ahrari, "South Asia's Power Balance," Far Eastern Economic Review (4 October 2001), p. 40.

[10] Mohammad Ayub Khan, Friends Not Masters, p. 116.

[11] Ibid.

[12] "Pakistan's Search for Security," The Concept, Vol. 3, No. 1 (Islamabad: January 1983), p. 46.

[13] Latif Ahmad Sherwani, India, China and Pakistan (Karachi: Council for Pakistan Studies, 1967), p. 17.

[14] Abul Kalam Azad, India Wins Freedom (Delhi: Orient Longmans, 1959), p. 207.

[15] "Pakistan's Search for Security," The Concept, p. 47.

[16] C. A. Salahuddin, "Pakistan's Policy in the United Nations on the Political Settlement of the Italian Colonies," Journal of Social Sciences, (Columbia University), Vol. 2 (Winter 1981), p. 72.

Pakistan's international relations, those with India constitute the important sphere."[17] Soon after independence, Pakistan's policy of non-commitment developed some resentment over western powers' preferential treatment to India, as reflected in the Commonwealth's decision to let India remain a member, regardless of its republican character, and Truman's invitation to Nehru. However, Pakistan was desirous of enhancing her importance for the Western world and the Soviet Union intended to exploit this situation to bring Pakistan out of the Western orbit.

To achieve its basic foreign policy objectives, Pakistan began a desperate search to make fast and firm friends. Keith Callard described this situation as ". . .a tendency to look for blood brothers rather than plain friends."[18] It first turned to Britain and other members of the Commonwealth, hoping that these might be particularly helpful in pressuring India to settle Kashmir and other outstanding disputes with Pakistan. But this hope was sadly short lived and disappointed.[19] Callard pointed out:

> Britain and the other members of the Commonwealth . . .avoided the discussion of matters in dispute between member countries. No one wished to give offence to India, especially as the Commonwealth had no machinery for enforcing its actions. The main dispute, Kashmir, had been referred to the UN and there was little indication that the Commonwealth would be more successful in finding a solution. None of these arguments was satisfactory to Pakistan, which felt that Commonwealth policy was unduly cautious in its attempt to avoid offending India.[20]

The desire for allies was not easily fulfilled because relations with India were strained almost to breaking point. Pakistan moved to the nations of the Muslim world in a belief that it would be supported because it had always opposed the establishment of Israel and its support for Islamic causes strong and vocal.[21] In 1949, an International Economic Conference of Muslim countries was convened in Karachi and the Pakistani Finance Minister urged Muslim countries to develop a system of "collective security

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[17] Arshad Hussain, **Pakistan Affairs Supplement** (Karachi: Pakistan Council of Foreign Affairs, June 1968), p. 9.

[18] Keith Callard, **Pakistan's Foreign Policy: A Interpretation** (New York: Institute of Pacific Relations, 1957), p. 12.

[19] Pakistan requested the Commonwealth to solve the partition riots after the departure of the British but no response was forthcoming. A further rift came due to the refusal to discuss the Kashmir issue in the Commonwealth conference and unfavourable reaction to the request for arms to make up the deficiency of military stores. See more details in Chaudhury and Hassan, **Pakistan's External Relations** (Karachi: Institute of International Affairs, 1968), p. 8.

[20] Keith Callard, **Pakistan's Foreign Policy: A Interpretation**, p. 15.

bargaining" and to "form a group of nations that by natural cooperation in the economic field are able to help themselves by assisting each other."[22] He also added that "we do not want to be dragged into the whirlpool of power politics and we have no implicit faith in the western democratic system nor can we commit ourselves to communism."[23] They established a secretariat for economic cooperation and allocated a considerable amount of resources to it, but failed to achieve any real practical results.[24] On the diplomatic level, Pakistan also exploited spiritual and moral affinities to attract the Islamic world but reciprocation was not always forthcoming. Many of the Muslim countries seemed more interested in cultivating the friendship of India rather than of Pakistan. It was a bitter disappointment that no Islamic country offered overwhelming support to Pakistan's stand on Kashmir to act as a counterweight to India. Some Arab countries were resentful and suspicious of Pakistan's campaign for Pan-Islamic unity, regarding it as a bid for the leadership of the Muslim world. Such feeling was particularly deep in Egypt, which had its own concept of a Pan-Arab bloc and its claim for Muslim leadership.

During Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan's visit to Tehran [Iran] on 2 June 1949, a Soviet invitation to visit Moscow was extended to him and Liaquat Ali accepted it. Earlier, the two countries had agreed to establish diplomatic relations but Liaquat Ali Khan's scheduled visit to Moscow was first postponed to some later date and subsequently for an indefinite period, so that it never materialised at all. Liaquat Ali ultimately accepted an invitation to the United States, where he created considerable good-will for Pakistan and laid the basis for future economic assistance. Liaquat Ali succeeded in the United States but actually Pakistan was willing to initiate friendship wherever an opportunity presented itself. In this regard, the principal objectives of Pakistan's foreign policy were security and development. As Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan told the National Press Club in Washington during his official visit to the United States in May 1950, "Our strongest interests, therefore, are firstly the integrity of Pakistan."[25] The inevitable first object of foreign policy, wrote Callard, "had to be to show the world that Pakistan was a reality and was capable of maintaining its

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[21] See the United Nations General Assembly **Official Records 1950-1960** (New York: The UN Library Documents, 1961).
[22] **The New York Times** (26 November 1949), p.1.
[23] Ibid.
[24] Keith Callard, **Pakistan: A Political Study** (London: Pall Mall, Press, 1957), p. 316.
[25] Quoted in Liaquat Ali Khan, **Pakistan: The Heart of Asia** (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950), p. 11.

independence."[26] President Ayub Khan also commented that the principal objectives of Pakistan's foreign policy were security and development, because the consideration of security embraced the defence of Pakistan and the preservation of its ideology. He further wrote in his book, *Friends Not Masters*, that "the cause of our major problems is India's inability to reconcile herself to our existence as a sovereign, independent state."[27] Ayub Khan also argued that "we have an enemy, an implacable enemy (sic) India and it has ambitions to absorb Pakistan and turn her into a satellite."[28] Former Prime Minister Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto also said:

> On a number of occasions, the Prime Minister of India, his cabinet colleagues, the Ministers of Provincial Governments in India and the leaders of political parties in that country have made statements naming Pakistan as India's enemy number one. This declaration of enmity was repeated even by other responsible officials and spokesman of the government of India.[29]

Since its inception, Pakistan's dilemma was how to strengthen its security and modernize its armed forces and yet be able to continue with its development programmes. As a weak state, it could not physically coerce India to fulfil its commitments on Kashmir. Pakistan's basic aim was to offset India's military superiority and mobilize world opinion in order to compel India to hold a plebiscite in Kashmir. Realising its inability to coerce India, Pakistan's emphasis was upon the employment of all available diplomatic channels, in order to seek redress in the Kashmir dispute. For Pakistan, the acquisition of Kashmir is important to justify the two nation theory and its creation as an Islamic state. The two nation theory was based on the philosophy that Hindus and Muslims constitute two separate entities and that Muslims in the contiguous Muslim areas should be granted the right of self-determination. Kashmir was one of these contiguous Muslim areas, and the two nation theory in Kashmir was thwarted by India's refusal to abide by its promise to hold a plebiscite in the area. Pakistanis generally regard Kashmir as the test of the validity of the two nation theory — the basis of Pakistan's legitimate and separate existence. Pakistan's policy makers were engaged in a military confrontation with India over Kashmir shortly after the partition. Moreover, economically, Kashmir contains the

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[26] Keith Callard, **Pakistan: A Political Study**, p. 225.
[27] Mohammad Ayub Khan, **Friends Not Masters**, p. 114.
[28] Ibid. p. 115.
[29] Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, **Foreign Policy of Pakistan** (Karachi: Pakistan Institute of International Affairs, 1964), p. 70.

headwaters of the three major rivers—the Indus, the Jhelum and the Chenab—upon which Pakistan's agriculture and hence, very survival depend. Because of all these factors, Kashmir became the touchstone of Pakistan's security parameters and Pakistan tended to judge its international "friends" and "enemies" against the measuring rod of the Kashmir issue. Thus, it was not possible for Pakistan to get firm commitments from external sources to assist its battle for territorial security and assistance against possible Indian threats. President Ayub Khan suggested that the reasons for this were:

> There is a tremendous upsurge in all the new independent countries of Asia and Africa, including the Muslim countries. But let us be quite clear that the upsurge in other Muslim countries is, by and large, social, linguistic, territorial, anti-imperialist and anti-colonial. It is not to any large extent religious. Because of that, when we expect other Muslim countries to agree with us entirely in a matters of principle, we are sometimes disappointed. I believe it is our fault in not judging their situation correctly. . .At times when we find that other Muslim countries do not see things as we do, we ought to realise that their circumstances are different from ours.[30]

During the 1965 war East Pakistan was virtually defenceless and lay at the mercy of India. But India, in what proved to be a most adroit diplomatic stroke, left East Pakistan alone, thereby driving home the point that the conflict was with Pakistan and its military leaders and by implication that the Bengalis had nothing to fear from India.[31] In 1971, Pakistan's security was again under a perceived Indian threat and Indo-Soviet cooperation[32] converted East Pakistan into an independent state of Bangladesh. India played its cards dexterously and on the other hand, the military leadership in Pakistan mishandled the autonomy question in such a way so as to make secession inevitable.[33]

The outcome of the war was never in doubt. Pakistan's calculations had gone wrong on all counts and its proud military forces suffered a crushing and humiliating defeat by India. The dismemberment of Pakistan reduced the country in size, population and significant economic strength. The war of 1971 showed that Pakistan was unable to control the onset of war with India; nor could it deter India from attacking, and its own

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[30] Ayub Khan, "Essentials of Pakistan's Foreign Policy," **Pakistan Horizon** (Fourth Quarter 1961), pp. 264-265.

[31] Barry Buzan and Gowher Rizvi, **South Asian Insecurity and the Great Powers**, 114.

[32] See 1971 Indo-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation in S. Mansingh, **India's Search For Power** (New Delhi: Sage Publishers, 1984), pp. 213-225.

attack from West Pakistan achieved no significant political or military objectives. Pakistan emerged as a state which, though powerful in absolute terms, lacked military capacity, compared to its chief antagonists.[34] No Muslim country and close ally helped to defend its soil. The Muslim nations lacked the power, coherence and will necessary to intercede on Pakistan's behalf. There was virtually no material support from Pakistan's principal alliance partners. The Chinese gave some vocal support but China's role as a 'balancer' in the region had been effectively checked by the Indo-Soviet treaty and it turned out to be a paper tiger.[35] Pakistan's defence in East Pakistan collapsed without much resistance and in West Pakistan the Israeli style preemptive strike failed to cripple the Indian air force. On the ground the forward thrust was halted very early in the war.[36]

Nixon and Kissinger only 'tilted' toward Pakistan for fear of offending the Chinese.[37] Kissinger had pointed out that if the US could not support Pakistan, the Soviet Union would not respect them for it, the Chinese would despise them and the other countries would draw their own conclusions.[38] Kissinger thought that India had acted at the instigation of the Soviets, who supposedly hoped the world would see the US and China stand idly by while their friend, Pakistan, was attacked. He believed that it was a proxy war between the Soviet Union and the United States, and that the Soviet client, India, intended to invade and dismember the American client, Pakistan.[39] The US deployment of the Enterprise Carrier battle group in the Bay of Bengal was seen in Pakistan as nothing more than a symbolic gesture; it could not prevent the dismemberment of Pakistan. The American move fell far below Pakistan's expectations; apart from adopting a relatively hard posture with regard to India, the Americans had decided to settle on a policy geared not to prevent the dismemberment of Pakistan but to save West Pakistan's anticipated disintegration.[40] This convinced the Pakistanis that they were no more than a pawn in a chess game — and the loss of a single pawn never amounts to the loss of the game.

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[33] A. Z. Hilali, "Pakistan's Foreign Policy: A Comparative Study of Transitional Approaches," Politics Administration and Change, No. 30 (July-December 1998), pp. 62-64.
[34] William J. Barnds, "US-India Relations in the 1960s," Round Table (1960-61), pp. 198-210.
[35] Barry Buzan and Gowher Rizvi, South Asian Insecurity and the Great Powers, p. 115.
[36] Ibid., p. 116.
[37] Henry Kissinger, White House Years (Boston: Little, Brown, 1979), p. 898.
[38] Ibid.
[39] Ibid.
[40] Ibid., pp. 904 and 913.

Thus, Pakistan gained little from its alignment policy with the United States which had no intention of putting pressure on India. The Pakistanis were convinced that India was never really reconciled to the division of the subcontinent and favoured unity, if necessary by force. In this regard, India's role in the dismemberment of Pakistan in the 1971 Indo-Pakistan war further consolidated their beliefs. Similarly, Indian strategic planners have always accorded a high priority to the Pakistan factor. The renowned Indian scholar, Ved Mehta, explained this perception in his article in the *International Herald Tribune*, saying that "India's real enemy has always been Pakistan because the conflict between India and Pakistan is rooted in religion and not in economic systems."[41]

After the loss of the eastern part of Pakistan, its policy makers learned the lesson that they should not think about war with India without an appropriate defence system and they should not rely on foreign assistance. The dismemberment of Pakistan produced an inadvertent improvement to its security situation in the sense that it now had a geographically more compact location to defend. The lurking suspicions about Indian intentions vis-à-vis Pakistan were further strengthened in the minds of many Pakistanis when India conducted nuclear tests in 1974 and Pakistan was understandably cynical. Pakistan, unlike India, depends almost entirely on external sources for sophisticated weapons and it cannot match India's spending power. Thus, Pakistan was not willing to depend on so-called foreign guarantees for its security and it saw nuclear weapons not as a choice but as a necessity for its survival against a much powerful rival, India.

1-2. The Soviet Threat to Pakistan's Security

Pakistan's relations with the Soviet Union have undergone several changes since the Soviet Union accorded official recognition to Pakistan in 1948. The Soviet Union was the first of the great powers to offer Pakistan the hand of friendship and it invited the first Pakistani Prime Minister, Liaquat Ali Khan, to visit Moscow. As we have seen this visit never materialised and Pakistan adopted a pro-western policy. The interests of the United States and Pakistan coincided and in the late 1950s Pakistan joined the

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[41] Ved Mehta, "Focus on the Spectre of a Religious Nuclear War," **International Herald Tribune**, Wednesday, (20 May 1998).

western defence alliance system (SEATO-CENTO) and gained the dubious distinction of being America's "most allied ally" in Asia. Pakistan received the economic assistance and sophisticated arms thought necessary to secure its defence and US support in the UN for its stand on Kashmir. This was a time when Soviet-Pakistan relations were neither close nor warm. The Soviet Union did not take any interest in the Kashmir discussions in the UN Security Council and even once its representatives did express an opinion, it was not favourable to Pakistan.[42] The flow of uncomplimentary remarks in the Soviet press was a result of the fact that the Soviet Union was not satisfied with Pakistan's alliance policy and it warned Pakistan on 30 November 1953 that:

> ...the Soviet Government could not regard with indifference reports of negotiations between the United States and Pakistan concerning the establishment of American Air bases in Pakistan nor the reports that Pakistan and the US were negotiating on the question of Pakistan joining in plans to set up a military aggressive bloc in the Middle East.[43]

Pakistan rejected the Soviet protest, contending that the military alliance was for Pakistan's own security rather than an indication of any aggressive designs against the Soviet Union. These explanations were not enough to satisfy the Soviet Union, whose leadership perceived Pakistan to be an ally of the West and hostile to the Soviet Union. Thus, alliance with the West brought Soviet wrath on Pakistan and the Soviet Union penalised Pakistan by taking a partial position on the Kashmir issue. During the visit of Nikita S. Khrushchev and Nikolai Bulganin to India and Afghanistan in November 1955-56, they declared that the Soviet Union considered Kashmir an integral part of India and the people of Kashmir had themselves decided to become a part of that country.[44] Bulganin also referred to Kashmir as "the northern part of India" and the people of Kashmir as "part of the Indian people."[45] Statements such as this were followed by the repeated exercise of the Soviet veto in the UN Security Council blocking a solution to the Kashmir issue. Khruschev also condemned the Pakistan government for joining the Baghadad Pact (later CENTO) and stated:

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[42] G. W. Choudhury and Parvez Hasan, **Pakistan's External Relations** (Karachi: Pakistan Institute of External Affairs, 1958), p. 25.
[43] Chaudhri Mohammad Ahsen, "Pakistan the Soviet Bloc," **Pakistan Horizon** (June 1956), p. 73; and **Morning News** (Dakha: 4 December 1953).
[44] CDSP, Vol. VII, No. 50 **Pravda and Izvestia** (10 December 1955).
[45] **Dawn** (11 December 1955).

> The government of Pakistan allowed the United States to use military bases on its territory and all this in an area very close to the Soviet Union. We are saying frankly that the building of American military bases on the territory of Pakistan cannot but worry us.[46]

Bulganin and Khruschev also visited Kabul and stated that part of Pakistan's strategic north-west should be cut-off and given the right of independence. The Soviet leaders showed their sympathy for Afghanistan's attitude to the Pakhtunistan problem and indicated that the Pakhtuns[47] should be consulted on the solution of the problem."[48] On 10 December 1955 Bulganin declared in Kabul:

> We sympathise with Afghanistan's policy on the question of Pakhtunistan. The Soviet Union stands for an equitable solution to this problem, which cannot be settled correctly without taking into account the vital interests of the people inhabiting Pakhtunistan.[49]

In 1956 the chequered relations between the Soviet Union and Pakistan were more affected by the issue of the Hungarian crisis. This time, Pakistan co-sponsored a resolution condemning the Soviet invasion. A year later, in 1957, the Kashmir issue was under debate in the Security Council and the Soviet representative Arkady Sobolev took the position that:

> The Kashmir question has in actual fact been settled in essence by the people of Kashmir themselves, who consider their territory an integral part of the Republic of India.[50]

The Soviet efforts were not limited to verbal support for India. After denouncing the idea of any change in the status of Kashmir, the Soviet Union exercised its 79th veto in the Security Council to defeat a resolution which called for a temporary United Nations force to supervise demilitarisation in Kashmir. The Soviet Union, on the other hand, continued to indicate its willingness to give Pakistan technical and economic assistance

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[46] **Kabul Times** (8 December 1955); **Dawn** (11 December 1955); and **Morning News** (11 & 12 December 1955).

[47] In my thesis I use the word "Pakhtun" which is common in North West Frontier society, instead of traditional commonly used word "Pathan" which was easier for the British to pronounce. See details in Sayed Wiqar Ali Shah, **Ethnicity, Islam and Nationalism: Muslim Politics in the North West Frontier Province 1937-47** (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 1; and Olaf Caroe, **The Pathan** (London: Macmillan, 1958).

[48] **Dawn** (18 December 1955).

[49] Nake Kamrany, **Peaceful Competition in Afghanistan: American and Soviet Models For Economic Aid** (Washington, D. C.: Communication Services Company, 1969), pp. 53-54.

[50] SCOR, 12th Year, Supplement for January through March 1957, Document S/3779, p. 38.

with the hope of preventing Pakistan from falling completely under the domination of the United States. Z. A. Bhutto commented on Pakistan-Soviet relations that:

> In its anxiety to give constant proof of its fidelity to the United States' global policies, Pakistan followed at times an immoderate line, with the result that the Soviet Union retaliated by supporting India over Jammu and Kashmir. The differences were skillfully exploited by Prime Minister Nehru to worsen the state of Pakistan-Soviet relations.[51]

Premier Khrushchev paid his second visit to Afghanistan in March 1960. During this visit, he hailed the relations between the Soviet Union and Afghanistan as an "excellent example of peaceful coexistence and friendly relations between countries with different political and social systems." He discussed the Pakhtunistan issue with the Afghan government and declared: "Historically as you know, Pakhtunistan has always been part of Afghanistan."[52] *Pravda*, the Communist Party newspaper, also repeated Khrushchev's stand on the Pakhtunistan issue. The Soviet pro-Afghan pronouncements on the Pakhtunistan issue turned into a dramatic display of Soviet support for Kabul during the third and most serious eruption of the Pakhtunistan issue in the 1960s.

On 25 March 1961 a *Pravda* article by O. Skalkin, expressed full support to the Afghan government and called Pakistan's proposal for a plebiscite on the Pakhtunistan issue a "provocational Plan" which had originated in the CENTO military alliance. This was a time when Soviet-Pakistan relations reached their lowest ebb and an American U-2 reconnaissance plane was shot down over the Soviet Union. The aircraft had taken off from Badabare air base in Peshawar (West Pakistan) where the Pakistani authorities had allowed the US to establish "listening posts" and allowed the flights of spy planes over the Soviet Union. The Soviets warned Pakistan that it risked Soviet nuclear retaliation if flights of this kind were again authorised to take place from Pakistan territory.[53] The Soviet government newspaper, *Izvestia* warned Pakistan that "it would be a serious mistake on Pakistan's part to hope that the Soviet Union will remain indifferent to a military conflict"[54] in South Asia.

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[51] Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, **The Myth of Independence** (London: The Oxford University Press, 1969), p. 126.
[52] **The Current Digest of Soviet Press**, Vol. XII (6 April 1960), pp. 6-7.
[53] The U-2 incident took a bizarre turn when the US at first refused to acknowledge the shooting of the plane and Pakistan only face the wrath of the Soviet Union alone. See Barry Buzan and Gowher Rizvi, **South Asian Insecurity and the Great Power**, p. 184.
[54] **Izvestia** (26 March 1962); and see **Dawn** (13 July 1962).

In contrast to the deterioration in the political field, Soviet-Pakistan relations continued to develop in the field of economic and technical cooperation. In the late 1960s, the international outlook of Pakistan's foreign policy changed and it normalised its relations with the Soviet Union and China. In April 1965 President Ayub Khan visited Moscow, the first visit paid by a Pakistani head of state to the Soviet Union. This visit was in pursuit of a more independent and vigorous foreign policy; Pakistan was attempting to normalise its relations with all major powers. The Soviet Union decided to establish better ties with Pakistan and its leadership also changed from its traditional stand of supporting the Indian position on Kashmir.

During the Indo-Pakistan war of 1965, the US not only failed to give assistance to resist Indian aggression but even stopped the normal flow of arms and equipment, while the Soviet Union continued to supply India with military aid without any so-called treaty of mutual security and defence. However, the Soviet Union played a vital role to normalise relations between India and Pakistan. At that time, the Soviet concern for a peaceful Indo-Pakistan subcontinent was primarily due to the fact that it was alarmed by the Chinese ultimatum to India in 1965. This ultimatum was probably nothing more than an attempt to "win friends and influence people" on the part of China. But the Soviet leadership did not want Chinese influence in Pakistan to increase and they jumped into the crisis to settle the matter between the two neighbouring countries of South Asia. Bhutto stated that: "So great was its (Soviet Union's) concern to terminate hostilities that for the second time only in history as a Socialist state, it offered its good offices, this time for the resolution of the Indo-Pakistan disputes."[55]

The Soviet Union thus played the important role of mediator between India and Pakistan and persuaded both countries' leaderships to meet at Tashkent to resolve their differences. The Tashkent Conference took place on 4 January 1966 and India and Pakistan signed an agreement to settle their problems without the use of force. The Soviet Union sought to develop peaceful and amicable relations with India and Pakistan and contain the influence of the US and China. However, the Soviet ambition to minimise Chinese influence in Pakistan was to prove more problematic because the Sino-Pakistan alliance to contain Indian hegemony in the region seemed more stable and durable. As Bhutto stated, an Indian attack on Pakistan "would also involve the

security and territorial integrity of the largest state in Asia."[56] For Beijing, on the other hand, Pakistan could provide the breach in an arc of hostile powers surrounding China; an ally that could prevent the consolidation of Soviet power in an area of vulnerability. Beijing emerged as a trusted ally of Pakistan. The Chinese overwhelmingly supported Pakistan's stand on Kashmir and expressed the hope that the Kashmir dispute would be resolved in accordance with the wishes of the people of Kashmir as pledged to them by India and Pakistan, a stance which China maintained until the end of Cold War.

During 1969-71 Pakistan was in serious political turmoil because the people of the eastern wing were demanding autonomy and Pakistan's elites considered that the demand of rights from the eastern wing was a challenge to the country's solidarity. The inability to manage the political situation led to the outbreak of civil war in March 1971. At that time the Soviet Union was the only major power to intervene openly in the internal affairs of Pakistan. On 3 April 1971, Nikolai Podgorny sent a message to President Yahya Khan in which he expressed concern at the suffering and privations of the people of Bangladesh and urged an immediate stoppage of the bloodshed and a "peaceful political settlement with the elected leaders of the people."[57] Yahya Khan ignored the Kremlin's warning and was hopeful of receiving US help in setting up a civilian regime in East Pakistan, under Awami League leadership. Soviet leaders also felt disturbed when Pakistan facilitated a secret trip by Henry Kissinger, to Beijing in July 1971. Ultimately, this dramatic shift raised serious doubts in New Delhi and Moscow about the spectre of a Sino-US and Pakistani alignment.

Kissinger's visit to China changed the strategic situation of the region. India and the Soviet Union thought that an emerging alliance between the US and China would be directly against the Soviet Union and India. As Neville Maxwell has written, India moved from non-alignment to a kind of bi-alignment with the Soviet Union against China.[58] The Soviet Union and India signed a Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation on 9 August 1971,[59] in order to reduce the possibility of China's

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[55] Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, The Myth of Independence, p. 139.
[56] National Assembly of Pakistan Debate, Official Reports, No. 2 (17 July 1963), p. 1665.
[57] Pravda (9 April 1971); and see also G. W. Choudhry, The Last Days of United Pakistan (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1974), p. 203.
[58] Neville Maxwell, India's China War (London: Jonathan Cape, 1970), p. 434.
[59] See full text of Indo-Soviet Treaty of 1971 in S. Mansingh, India's Search for Power (New Delhi: Longfellow, 1984),pp. 213-25; J. P. Chiddick, "Indo-Soviet Relations 1966-1971," Millennium, Vol. 3, No. 1 (1974), pp. 17-36; S. Nihal Singh, The Yogi and the Bear (London: Mansell, 1986), ch. 5;

intervention in future subcontinental wars. According to T. N. Kaul, "it was one of the few closely guarded secret negotiations that India has ever conducted. On one side, hardly half a dozen people were aware of it, including the prime minister and the foreign minister. The media got no scent of it."[60] The significance of the treaty cannot be over-estimated. The Soviet Union guaranteed to meet the security needs of India in the event of aggression or threat of aggression. Under the treaty, India was able to rely on Soviet diplomatic support and arms supplies in the war against Pakistan which was already in the offing.[61] The Soviet military forces massed on China's northern border served as a clear warning to Beijing not to render more than verbal assistance to Pakistan. In that year, the USSR sided unequivocally with India and reaffirmed its commitment to support it militarily to counter Sino-US influence in South Asia. Furthermore, China's ultimatum to India was a highly visible form of political support to Pakistan and served to solidify their alliance.

In 1971, China continued to give Pakistan public support at a time when international public opinion was highly critical over West Pakistan's military action against Bengalis and despite the damage caused to China's image as a supporter of national liberation movements. In private however, China was more ambivalent believing that Yahya Khan should negotiate an end to the struggle rather than seek a military solution and privately warning Pakistan that the flight of refugees into India would spread the conflict and give India "a reason or excuse" for open involvement.[62] Although the Chinese leaders openly supported Pakistan in its struggle to defend national independence and state sovereignty (The day that General Amir Abdullah Niazi surrendered in East Pakistan, China protested to India over the violation of Pakistani territory) China issued no ultimatum. While the Americans and Chinese in the first test of the new "anti-Soviet axis," had both lined up on the side of the clear loser, the Soviet Union stood firmly with India and it emerged unchallenged as the top ranking external power in South Asia. A Soviet diplomat at the United Nations exulted: "This is the first time in history that the United States and China have been defeated together."[63] The Soviet Union used its veto against

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and Robert C. Horn, Soviet-Indian Relations: Issues and Influence (New York: Praeger, 1982), chs. 2 & 3.

[60] T. N. Kaul, Reminiscences Discreet and Indiscreet (New Delhi: Lancers, 1982), p. 255.

[61] The treaty was regarded everywhere as Soviet backing for Indira Gandhi's government. See for more details Alexander Gorev, Indira Gandhi (Moscow: Novosti, 1989), p. 40.

[62] Anwar Syed, China and Pakistan: Diplomacy of an Entente Cordiale (London: Oxford University Press, 1974), p. 149.

[63] S. Nihal Singh, The Yogi and the Bear, pp. 89-96; and Robert C. Horn, Soviet-Indian Relations: Issues and Influence (New York: Praeger, 1982), p. 73.

a cease-fire resolution in the Security Council and made sure that no cease-fire would take away victory from India's clutches.

According to the *Anderson Papers*, the Soviet military attaché contacted his Chinese counterpart in Nepal and warned of a Soviet reaction if China intervened in the Indo-Pakistan war.[64] There was fear that Moscow might have moved its ground and air forces into position along the Xinjiang border and trained missiles on Chinese targets. In addition, the Soviet ambassador in New Delhi reportedly told Indian officials not to be worried about a Chinese attack because the Soviets were also prepared for diversionary action in Xianjiang.[65] The Soviet Union also encouraged India to provide bases and arms to Bengali fighters in their struggle against the Pakistani army. Soviet military experts guided Indian military commanders to make deep inroads into Pakistani territory which could then be used bargaining counters for the evacuation of Indian forces. Both countries built up world opinion against Pakistan's atrocities and thereby isolated it diplomatically. Thus, the outcome of the war of 1971 was disastrous for Pakistan. The United States, a major ally of Pakistan, avoided getting involved in a South Asian embroglio and China turned out to be a paper tiger.[66] The Indo-Soviet alliance collapsed Pakistan's defence in its eastern and western zones. India proved its military might and successful diplomacy and that legal and moral arguments are not the crucial determinants in international politics.

Pakistan could not forget the role of the Soviet Union during the Indo-Pakistan war of 1971 but Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto went to Moscow in 1972 to normalise relations between the two countries. The USSR also promised to help in debt repayment and aid projects and resumed trading. However, during the official talks, the Soviet Primer Kosygin did not hesitate to tell Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto that: "*If history were to repeat itself, we would again take the same position*."[67] This was a clear warning to Pakistan to cease cooperating with the US and China. Moscow

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[64] Jack Anderson, **The Anderson Papers** (New York: Random House, 1973), pp. 260-261.
[65] Ibid. , p. 262.
[66] Ibid.
[67] During Bhutto's visit to Moscow in March 1972 Kosygin went out of his way to justify his government's policy toward Pakistan during the events of 1971 and delivered a warning. The "recent crisis", he said, had involved a clash between the "forces of national liberation" and "an anti-popular military dictatorship that had joined ranked with external aggressive circles hostile to the people of India, including the Pakistani people. He added that "if history were to repeat itself, we would again take the same position, because we are convinced it was correct." See Anwar H. Syed, "Pakistan's Security Problem: A Bill of Constraints," **ORBIS** (Winter 1973), p. 970; **Pravda** (18 March 1972);

provided huge economic and military assistance to India to strengthen its position in the region. Its primary objective was to confirm India's dominance in the region and that other states of the region would have to stay subordinate. This was a critical situation for Pakistan and its allies, particularly China. Ties with Beijing remained the cornerstone of Islamabad's policy and China continued as a major aid donor to Pakistan. The US also announced that it would lift its embargo on arms sales to South Asia, thereby providing Pakistan with a dual source of supply denied to it in earlier years. Furthermore, the Chinese took a decision to channel their aid to the neglected areas of the North West Frontier Province and Baluchistan, showing an interest in maintaining the territorial integrity of Pakistan.

Post-1971 developments in South Asia proved that no South Asian state would accept India's regional supremacy. The Soviets also continued to press Indian leaders for the support of a collective security system in Asia. For this purpose, Brezhnev visited New Delhi in November 1972 and discussed the matter of collective security but Indira Gandhi resisted the idea and refused to give support to the Soviet Union. However, India successfully used the China card to gain Soviet military and economic assistance and did not cooperate with the Soviet Union to encircle China. A dramatic change occurred in the region when India and China both established diplomatic relations in 1976 and made efforts to solve their problem with bilateral means. On the other hand, China continued to help Pakistan through military and economic assistance. In 1978 both countries inaugurated the strategic Karakoram highway. Both India and the Soviet Union assumed that the road could be used as a defence line between Pakistan and China.[68]

1-3. The Afghan Threat to Pakistan's Security: The Issue of the Durand Line and Pakhtunistan

Since Pakistan's inception as an independent state in 1947, its relations with Afghanistan had been characterised by mutual antagonism and they had never really enjoyed friendly relations. The Afghan rulers showed their hostility when Pakistan's

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Current Digest of the Soviet Press (12 April 1972); and Anwar Syed, China and Pakistan: Diplomacy of an Entente Cordial (London: Oxford University Press, 1974), p. 171;

[68] Pravda (27 October 1974); Edward W. Desmond, "War on High ground," Time (17 July 1989), pp. 18-25; Manoj Joshi, "The Siachen Tangle," The Hindu (6 October 1987); and Mahnaz Z. Ispahani, Roads and Rivals: The Political Uses of Access in the Borderlands of Asia (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989), pp. 183-184 and 189-190.

application for membership of the United Nations came up for discussion in the UN General Assembly on 30 September 1947 and cast the only opposition vote against Pakistan's membership. After the defeat in the United Nations, the Afghan representative, Abdul Hussain Khan Aziz, argued that "Afghanistan cannot recognise the NWFP as part of Pakistan so long as the people of the NWFP have not been given an opportunity, free from any kind of influence, to determine for themselves whether they wish to be independent or to become a part of Pakistan."[69]

The source of friction was the conflicting position of the two states on the issue of Pakhtunistan (Map-3). This was a legacy of the deal made by Sir Mortimer Durand, Foreign Secretary to the Government of India and Amir Abdur Rahman of Afghanistan (who unified Afghanistan after 1880) signed a boundary demarcation treaty between British India and Afghanistan on 12 November 1893.[70] It was recognised by the Afghan Amir Abdur Rahman and his successors, Habibullah (1905), Amanullah (1921), Nadir Shah (1930),[71] with the continued validity of the treaty reaffirmed by an exchange of letters between the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and the Afghan Minister in 1948-1949.[72] Despite this, there has persisted a deep-seated Afghan irredentist view about the Durand Line. The Afghans never completely recognised its validity as an international frontier.[73]

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[69] The people of NWFP decided their future through a referendum held on 6 July 1947 in favour of accession to Pakistan and tribes themselves resented Afghan interference and reaffirmed their loyalty to Pakistan. The vote was as follows: total number entitled to vote 572,798; vote for Pakistan — 189,244; for India — 2,874. The referendum was conducted under the Governorship of General Lockhart who was the Governor of the NWFP till his appointment as Commander-in-Chief of the Indian Army on 15 August 1947. See United Nations General Assembly Official Records, 92nd Plenary Meeting, (30 September 1947); and see Kalim Bahadur, "Pakistan's Policy Towards Afghanistan," in K. P. Misra (ed.)., **Afghanistan in Crisis** (New York: Advent Books Inc, 1981), pp. 92-93.

[70] See details in Sir Algernon Durand, **The Making of a Frontier** (London: Pall Mall, 1899), p. 1; Parliamentary Papers North West Frontier, 1896, C-8037, No. 7; C. U. Aitchison, **A Collection of Treaties Engagements and Sanads** (Afghanistan) Vol. XIII, No. XII, (Calcutta: Union Book, 1933), pp. 256-257; Amir Abdur Rehman,(ed.)., Mor Munshi Sultan Muhammad, **The Life of Abdul Rehman**, Vol. II,(London: John Murry, 1900), p. 160; and see C. H. Philips, **The Evolution of India and Pakistan 1858-1944: Selected Documents** (London: Oxford University Press, 1964), p. 440.

[71] Javed Burki, **Pakistan: A Nation in the Making** (London: Oxford University Press, 1986), p. 185; and see Mahnaz Z. Ispahani, **Roads and Rivals: The Political Uses of Access in the Borderlands of Asia** (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989), p. 98.

[72] Olaf Caroe, **The Pathans** (London: Macmillan, 1958), p. 464.

[73] For an extreme formulation of the Afghan position on the Durand Line see Abdul Rahman Pazhwak, **Pakhtunistan** (London: Afghanistan Information Bureau, 1957); and for a balance opinion about the issue see Leon B. Poullada, "Pushtunistan: Afghan Domestic Politicas and Relations with Pakistan," in Ainslie T. Embree (ed.)., **Pakistan's Western Borderlands: The Transformation of a Political Order** (Durham: Carolina Academic Press, 1977); and see Henry S. Bradsher, **Afghanistan and the Soviet Union**, new and expanded ed (Durham: Duke University Press, 1985), pp. 11-22.

Sources: Afghanistan Territorial Claims for Pakhtunistan. See **Anis** (Afghan Newspaper, 1951), p. 1; and Mahnaz Z. Ispahani, **Roads and Rivals: The Political Uses of Access in the Borderlands of Asia** (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989), p. 107.

Since the time of Amir Abdur Rahman, the rulers of Afghanistan have recognized the economic, political, and military vulnerabilities inherent in their country's land locked location. British control of the NWFP and Baluchistan provided little scope for the southward penetration of Afghan influence. The Afghans were aware of the desirability of the acquisition of southern access routes. Abdur Rahman was concerned about the economic opportunities of Afghanistan and he wrote:

> Afghanistan ought to secure a footing upon the ocean.....the south Western corner of Afghanistan is very close to the corner of the Persian Gulf and the Indian ocean, and from this only a small plain Plateau of ground between Kandahar, Baluchistan, Persia, and Part of Karachi.....I always had a great fancy for a little piece of this sandy desert.....of great value if annexed to Afghanistan in order to bring the country in touch with the ocean.....If Afghanistan had access to the ocean there is no doubt that the country would soon grow rich and prosperous.....[74]

In 1944 when the British departure from India appeared inevitable, the Afghan government had informed the British Indian government that it hoped to be consulted should a change occur affecting the fate of the Pakhtuns living East and South of the Durnad Line. However, the British replied that "the Durand Line was an international boundary, and, therefore, Afghan interest stopped at the end."[75] In 1947, King Zahir Shah's government refused to accept the Durand Line and made a formal representation to the Interim Government of India, demanding restoration of a large area of the subcontinent, on the ground that after the departure of the British, the 1893 treaty would lapse automatically. In June 1947 the Afghan Prime Minister Mohammad Hashim Khan stated publicly that as "an independent Pakhtunistan cannot be set up, the [North West] Frontier Province should join Afghanistan." He made it clear that Afghanistan's concern was not limited to the well-being of ethnic Pakhtuns across the border since "our country, with its population and trade, needs an outlet to the sea, which is very essential."[76] The Afghan government tried to persuade the British to renegotiate the boundary but they failed and the rulers in Kabul denounced the Partition Plan and demanded that the Pakhtuns east of the Durand Line be given the

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[74] Mor Munshi Sultan Muhammad, The Life of Abdul Rehman, Vol. II, p. 212.
[75] Abdul Samad Ghaus, The Fall of Afghanistan: An Insider's Account (Washington, D.C.: Pergamon-Brasseys, 1988), p. 66.

choice of independence. The British, however, announced a referendum for the Pakhtuns of NWFP on union either with Muslim Pakistan or with Hindu India. This left no choice for the Afghan rulers but to embark upon their campaign for the creation of Pakhtunistan and to appeal for Pakhtun self-determination on the ground that the Pakhtu-speaking people inhabiting Pakistan had been denied the opportunity to exercise the option of independence or merger with Afghanistan.[77]

The concept of Pakhtunistan in its innocuous form amounted to little more than renaming of the Pakhtun-majority NWFP and local autonomy within Pakistan.[78] In its more extreme case, however, it envisioned a fully independent Pakhtun state between Afghanistan and Pakistan. The primary objective was to limit the boundaries of the NWFP or embrace all of Pakistan west of the Indus River and south to the Arabian Sea.[79] This was the unconcealed ambition of Afghanistan's rulers, who felt that Pakistan would be an easy prey to the evil designs of India and that the denunciation of the Durand Line was an essential preliminary in the prosecution of Afghan irredentism.[80] It is also significant that King Zahir Shah of Afghanistan, before the announcement of the 3 June Partition Plan 1947, mentioned that his government was considering the revision of the Soviet-Afghan boundary agreement.[81] In November 1947 the Afghan envoy in Pakistan demanded of the new state that Pakhtun tribal areas must form a "free, sovereign province," and Afghanistan must be given access to the sea through the provision of either "an Afghan corridor in west Baluchistan" or a free

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[76] Statesman (Delhi) 22 June 1947; Mujtaba Razvi,The Frontiers of Pakistan, p.145; and see also Dorothea S. Frank, "Pakhtunistan-Disputed Disposition of a Tribal Land," Middle East Journal, No. 6 (Winter 1952), pp. 49-68.

[77] J. Bruce Amstutz, Afghanistan: The First Five Years of Soviet Occupation (Washington: National Defence University, 1986), p. 352.

[78] For background on the Pakhtunistan issue, see Mahnaz Z. Ispahani, Roads and Rivals: The Political Uses of Access in the Borderlands of Asia, pp. 83-144; Leon B. Poullada, "Pushtunistan: Afghan Domestic Politics and Relations with Pakistan," in Ainslie T. Embree (ed.), Pakistan's Western Borderlands (Durham: Carolina Academic Press, 1977), pp. 126-151; Louis Dupree, Afghanistan (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973), pp. 485-494 and 538-54; S. M. M. Qureshi, "Pakhtunistan: The Frontier Dispute Between Afghanistan and Pakistan," Pacific Affairs, Vol. 39, No. 1-2 (Spring/Summer 1966), pp. 99-114; Khalid B. Sayeed, "Pathan Regionalism," The South Atlantic Quarterly, Vol. 63, No. 4 (Autumn 1964), pp. 478-506; Razvi, The Frontiers of Pakistan, pp. 143-165; and S. M. Burke, Pakistan's Foreign Policy: An Historical Analysis (London: Oxford University Press, 1973), pp. 68-90.

[79] Ispahani, Roads and Rivals, pp. 106-108.

[80] Afghan newspaper, Anis (Kabul) published a front-page article demanding the amalgamation with Afghanistan of the entire 600-mile territory of Pakistan from the Durand Line of the Indus river. The Newspaper also produced a map of the proposed new state. It included Chitral, the North West Frontier Province and the Pakhtun areas of Baluchistan north west of the Indus River; See also The Hindu (Madras) 12 June 1948; Fraser-Tytler, Afghanistan (London: Oxford University Press, 1953), p. 310.

[81] The Times (London: 31 May 1947).

Afghan zone in Karachi.[82] In early 1948, Kabul's envoy, Sardar Najibullah Khan, met the Governor General of Pakistan, Mohammad Ali Jinnah (Quaid-i-Azam), who listened to his demands politely and made it clear to the Afghan envoy that the boundary would not be readjusted.[83] Later, the Afghan government sponsored a Pakhtunistan government in exile led by Haji Mirza Ali Khan (Fakir of Ipi) near to Tirah on the border.[84] This was a time when, Pakistan was engaged on the one side with India on the issues of Junagadh, Hyderabad and Kashmir and on the other side with Afghanistan on the issue of Durand line. As Birdwood described it: "If India was to reach Hunza, Nagar and Gilgit, there would in fact be established a common Indo-Afghanistan frontier of 50 miles...Thus, there has been an understanding between India and Afghanistan for the encouragement of a tribal autonomous state on the North-West Frontier at the expense of Pakistan. The actual plan was based on the physical contact between Afghanistan and India through Kashmir and then Pakistan would be the victim of a "pincer" operation."[85]

On June 1949, Afghanistan's Parliament cancelled all the treaties which former Afghan Governments had signed with the British-India Government, including the Durand Treaty and thus proclaimed that the Afghan government did not recognise the Durand line as a legal boundary between Afghanistan and Pakistan.[86] In the same year, a few hundred supporters of the Afghan government inside Pakistan declared an independent state of Pakhtunistan, but they never gained the support of the majority of the Pakhtun population.[87] However, on various occasions the Afghan rulers demanded that those tribal areas inhabited by the Pakhtun speaking ethnic groups from Afghanistan and Pakistan become an independent Pakhtunistan state.[88] In fact, the Durand Line

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[82] See **The Stateman** (Delhi:3 July 1947); and Mujtaba Razvi, **The Frontiers of Pakistan**, p. 146.
[83] TP 1942-1947 Document Vol. 12, No. 385 (8 August 1947), Viceroy's Persoanl Report No. 16, p. 599.
[84] Mujtaba Rizvi, "Pak-Afghan Relations Since 1947: An Analysis," p. 38.
[85] Lord Birdwood, **Two Nations and Kashmir** (London: Robert Hale, 1966), p. 95.
[86] See more details, Ludwig W. Adamec, **Dictionary of Afghan Wars, Revolutions and Insurgencies** (London: The Scarecrow Press, 1996), pp. 88-89; George Arney, **Afghanistan** (London: Mandarin, 1990), pp. 34-39; Mujtaba Rizvi, **Frontiers of Pakistan**, pp. 140-148; Louis Dupree, **Afghanistan**, pp. 379, 426, and 425-445; and S. M. Burke, **Pakistan's Foreign Policy: An Historical Analysis**,pp. 68-90.
[87] Aslam Khattak, "Pathan Needs Pakistan not Paktunistan," **Dawn** (14 August 1949); and Sabeen Khan, "The Politics of Frontier Region," **Khyber Mail** (18 August 1950).
[88] Pashtunistan means "Land of the Pashtuns" (or Afghans). Neither name actually existed in history; they were given by Afghan nationalists to the North West Frontier Province and parts of Baluchistan in present Pakistan. This area was part of the Persian empire and it was included when the state of Afghanistan was founded in 1747 but soon came under the control of the Sikh ruler, Ranjit Singh, and later the British Indian government. The British empire separated this area from Afghanistan in 1893 because it was difficult, mountainous and inaccessable. In 1901 the British government created the North West Frontier Province (NWFP) and later included all tribal areas in Pakistan in 1947 under the

conformed to little geographical logic: it divides tribal lands and even individual tribes.[89] There is no natural barrier between the two countries and the tribes continue to move freely across the boundary. The Pakhtun tribes were consulted on the decision and the majority expressed their desire to stay with Pakistan. The tribal *maliks*, likewise, expressed allegiance to Pakistan through various *Jirgas* held by the Governor of the North West Frontier Province.[90] Thus, Pakistan refused to subscribe to the theory that the Pakhtuns comprised a separate nation. However, the Afghans never relinquished their desire to reunify Pakhtun tribal territories and to expand the territorial limits of Pakhtun rule southward to the sea. In 1951 the Afghan journal, *Anis*, printed a map of Pakhtunistan which included Chitral, the NWFP, and the Pakhtun-occupied area of Baluchistan stretching to the Indus.[91] In the same year, Afghan government supporters carried out raids in the frontier region and the Afghan King and Prime Minister made provocative speeches in the wake of Jashan in Kabul, where they hoisted "Pakhtunistan" flags and distributed anti-Pakistan literature. The Pakistani Prime Minister, Liaquat Ali Khan, told the Parliament that "the Afghan raiders have been driven back" and "there is nothing more heinous than that a Muslim should shed the blood of another Muslim:" He added that he would avoid this as long as possible, "but not where the soil of Pakistan was at stake."[92] In 1952 the Afghan Information Bureau in London published a long tract detailing the territory, resources, and potential of a Pakhtunistan that incorporated the areas between the Afghan-

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autonomous set up governed by the tribal councils. Afghan rulers on various occasions demanded that those tribal areas inhabited by the Pakhtu-speaking ethnic groups from Afghanistan and Pakistan become an independent Pakhtunistan state. However, since 1990, the Durand Line and Pakhtunistan are no longer hot issues in the region and now Pakhtun nationalists struggle to rename the province *Pakhtunkhwa,*by analogy with the other provinces of Pakistan (Punjab, Sindh and Baluchistan). This issue is one that has caused considerable friction between the two neighbouring states since 1947. For more detail, see Shahid Javed Burki, **Pakistan: A Nation in the Making**, p. 185; S. M. Burk, **Pakistan's Foreign Policy: A Historical Analysis**; Peter King, **Afghanistan: Cockpit in High Asia** (London: Geoffrey Bles, 1966); and Aineslee T. Embree (ed.)., **Pakistan's Western Borderlands** (Durham: Carolina Academic Press, 1977).

[89] See Alastair Lamb, **Asian Frontiers: Studies in a Continuing Problem** (London: Pall Press, 1968), pp. 86-93.

[90] Sir George Cunningham, Governor of the North West Frontier Province after Partition, has recorded that he held an *Afridi* Jirga at Khyber House, Peshawar, on 1 November 1947; Jirgas of the North *Waziristan* tribes at Miranshah of the *Ahmadzai Wazirs* at Wana and of the *Mahsuds* at Parachinar on 1 December 1947, and a Jirga of the lower *Kurrum* tribes at Shabqadar on 7 December 1947. The *Orakzai* and 'pass' *Afridi* Jirgas were held by the Political Resident on 1 November 1947. All these tribes swore allegiance to Pakistan and stated that they wished exactly the same relations to subsist between them and Pakistan as had existed between them and the British empire. Cf. Sirdar Ikbal Ali Shah, "The North West Frontier Today," **The British Survey** (October 1960), Main Series, No. 139, pp. 1-24.

[91] See Mujtaba Razvi, "Pak-Afghan Relations Since 1947: An Analysis," **Pakistan Horizon**, No. 32 (June 1980), p. 86; see also Aslam Siddiqui, **Pakistan Seeks Security** (Lahore: Longmans, Green &Co, 1960), pp. 44-47.

[92] **Manchester Guardian** (5 October 1950); see also **Observer** (London: 8 October 1950); and **The New York Times** (8 October 1950).

Pakistan border and Indus river, which is the natural and historical border of the Indian subcontinent. It noted that the lands from Chitral in the north to Baluchistan in the south connected with the Arabian Sea, have always been considered one of the most fertile regions of the world. According to the tract, the new state would have significant economic advantages because the Pakhtun area has access to the sea in Baluchistan which is obviously a factor of great importance in the future trade of the country.[93]

In 1955, relations between the two countries reached a new low when Afghanistan opposed the scheme of the government of Pakistan to merge the four provinces of Pakistan into a single unit. At this juncture the Soviet Union and India intervened to provide necessary support to Afghanistan's stand on the Pakhtun issue, thereby laying the foundation of a long lasting alliance.[94] Afghan-Pakistan relations further deteriorated when Ayub Khan came to power in Pakistan in October 1958 and the Pakhtunistan issue was the bone of contention between the two countries. Diplomatic relations were severed in 1961 when Pakistan imposing an economic embargo and blocked Afghan transit trade through Karachi.[95] Irritated by the persistent Afghan irredentism, and in order to rebuff the Afghan rulers, Pakistan's Foreign Minister, Manzur Qadir, made this suggestion to his Afghan counterpart early in 1961:

> It is reasonable to assume that Pakhtuns, whether they live in Pakistan or in Afghanistan, belonging to the same stock, want to be together and under the same flag of Afghanistan or Pakistan. . .since a referendum has already been held among the Pakhtuns of Pakistan and they have by an overwhelming majority decided to be in Pakistan, now it is logical that we should ask the Pakhtuns in Afghanistan what their wishes are.[96]

The government of Pakistan, in a white paper issued on 3 September 1961, pointed out: "If the Frontier of a country has to be predetermined on linguistic and ethnic bases as claimed by the Afghans, it will result in the disintegration of Afghanistan."[97] This was because, within the total 15 million population of Afghanistan, only 3.5 million speak Pakhtu, and the rest of the people are Persian, Turkish, Tajik and Uzbek. All these non-Pakhtu speaking populations would be integrated with neighbouring states. The majority of Pakhtuns, around 8 million, lived in Pakistan and had a better position as

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[93] Mahnaz Z. Ispahani, **Roads and Rivals**, p. 106.
[94] Kalim Bahadur, "Pakistan's Policy Towards Afghanistan," pp. 90-91.
[95] Ibid., pp. 92-93.
[96] **The Times** (9 March 1961).
[97] See White Paper "The Reality of Pakhtun Issue," (Rawalpindi: Press and Publication, 1962), p. 18.

compared to those in Afghanistan. In this regard, Olaf Caroe once warned that "Peshawar would absorb Kabul, not Kabul absorb Peshawar."[98] It was also improbable that a majority of the Pakhtuns inhabiting Pakistani territory had any wish to become Afghan subjects and on ethnic grounds, Pakistan could perhaps raise strong arguments for the acqusition of the Pakhtun areas of Afghanistan.[99]

The international community supported Pakistan's stance on the Durand Line and refused to accept the Pukhtunistan claim. Noel Baker, the British Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations reiterated that "His Majesty's Government's view is that Pakistan is, in international law, the inheritor of the rights and duties of the old Government of India and of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, in these territories and that Durand Line is the international frontier."[100] The British government's view was that, with the transfer of sovereignty from British India to Pakistan over the North-Western region, the *restransit cum suo oneri* (treaties of the extinct state concerning boundary lines) remained valid and all rights and duties arising from such treaties of the extinct state devolved on the absorbing states.[101] In a similar vein, the United States' special envoy, Philip C. Jessup, visited Kabul and the Afghan government presented to him a long list of Afghan claims but the US envoy refused to consider them, due to their vague and confused nature.[102] India and the Soviet Union were the only countries who supported the Afghan government claim of Pakhtunistan. In 1965, the Indian Deputy Minister of External Affairs, Dinesh Singh, promised India's full support for the "legitimate aspirations" of the Pakhtun people.[103] Nevertheless, Afghanistan, landlocked, encircled and dependent upon southern routes previously controlled by the British empire, sought an outlet from its historical dilemma. It continued to clamour against the Durand Line and there was continued

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[98] Olaf Caroe, **The Pathans, 550 B. C. -A. D. 1957** (London: Macmillan, 1958), p. 437.

[99] Alastair Lamb, **Asian Frontier: Studies in a Continuing Problem** (London: Pall Press, 1968), p. 92.

[100] Afghan government more than five times consulted to British government about the future of Durand Line and every time the British government reply that "this an international recognise boundary between Afghanistan and Pakistan" and it was repeated in the British Parliament by the British Foreign Secretary, Lord Home, on 3 November 1955 and by the British Prime Ministers, Sir Anthony Eden, on 1 March 1956; Harold MacMillan, on 20 May 1960; S. M. Burke, **Pakistan's Foreign Policy**, p. 85; and see "The North West Frontier Today," **The British Survey** (October 1960), pp. 1-24.

[101] Oppenheim, **International Law**, Vol. 1 (London, 1957), p. 159.

[102] The Afghan government alleged that Britain was using Pakistan to push up towards the Hindukush Mountains and therefore it was contended that a buffer "Pakhtunistan" should be set up to block the Soviet move. Afghanistan also argued that it could serve as a barrier to Soviet expansion only if a free "Pakhtunistan" existed. See Mujtaba Razvi, "Pak-Afghan Relations Since 1947: An Analysis," p. 39.

[103] See Staff Article, "The Soviet Attitude to Pashtunistan", **Central Asian Review**, No. 8 (1960), pp. 310-315; and Habibur Rahman, "British Post-Second World War Military Planning for the Middle East," **Journal of Strategic Studies**, No. 5 (December 1982), p. 51.

controversy between Pakistan and Afghanistan over the creation of Pakhtunistan. Afghan governments undoubtedly sought to gain political and diplomatic benefits from the Soviet Union and its allies by exploitation of the Pakhtunistan issue in international and regional fora but the issue never had much appeal to Western countries.

In the late 1970s, the situation in Afghanistan radically changed because the political, social and economic reforms initiated by the Marxist government began a civil war. The Zia government provided moral and material assistance to Islamic resistance groups opposing the imposition of communism and thus alienated the leftist government in Kabul.[104] Pakistan was concerned about the growing Soviet influence in Afghanistan and its Marxist government's provocative activities and irredentist claims, particularly in view of the signature of the Treaty of Peace and Friendship between the USSR and Afghanistan in November 1978. It was also reported that the Foreign Minister of Afghanistan, Hafizullah Amin, had proposed a secret pact to India in 1978 to dismember Pakistan.[105] The government of Pakistan was sensitive to the possible repercussions on its security of the on-going changes in Afghanistan with the installation of a Marxist regime, Soviet activism in its vicinity and its own role in the growing civil war between Islamic groups and the Marxist government.

Thus, the Soviet invasion in Afghanistan created a serious conventional threat to Pakistan's northwestern borders. The Soviets were in a position to: (1) back a forcible effort by Kabul to revise the Durand Line and re-open Pakhtunistan issue; (2) extend hostilities into Pakistan because of the presence of Afghan refugees and guerrillas using Pakistani territory as a sanctuary; (3) foster the separatist efforts of the Baluchis, Pakhtun or Sindhis whose territorial areas comprised more than 70 percent of Pakistan territory; and (4) play "anvil to India's hammer" in the event of another war on the sub-continent.[106] Soon after the Soviet invasion, US diplomats were quoted in the press as fearing an imminent blow-up in Pakistan. In fact, Pakistan saw the invasion as a part of a grand design to establish Soviet hegemony in South Asia, which posed a threat to the security of all regional countries, including Pakistan.[107] Pakistan was extremely

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[104] **Dawn** (18 May 1979), p. 1.

[105] See J. Bruce Amstutz, **Afghanistan: The First Five Years of Soviet Occupation**, (Washington: National Defence University Press, 1986), p. 353.

[106] Edward N. Lutwak, "After Afghanistan, What?," **Commentary** 70 (April 1980): p. 48; and see David Winder, "Worry Grows Over Pakistan After Soviets Afghan Foray," **Christian Science Monitor** (14 January 1980), p.1.

[107] Bhabani Sen Gupta, **The Afghan Syndrome: How to Live with Soviet Power** (New Delhi: Vikas, 1982), pp. 18-19.

alarmed over developments in Afghanistan. A high level Pakistani delegation led by Foreign Minister Agha Shahi told US officials that Pakistan's security had been profoundly affected by the loss of Afghanistan's buffer status and by the ever stronger Soviet grip on Afghanistan. Thus, Pakistan was deeply concerned over the long-term potential for cross-border subversion on the part of a regime that posed the double threat of "Pakhtun chauvinism and ideological missionary zeal."[108]

2. The Baluch Nationalism Factor

Historically, in the first quarter of 1948, immediately after the emergence of Pakistan, Mir Ahmad Yar Khan [Khan of Kalat], wrote that one of the dangers facing Pakistan came from Russia, "pressing its demand of access to the port of Gwadar" on Baluchistan's Makran coast.[109] The coastline of Baluchistan runs along the edge of the Persian Gulf and along the land routes linking the Middle East, Central Asia, and South Asia. Baluchistan has 750 miles of strategic shoreline along the Arabian Sea, reaching almost to the straits of Hormuz [Map-4]. Control of Pakistan or the creation of a subservient independent Baluchistan would give the Soviet Union direct access to the Arabian Sea.[110]

The port of Gwadar, in particular, began to loom large in the perceptions of local and foreign statesmen. The Soviets had long been interested in building a port at Gwadar on the Baluchistan coast, and in a north-south route leading to it, but in the 1960s they cancelled the idea due to Indian pressure. In 1969 the Soviets asked permission to build a highway from Chaman on the Afghan-Pakistan border to the Makran Coast. The Soviets further suggested they would be happy to assist Pakistan in a five-year project for the expansion and improvement of Gwadar.[111] A correspondent for *The Times of London* said: "the Soviet ambition to construct road link between Kandahar (Afghanistan) and Karachi (Pakistan) is likely to be used not only as a terminal to a naval base, but also for the delivery of food, naval stores or fuel to Soviet units cruising the Indian Ocean, or possibly for the discrete replacement of submarine crews or

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[108] See Secretary of State, Washington, D. C., "US-Pakistan Talks: Regional Issues," Cable to Islamabad, No. 7781 (24 October 1979).

[109] Mir Ahmad Yar Khan Baluch, **Inside Baluchistan: A Political Autobiography** (Karachi: Royal Book, 1975), p. 161.

[110] Francis Fukuyama, **The Security of Pakistan**, p. 31.

[111] T. B. Miller, **Soviet Policies in the Indian Ocean Area** (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1970), p. 16; and Syed Abdul Quddus, **Afghanistan and Pakistan** (Lahore: Ferozsons, 1982), pp. 172-173.

Sources: Joseph E. Schwartzberg, **A Historical Atlas of South Asia** (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978); and Mahnaz Z. Ispahani, **Roads and Rivals: The Political Uses of Access in the Borderlands of Asia** (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989), p. 33.

marine commandos."[112]

In the wake of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan there was fear that the Soviet and Kabul governments would exploit Baluch nationalism to create political instability in Pakistan. The Baluch people live in contiguous areas of Iran and Pakistan. They have a strong sense of ethnic identity and lack of economic development, which converged to produce a confrontation with the federal government. In the late 1970s, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's government dismissed the provincial government in Baluchistan on charges of harbouring separatist ambitions. Bhutto ordered direct military action to eliminate the nascent separatist elements who were supported by New Delhi, Kabul and the Moscow.[113] Islamabad accused Kabul of training up to 15,000 Baluch and Pakhtun guerrillas for a "people's war."[114] At that time, the Shah of Iran also provided substantial military aid to Pakistan to help the Bhutto government to deal with a bitter and powerful Baluchi insurgency.[115] Pakistan was apprehensive that Moscow would decide to play its "Baluch card" to divert attention from its problem in Afghanistan.[116]

After 1979, the proto-nationalist sentiments that inspired the Baluchis to seek autonomy within Pakistan in the first place predisposed them against becoming a Soviet puppet in the manner of Babrak Karmal and the *Percham*. Those concerned about ethnic tensions in Pakistan were wary of Soviet and Afghan efforts to organize Baluch dissidents and were resentful that Baluchistan was not being given its due recognition as a fully-fledged province of Pakistan. In this regard, the statements and speeches of the Marxist government in Kabul further strengthened the belief of Pakistan that the Afghan rulers were cooperating with the Soviets in the search for

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[112] **London Times** (17 November 1969); Mir Ahmad Yar Khan Baluch, **Inside Baluchistan: A Political Autobiography** (Karachi: Royal Book, 1975), p. 161; and Norman D. Palmer, "South Asia and the Indian Ocean," in (ed.)., Alvin J. Cottrell and Robert M. Burrell, **The Indian Ocean: Its Political, Economic and Military Importance** (New York: Praeger, 1972), pp. 246-247.

[113] Selig S. Harrison, **In Afghanistan's Shadow: Baluch Nationalism and Soviet Temptations** (New York: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1981), pp. 80 and 204; and **Dawn** (5 March 1973), p. 3.

[114] Selig H. Harrison, "Nightmare in Baluchistan," **Foreign Policy**, No. 32 (Fall 1978), pp. 136-60.

[115] An estimated 55,000 Baluchis were fighting war for independence. The 200,000 square miles of Baluchi territory stradding Pakistan, Iran and Afghanistan and it is strategically valuable because of the 750 miles of front on the Arabian Sea and Gulf of Oman. While the Soviets had periodically flirted with the Baluchis by Afghanistan and India. There was considerable fear inside and outside the region that Soviet hesitance might evaporate if the military situation turned to the advantage of the Baluchis. See for more details Selig S. Harrison, "Nightmare in Baluchistan," **Foreign Policy**, No. 32 (Fall 1978), pp. 136-60.

[116] Selig Harrison, "Baluch Nationalism and superpower Rivalry," **International Security** (Winter 1980-81), pp. 152-153; and see for detailed analysis Selig Harrison, **In Afghanistan's Shadow: Baluch Nationalism and Soviet Temptations**, pp. 2 and 198.

access to the Indian Ocean and Arabian Sea for the trade, transit and migratory routes that run through Pakistan.[117] Hafizullah Amin, the President of Afghanistan, speaking to a large gathering in August 1979, reasserted its ties to the Baluch coastline. "Our revolution is revered and welcomed," he said, "from the Oxus to the Abasin, from the mountains of Pamir to the beaches of Gwadar in Pakistan."[118] Babrak Karmal himself later said that "Afghanistan principally advocates the right of fraternal Pakhtun and Baluchi peoples to express their free will: they should themselves take decisions on their future."[119] The Karmal regime called upon the ethnic groups, including Pakistani Pakhtuns, to build a new "anti-imperialist" Pakistan.[120]

A CIA report on Baluchistan on 10 January 1980 noted past Soviet restraint, described Baluchi ports and their potential strategic value and noted that the Soviet move into Afghanistan had revived speculation about "the century old quest for a warm water port."[121] The same report began with the observation that the Pakistanis and Iranians had "long believed that the USSR hopes someday to win control of Baluchistan and thereby gain warm water ports."[122] The proximity of Afghanistan to strategically valuable ports located near the Gulf of Oman and straits of Hormuz, especially Gwadar in Pakistan and Cha Bahar in Iran, increased the seriousness of the invasion in the view of the Carter administration. In fact, the fear that the Soviets might have been inclined to meddle in Baluchistan, either for the purpose of bringing Soviet influence to the shores of the Gulf of Oman and the Arabian Sea, or as a punitive lever vis-à-vis Pakistan, was hardly far-fetched. In the autumn of 1981 General Fazal Haq, the then governor of the Northwest Frontier, pronounced the long-term goal of the Soviet Union as a warm water port on the shores of Pakistan: "They will make a strategic thrust to get access to a warm water port in our Baluchistan province.[123] The acquisition of land routes could serve purposes beyond the exercise of influence in or control over, Baluchistan.[124] They might give the Soviets access to sea routes, expanding their reach across the sea lanes of the straits of Hormuz and the northern Indian Ocean. In this

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[117] Mahnaz Z. Ispahani, **Roads and Rivals**, p. 114.
[118] Ibid., p. 57.
[119] Ibid.
[120] Chitra K. Tiwari, **Security in South Asia: Internal and External Dimensions** (New York: University Press of America, 1989), pp. 94-95.
[121] Central Intelligence Agency, "National Foreign Assessment Centre, Baluchistan: A Primer," No. 10 (January 1980), pp. 6-8.
[122] Ibid., p. 1.
[123] Quoted in FBIS, South Asia, 23 October 1981, p. F-1.
[124] Jonathan Kwitny, "Rebel Pakistani Area is Viewed as a Barrier to Soviet Ambitions," **The Wall Street Journal** (15 February 1980), p. 1.

regard, the Afghan government showed its ambition when in September 1985, Babrak Karmal, declared that "the unity of Pakhtuns and Baluchis is also a guarantor of freedom, progress, unification and national maturity for the Pakhtuns and Baluchis."[125] In the same year when Zia ul-Haq went to Moscow for Konstantin Chernenko's funeral, Soviet leaders reportedly warned him that if Pakistan persisted in aiding the *mujahideen*, the Soviet Union would back the Baluchis in a move to detach Baluchistan from Pakistan.[126]

The Soviets trained and supplied subversive groups in the region, relying in Baluchistan on left-leaning local political groups and tribal leaders.[127] Afghanistan made no secret of its support for the concept of an independent People's Republic of Baluchistan. It provided assistance to Baluch refugees and permitted safe havens to Baluch leaders and fighters crossing into Afghanistan.[128] In addition, Baluchistan was "instinctively a province of the radical left," as all but right-wing parties were outlawed by Zia's policies. The danger of externally supported subversion in Baluchistan was acknowledged by General Zia when he asserted that "the ground is ripe for seeds of subversion."[129]

3. Pakistan as a Frontline State

The Afghan crisis dramatically transformed Pakistan's geostrategic environment and it emerged as a "frontline" state. The threat to Pakistan's security was immediate and immense. Its strategic importance was further enhanced by the fact that the state of Pakistan was at the cross-roads of superpower politics and by its strategic location as gateway to Southwest Asia and the Persian Gulf region. (Map-5) In this regard, the manner in which Pakistan reacted to the Soviet incursion and its eventual role in the Afghan crisis were preordained to a great extent by the extant state of Pakistan-Afghan bilateral relations. The Soviet military invasion in Afghanistan changed the strategic situation of the region. The Soviet action had grave implications for the security of

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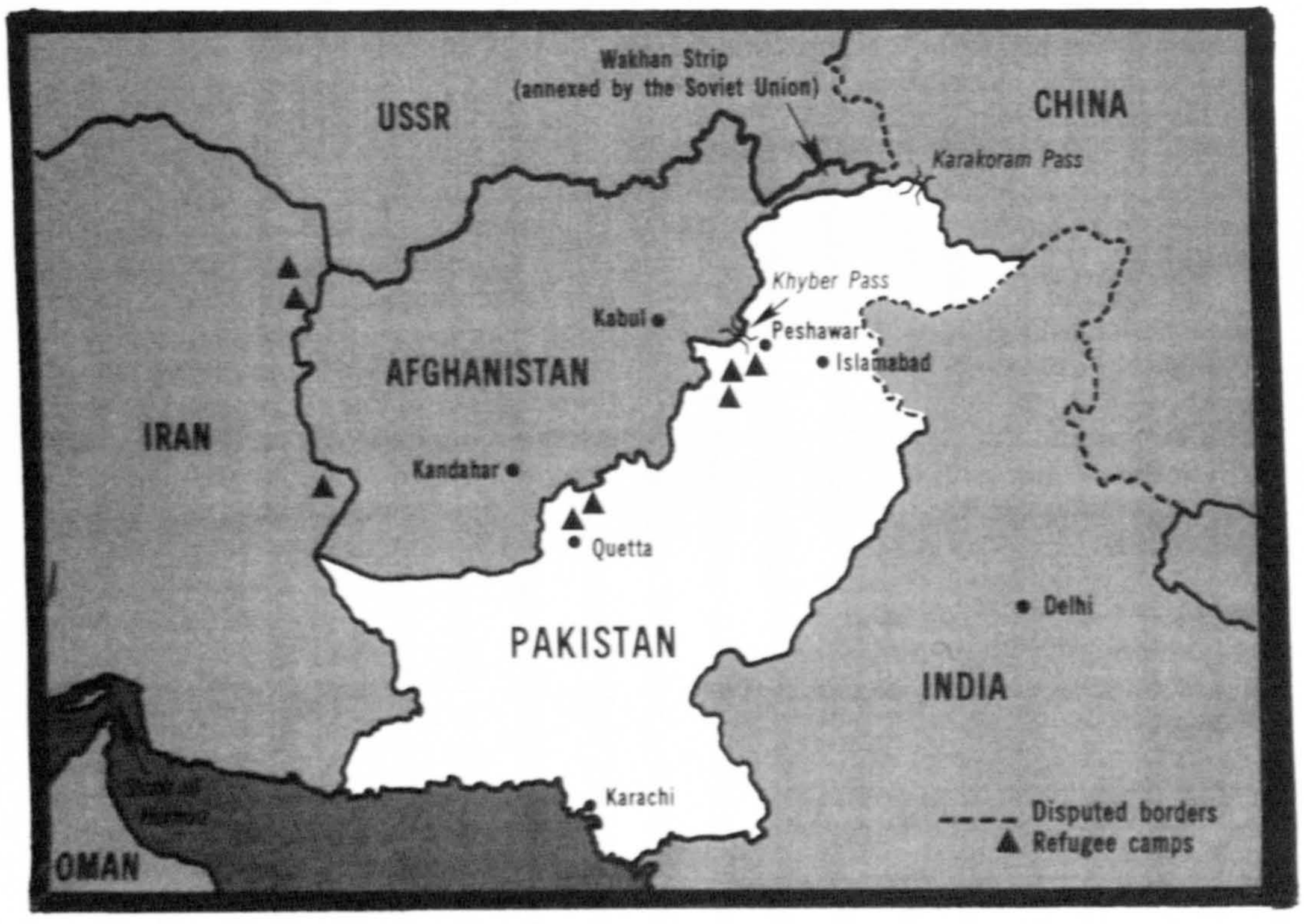
[125] See Selig S. Harrison, **In Afghanistan's Shadow: Baluch Nationalism and Soviet Temptations** (New York: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1981), p. 146.
[126] Donald S. Zagoria, "The Soviet-American Rivalry in Asia", in Marshall D. Shulman (ed.)., **East-West Tension in the Third World** (New York: W. W. Norton, 1986), p. 106.
[127] Elie Krakowski, "Afghanistan: The Geopolitical Implications of Soviet Control," in Rosanne Klass (ed.)., **Afghanistan: The Great Game Revisited** (New York: Freedom House, 1987), p. 180.
[128] Sultana Afroz, "Afghanistan in US-Pakistan Relations 1947-60," **Central Asia Survey**, Vol. 8, No. 2 (1989), pp. 135-137; and see more details in Selig Harrison, **In Afghanistan's Shadow**, pp. 39, 81-82.
[129] See **The Economist** (26 January 1980), p. 46.

Pakistan


Wakhan Strip
(annexed by the Soviet Union)
USSR
CHINA
Karakoram Pass
Khyber Pass
Kabul
Peshawar
Islamabad
AFGHANISTAN
IRAN
Kandahar
Quetta
Delhi
PAKISTAN
INDIA
Karachi
OMAN
Disputed borders
Refugee camps

Pakistan, Iran and the Persian Gulf region. The Soviet move into Afghanistan showed that superpower rivalry and the possibility of confrontation was not confined to Europe but extended to other parts of the world, including the Persian Gulf region. Pakistan came to be described as the "centre of gravity" of the world, and the "third central strategic zone" in a potential armed confrontation between the superpowers.[130]

It was not possible for Pakistan to remain unconcerned and somnolent about the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Shortly afterwards, Stephen Cohen stated that Pakistan was facing "one of the most complex and multilayered strategic threats in the world."[131] Pakistan found itself thrust into the unwelcome status of facing a strategic quandary notable even by the turbulent standards of its national and regional history. The invasion itself generated fears and apprehensions among many Pakistanis that their country would be the next target.[132] There was a perception that after having consolidated its position in Afghanistan, Moscow would try to extend its influence beyond the Afghan border or that the Soviets might use Afghanistan as a springboard for destabilizing Pakistan. India's traditionally warm relationship with Kabul and close military and political bilateralism with Moscow increased Pakistan's worries of a strengthened Kabul-Delhi-Moscow axis. Many scholars admitted that Pakistan was seen to be sandwiched between two highly threatening, if not malevolent, forces–an expansionist Soviet Union to the north and hegemony-driven India to the east. Such anxieties, therefore, did not seem too far fetched.[133] In reality, the Soviet-Afghan-Indo axis sought out Pakistan's zones of vulnerability and mounted subversion within them. The survival of none of these three countries was in any jeopardy from Pakistan, but the survival of Pakistan, on the other hand, was plausibly threatened by all of them.[134] The Soviet move showed that they had acquired an unprecedented capability for influencing events in an area of the world that was of unquestionable importance to the political integrity and economic health of the industrialised nations. Pakistan, by its geographical proximity to the Gulf and by its historical and cultural ties to the people

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[130] Agha Shahi, "Afghanistan Crisis," The Concept (Islamabad: July 1982), p. 13.
[131] Stephen P. Cohen, "Pakistan," in Edward A. Koloziej and Robert E. Harkavy (eds.)., Security Policies of Developing Countries (Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 1982), p. 97.
[132] Perviaz Iqbal Cheema, "Security problems II - Pakistanis Security Problems," in Karl J. Newman, Pakistan: 35 Years After Independence (Hamburg: Deutsch Pakistanische's Forume, 1983), p. 193.
[133] Robert G. Wirsing, Pakistan's Security Under Zia 1977-1988: The Policy Imperatives of a Peripheral Asian State, p. 18; and see Iftikhar H. Malik, "The Pakistan-US Security Relationship: Testing Bilateralism," Asian Survey Vol. XXX, No. 3 (3 March 1990), p. 288.

of Afghanistan, had unwittingly become an important factor affecting Moscow's policy in the area.

Thus, from this perspective, the extraordinarily hostile geostrategic conditions severely limited Pakistan's security options in order to assure its territorial integrity or even national survival. As Anthony Arnold argued in 1986, "the Soviet threat to Pakistan is in inverse proportion to the vigour and success of the Afghan resistance. As long as the Soviet is unable to turn Afghanistan into a firm and stable stepping stone, Pakistan will enjoy a measure of security."[135] Moreover, Pakistan was also essentially a pawn in a superpower game, a victim of its own weakness in a rivalry over which it had virtually no control. The superpower rivalry overshadowed Pakistan's regional rivalry with India and indeed magnified it by destabilising the regional arms balance, that is, by provoking and subsidising a dangerous and open-ended arms race in the region. In these circumstances, the regional rivalry was seriously exacerbated by the global strategic competition. The Soviet alliance with India and the US partnership with Pakistan stemmed from super power strategic expediency, not from the compulsions of regional actors. Thus, the dominant threat to Pakistan security was both international and regional. It stemmed from the gross inequality in power between Pakistan and India and the Soviet-backed Kabul regime. Moreover, the differences with both India and the Kabul Marxist regime over territory, ideology and strategic objectives, were essentially irreconcilable.

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[134] Rodney W. Jones, "The Military and Security in Pakistan," in Craig Baxter (ed.)., **Zia's Pakistan: Politics and Stability in a Frontline State** (Lahore: Vanguard, 1985), p. 79.

[135] Anthony Arnold, "The Soviet Threat to Pakistan," in Eliot and Pfaltzgraff (eds.)., **The Red Army on Pakistan's Border: Policy Implications for the United States** (Washington, D.C.: Pergamon-Brassey's International Defence Publishers, 1986), pp. 46-47.

CHAPTER THREE

Pakistan's Response to the Growing Soviet Take-Over of Afghanistan

> We (Pakistanis and Afghans) are brothers. No power on earth can separate us.[1]
>
> —Mohammad Ali Jinnah, 1948

The main purpose of this chapter is to describe and discuss the implications for Pakistan of Marxist rule in Afghanistan and subsequently of the Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan. This was a period of political turmoil and upheaval in South and Southwest Asia. Pakistan's leaders and policy makers felt threatened, not only because of Kabul's hostility with Pakistan but also because the presence of the Soviet military on the Pakistan border posed a serious and alarming security threat to the country. The chapter explains that Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was the architect of Afghan policy and General Zia -ul Haq successfully implemented Bhutto's policies to counter the Kabul-Soviet security challenge to Pakistan. The distinction is also helpful in understanding Pakistan's role in supporting the Afghan *mujahideen* and its efforts to play a role as a pivotal regional actor to contain communism.

1. Bhutto's Afghan Policy

Bhutto knew that Pakistan had one of the most complex security environments in the world. To its east was India, a state with vastly superior industrial resources and a much larger population base; to the west lay Afghanistan—never friendly and the only Muslim country with which Pakistan was unable to develop even formal neighbourly ties and from which it had experienced continuous hostility. Moreover, two of Pakistan's provinces had important populations with strong ethnic and tribal ties across the border in Afghanistan; even on the Indian frontier, a long standing dispute existed over the status of Jammu and Kashmir. In the circumstances, Pakistan was vulnerable and its strategic environment was marked by conditions of strategic asymmetry, dependence and ambivalence, all presenting major obstacles to Pakistan's policy

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[1] Mohammad Ali Jinnah (Quaid-i-Azam) passed this comment during a visit to the Pak-Afghan border on 14 April 1948 and the same words are also written on one of the pillars of the Pak-Afghan border (Torkham) gate. See also Mohammad Ali Jinnah, **Speeches and Statements** (Islamabad: Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, 1968).

development.[2] At the same time, Pakistan was unstable domestically because the government was also incapable of mobilising its own people for the support of the country's security. It was thus the more vulnerable to its enemies. Furthermore, on the external front, Pakistan was facing malicious propaganda, disinformation campaigns for political subversion and other clandestine operations such as domestic disorder and violence, in particular ethnic violence. With growth in the amount and intensity of political dissidence and disaffection in the country, Pakistan's vulnerability with regard to destabilisation tactics had increased. In this situation, Bhutto adopted an aggressive policy towards Afghanistan and increased internal and external pressure for Afghan rulers to meet his conditions for settling disputes.

Sardar Daoud seized power in Afghanistan in 1973, two years after Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's government was established in Pakistan. He not only proceeded to revive the Pakhtunistan issue but also lent support to the nascent separatist movement that had just emerged in the Pakistani province of Baluchistan. In his first address to the nation on 17 July 1973, Daoud singled out Pakistan as the only country with which Afghanistan had differences. A few days later, in his first press conference, Daoud explained the Afghan-Pakistani differences and expressed the hope that, "in grasping the reality of the existence of an Afghan-Pakistan dispute with regard to the legitimate rights of the Pakhtuns and the Baluch people...Afghanistan and Pakistan would be able to find an amicable, peaceful and honourable solution to this problem."[3] On August 1973, the Afghan government celebrated "Pakhtunistan Day" in Kabul with a "strident display of support for "Pakhtun and Baluch brothers."[4] In November 1973, Kabul declared that "Afghanistan does not recognise the Durand Line as an official border line between the two countries since it separates almost 2.5 million Pakhtuns from Afghanistan."[5]

Prime Minister Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto was the architect of Afghan policy. He carefully evaluated the Pak-Afghan situation and tried to persuade Daoud to accept the Durand Line as the legitimate international border between Afghanistan and Pakistan and to

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[2] Robert G. Wirsing, **Pakistan's Security Under Zia 1977-88: The Policy Imperatives of a Peripheral Asian State** (London: Macmillan, 1991), p. 16.

[3] Abdul Samad Ghaus, **The Fall of Afghanistan: An Insider's Account** (Washington, D. C.: Pergamon-Brassey's International Defence Publishers, 1988), p. 107.

[4] Anthony Arnold, **Afghanistan's Two Party Communism: Parcham and Khalq** (Stanford: Hoover Institute Press, 1983), p.45.

[5] Hafizullah Emadi, **State, Revolution and Superpower in Afghanistan** (New York: Praeger, 1990), p. 72.

put pressure on the Kabul government to withdraw support for the separatist elements of Baluchistan and Pakhtun nationalists. In July 1973 Bhutto established an "Afghan Cell" in the Foreign Office to counter propaganda from Kabul, whose claims for a greater "Pukhtunistan" worried the Pakistanis. Bhutto's advisor, Major General (Retd) Nasirullah Babar,[6] was the head of Afghan affairs. The Afghan Cell met regularly for the next four years, under the chairmanship of Prime Minister Bhutto and gave out policy guidelines. The Inspector General Frontier Constabulary and the Inter Services Intelligence (ISI) worked in concert to conduct intelligence missions inside Afghanistan. The ISI kept communication channels open with the deposed king, Zahir Shah, who was in exile in Italy.

Bhutto reacted with an enterprising set of border policies to mobilise the covert Afghan anti-government guerrilla force, drawn largely from Afghanistan's growing Islamic fundamentalist movement, to conduct military operations inside Afghanistan. General Babar found many Afghan Islamists who were useful as a counterweight to the pro-Indian and relatively pro-Soviet policies of Daoud's government brought from Afghanistan to Pakistan in October 1973. At that time, Gulbuddin Hikmatyar,[7] who was facing criminal charges in Afghanistan as the result of his involvement in an incident between his group and the rival Burhanuddin Rabbani[8] group, fled to Pakistan and Islamabad provided shelter and assistance against the Afghan government.[9] The Islamists, including Rabbani and Gulbuddin, did not accept King Zahir Shah and Daoud's regimes, notwithstanding the designation of their dynastic predecessors as Commander of the Faithful (Amir al-Muminin). The Islamists were intent on remaking Afghan society in the image of a better Islam.[10]

The Islamists in Afghanistan organised a movement against Daoud's government due to its pro-Communist policies. Its first centres were the Panjsher Valley, Herat and

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[6] Major General Nasirullah Babar was former Governor of the North West Frontier Province and inspector general of the Frontier Corps when the Afghan policy was formulated. General Babar was also appointed Special Assistant to Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto in December 1988 and he was the founding father of the "Taliban" movement in Afghanistan.

[7] Initially, Gulbuddin Hekmatyar and Burhanuddin Rabbani originally formed a single political movement and both were president and secretary respectively.

[8] Rabbani, who had been educated at Cairo's Al-Azhar University and teaching Islamic studies at the University of Kabul in the 1960s.

[9] Khalid Mahmud Arif, **Working With Zia: Pakistan's Power Politics 1977-1988** (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 300.

[10] The clergy of Sunni Afghanistan have never played a dominant political role, as compared to those of Persian speaking Shi'a. The Islamists wanted to make Islam more a matter of preoccupation for the

Jalalabad. Pakistan gave full political, diplomatic and material support to the Afghan Islamists. Pakistan trained and armed the Islamists to exert short-term pressure but also began a more long-term programme that included building roads to the Afghan border-lands that later allowed Pakistan's military trucks to supply arms to the *mujahideen*.[11] According to Nasirullah Babar: "We wanted a party through which we could influence events in Afghanistan. There had been some explosions in the NWFP of Pakistan. My advice to Bhutto was that Pakistan should take some countermeasures."[12] Bhutto's government, which saw the Islamists as a way of countering Daoud's pressure on the Pukhtunistan issue, provided military and financial assistance to counter the Kabul government's moves against Pakistan. Bhutto allowed General Nasirullah Babar to bring hundreds and thousands of Islamists for military training to counter Daoud and Marxist influence in Afghanistan. Babar integrated the Afghan Islamists with the ISI to counter the Afghan government and also provided aid for covert actions. In fact, Bhutto used the Pakhtun cross-border ethnic relationship to stabilise Pakistan's future security concerns because since the dismemberment of the country in 1971, the Pakistani leaders had perceived that further threats to Pakistan's territorial integrity would come via the Baluchis and Pakhtuns.[13]

In 1975, the Bhutto government kept in readiness near the Karmra (Punjab) and Kohat (NWFP) airbases a *mujahideen*-manned armed force for surprise guerrilla attacks against targets inside Afghanistan. According to General Babar, Pakistan trained *mujahideen* to attack Afghan military barracks and government buildings and police posts in the major areas of Afghanistan. All the major military operations were successful and disastrous for the Daoud government.[14] Moreover, Bhutto's government made Hikmatyar, the leading Pukhtun among the exiled Islamists, the "contact person" for Afghan Islamists seeking assistance. The Pakistan authorities thus elevated Hikmatyar to a *de facto* leadership position; his leadership becoming official when he broke away from Jamiat and founded Hizb-i-Islami. Pakistan, in response to Daoud's

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Afghan government and they wanted, at least in theory, to transcend the barriers of tribe and ethnic group.

[11] Henry Kamm, "Pakistanis Report Ordering Attacks by Afghan Rebels," **The New York Times** (23 April 1989), p. A1.

[12] Robert G. Wirsing, **Pakistan's Security Under Zia 1977-88**, p. 31.

[13] M. Emdad-ul Haq, **Drugs in South Asia: From the Opium Trade to the Present Day** (London: Macmillan, 2000), p. 186.

[14] General Babar's efforts to incite a popular uprising in the masses and to provoke mutiny in Afghan army were not successful. Some *mujahideen* were captured and executed by the Daoud government, but most returned to Pakistan. See Henry Kamm, "Pakistanis Report Ordering Attacks by Afghan Rebels," **The New York Times** (23 April 1989), p. A1.

actions on Baluchistan, also supported a Hazara separatist group, called Tanzim-i-Nasl-i-Mughul (group of the New Mughul Generations).[15] Bhutto's government patronised the Islamist guerrillas more for political than ideological reasons. His government provided funds and equipment and imparted training to the exiles, who later emerged as very important and successful liberation fighters against Soviet forces.

The Bhutto government's mobilisation of an Afghan resistance force was part of its efforts to accelerate the integration into Pakistan of its own Pakhtun tribal areas. For this purpose, Bhutto involved the federal and provincial governments in building roads, hospitals, and education institutions, extended voting rights and made sharp increases in government allocations for economic development. Bhutto took a personal interest in the developmental projects and himself paid a number of well-publicised visits to the tribal areas to reduce the tribesmen's dependency on Afghanistan. Bhutto also extended federal government rules to these areas and eliminated the traditional tribal autonomy.[16] Bhutto's hawkish policies were successful in pressurising the Afghan government and Robert Wirsing claims that "Bhutto's policies helped to stimulate Kabul's government toward accommodation."[17] Abdul Samad Ghaus (Deputy Foreign Minister of Afghanistan under Daoud) also indicated that "before coming to a compromise position, Kabul's involvement in the Baluch and Pakhtun areas of Pakistan was as flagrant as was alleged by the Islamabad government." He writes that tribal leaders and representatives were continuous visitors to Kabul to seek help, guidance and material assistance. The Afghan government made clear to the tribal leaders that Afghanistan would support their stand for complete autonomy or independence.[18] The government of Afghanistan, however, totally failed to gain support from Islamic countries for the supposed rights of the Pakhtuns. Afghanistan's pro-Soviet policy was the main hurdle to securing political and economic support from the anti-Soviet Muslim countries who remained friendly towards Pakistan and antagonistic towards Afghanistan.[19]

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[15] See Inayatullah Baluch, "Afghanistan-Pushtunistan-Baluchistan," **Aussenpolitik**, No. 31 (Third quarter 1980), p. 300; and Inayatullah Baluch and Hans Frey, "Pakistan and the Problems of Sub-Nationalism," **Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies**, No. 5 (Spring 1982), p. 67.

[16] Robert G. Wirsing, **Pakistan's Security Under Zia 1977-88**, p. 31.

[17] Ibid.

[18] Abdul Samad Ghaus, **The Fall of Afghanistan**, pp. 110-134.

[19] Ibid., pp. 123-125; see also Henry S. Bradsher, **Afghanistan and the Soviet Union** (Durham: Duke University Press, 1985), p. 63.

Bhutto adopted a more harsh attitude and talked of possible war with Afghanistan[20] and ultimately the Afghan government realised that de-escalation was desirable. Bhutto's government appeared to regard the unrest in the eastern provinces of Afghanistan as being to his advantage. Thus, it was Bhutto's aggressive policy which forced Daoud to adopt a flexible attitude with Pakistan and ultimately Daoud agreed to abandon the traditional Pakhtunistan claim and expressed willingness to accept the Durand Line.[21] On 7-10 June 1976 Daoud invited Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto to visit Afghanistan. President Daoud recognised the need to ease the tension with Pakistan for the well-being of the two countries and in the interest of regional stability. Daoud appealed to Bhutto to end Pakistani army operations in Baluchistan and to release regionalist opposition leaders. According to Abdul Samad Ghaus, Bhutto replied, "We in Pakistan have to be careful about the mood of our generals. But I am sure that in due time I will be able to get around this difficulty."[22]

In 1976 Daoud paid a five day visit to Pakistan. Bhutto used all his charm to enchant his honoured guest and both leaders discussed some serious matters. Hafeez Malik claimed that "Bhutto and Daoud made progress for the simultaneous reaffirmation of the Durand Line as an international boundary between Pakistan and Afghanistan, and the release of National Awami Party (ANP) leaders, including Abdul Wali Khan.[23] As a gesture of goodwill toward Kabul, Pakistan allowed the shipment of wheat from India to Afghanistan in March 1977.[24] Bhutto and Daoud's desire was never manifested in a firm agreement because the Marxists in Kabul opposed Daoud's rapprochement policy towards Pakistan and on the other hand, the Bhutto government was overthrown by General Zia ul-Haq in July 1977. However, Zia continued Bhutto's policy and took the initiative of establishing high level contact with Afghanistan. On 10 October 1977 Zia arrived in Kabul for a two day "goodwill mission." Daoud expressed the hope that the both countries would rise above the bitterness of the past and take the initiatives for a new era of peace and friendship. He also hoped that a way would be found to settle the problems with Pakistan on a fair and honourable basis. Zia

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[20] Ibid.

[21] Daoud noted in 1974 that "we do not like [the plan's] emphasis on inviolability of frontiers. That will means accepting Pakistan's present frontiers, which are the doing of the British." Henry S. Bradsher, **Afghanistan and the Soviet Union**, new and expanded ed., (Durham: Duke University Press, 1985), p. 63 and see more details in Hafeez Malik, **Soviet-Pakistan Relations and Post Soviet Dynamics** (London: Macmillan, 1994), pp. 258-259.

[22] Abdul Samad Ghaus, **The Fall of Afghanistan**, p. 130.

[23] Hafeez Malik, **Soviet-Pakistan Relations and Post Soviet Dynamics**, p. 258.

[24] Ibid.

replied that pragmatism demanded the removal of the hurdles which had obstructed this path.[25]

2. Pakistan—Afghan Relations in the 1970s

In the 1970s the Persian Gulf region was on the edge of crisis and profound transition. The Iranian revolution gathered momentum at the end of 1978 and, ultimately, Islamic forces overthrew the monarchy and their spiritual leader, Ayatollah Khomeini, successfully changed the structure of imperial Iran. The downfall of the Pahlavi dynasty removed from Pakistan's western flank a like-minded regime that had joined with Pakistan in the Western sponsored military alliance and that had directly provided assistance to Pakistan, both in its wars with India and to handle the domestic insurrection in Baluchistan in the late 1970s.[26]

The country's unenviable security predicament was the subject of robust debate among General Zia ul-Haq's colleagues, his policy makers and defence planners. Never before had Pakistan felt quite so isolated and so threatened at the same time. Defence planners, intellectuals, diplomats and bureaucratic establishments solemnly declared "national survival" to be the core problem of future planning. Pakistan felt threatened both from abroad and from within and the military government led by General Zia ul-Haq decided to play a vital role as an international actor to contain the ambitious designs of the Soviet Union and its allies (Afghanistan and India) and also to protect its privileged elites and the domestic status quo.

Zia adopted Bhutto's hawkish policy towards Afghanistan which left no option for Daoud but to change the traditional Afghan stand on "Pakhtunistan" and the "Durand Line" and to agree to close the Baluch guerrilla camps in Afghan territory.[27] At the invitation of Zia ul-Haq, President Daoud visited Pakistan from 5-8 March 1978. He declared that "Afghanistan desired better ties with its Muslim neighbours, in its own

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[25] Ibid., pp. 302-309.

[26] Most observers agreed that in the 1970s, during the Baluch tribal insurrection, the Soviet and Indian aid to the rebellious Baluch tribesmen amounted to little. See for details Shirin Tahir-Kheli, "Iran and Pakistan: Cooperation in an Area of Conflict," **Asian Survey**, Vol. 17, No. 5 (May 1977), pp. 474-490; and Selig H. Harrison, "Nightmare in Baluchistan," **Foreign Policy**, No. 32 (Fall 1978), p. 159.

[27] Abdul Samad Ghaus, **The Fall of Afghanistan: An Insider's Account**, p. 147; Marvin G. Weinbaum, **Pakistan and Afghanistan: Resistance and Reconstruction** (Boulder: Westview Press, 1994), p.6; and Henry S. Bradsher, **Afghanistan and the Soviet Union**, new and expanded ed. (Durham: Duke University Press, 1985), p. 221.

national interest." He also disclosed that "The emerging thaw between Pakistan and Afghanistan was not to the liking of some countries." Daoud apprehended the risk of "this region being destabilised," adding, "our bilateral friendship is thus of mutual advantage."[28] During his visit to Lahore in 1978, in a prepared speech, Daoud made the crucial point that "*the security of Pakistan is the security of Afghanistan* "[29] President Daoud congratulated Zia ul-Haq for taking a bold decision in releasing the Pakhtun and Baluch leaders. He appreciated Pakistan's gesture and hoped that the leaders, now free, would play their part in the political life of their country. A difficult job had been made easier, he said, and it would assist the development of cordial mutual relations. General Zia thanked President Daoud for sharing his views, with which he agreed. He was keen on reaching a final settlement to the mutual benefit of both countries.

General Zia arranged a banquet in the honour of President Daoud and invited prominent Pakistani politicians, including the freshly released political leaders: Khan Abdul Wali Khan, Ataullah Mengal, Khair Bakhsh Marri and Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo. President Daoud mixed with the guests freely and talked to them in a pleasant manner. In his speech, Daoud noted with satisfaction the opening of a new chapter of understanding and goodwill with Pakistan and stated that his talks "had proved extremely useful and productive."[30] Before his departure from Pakistan, President Daoud extended his hand for a warm handshake and told General Zia: "This is the hand of a Pakhtun and I promise to establish friendly relations with Pakistan on a firm and durable basis. In the past thirty years, we have taken a stance on an issue. Give me a little time to mould public opinion in my country to effect a change. I intend to convene the Afghan Loya Jirga [Tribal Grand Assembly] to take a decision to normalise relations with Pakistan."[31]

On the other hand, the close association of Daoud's regime with Pakistan was criticised by Marxists elements of People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) which became a matter of concern for Moscow.[32] Moreover, the Daoud regime's policy of mending fences with Pakistan was interrupted by the Saur Revolution, which brought

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[28] Ibid., p. 302.
[29] See full text of Daoud's speech in **Pakistan Times** (10 March 1978); and see also M. Siddiq Wahidi-Wardak, "Events Leading up to the Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan," in Ewan Auderson and Nancy Hatch Dupree (ed.)., **The Cultural Basis of Afghan Nationalism** (London: Pinter Publisher 1990), p. 97.
[30] **Asian Recorder** (26 March and 1 April 1978), p. 14237.
[31] Khalid Mahmud Arif, **Working With Zia: Pakistan's Power Politics 1977-1988**, p. 303.
[32] **Pravda** (9 February 1978); **Kabul Times** (23 March 1978); and **Dawn** (18 April 1978).

the Marxists to power in Kabul in 1978. After this radical change of policy vis-a-vis Pakistan, the Communist coup of 1978 killed Daoud, destroyed his regime and adopted an extremely hostile attitude to Pakistan. The Moscow-backed Kabul Communist regime of the PDPA revived the issues of Pakhtunistan and the Durand Line.[33] Pakistan felt a great shock because the process of reconciliation was abruptly shattered. Moreover, the growing increase in the number of Soviet advisors in Afghanistan seemed bound to complicate relations between Kabul and Islamabad. General Zia, who had established personal relations with Daoud, was worried when he received news of trouble in Afghanistan. The news reported an armed coup against the government and the situation was unclear. General Zia was willing to help Daoud when the President made a request for assistance. Zia told General Arif, "I will not hesitate to provide help to Daoud but I have to wait his reply."[34] Later, news appeared that President Nur Mohammad Taraki, had replaced the assassinated Daoud and his family members. The pro-fundamentalist Zia-ul-Haq government in Pakistan and pro-Marxist government in Kabul were in sharp contrast. Noor Mohammad Taraki and Hafizullah Amin equally reiterated Afghanistan's commitment to the nationalist aspirations of the Pakhtun and the Baluchis in Pakistan. In an interview published in the *Kabul Times*, Foreign Minister Hafizullah Amin declared:

> We sincerely desire full friendship between Afghanistan and Pakistan. The only difference which remains is the national issue of Pakhtun and the Baluchi people, which should be peacefully solved through friendly negotiations.[35]

The Baluch and Pakhtun movements extended recognition to the Saur Revolution. Attempts to resolve the traditional dispute on the occasion of General Zia's post revolution visit to Afghanistan in 1978 failed. Afghanistan proceeded to revive the question of Baluch and Pakhtun autonomy at the 1978 session of the UN General

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[33] Taraki at his first press conference on 6 May 1978 called Pakistan and Iran 'brothers' and then reiterated his government's dedication to Islam, the common religion of all three states. General Zia was impressed by this statement, recognised the PDPA's regime and assured Taraki that Pakistan regarded the Afghan revolution as an 'internal affair' of that country. Zia conveyed Pakistan's 'sentiments of goodwill towards their Afghan brothers', and indicated that internationally recognised principles of peaceful co-existence formed the basis of bilateral relations. See more details in Hafeez Malik, "Memorandum of Conversations with Mr. Shah Mohammad Dost, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Afghanistan, 30 September 1981," **Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies**, Vol.V, No. 2 (Winter 1981), p. 72.

[34] Khalid Mahmud Arif, **Working With Zia**, p. 304.

[35] **Kabul Times** (5 October 1978), p. 1.

Assembly.[36] In return, on 2 May 1978 the Afghan Cell was reactivated by the order of President Zia ul-Haq in the Foreign Office to counter Marxist propaganda. Zia was the head of the Afghan Cell and briefed the meetings about future plans. Frequent meetings of the cell were held, in which policy options were considered and taken about Afghanistan. Its task was to analyse the available information and suggest policy options. The meetings were invariably presided over by the President and were attended by the Governor of the NWFP, the Director of ISI, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Federal Interior Minister and concerned officials from the defence ministry. From January to March 1979, the Soviet government blamed Pakistan for the troubles in Afghanistan, and gave several warnings to the government of Pakistan about intervening in the conflict.[37] The Soviet leaders paid very serious attention to the understanding of the causal factors for Afghanistan's rapid *denouement*, and attributed blame primarily to Pakistan as an agent of hostile countries. They claimed that counter-revolutionaries had fled to Pakistan and were receiving political, financial and military aid and "support from imperialist forces."[38] In the last days of 1979, Amin contacted Zia ul-Haq and offered him a deal: acceptance of the Durand Line by Afghanistan as its international frontier, in return for an end to Pakistan's support for the Amin regime's enemies. Zia, however, rejected this offer.[39]

2-1. Pakistan's Security After the Soviet Invasion

On the day when the first Soviet airborne and commando units landed at Kabul airport on December 1979, the Soviet threat to Pakistan's northern border emerged. There was evidence that after the military intervention in Afghanistan the Soviets would extend their influence and would be able to use Afghanistan as a base from which to destabilise Pakistan. Thus, the Soviet invasion presented Zia and his colleagues with Pakistan's most complicated and complex foreign policy problem, because the invasion increased Pakistan's enmity with the Soviet Union and its traditional Afghan adversary. On the other hand, the Afghan crisis placed the armed struggle of the superpowers on Pakistan's doorstep and its human impact and political consequences were more than devastating.

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[36] Bhabani Sengupta, **The Afghan Syndrome: How to Live with Soviet Power** (New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1982), p. 142.
[37] **The New York Times** (13 April 1979).
[38] Hafeez Malik, **Soviet-Pakistan Relations and Post Soviet Dynamics** (London: Macmillan, 1994), p. 262.
[39] See Raja Anwar, **The Tragedy of Afghanistan** (London: Verso, 1988), pp. 6-8

For Pakistan, the Soviet Union was an aggressive superpower, potentially willing to threaten Pakistan's security in the NWFP and Baluchistan. The lowest-level contingency that Pakistan faced as a consequence of the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan was the threat of Soviet-Afghan support to the insurgency and terrorism of extremist Pakhtuns or Baluchis against Pakistan. Many Pakistanis believed that their country would be the next target and Moscow would try to extend its influence beyond Afghanistan's borders. Pakistan's security came under enhanced threat. Its eastern border with India had seldom been tension-free and turmoil in Afghanistan made its western border also insecure. Rodney W. Jones described Pakistan as a "security deficit" state with inherent problems of defending itself militarily, should an outside attack be launched against it.[40] The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan posed a security problem of almost insuperable proportions for strategic planners in Islamabad. It meant that the country recognised as a buffer between the Soviet state and South Asia for nearly a century had disappeared. Pakistan was now confronted with the prospect of having to defend a 1400 miles long frontier against a superpower with superior military capability.[41] There was a possibility of Soviet aggression against Pakistan and consequent Soviet domination in Pakistan that would enable the Soviets to break the "capitalist encirclement" of its southern flank, give it access to the open ocean, liquidate an ally of both the US and China at one stroke and complete the link in the chain of pro-Soviet countries surrounding China.[42]

From the Pakistani perspective, after the Soviet invasion, Pakistan was facing a real threat to its security from its communist neighbour Afghanistan. In fact, Pakistan suffered a serious security setback and felt isolated in the region and deprived of the support of the stable, conservative and well-equipped Shah of Iran regime which had committed itself to assist Pakistan in case the latter's security was in jeopardy. In addition, there was the problem of a weak economy and critical defence needs if

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[40] See **Emirate News** (22 January 1980), p. 6; and Rodney W. Jones, "The Military and Security in Pakistan," in Craig Baxter (ed.)., **Zia's Pakistan: Politics and Stability in a Frontline State** (Boulder: Westview Press, 1985), p. 78.

[41] See **The Times** (31 December 1979), p. 1; see also Worbert Howard Wriggins, "Pakistan's Foreign Policy after Afghanistan", in Stephen P. Cohen, **The Security of South Asia: American and Asian Perspectives** (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987), p. 61.

[42] Anthony Arnold, "The Soviet Threat to Pakistan," in Theodore L. Eliot and Robert L. Pfaltzgaff Jr (ed.)., **The Red Army on Pakistan's Border: Policy Implication for the United States** (Washington: Pergammon-Brassey's Ltd., 1986), pp. 12-13.

Pakistan was to meet the Soviet challenge with a degree of confidence.[43] This security situation confronting Pakistan was captured by the *Pakistan Times* in the following words:

> Firstly, a contiguous and non-aligned country has been over-run. Secondly, while a traditionally buffer state has disappeared, a superpower has emerged our next door neighbour. Viewed against the background of India's Friendship Treaty with the Soviet Union to the total disregard of the subcontinent's integrity and security, the proximity is portentous. We are physically sandwiched.[44]

In this context, the military presence of a superpower in an adjoining state vitally affected Pakistan's national security interests. The US was also concerned about the possible consequences of the Soviet action on its security interests in the Persian Gulf region. Thus, the threats to Pakistan's geo-political and geo-strategic interests were, therefore, immediate and grave and found expression in its vigorous opposition to Soviet action. There was also the fear that India, as a Soviet proxy, would attack Pakistan with the objective of the destruction of Pakistan's armed forces or the seizure of a sizeable portion of its territory. Its political goal appeared to be the assertion of hegemony over South Asia and the achievement of dominant power status in the region.[45] There were chances that the Soviet Union could push together India and Afghanistan to mount a coordinated attack from the east and the west, with the purpose of dismembering Pakistan on ethnic lines. For this purpose, Moscow's aim was to cultivate insurgency and terrorism in the border provinces, achieve access to the sea and control Afghanistan's southern border, while India's goal was to undo partition once and for all.[46] As Peter Duncan, the Soviet expert on South Asian affairs remarked:

> India's hostility to Pakistan provided Moscow with a potential advantage. At times when the Soviet Union wished to put pressure on Pakistan to prevent it from aiding the Afghan resistance, it could hold out the threat of joint Soviet-Indian pressure on Pakistan on two fronts. However, difficult this would have been in practice, given India's jealous preservation of its independence, the threat of such

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[43] Richard P. Cronin, "Pakistan's Capabilities to Meet the Soviet Threat From Afghanistan," in Theodore L. Eliot, Jr and Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, Jr (ed.)., **The Red Army on Pakistan's Border: Policy Implications for the US** (Washington: Pergammon-Brassey's Ltd., 1986), p. 21.

[44] "Kabul and After," (Editorial) **Pakistan Times** (25 February 1980), p.4.

[45] Barry Buzan and Gowher Rizvi, **South Asian Insecurity and the Great Powers** (London: Macmillan, 1986), p. 149.

[46] Francis Fukuyama, **The Security of Pakistan: A Trip Report**, Rand Report N- 1584RC (Santa Monica: Rand Corporation, September, 1980), p. 19.

> pressure may have been a factor constraining Pakistan's actions in relations to Afghanistan.[47]

On 12 February 1980, the Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko, warned Pakistan that it would jeopardise its sovereignty if it continued acting as a "springboard" for US interests.[48] He told Zia, "you must understand that the Soviet Union will stand by Afghanistan."[49] The Soviet Union accused Pakistan of providing training and other facilities to the Afghan *mujahideen* and warned her of "unpredictable consequences."[50] Moscow condemned Islamabad in harsh terms, indicating that Pakistan was "hurting Soviet interests in the region."[51] In June 1980, the Taraki regime initiated the celebration of Pakhtunistan Day, recognised the Baluchistan People's Liberation Front (BPLF) and declared that the Pakistani Baluch ethnic community constitued a separate nation.[52] The PDPA regime lost its credibility in Islamabad, brought to an end relations between Islamabad and Kabul and destroyed the hope of settlement of the long-standing border dispute.[53] Moreover, the rapid increase in Soviet assistance to the Kabul government and in the number of Soviet military advisors assigned to the Afghan armed forces deepened anxieties in the minds of Pakistan policy makers because the Marxist regime once again started to exploit the Pakhtunistan issue.

From Pakistan's perspective, the Soviet seizures of the Wakhan Corridor in 1980 and the Indian move to the Siachen Glacier in northern Kashmir in 1984 were clear indications and practical evidence of the potential Indo-Soviet collaboration to dismember Pakistan.[54] The bigger danger Pakistan saw flowing from the Soviet invasion was a nibbling away in its tribal areas—an inflow of arms and money, particularly into Baluchistan—combined with "subversion of the mind." President Zia also acknowledged that in Baluchistan, for example, "the ground was ripe for seeds of

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[47] Peter J. S. Duncan, **The Soviet Union and India** (New York: Council on Foreign Relations Press, 1989), p. 110.

[48] **Pravda** (12 February 1980); **Dawn** (13 February 1980); and **Boston Globe** (13 February 1980).

[49] The Soviet News Agency **Tass**, (13 February 1980); **The New York Times** (14 February 1980); and also quoted in Peter Schweizer, **Victory: The Reagan Administration's Secret Strategy that Hastened the Collapse of the Soviet Union** (New York: The Atlantic Monthly Press, 1994), p. 129.

[50] Khalid Mahmud Arif, **Working With Zia: Pakistan's Power Politics 1977-1988**, p. 315.

[51] Ibid.

[52] After Noor Mohammad Taraki, Babrak Karmal also continue aggressive policy against Pakistan but latter he recognised it as "a great mistake" and then described Pakhtunistan as "strictly an internal issue for Pakistan." See Zalmay Khalilzad, **Security in Southern Asia: The Security of Southwest Asia** (Aldershot: Gower, 1984), p. 154; **The Pakistan Times** (26 June 1978); and Tariq Ali, **Can Pakistan Survive? The Death of a State** (London: Penguin Books, 1983), p. 195.

[53] Abdul Samad Ghaus, **The Fall of Afghanistan: An Insider's Account**, pp. 140-147

[54] Mahnaz Z. Ispahani, **Roads and Rivals: The Political Uses of Access in the Borderlands of Asia** (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1989), pp. 206-208.

subversion, because of deprivation and lack of resources."[55] He perceived the Soviet presence in Afghanistan as a great danger to Pakistan's overall geopolitical environment.[56] Pakistan was option-less and needed international material and moral support for the protection of Afghanistan's neutrality and to maintain its buffer status.

2-2. Zia's Response to the Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan

Zia's and his colleagues took the decision to get involved in the war because they saw it as militarily and economically profitable to Pakistan. For this purpose, Zia followed in the foot-steps of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and his Afghan policy was a continuation of Bhutto's policy. He used Bhutto's government-established guerrilla training camps and supply routes into Afghanistan to help the Islamists against the Communist regime.[57] In general, Pakistan's conception of the Soviet threat differed very significantly from the conception of the United States. It was realised that the Afghanistan war was a gravely threatening development for Pakistan and could have "far-reaching negative consequences."[58] However, the policy makers saw the Afghan war as exclusively Pakistan's war, founded first and foremost on a prudent regard for its own security and thought that "strong resistance would benefit Pakistan."[59] The leaders accepted the costs and the risk of hosting millions of Afghan refugees and their heavily armed resistance groups on the soil of Pakistan. For this purpose, Pakistan successfully bargained with the United States for support and assistance for its Afghan policy and eventually the US gave tangible assurance of its commitment to the Afghan *mujahideen* and to Pakistan's own national security. Thus, Pakistan adopted an independent approach towards the Afghan war and this policy differed from that of Washington, which sometimes delayed humanitarian aid to the Afghan *mujahideen* because of Pakistan's full control over the strategy and planning of the war.[60] It established a separate command and control system for combat planning, overt operations and arms supply. At the same time, Pakistan's policy makers used their diplomatic skills to maintain at least the appearance of non-alignment and avoided unnecessary provocation of the Soviets.

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[55] The Economist (26 January 1980), p. 46.
[56] Ibid.
[57] Bradsher, Afghanistan and the Soviet Union, p. 221.
[58] Ibid., p. 198.
[59] Ibid., p. 221.

The appearance of an unfriendly superpower at its doorstep created grave security concerns for the sovereignty of the country. In fact, many high-ranking military and foreign affairs officials privately told the US officials about Russia's expansionist ambitions. But the Carter Administration considered those alarms to be exaggerated, even though they were echoed by other regional leaders, notably in Egypt, Iran, Saudi Arabia and Oman. Whether out of genuine fear, or from a more cynical desire to exploit American fears, or most likely both, Zia repeatedly warned in the days and months after the Soviet invasion that in the absence of adequate aid and guarantees by the United States, Pakistan would accommodate itself to the new power equation in South Asia.[61] Interestingly, General Zia had kept President Carter informed about the serious situation in Afghanistan. Soon after the assassination of President Daoud, Zia wrote a letter to Carter conveying his deep concern to America about the danger in Afghanistan and its implications for the region. But the Carter administration dismissed Pakistan's apprehensions as overreaction.[62] In reality, since the 1978 Saur Revolution, Pakistani officials had been warning, in sometimes apocalyptic terms, that the Soviets were seeking hegemony in South Asia and were a direct threat to Pakistan and other states in the region.[63] Evidence from CIA Archives in the Tehran embassy proved Pakistan's anxiety and disclosed that the Carter administration had deliberately avoided reacting to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan because Carter did not wish to disturb the détente process.[64] An article, "Secret From CIA," claimed that the Afghanistan invasion might have been averted but it was low in the priorities of the Carter administration and only gained importance because domestic political pressures for a hard line against the Soviet Union were far stronger than the Carter's détente policy. The article noted that five months before the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, Moscow had used diplomatic contacts to convey its intentions to the United States to test its reaction.[65] It also mentioned that the Carter administration did not react publicly to the

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[60] David B. Ottaway, "Pakistan is Said to Delay US Aid to Afghan Rebels," **The Washington Post** (7 October 1986), p. A1b.

[61] Khalid Mahmud Arif, **Working With Zia: Pakistan's Power Politics**, p. 317.

[62] Ibid.

[63] Shirin Tahir-Kheli, **The United States and Pakistan: The Evolution of an Influence Relationship** (New York: Praeger, 1982), pp. 73-76; and see Bhabani Sen Gupta, **The Afghan Syndrome:How to Live with Soviet Power** (New Delhi: Vikas, 1982), pp. 18-20.

[64] The archives of the CIA and the State Department documents held in the US Embassy in Tehran (Iran) had been seized by Iran in 1980. It was the most serious loss of secret documents in the US diplomatic history. Most of the material of these documents was published in local Iranian news papers in the Persian language and they disclosed secrets belonging to the Afghan crisis. See more details in **Hamshahri** (13 February and 24 March 1980); **Iran-e-Varzeshi** (8 July to 22 September 1980); and **Tehran Times** (4 March to 16 June 1980); and see Khalid Mahmud Arif, **Working With Zia: Pakistan's Power Politics**, p. 317.

[65] Ibid.

Soviet military invasion and Washington's silence was presumably taken by Moscow as a sign that the US had accepted Afghanistan as part of Moscow's "legitimate" sphere of influence in the region. The soft US reaction was seen as a green signal for Soviet military action to prevent the breakdown of law and order in its client state.[66]

One senior military officer told an American friend after the Soviet invasion, "You see, this is what I have been telling you and now it's come true. You Americans do not seem to understand the world anymore. Next comes the Finlandisation of Pakistan, and subversion of our country by the Russians, but your people in Washington do not care."[67] In January 1980 Zia told an American reporter, "If you live in the sea you have to learn to swim with the whales."[68] Four months later, he warned that Pakistan would adopt a position of non-alignment between the superpowers unless the US demonstrated that it was "genuinely committed" to blocking further expression in the area. The US Administration was subjected to withering criticism from Pakistani media and intellectuals for its soft and isolated policy.[69]

Domestically, Zia's government faced criticism for its hesitancy to deal with the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan.[70] The majority of the people supported Zia's Afghan policy because they disliked the Soviet Union's Godless ideology and its friendship with India. In this regard, the religious parties were at the forefront of the support for their Islamic coreligionists across the border. Many scholars and experts throughout the Afghan war viewed Zia's Afghan policy as convincing, purposeful and achievement oriented.[71] Moreover, senior Pakistani bureaucrats remarked that the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan was unprecedented, vastly increasing the threat to Pakistan, although hopes were also expressed that Pakistan might avoid involvement in

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[66] See Globe (London) May 1988; and K. M. Arif, Working With Zia: Pakistan's Power Politics, p. 317.

[67] Richard Nixon, The Real War, paperback, (New York: Warner Books, 1981), p. 12.

[68] See Tahir-Kheli, The United States and Pakistan, p. 101; and Michael Howard, "Return to the Cold War?," Foreign Affairs, No. 59 (America and the World, 1980), pp. 464-466.

[69] The media and scholars criticised the US Administration's "wait and see" policy and perceived that America had compromised with the Soviet Union to keep out of the Afghan situation and Pakistan would be totally at the mercy of the Soviet and its ally, India. See Dawn, (28 March 1982); The Muslim, (14 August 1983); and The Frontier Post, (February 1983).

[70] The New York Times (13 January 1980).

[71] See discussion of Riaz Kohar, Qazi Hamyu, Akram Zaki and S. K. Delhvi about the Soviet intervention and the role of Pakistan in Daily Urdu special edition Jang, Rawalpindi (15 April 1980); "Why Pakistan Must Support to Afghan *Mujahideen*," See discussion of on Afghanistan war: Professor Rafiq (University of the Punjab); Khawaja Amjad Saeed (University of the Punjab); Riaz Pracha (Diplomat); Balal Sufi (Lawyer); Shmeem Ahmad (Business man) Ishfaq Ahmad (Intellectual); and Mushtaq Ahmad (Student Leader), Daily Urdu Nawa-I-Waqt (Lahore), Weekly Forum for discussion about Afghan war (23 March 1981).

superpower conflict.[72] Strategists agreed that the region was entering a period of turmoil and this situation would increase Pakistan's security problems. Some argued that after capturing Afghanistan, the Soviets would move to the Iranian port of Chah Bahar on the Arabian Sea and then around Pakistan's own Baluchistan coast of Gwader.[73] The US observers also invoked the frightening spectre of an aggressive and expansionist Soviet Union bent on extending its influence to the warm waters of the Persian Gulf region.[74] On the other hand, Pakistan wanted to become just strong enough to make the Soviet Union think twice about the cost of an invasion—and to hold them off long enough for its allies to come to its aid.

In the circumstances, there were limited choices for Pakistan to formulate a pragmatic Afghan policy. General Zia assigned responsibility to five civilian and military officers: Agha Shahi (Foreign Minister), Lieutenant General (Retd) Shahbzada Yaqub Khan, Qazi Hamyun (Ambassador in Afghanistan), Lieutenant General Akhtar Abdur Rahman (Director ISI), and General Khalid Mahmud Arif (Chief of Army Staff) to prepare a draft Afghan policy in consultation with other senior officials, intellectuals, scholars, academics, practitioners and strategists, highlighting the options available to Pakistan.[75] Four possibilities were identified:

- to counter the Soviet military adventurism by open and full support to the Afghan *mujahideen*, despite the risks involved;

- to accept the *fait accompli*, as Pakistan lacked the capacity to challenge the Soviet Union;

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[72] In the 1980s Pakistan announced its four-point Afghan policy: (1) unconditional and immediate withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan; (2) the restoration of Afghanistan's independence and nonaligned status; (3) the right of government for their own choice; and (4) the creation of the necessary conditions to enable the Afghan refugees to return to their homes with honour and dignity. Pakistan's position was supported by the Organisation of Islamic Conference (OIC) and on the 7th plenary session of the UN General Assembly adopted a resolution in support of the Afghan people and demanded a permanent solution of the Afghanistan problem.

[73] Francis Fukuyama, **The Security of Pakistan: A Trip Report** (Santa Monica: Rand Corporation, September 1980), p. 31.

[74] Ibid., pp. 7-23; and see Lawrence Ziring, "Soviet Policy on the Rim of Asia: Scenarios and Projections," **Asian Affairs**, Vol. 9, No. 3 (January-February 1982), pp. 135-46.

[75] The Afghan Committee also consulted many other high officials, including Deputy Chief of Army Staff, Lt. General Mohammad Iqbal Khan, the Chief of Naval Staff, Admiral Karamat Rahman Niazi; Air Chief Marshal Mohammad Anwar Shamim; Governor of the NWFP General Fazal Haq; Sahabzada Yakub Ali Khan; Ghlum Ishak Khan; Professor Khurshid Ahmad (Vice President of the Jama' at-i-Islami) and many senior bureaucrats and intellectuals. See **Dawn** (8 July 1980); Daily Urdu paper **Jang**, Rawalpindi (15 September 1980); and **Jasarat**, Karachi (28 November 1980).

- to gain international support against the Soviet action in the United Nations, the Islamic Conference and the Non-Aligned Movement without aligning Pakistan on either side in the superpower balance;

- to provide overt political, diplomatic and humanitarian support to the refugees with covert assistance to the *mujahideen* through United States military and economic aid.[76]

In fact, no option was cost-free. Meanwhile, the situation in Afghanistan was becoming worse day by day, and the battle around the borders had already begun. Some policy makers considered that if the Soviet Union succeeded in consolidating its control over Afghanistan, it would put itself into a perfect position from which to threaten Pakistan's vital interests. There was a chance that India and the Soviet Union would use Afghanistan as a base to destabilise Pakistan. It was perceived that this situation would give the Soviets total dominance over the maritime approaches to Karachi and Gwader (Baluchistan).

The doves and anti-American elements (nationalists and pro-Moscow Communists) in Pakistan argued that it was dangerous for Pakistan to risk its own security for the sake of America, or even a Muslim country. They argued that any type of reaction from Pakistan would provoke the Soviet Union and its allies, Afghanistan and India, to attack Pakistan. They also argued that the United States was an unreliable friend because it had done nothing for Pakistan in the past and always provided strategic advantages to India. These were sound arguments which it was difficult to ignore, but nor was it possible to escape the realisation that the danger posed to Pakistan's national security could not be averted by a policy of appeasement.

Pakistan refused to accept the inevitability of the emerging Afghan situation. The doves' approach of "wait and see" seemed dangerous and likely to damage the country's vital interest. On the other hand, any mistake could transcend territorial frontiers and engulf Pakistan. Moreover, it was unethical to acquiesce in an unjust and

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[76] Khalid Mahmud Arif, **Working With Zia: Pakistan's Power Politics**, p. 314; and see Agha Shahi, **Pakistan's Security and Foreign Policy** (Lahore: Progressive Publishers, 1988), p. 50.

unprincipled action. The option of seeking diplomatic support from the international community and the United Nations without alignment with the great powers seemed attractive, but was thought to be not enough to prevent Soviet pressure. Thus, hawks in Pakistan suggested that Pakistan must treat the Soviet invasion not as a peripheral conflict in a faraway place but as a crucial battle in the competition with Moscow. This was the best available chance for Pakistan to meet the emerging geopolitical environment of the region. Agha Shahi claimed that:

> The emotional urge to demonstrate Islamic solidarity in full measure had to be restrained as a military solution to the problem was out of the question. The withdrawal of the Soviet forces lay in mobilising the force of international public opinion and concerting political and diplomatic pressure against the Soviet military intervention. It was not possible without the constructive help of the superpower which was committed to prevent the spread of communism.[77]

As a matter of fact, the last option was Pakistan's ultimate choice and the best way to serve its foreign policy interests, because neither the Muslim countries nor China were in a position to provide a full guarantee of its security and protection. The only hope left for Pakistan was the United States. Although relations between the US and Pakistan were at first not very satisfactory, later, the Pakistani leadership formed a strong partnership with the Reagan administration which demonstrated its commitment by vastly expanding its economic and military assistance to Pakistan. Zia consistently maintained this option as a successful instrument of diplomacy to counter Soviet pressure. His government exploited Pakistan's geopolitical significance and decided that it was in the interest of Pakistan to gain benefits from Afghan crisis. Zia became an international statesman as he led Pakistan from diplomatic isolation to the international arena. Zia expressed Pakistan's "gravest concern" over the Soviet intervention and he was quoted in early 1980 in remarkably direct terms:

> If Pakistan cannot defend itself, then Pakistan has no bloody right to exist. Short of getting foreign troops on Pakistani soil, the allies and friends of Pakistan must help us to stand on our own feet, economically and militarily.[78]

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[77] Ibid., pp. 50-51.
[78] The Economist (26 January 1980), p. 45.

The Pakistani leader was quoted elsewhere as saying that he viewed the invasion as a "direct threat" to the security of Pakistan and others in the region and as "part of a grand Soviet design to establish hegemony in South Asia."[79] Such fears, which the Pakistanis had been expressing for some time, gained credibility and engendered a newly sympathetic American response after fears for Pakistan's security were deepened by the invasion of Afghanistan, which seemed to give retrospective credence to the litany of alarums that had been issuing from Islamabad. Moreover, Pakistan was not in a position to oppose the Soviet Union single-handedly because of its limited capabilities and resources. Pakistan found itself in a state of relative isolation and therefore, was dependent on both the US and China to meet the challenge. The fear of provoking the Soviet Union prevented the decision-makers in Pakistan from undertaking any action unilaterally that would attract reprisals. Pakistan was alone successful in mobilising the support of the international community. At the sixth emergency special session of the UN General Assembly on 11 January 1980, Pakistan urged the world body to issue a unanimous call for "the immediate, unconditional and total withdrawal of the foreign troops from Afghanistan."[80] The resolution indicting the Soviet Union was passed by an overwhelming majority of the member states. Pakistan also used its credentials as an Islamic state to gain support from the Muslim world. Pakistan scored a remarkable victory at the extraordinary session of the foreign ministers of thirty-seven Islamic countries held at Islamabad in January 1980. Zia -ul Haq urged the Islamic countries to send an "unequivocal message to the Soviet Union conveying the grave concern of the Islamic world at the presence of the Soviet troops in Afghanistan and call on it to reverse the course of its military invasion." He also suggested that the Muslim *Ummah* must devise ways and means for "collective defence" of the Muslim nations.[81] Pakistan was successful in transforming Afghanistan into a pan-Islamic issue and skilfully used its strength in the Muslim countries to put pressure on the Soviet Union. President Zia highlighted the gravity of the situation for the entire region. He stated:

> It is not a regional matter. It is now a global problem. The Soviet Union is a superpower and to any action or reaction of a superpower there must be a global response.[82]

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[79] Sen Gupta, **The Afghan Syndrome**, p. 19.
[80] See **Pakistan Times** (14 January 1980), p. 5.
[81] **Pakistan Times** (28 January 1980), p. 1.
[82] **The Hindu** (7 February 1980), p. 1.

2-3. The Islamic Factor

Pakistan played the Islamic card to counter the Soviet aggression in Afghanistan and viewed its occupation of Afghanistan as an ideological confrontation between resurgent Islam and a Godless creed. The Zia government described the Soviet action as being "to crush the Muslim rebels, who stood unbent in defiance of the Communist polity."[83] Thus, the Afghan crisis was juxtaposed within the larger context of an attack on the Islamic *Ummah*. Islam was the issue and the fear of an Islamic revolt in the republics of the Soviet Central Asia bordering Afghanistan was widely argued to be the motivating force behind the Soviet intervention. The Islamic underpinnings of Pakistani national identity were evident in its assistance to the *mujahideen* groups. Their anti-Marxist ideological orientation and adherence to Islam attracted the support and sympathy of Zia's government. Peshawar based *mujahideen* groups in Pakistan were the largest and were granted recognition by the government of Pakistan.[84] In fact, the hospitality extended to the Afghan refugees was also defined in terms of Islamic brotherhood. Pakistan was duty bound to extend shelter and support to the masses fleeing persecution for their stand against communism. Pakistan also saw the imposition of communism as an assault on Afghanistan's Islamic creed and the elites of Pakistan feared that if the Soviets succeeded in Afghanistan, the next target would be Pakistan. Referring to the question of the Palestine, Afghanistan and Somalia-Ethiopia disputes, President Zia asked, "why was it that all these disputes involved Muslim countries?"[85]

2-4. Violation of the Non-Alignment Principle

The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan was a total violation of the latter's non-aligned and independent status. For Pakistan, the Soviet military occupation in Afghanistan was tantamount to the absorption of a small, defenceless and non-aligned country by a great power. Soviet military adventurism was considered a violation of the norms of peaceful co-existence and the principle of sovereignty of states and non-interference in their

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[83] Z. A. Suleri, "Islam is the Issue," **Pakistan Times** (26 January 1980), p. 4; and see also Martin Woolacott, "Pakistan is already fighting a war - against itself," **The Guardian** (London: 13 August 1999), p. 16.

[84] Pervaz Iqbal Cheema, "The Afghanistan Crisis and Pakistan's Security Dilemma," **Asian Survey**, No. 23 (March 1983), p. 231; see also Tahir Amin, "Mujahideen Groups and Their Social Bases," **Asian Survey**, No. 24 (April 1984), p. 380.

[85] See **Dawn** (Karachi) (7 October 1987), p. 10.

internal affairs integral to non-alignment.[86] In refuting the Soviet argument that the action was justified because it could not allow Afghanistan to be turned into a beach-head for aggression against itself, the Foreign Minister of Pakistan, Agha Shahi, stated:

> On this pretext any country, even the most exemplary of non-aligned nations, could become a victim of armed intervention from a powerful neighbour. What confidence can be placed by the non-aligned world in assurance by great powers to respect their sovereignty, national independence and territorial integrity and to eschew aggression, military invasion and armed intervention in the pursuit of their competition and rivalry for spheres of influence and strategic gains?[87]

The principle of non-alignment was used as an instrument against the Soviet military action and to justify Pakistan's opposition to the Soviet invasion. Afghanistan had not only been outside the Soviet bloc but had maintained its non-aligned credentials, despite its close relations with the Soviet Union. In this circumstance, Pakistan felt compelled to protest, not only as a matter of principle but out of concern for its immediate national interests. Pakistan felt threatened by the Soviet invasion and this threat was operationalised with respect to its geo-strategic interests and matters of domestic security. Thus, for Pakistan, the Soviet action was a question not only of external threat but of its vulnerability to attempts at destabilisation from within, that were taken into account at the time of crisis initiation. The unavoidable burden imposed by the Afghan refugees magnified the threat factor propelling Pakistan towards a position of unremitting opposition. Pakistan exploited the Islamic dimension of the issue and non-alignment as an instrument to bolster its position and to contain the Soviet military action.

3. Zia's Support to Afghan *Mujahideen*

Zia's government decided to take an active role to counter the Soviet military invasion of Afghanistan. The regime's actions seem to have been motivated increasingly by concern for the motives of Moscow. Before the Soviet invasion, Afghanistan had never been capable of putting the Durand Line in serious jeopardy but the Soviet military adventurism showed its expansionist ambitions and Pakistan's dispute with Afghanistan immediately turned into a major security threat to its territorial

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[86] A. W. Singham and S. Hune, **Non-Alignment in an Age of Alignments** (London: Zed Books Ltd, 1986), pp. 14-15.

[87] Statement by Agha Shahi before the General Assembly, **Pakistan Times** (14 January 1980), p. 4.

sovereignty. The Soviet threat to Pakistan clearly jeopardised not only Western but also Pakistani interests in the Gulf region.

Initially, Pakistan decided to counter the Soviet threat by its own limited resources and it provided modest levels of covert assistance to the *mujahideen* resistance movement to fight against the Communist regime in Afghanistan. For this purpose, Zia's regime had to exert pressure without attracting direct military action against itself. Pakistan provided sanctuaries to Afghan *mujahideen* at the risk of possible Soviet retaliation. Later, Pakistan served as a pipeline for arms to the Afghan *mujahideen* groups operating inside Afghanistan.[88] Pakistan's clandestine aid to the *mujahideen* eventually grew so massive that it became virtually impossible to conceal.[89] The ISI not only served as the conduit for arms to *mujahideen* groups but also operated training camps, provided logistical support and orchestrated the Afghan war. It provided unrestricted access to the refugee camps for recruitment and almost complete freedom of movement across the international border. In this way, Pakistan was potentially able to transform its reputation from international rogue to "Good Samaritan."[90] The *mujahideen* served as the instrument of Pakistan's confrontational strategy against the Soviet Union and the Kabul regime. Moreover, Afghan *mujahideen* groups enjoyed intensified covert material and moral assistance from Pakistan, to continue the insurgency in Afghanistan.

Zia ul-Haq successfully mobilised the international community against the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and showed willingness to act as the principal conduit for arms supplies from Egypt, Israel, China, Britain and the United States to the *mujahideen*.[91] Initially, the CIA established its biggest facilities in Egypt for Afghan rebels and most of the weapons to the Afghan resistance flowed through Cairo. Egypt was a key supplier, with Pakistan as the principal conduit. This connection was revealed when

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[88] Mahanaz Z. Isaphani, **Pakistan: Dimensions of Insecuirty** (London: Prassey's Ltd., 1989), pp. 74-76.

[89] The Soviets claimed that Islamabad was the backbone of the Afghan rebels and providing military support to them. Pakistan denied those charges but continued its help for the guerrilla struggle till the Soviet decision to withdraw from Afghanistan. See Robert G. Wirsing, **Pakistan's Security Under Zia 1977-1988**, p. 54.

[90] The term "Good Samaritan" stands today as a symbol of the great community spirit of Knox County citizens. It is a living tribute to the efforts of countless men and women who, through the years, have given of themselves for relief of human suffering. Thus, Good Samaritan Hospital first opened its doors in February 1908, to humble beginnings as a 25-bed facility. It is now considered to be a well respected, regional referral medical complex with an operating complement of over 260 beds, serving southwestern Indiana and southeastern Illinois in the United States.

President Anwar Sadat [shortly before his death 6 October 1981] made known to a foreign correspondent that Egypt was funnelling Soviet type light weapons by way of Pakistan to aid the *mujahideen* and also provided training to thousands Afghan *mujahideen* in Cairo and Aswan military academies in the use of Soviet weapons.[92]

The anti-Soviet-Kabul forces operations were under the command of Lieutenant General Akhtar Abdul Rahman Khan (Director General of the ISI) who was the right hand of Zia ul-Haq and was the key figure in the formulation of the country's Afghan policy.[93] The ISI acquired vast new powers from its role in funnelling as much as $2.5 billion worth of US arms and equipment to the Afghan *mujahideen* to use against Soviet forces in Afghanistan. The CIA transported weapons to Pakistan, mostly by sea to the port of Karachi and then the ISI loaded the cargo onto heavily guarded trains, which carried it to Islamabad, Peshawar and the border town of Quetta. Peshawar, the provincial capital of Pakistan's NWFP was the principal conduit for external weapons, especially small arms and ammunition. Once the weapons had arrived in Pakistan, the ISI took custody. It transported most of the containers to warehouses near Rawalpindi (Ojhri camp, the headquarter of the ISI's Afghanistan unit); others went to the areas which were near to Afghanistan border. From there, the weapons were trucked to depots controlled by *mujahideen* groups in the border region. The ISI established "more than 100 depots" for weapons in Afghanistan and Pakistan and used "more than two hundred different routes" to supply weapons to the *mujahideen* groups.[94] The CIA paid for these transport expenses through monthly deposits into special accounts in Pakistan. Thus, most of the weapons were distributed to the Afghan *mujahideen* through the ISI and they also provided transport facilities to supply arms to the relevant places. The ISI formed links with private businessmen among both Afghans and Pakistani Pakhtuns for the distribution of weapons to Afghan rebels through the tribal

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[91] See John G. Merriam, "Arms shipments to the Afghan Resistance," in Grant M. Farr and John G. Merriam (eds.)., **Afghan Resistance: The Politics of Survival** (Boulder: Westview, 1987), pp. 71-101.

[92] The United States, UK, Pakistan, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Iran and China were the potential suppliers of military assistance to Afghan *mujahideen*. See Milton Leitenberg, "United States Foreign Policy and the Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan," **Arms Control** (December 1986), p. 280.

[93] Lieutenant General Akhtar Abdul Rahman Khan, in 1987 appointed Chairman of the Joint Chief Staff Committee, was among those who were killed with Zia in the crash of the C-130 aircraft in August 1988.

[94] **Izvestiya** (4 October 1984), p. 54, in FBIS/SU (9 October 1985), pp. D1-3; **Le Monde** (11 May 1985), p. 5, in FBIS/SA (15 May 1985), p. C2; and see Henry S. Bradsher, **Afghanistan and the Soviet Union**, new and expanded ed., (Durham: Duke University Press, 1985), p. 277.

territories.[95] The ISI also set percentage allocations for each party and approximately 80 percent of the weapons were sent to the parties for distribution to the commanders. The rest continued to go directly to the commandos for special operations determined by the ISI or as rewards for participating in training, but these weapons still counted towards the party's total allocation. However, most of the weapons were distributed to the *mujahideen* groups on the basis of their performance in Afghanistan.

In 1981 and 1982, General Akhtar and William Casey, the Director of the CIA, exchanged visits, approved the psychological warfare plans against the Soviet Union and established a direct "hotline" link between the CIA and the ISI to share information and intelligence data on the Soviet activities in Afghanistan.[96] In this regard, General Zia set the policy guidelines and General Akhtar did the ground work. The CIA also provided technical and operational training to the ISI personals to effectively deal with the Afghan war.[97] Both the CIA and the ISI worked together closely on operational, logistical, intelligence and training in weapons for the insurgents and on coordinating Chinese, Saudi Arabian, Egyptian, Libyan and Kuwaiti aid.[98] However, the CIA handed over management and lodging of covert programmes to the ISI to provide military support to the Afghan *mujahideen*. The resistance was divided into hundreds of groups, all of which were under the supervision of the ISI military command.

During 1982-83, a KH-11 CIA spy satellite was diverted from its regular orbit to gather more intelligence on Afghanistan. The satellite intelligence came weekly, to keep the ISI aware of Soviet manoeuvres and operations. At the same time, other spy satellites had their gaze redirected as the US worldwide net of electronic intelligence was collectively shifted to gather information relevant to the Afghan war. The National Security Agency (NSA) was recasting its electronic eavesdropping assets to

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[95] The transport of weapons was extremely expensive; in 1986 it cost $15-20 per kilogram to move supplies from Pakistan to north Afghanistan, amounting to about $1,100 for one mortar or $65 for one bomb. The total delivery costs ran to $1.5 million per month all these expenses were paid by the United States CIA and Saudi Red Crescent, both of which maintained offices near to the Pak-Afghan border area.

[96] Khalid Mahmud Arif, **Working With Zia: Pakistan's Power Politics**, p. 319.

[97] Peter Schweizer, **Victory: The Reagan Administration's Secret Strategy that Hastened the Collapse of the Soviet Union** (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1994), p. 152; **The New York Times** (25 & 27 November 1984), p. 10A and 7A.

[98] See Leslie H. Gelb, "US Aides Put 85 Arms supplies to Afghan Rebels at 280 million", **The New York Times** (27 November 1984); and Bob Woodward & Carles R. Babcock, "US Aid to Afghan Musgrooms: Questions Increase With Size of Covert Aid Plan," **The Washington Post** (13 January 1985).

concentrate for the first time on Afghanistan and Soviet Central Asia.[99] The NSA technicians were monitoring military aircraft communications all around air bases in the Soviet Union.[100] The NSA and the CIA supplied the ISI and the *mujahideen* with an array of advanced burst communicators—virtually impossible for the Soviet army to intercept. This new equipment helped greatly in the coordination of resistance operations. Moreover, the CIA deployed high powered electronic radar systems in Peshawar, Chitral (NWFP), Chagai and Quetta (Baluchistan) to monitor the Soviet activities inside Afghanistan.[101] In addition, they used surveillance aircraft which were flown by American pilots to protect Pakistani airspace and to watch the Soviets' moves in the region. At the same time, the KGB planned to counter the US intelligence and strategic defence satellite system in Pakistan. For this purpose, the Soviets rapidly deployed SS-20 (Scud missiles), which have a range of 3,000 miles. These were stationed in underground missile bases in the strategic Wakhan Corridor.[102] This northeastern finger of Afghan territory was a few miles from the Karakoram highway connecting Pakistan and China. According to Western strategists, it was possible that the Soviets would attack Pakistan to destroy Afghan *mujahideen* bases and cut off the Karakoram highway, which was wide enough for heavy tank traffic.[103] In the circumstances, Pakistan felt vulnerable to a Soviet missile threat. Thus, it became imperative for Pakistan's defence planners to activate openly the American strategic connection. Zia's government made an "urgent request for American military protection" and the US provided Airborne Early Warning Systems to Pakistan which helped it combat intrusions into its territory. The Americans also deployed some medium range nuclear bombers, ground troops and aircraft carriers[104] supported from an American base at Mekran and Gwadar (Baluchistan) to enhance American capabilities against the Soviet Union.[105] The American military presence in Pakistan

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[99] Peter Schweizer, Victory: The Reagan Administration's Secret Strategy that Hastened the Collapse of the Soviet Union, p. 230.

[100] Ibid., p. 231.

[101] Washington Post (5 July 1989).

[102] Christina Dameyer, "The Myth of a Soviet Withdrawal from Afghanistan," Middle East Insight (January/February 1988), pp. 38-39.

[103] Ibid.

[104] Zalmay Khalilzad, "Afghanistan: Anatomy of a Soviet Failure," The National Interest No. 2 (Summer 1988), pp. 102-109; and see Herbert L. Sawyer, Soviet Perception of the Oil Factor in US Foreign Policy: The Middle East Persian Gulf Region (Boulder: Westview Press, 1983), pp. 78-83.

[105] The Mekran coast holds a historical strategic position as the most direct route between the Perisan Gulf and the Indian ocean. Towards the beginning of the 16th century the Portuguese found their way to India via the coast. It was not until the 19th century, however, that the British got interested in this area, during the time of the First Afghan War in 1838. An expedition was sent into the area to pave the way for the building of the Indo-European telegraph line, which passed through Makran. On its completion in 1863, Major Goldsmith was posted to Gwadar as Assistant Political Agent. In 1872 a firm boundary between Persia and British Baluchistan was established and Makran became a part of

was sharply criticised by the Soviet Union, whose spokesman accused the United States of seeking to replace Iran with Pakistan as America's principal regional surrogate. The Soviets expressed alarm over and warned against efforts by the United States to acquire air facilities and ultimately to deploy medium range nuclear bombers and ground forces in Pakistan.[106]

During the Afghan war, Zia allowed the CIA to funnel growing amounts of para-military support to the Afghanistan rebels through Pakistan. President Zia went out of his way to emphasise the importance of the Afghan freedom fighters to Pakistan's own security and said: "*Today it is Afghanistan, but tomorrow it may be Pakistan. They are buying time for Pakistan*."[107] Zia allowed the CIA to build their clandestine station in Islamabad, which was one of the biggest in the world.[108] Zia had acquired powerful leverage in his dealing with the United States by agreeing in 1982 to permit the installation of US electronic monitoring facilities in northern border areas adjacent to Soviet Central Asian missile testing and anti-satellite launch sites. The CIA also provided technical services and specialists for the protection of Zia and his closest advisers. Agency officials were brought into Islamabad to strengthen security and assess the procedures being used to protect Zia.[109] During 1984-1985, when the Soviet army was becoming stronger against the Afghan *mujahideen*, William Casey (CIA Director) asked Zia to allow the ISI to use regular army soldiers to fight the war against the Soviet Union in Afghanistan. This was an extraordinarily shrewd move, as the ISI used more than 25,000 Pakistan army soldiers to stop the continued advance of the Soviet-Kabul forces in Afghanistan and to protect the *mujahideen* sanctuaries and targets inside Pakistan.[110] Pakistan's infantry, tank, armoured units and SSG commandos carried out many military operations in the mountainous terrain of Afghanistan to counter the Soviet moves against the *mujahideen*.[111] As Henry Bradsher mentioned, "special units of the Pakistani army had conducted operations into

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the British Empire. Later, after the creation of Pakistan in 1947, it became a part of Pakistan. See David Winder, "Pakistan Security after Soviet-Afghan Aggression," **Christian Science Monitor** (4 April 1987), p. 6.

106 Sawyer suggests that the Soviets were also concerned about the introduction of American nuclear weapons (medium range bombers) into Pakistan, which would have created a new threat and new complications for Soviet defence planning. See Herbert L. Sawyer, **Soviet Perception of the Oil Factor in US Foreign Policy: The Middle East Persian Gulf Region**, pp. 78-83.

107 **The Pakistan Times** (8 February 1980).

108 Bob Woodward, **Veil: The Secret Wars of the CIA 1981-87** (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1987), p. 311.

109 Peter Schweizer, **Victory: The Reagan Administration's Secret Strategy**, p. 176.

110 **Kabul Radio** (24 September 1984); **Komsomolaya Pravda** (26 February 1984); and **New York Times** (20 March 1985), p. 10A.

Afghanistan, and that in one case on 25 July 1984 a forty-man commando unit crossed the border to carry out sabotage and terrorist activities and provided assistance to the Afghan *mujahideen.*[112] In fact, it would not have been possible for the *mujahideen* alone to beat the Soviet-Kabul forces and direct involvement by Pakistan's armed forces was an essential factor which gave confidence to the *mujahideen.* Thus, the Pakistan army improved the *mujahideen's* position against the Soviet military units and the *mujahideen* conducted successful guerrilla operations against Soviet and Afghan forces.[113] Although the Soviet leader, Mikhail Gorbachev, warned Zia not to use Pakistani forces and not to allow the *mujahideen* sanctuary inside Pakistan, Zia's government remained steadfast in its support of the Afghan resistance forces.[114] They scored impressive victories throughout Afghanistan, ambushing enemy posts, attacking strategic positions, cutting off communication lines and blowing up ammunition dumps. Kabul, the capital of Afghanistan, continued under repeated rocket fire, while large swathes of territory in the northern and the eastern part were controlled by the *mujahideen.* Prior to the Geneva Accords, speaking of the *mujahideen* role in the Afghan war, President Zia gave an assessment of the reasons behind the Soviet withdrawal and said:

> I believe it is getting very expensive for them, for given the loss of human lives and the losses among Soviet troops, we can say that the cost has become extraordinarily high.[115]

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[111] See **Pravda** (18 June 1984); **Washington Post** (7 August 1985); and **LeMonde** (23 November 1986).

[112] Henry S. Bradsher, **Afghanistan and the Soviet Union**, p. 277; and **Izvestiya** (19 February 1985), quoted by **Tass** (19 February 1985); and **Krasnaya Zvezda** (28 November 1984), p. 3 in FBIS/SU (4 December 1984), pp. D3-5.

[113] The Soviet sources confirmed that, indirectly, Pakistan's ground forces participated in the Afghan war to help the rebels and to prevent the Soviet advance. During the task they wore Afghan dress. The Soviets officials claim that Pakistani forces operated at night and the rebels took over position during the day time. The KGB's Directorate, throughout the war, gave its agents the task of catching Pakistani soldiers but it was difficult at midnight in the mountains. See **Izvestiya** (19 February 1985); **Tass** (19 February 1985); **Krasnaya Zvezda** (28 November 1984), p. 3, in FBIS/SU (4 December 1984), pp. D3-5; **Moscow Radio** (24 February 1985), in FBIS/SU (25 February 1985), p. CC7. For an interview with Col. Mohammad Rahim (7th Afghan Army Division) confirmed that Pakistan's ground and air force were helping the Afghan mujahideen; Maulvi Mohammad Siddiqullah (Hizb-i-Islami (Hakmatyar Group - Commander of Jalalabad), Peshawar on 11-12 April 2000; Allaladin (Jamiat-i-Islami -Rabbani Group -Commander of Herat); and see "Pakistan Army and AfghanWar," Gulbudin Hekmatyar interview in **Indian Express** (13 August 1991); **Kabul Radio** (7 March 1984); **Tass** (18 August 1983); and **Komsomolaya Pravda** (26 February 1984).

[114] Melinda Liu, "A Time of Terror: Kabul's Campaign to Crush the Afghan Resistance takes a toll on Pakistan," **Newsweek** (13 April 1985), pp. 9-11.

[115] Zia ul-Haq on Afghan "Interim Government," Mainz ZDF Television Network, (28 December 1987), reported in FBIS-NES-87-249, (29 December 1987), p. 63.

Zia's government allowed the US to use Pakistan Air Force facilities in Karachi and Quetta for US military intelligence aircraft engaged in submarine surveillance in the Gulf and the Indian Ocean, a theatre incidental to rebel requirements in the Afghan conflict. The regular use of Karachi's Mauripur airbase by P3 Orion aircraft, disclosed in 1986, was the first access allowed to the US military since Gary Powers' U2 spy plane was shot down over the Soviet Union after takeoff from Peshawar in 1962. According to the *New York Times*, the CIA provided technical services and specialists to train Pakistani armed forces personnel to use sensitive military instruments including the best automatic weapons, handguns, high-tech night vision equipment, advanced communication equipment, advanced techniques in perimeter defence of important places and intelligence services.[116] According to the *Economist*, the US assistance to the Afghanistan resistance increased from $75 million in 1983 to $470 million annually in 1986, and totalled about $947 million in these four years.[117] The *Washington Post* estimated that the US and Saudi Arabia ploughed $500 million a year, a total of $3.5 billion, into the Afghan resistance between 1982-1989[118] and about 65,000 tonnes of weapons were delivered to the ISI for operations against the Soviet Union.[119]

It is also interesting to note that during the Afghan war, around 125,000 volunteers from Arab and Muslim countries came to Pakistan for the fight against the Soviet forces. The Muslim Relief Agency based on the Islamic Development Fund (IDF) provided 25,000 Arab volunteers for the holy war against the Soviet Union.[120] All volunteers obtained training in Pakistani military camps. Some of these were established by Bhutto during 1974-76 in Kohat, Bunno and Waziristan but after 1977, Zia's government established more camps in different areas of Pakistan.[121] According to Henry Bradsher, "a network of camps inside the Pakistani frontier trained guerrillas,"[122] where Pakistani soldiers were involved in the military training of

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[116] "Covert Military Aid for Afghan Fighters," The New York Times (3 May 1985), p. A1; Las Angles Times (22 October 1987); and Pravda (18 July 1987).

[117] The Economist, "Foreign Report," (London: 13 November 1986); and see William D. Harting, And Weapons for All (New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 1994), p. 212.

[118] Washington Post (21 December 1987 and 17 September 1990).

[119] Peter Schweizer, Victory: The Reagan Administration's Secret Strategy that Hastened the Collapse of the Soviet Union (New York: The Atlantic Monthly Press, 1994), p. 116.

[120] Fazal-i-Subhan, "Muslims Volunteers for Afghan War," Gulf News (24 May 1984); Hasham Abdul Hasam, "Holly War for Islam," Al-Jazzera (17 June 1984); Okaz (13 September 1985); and (K. V. Krishnaswamy, "Paying for the Long Neglect," The Hindu (12 February 2000), p. 5.

[121] In 1981 Pakistani and foreign instructors tarined around 10,000 mujahideen. See Pravda (28 August 1980); Moscow Times (13 October 1981); and The New York Times (24 January 1981).

[122] Henry S. Bradsher, Afghanistan and the Soviet Union, p. 221.

Afghans and were sent across the maze of border trails to fight inside Afghanistan.[123] In early 1980, the *Washington Post* published an eyewitness report that at least 2,000 Afghans were being trained at former Pakistani Army bases guarded by Pakistani patrols.[124] The Soviet official news agency, *Tass*, claimed that in the late 1980s, the United States, China, Britain, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, UAE, Kuwait, Israel and France gave training to thousands Afghan *mujahideen* and volunteers to fight against the Soviet Union[125] (Table-1). The Chinese government had established more than ten military camps in its Xinjiang province to train thousands of Afghan Islamic militants in the use of Chinese and Soviet style weapons.[126] By the end of 1983, the Soviet media claimed that the Pakistan army had established more than forty training camps (Table-2) on Pakistani soil and that American, British, Chinese and Israeli instructors had trained around 75,000 to 85,000 *mujahideen*.[127] In addition, there were eleven Pakistani teams of three men each generally consisting of a major and two junior officers dressed like Afghans operating inside Afghanistan.[128] Pakistan's army, particularly the commandos of the Special Services Group (SSG) gave special training and were assigned to *mujahideen* units for operations inside Afghanistan. The SSG also participated directly in hundreds of reconnaissance, sabotage and combat operations against the Soviet and Afghan forces. The ISI participated in and organised directly hundreds of reconnaissance, sabotage, and combat operations against Soviet and Kabul Afghan forces in urban areas of Afghanistan.[129] It is difficult to set an accurate figure on the total number of *mujahideen* who received training in Pakistan, but

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[123] **Washington Post** (2 February 1979), p. A23; and **New York Times** (16 April 1979), p. 1.

[124] **The Washington Post** (January 1980), p. A1.

[125] **Tass** (25 November 1981); and **Moskovskie Novosti** (2 December 1981).

[126] **The New York Times** (23 May 1981), p. 2.

[127] Pakistan also allowed large numbers of Arab radical Islamists to enter the eastern provinces, strengthening nationalist resentments and extremist tendencies. Many Arabs and non-Arabs were commanders, and regardless of social origin or political affiliation, increasingly behaved like traditional khans. See **Moscow News** (6 November 1983); **Pravda** (4 December 1983); **Washington Post** (2 February 1979), p. A23; **Tass** from Kabul (19 January 1980), in FBIS/SU (21 January 1980), p. D10; **Tass** from New York (18 November 1980), in FBIS/SU (19 November 1980), p. CC6; **Kabul Radio** (20 March 1980), in FBIS/ME (24 March 1980), pp. S1-5; **Patriot** (7 February 1980), pp. 1 and 7 in FBIS/ME (12 February 1980), pp. S1-4; **Tass** (20 February 1981), in FBIS/SU (23 February 1981), pp. 7-8.

[128] These army teams played a role similar to that of special forces advisers in the US Army. They guided local commanders "on all aspects of military operations," conducted training activities, and prepared intelligence reports. Rodney W. Jones, "The Military and Security in Pakistan," in Cragi Baxter (ed.)., **Zia's Pakistan: Politics and Stability in a Frontier State** (Lahore: Vanguard, 1985), p. 79; and M. Raziullah Azmi, "Afghanistan: Moscow's Vietnam?," **Pakistan Journal of American Studies**, Vol. 7, No. 1 (March 1989), pp. 63-69.

[129] **The New York Times** (23 September 1983), p. 1; **The Times of India** (15 July 1984); and **Toronto Star** (22 November 1985).

sources claim it amounted to up to half a million or so.[130] According to one German study at the end of 1984 the full-time *mujahideen* were 120,000, with an additional 130,000 to 150,000 part-time guerrillas.[131] In 1987, the *London Times* reported that there were 120,000 *mujahideen*, whereas a week later, it gave a figure of 200,000.[132]

Thus, Pakistan supported the Islamists in Afghanistan and its main leaders such as Gulbuddin Hikmatyar (Engineering Faculty of Kabul University), Burhanuddin Rabbani and Abdul Rabbal Rasul Sayyef (lecturer in the Sharia Faculty) who were close to the Zia government. However, Hekmatyar very soon earned the whole-hearted support of General Zia because in mid-1980, Hekmatyar was the lone representative among the 7 dominant leaders, who signed a paper confirming that if he gained power in Afghanistan, he would respect the Durand Line.[133] According to Christina Lamb, to secure a maximum allocation in military hardware for Hekmatyar, the ISI convinced the US to use him as "a worm to catch a fish" in the Afghan turmoil.[134] In pursuit of Pakistani strategic interests, the ISI funnelled most US arms shipments to Hekmatyar, who had taken shelter in Pakistan long before the Afghan war broke out. *The Washington Post* in May 1990 reported that Hekmatyar and his Hezb-i-Islami group received the lion's share of the $ 2.8 billion in US military and economic support funnelled through the ISI.[135]

Nevertheless, Zia's Afghan policy appeared to be ideologically and religiously motivated. Zia was sometimes a zealous promoter of a fundamentalist approach to Islam by religious parties in Pakistan and Afghan *mujahideen* groups. He perceived that an Islamist Afghanistan would be the best ally against Pakistan's future security threats.[136] Zia's moral and material support to the *mujahideen* was based on ideological rather than humanistic ground. Thus, Pakistan became the base for seven major

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[130] General Jan Alam Masood and Col Fakhar Ali Shah told during the interview in Islamabad and Peshawar (28 April 1998 and 5 November 1999) with the scholar that Pakistan army trained around 150,000 to 200,000 Afghan mujahideen to fight against the Soviet and Kabul forces.

[131] Haldhauser Nachrichten, Monthly Newspaper (19 November 1984); German News (5 December 1984); and Dawn (18 December 1984).

[132] London Times (29 September 1987), p. 7.

[133] Bhabani Sen Gupta, "CIA-ISI Take Charge of Afghan Issue," Dhaka Courier (13-19 April 1990), p. 30; and see M. Emdad-ul Haq, Drugs in South Asia: From the Opium Trade to the Present Day (London: Macmillan, 2000), p. 188.

[134] Christina Lamb, Waiting for Allah: Pakistan's Struggle for Democracy (New Delhi: Viking, 1991), p. 224.

[135] The Washington Post (13 May 1990), p. A1; and Diego Cordovez and Selig Harrison, Out of Afghanistan, p. 228, see comments under the picture No. 13 (Reuters/ Bettmann).

[136] Charles H. Kennedy, "Islamisation and Legal Reform in Pakistan 1979-1989," Pacific Affairs, Vol. 63, No. 1 (Spring 1990), pp. 62-77.

Table -1

Number of *Mujahideen* Trained by Different Countries 1973- 1987

Year	Trained by Countries				No. of *Mujahideen*
1973	Pakistan	Under Z. A. Bhutto Government			5000
1974	Pakistan	-			5750
1975	Pakistan	-			7500
1976	Pakistan	-			8000
1977	Pakistan	Under Zia ul-Haq Government			20,700
1978	Pakistan	-			25,350
1979	Pakistan	-			34,758
1980-81	Pakistan	-			58,000
1982-83	Pakistan - US	CIA & ISI			220,000
1984-85	Pakistan - US	-			380,000
1985-86	Pakistan - US	-			440,000
1987-88	Pakistan - US	-			574,000
1981-82	Egypt				7000
1982-83	China				8000
1982-83	Saudi Arabia				4000
1982-83	France				2000
1982-84	UAE				4500
1983-84	Britain				2000
1983-84	* Israel trained in Pakistan				4000

Sources: * Lawrence Lifschultz, "The Contra Sideshow," Far Eastern Economic Review (19 December 1991), p. 23; Henry S. Bradsher, Afghanistan and the Soviet Union, new and expanded ed., (Durham: Duke University Press, 1985), p. 222; Washington Post (2 February 1979), p. A23; New York Times (16 April 1979), p.1; Pravda (25 June 1980), p. 5; Izvestiya (25 October 1981), p. 5; Le Monde (18-19 May 1980), p. 3 in FBIS/SU (6 June 1980), pp. C6-8; and A. Z. Hilali, "Afghanistan: The Decline of Soviet Military Strategy and Political Status," The Journal of Slavic Military Studies, Vol. 12, No. 1 (March 1999), p. 104.

Table- 2

Afghan *Mujahideen* Training Camps in Pakistan

NWFP		Baluchistan		Punjab	
Name of Area	Quantity	Name of Area	Quantity	Name of Area	Quantity
Bannu	4	Chagai	4	Esa Khel	4
Batgram/Batkhela	2	Zhob (Fort Sandeman)	4	Gujranwala Cantt	1
Chitral	3	Nushki	5	Okara Cantt	5
Chrat	1	Pishin	4	Attock	6
Dir	4	Sibi	4	Jhelum Cantt	4
Dera Adam Khail	3	Quetta	6	Kharian Cantt	2
Hangu	2			Mianwali Kalabagh	4
Kohat	5				
Mardan	2				
Mastung	2				
Miranshah	2				
Nowshera	4				
Pabi	2				
Parachinar	1				
Warsak	2				
Wazistan	2				
Total	40		27		26

Sources: Washington Post (2 February 1979), p. A23; New York Times (16 April 1979), p. 1; Pravda (25 June 1980), p.5 in FBIS/SU (27 June 1980), pp. D1-2; Izvestiya (25 October 1981), p. 5 in FBIS/SU (30 October 1981), p. D1 (reprinting an article from the Nicosia Newspaper *Dhimokratia*); Diego Cordoves and Selig S. Harrison, Out of Afghanistan: The Inside Story of the Soviet Withdrawal (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 34; Shah Bazgar, The Afghanistan Resistance (Paris: Denoel, 1987), pp. 123-46; Tajwar Kakar, quoted in Doris Lessing, The Wind Blows Away Our Words: And Other Documents Relating to the Afghan Resistance (New York: Vintage, 1987), pp. 193-208; and Christopher Andrew & Oleg Gordievsky, KGB: The Inside Story of Its Foreign Operations From Lenin to Gorbachev (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1991).

resistance groups leading the struggle against Soviet domination in Afghanistan. These groups were based in the provinces of North West Frontier Province and Baluchistan, close to the Pakistan and Afghan border. The 7-Party alliance (Table-3) of the Afghan *mujahideen* based in Peshawar, also known as the Islamic Unity of Afghan *mujahideen* (IUAM), was formed in early 1985 to coordinate the political, military and diplomatic activities of these groups and, henceforth, weapons and ammunition to the *mujahideen* inside Afghanistan were funnelled through this alliance. The Afghan war provided further evidence of Zia's Islamist orientation to the wider world. Jama' at-i-Islami, the largest Islamic party in Pakistan, was the main supporter of Zia's regime. Zia allowed a Saudi-based and funded organisation, *Rabita-Alam al Islami*,[137] (Muslim World League) to work in Pakistan for the support of Afghan *mujahideen*. This organisation collaborated closely with Jamaat-i-Islami, who was the main beneficiary of Saudi Arabian aid and distributed millions of dollars among the Afghan groups. Thus, Zia paid particular attention to the Islamist Afghan *mujahideen* groups rather than traditionalists or moderates. The Islamist groups were more successful than others in securing outside assistance and some groups enjoyed the valuable patronage of Pakistan's Jama'at-i-Islami party. Moreover, the Afghan Islamists enjoyed the bulk of weapons and supplies from the Pakistan army and the ISI. It has been noted that the Afghan right-wing groups were well organised and highly motivated as compared to the left-wing parties.

4. Israel's Support to Afghan *Mujahideen*

During the Afghan war, the CIA conducted one of the most extensive and sophisticated covert operations in history. Arms were being purchased on the international market with Saudi Arabian money and the CIA purchased weapons from a variety of states—China, Egypt, France, Britain and Israel.[138] In this regard, Israel also provided arms and training to the Afghan *mujahideen* against the Soviet Union.[139] A special intelligence unit of the Israeli Defence Force (IDF) combined with a military logistics and advisory team was stationed secretly in Pakistan with the approval of Zia's

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[137] Rabita-Alam al Islami (Saudi Arabia based Relief Agency) provided financial and military assistance primarily through the Jamaat-i-Islami of Pakistan, which had a close links with Hekmatyar, Sayaf, and Burhanuddin Rabbani.

[138] Peter Schweizer, **Victory: the Reagan Administration's Secret Strategy that Hastened the Collapse of the Soviet Union**, p. 116.

[139] Henry S. Bradsher, **Afghanistan and the Soviet Union**, new expanded ed., (Durham: Duke University Press, 1985), p. 222.

government, in order to train Afghan *mujahideen* in the use of Israeli weapons.[140] IDF military advisers functioned on a full-time basis in Pakistan and worked jointly with ISI and the Pakistan army to train the *mujahideen* in military tactics and the use of sophisticated weapons. The National Logistics Cell (NLC), under the command of the ISI and Pakistan army, was the main carrier and supplier of weapons to the *mujahideen*. Israeli instructors and advisors trained thousands of *mujahideen*, in particular the Hizb-e-Islami led by Gulbuddin Hekmatyar.[141]

From 1983, Ari Ben-Menashe,[142] a former Israeli intelligence official, frequently travelled to Pakistan to supervise the transhipment of a substantial consignment of weapons to both Iran and Afghan *mujahideen*. He was also one of a six-member Joint Committee set up to organise the systematic but clandestine provision of Iran in its war with Iraq and to help the Afghan *mujahideen*. According to western sources, the Israeli government helped Iran and the Afghans, irrespective of whether they were Islamist or royalist, since both were Tel Aviv's allies against Iraq and the Soviet Union's regional ambitions. Thus, it was the Joint Committee's responsibility to secure whatever military equipment was deemed necessary to support Iranian and Afghan resistance. For this purpose, hundreds of millions of dollars worth of weapons were supplied to the Afghan *mujahideen* and Iran from a network of Israeli-controlled corporations which operated under the authority and direction of the committee in every corner of the globe. In this regard, several IDF members and ISI special force unit soldiers died in Afghanistan during operations against the Soviet Union.[143] It was IDF and ISI units that provided a stable and strong basis for the Afghan *mujahideen* to move against Najibullah's government and the Soviet forces.

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[140] Lawrence Lifschultz, "The Contra Sideshow," Far Eastern Economic Review (19 December 1991), p. 23; The Guardian (8 February 1986); The New York Times (22 August 1985, 13 December 1986 and 24 January 1991).

[141] Israeli military advisors and technicians were deployed to train Iranian soliders against Iraq and also to train Afghan *mujahideen* for use against the Soviet Union. Israel Defence Force (IDF) trained more than 3,000 Afghan and 1,500 Iranians. All shipments and training camps were situated in different parts of Pakistan territory. Pakistani officials could not put an exact value on the shipments but it is estimated that more than $300 million worth of weapons were shipped to Iran and the Afghan *mujahideen*. On 18 August 1995 I personally spoke with one of Pakistani military officers in Chitral about the matter of Israeli soliders' presence in Pakistan to train Afghan *mujahideen* and he confirmed the news; See Far Estern Economic Review (19 December 1991), p. 23; Daily Telegraph (13 September 1986); and Izvestia (29 November 1989).

[142] Ari Ben-Menashe grew up in Iran and was fluent in Farsi (Persian), Arabic, English and Hebrew. He was a senior officer in IDF's External Relations Department and he participated in one of Israeli's most sensitive inter-agency intelligence committee during the 1980s. He also served as adviser to the Israeli Prime Minister Yizhak Shamir. See Far Estern Economic Review (19 December 1991), p. 23; Tel Aviv Times (18 April 1986); and Krasnaya Zvezda (23 January 1991).

[143] See Tel Aviv Times (8 October 1991); The New York Times (11 February 1992); and Far Eastern Economic Review (19 December 1991), p. 23.

Table - 3

Pakistan and Iran Based Afghan Parties Alliance

Name of Party	Leader	Religious Sect	Ethnic Origin	Geographical Area
Pakistan Base Seven Party Alliance				
Afghan National Liberation Front	Sibghatullah Mojaddidi	Sunni Muslim	Pakhtun	Southern Tribal
Hezb-i-Islami (G)	Gulbuddin Hekmatyar	Sunni Muslim	Pakhtun	North & Southeast
Hezb-i-Islami (K)	Yunis Khalis	Sunni Muslim	Pakhtun	Kabul & Southeast
Harakat	M. Nabi Mohammad	Sunni Muslim	Pakhtun	Southern Tribal
Islamic Union	Abdul Rasul Sayyaf	Sunni Muslim	Pakhtun	Southeast
Jamiat-i-Islami	Burhanuddin Rabbani	Sunni Muslim	Tajik	North-northeast
National Islamic Front	Syed Ahmad Galiani	Sunni Muslim	Pakhtun	Southern Tribal
Iran Base Four Party Alliance				
Harakat-i-Islami	Sheikh Asaf Mohseni	Shi'a Muslim	Hazara	Kandahar & Kabul
Nasr-i-Islami	Mehdi Hasemi	Shi'a Muslim	Hazara	Central Hazarajat
Shura-e-Ittifaq-e-Islami	Syed Ali Beheshti	Shi'a Muslim	Hazara	Central Hazarajat
Sipah-e-Pasdaran	Shaykh Akbari	Shi'a Muslim	Qizibash	West & Central Area

Sources: Richard P. Cronin, "Afghanistan After the Soviet Withdrawal Contenders for Power," CRS Report for Congress (Washington: The Library of Congress, 2 March 1989), p. 6; Olivier Roy, Islam and Resistance in Afghanistan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 18-67; Constantine C. Menges, The Twilight Struggle: The Soviet Union-v-The United States Today (Washington: The AEI Press, 1990), p. 58; and see Rasul Bakhsh Rais, War Without Winners: Afghanistan's Uncertain Transition After the Cold War (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1994), pp. 173-195.

General Fazal Huq (a leading figure in General Zia -ul Haq's military regime, and later Governor of NWFP), a dominant military figure in Pakistan, was in charge of operations linked to Pakistani support for the Afghan resistance and the supply of weapons to Iran. In 1984, Ben Menashe several times met General Fazal Huq, in London and Peshawar, in connection with working out the logistics for a huge shipment of weapons to Iran and the Afghan resistance.[144] From 1983, several million dollars worth of weapons had to go through Peshawar because it was the official destination in Pakistan. On arrival, they were transferred to various parts of the North West Frontier Province, under the eyes of an Israeli logistics team and then handed over to different *mujahideen* groups. The weapons included artillery, TOW anti-tank missiles, ammunition and a wide range of spare parts. Ben-Menashe claims that the arms were paid for twice, generating an "off-the-book" surplus of $300 million.[145] In August 1985, the Iranian government deposited $300 million into Israeli-controlled accounts in Luxembourg. Within two months, the shipment for the rebels had been diverted via Peshawar and by October 1985, the entire consignment had crossed Pakistan's border into Iran under the eyes of an Israeli logistics team.[146] On 5 March 1987 the American magazine *Review* reported that it was agreed that of the $1.09 billion paid by the Iranian government, the commission amounting to $390 million would be spent through the CIA to purchase Israeli weapons for the *mujahideen*.[147]

Nevertheless, Pakistan's covert and overt role in the Afghan war never gained appropriate appreciation and recognition from the West. The military aid to the *mujahideen* had the potential to prolong the suffering of the Afghan people in a conflict that, in the view of many, was certain to end in Soviet victory whatever the United States did, but it also increased the likelihood that Pakistan would become a lightning rod for Soviet moves against sanctuaries and for Soviet revenge. The Soviet expert

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[144] In the autumn of 1985 Ben-Menashe arrived in Peshawar on behalf of the Joint Committee to coordinate an arms shipment to Iran and Afghans. He claimed that along with other members of an IDF logistic team, he stayed at the Park Hotel in Peshawar using false passports. His visits were fully coordinated with the Pakistani and other concerned governments (Iran). See Far Eastern Economic Review, p. 23. I personally met Ben-Menashe through Nancy, Director USIS, Islamabad, in July 1989 and later I met him many times at the USIS Peshawar Centre with Dr. Jay P. Gurian, Assistant Branch Public Affairs Officer. Ben-Menashe changed his Jewish name on the advice of Gurian and adopted the name "Zakria" (a common Muslim-Jewish name) and stayed at the Park Hotel. The third time I saw Zakria (Ben-Menashe) was in Chitral (north of Pakistan) with Afghan *mujahideen*. It is interesting to note that Chitral was one of the biggest arms supply centres for Afghan *mujahideen*.

[145] According to Ben-Menashe, in August 1985 Teheran deposited $300 million into an Israeli controlled account in Luxemboug. Within two months the shipment for the rebels had been diverted via Peshawar and by October 1985 the entire consignment had crossed Pakistan's border into Iran under the supervision of Israeli officers. See The Guardian (27 September 1985).

[146] See Tel Aviv Times (25 December 1991).

Krasnaya Zvezda admitted that "it was Pakistan who eroded Soviet control on Afghanistan by giving the opportunity to the United States to use Afghan rebels against the Soviet Union."[148] John Erickson, one of the foremost authorities on the Soviet military, has argued that "the several Soviet efforts to drive the rebels from strategic areas of Afghanistan, failed, and Soviet forces were under heavy fire and the Soviet military might was withered away by the Pakistan army and Afghan rebels, through a combination of desertion, wounds and death."[149] Vladimir Alexander Mortin, who spent four years (1981-85) in Afghanistan, admitted that the "Russians were fed up with Pakistan support and strength to the rebels, although the Soviet forces' performance was better compared to that of the Afghan Islamists, but the Soviets were worried that the Americans were backing the rebels through Pakistan, who provided shelter, space for weapons and training to the rebels. The Soviets used all possible tactics to demoralise Pakistan, but their efforts were useless."[150]

Thus, the US and *mujahideen* alone were not in a position to defeat the Soviet Union without Pakistan. In fact, Pakistan provided its land, bases and skilled manpower and gave enormous support to the Afghan *mujahideen* which enabled them to defeat the Soviet Union. The US backed Pakistan defence policy was offensive and this approach developed out of the history of the Pakistan military, which had never accepted civilian control. Pakistani generals had always been reluctant to accept orders from the political elites, to whom the military conceded no legitimate role in security issues, let alone war. In this respect, the Pakistan army's and ISI's view of the relationship between politics and war differed from the views of such strategists as Clausewitz and Mao Zedung. However, there was no doubt about the quality of Pakistan's contribution to the *mujahideen's* war-fighting abilities. There was evidence that the Soviets posed a threat to Islamabad and retaliated but they failed to disrupt its support to the Afghan

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[147] The New York Times (27 November 1985).

[148] Krasnaya Zvezda, Afghan War and the Soviet Union (Moscow: Voenizdat, 1987), pp. 87-134.

[149] John Erickson, "Pakistan Support to Afghan Rebels and the Soviet Military Losses," Krasnaya Zvezda (17 May 1986).

[150] I met Vladimir Alexander Mortin in Hotel Konigshof Bonn (Germany) on 14 August 1998. He was on a private visit to Germany. According to Mortin, he was originally from Georgia and worked for the Soviet army as a Media Officer. He gained a Masters in Journalism and Management from Moscow University. He went to Afghanistan in June 1981 and left in August 1985. His duty was to control Radio Kabul and Television transmission to boost the image of the Soviet Union among the local population and counter Pakistan, Western and rebel propaganda. See also Henry S. Bradsher, Afghanistan and the Soviet Union, pp. 222 and 277; Pravda (16 December 1982), in FBIS/SU (16 December 1982), pp. D1-4; Department of Defence, "Soviet Military Power," p. 129. The diplomatic demarche was foreshadowed by a Pravda editorial attack on Pakistan (29 June 1984), p. 4, in FBIS/SU (29 June 1984), pp. D1-3; and see Peter Schweizer, Victory: The Reagan

mujahideen.[151] According to Robert G. Wirsing, "after all, no other outside power involved itself so long, so fully, and so directly in the resistance effort or took greater risks on its behalf than did Pakistan."[152] It is evident that Pakistan was by and large successful in achieving its objective or in its strategy of resistance and survival. At the time of the intervention, Pakistan lacked the economic and military capacity to meet the challenge to its security and integrity. Later, Pakistan was able to earn the support of the United States, attract military and economic assistance from diverse sources and convince the international community to cooperate against the Soviet Union. Thus, Pakistan's policy toward the war was founded first and foremost on a prudent regard for its own security. In return for the risks and obligations Pakistan claimed to have incurred in its unwavering support for the Afghan resistance, it received generous financial and military assistance from the United States.

Administration's Secret Strategy that Hastened the Collapse of the Soviet Union (New York: The Atlantic Monthly Press, 1994).

[151] The New York Times (23 August 1985), p. A1.

[152] Robert G. Wirsing, Pakistan's Security Under Zia 1977-88, pp. 62-63.

CHAPTER FOUR

The US Response to the Growing Soviet Take-Over of Afghanistan

> The history of failure in war can be summed up in two words: Too late. Too late in comprehending the deadly purpose of a potential enemy; too late in realising the mortal danger; too late in preparedness; too late in uniting all possible forces for resistance; too late in standing with one's friends.[1]
>
> — General Douglas MacArthur, 1952-1954

The primary objective of this chapter is to examine critically the core factors of Carter's initial reluctance to understand the Soviet motives for intervention in Afghanistan. It evaluates the reasons for Carter's ambiguous policy and failure to respond sharply to Soviet military invasion. It also assesses Carter's intention to continue the spirit of détente with the Soviet Union and analytically discusses the circumstances in which he changed his soft policy towards the Soviet Union, made a gesture of solidarity with the Afghan people and adopted some diplomatic measures against the Soviet Union, although these were an insufficient response to the Soviet invasion.

After Carter, Reagan emerged as a "super-hawk" and his administration decided to give an appropriate response to the Soviet actions in Afghanistan. At that time, the United States played a major role as an extra-regional actor in the Afghanistan crisis. Its contribution in terms of materials, resources, diplomatic initiatives and power projection was unsurpassed by other actors. In fact, the US was the main architect of the challenge to contain Soviet expansionism. The US involved itself in the Afghan crisis to protect the vital interests of the industrialised nations because the US was the lone gendarme of the Persian Gulf, even though the oil flowed primarily to Europe and Japan. In the context of unfolding Cold War politics, the US had to operate an adequate policy response towards Afghanistan and the entire Middle East region.

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[1] Quoted in Richard Nixon, **The Real War**, Paperback (New York: Warner Books, 1981), p. 1.

1. Carter's Global Approach to Avoid Confrontation

Jimmy Carter appeared to be the first American president in the post World War II period to reject the globalist assumptions that had undergirded extended containment for thirty years.[2] In the 1976 campaign he had spoken of the need to "replace balance of power politics with world-order politics."[3] The focus of Carter's policy was on human rights, North-South relations, Third World development, and the international economy, while the Soviet Union's pride of place in US policy diminished.[4] Arms control and Soviet human rights practices were the two issues that were to be priority ones vis-à-vis the Soviet Union, even if US aims on the two worked somewhat at cross purposes.[5]

The dominant image of the Soviet Union was relatively benign in the first year of the Carter administration. According to one study, which employed a form of content analysis, administration evaluations of Soviet intentions and of the Soviets themselves were very positive.[6] While Carter did not have well developed or deeply held beliefs about the Soviets, his pronouncements reflected a benign view (or predisposition). Nixon and Kissinger had spoken of the imperative of coexistence in the nuclear age, but they certainly would not have subscribed to the following statement by Carter:

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[2] For a systematic elaboration of the beliefs that Carter and his chief advisers held during the first year of the Carter administration, see Jerel A. Rosati, **The Carter Administration's Quest for Global Community: Beliefs and Their Impact on Behaviour** (Columbia, South Carolina: University of South Carolina Press, 1987), pp. 39-57.

[3] Quoted in Leslie H. Gelb, "Beyond the Carter Doctrine," **New York Times Magazine** No. 10 (February 1980), p. 18.

[4] On this point, it is noteworthy that Brzezinski shared with Carter the professed belief that preoccuption with the Cold War as a dominant concern in US foreign policy "no longer seems warranted by the complex realities within which we operate. Cited in Rosati, **The Carter Administration's Quest for Global Community**, p. 41. The Soviets were affronted by pronuncements of this kind, for they seemed to suggest that the Carter administration was implicitly denying the U.S.S.R's importance and hard-won status as an equal with the United States. The allies too were somewhat disconcerted. Vance was not so quick to put Soviet policy on the back burner.

[5] In June 1977, Carter acknowledged with surprise that his human rights policy "provided a greater obstacle to other friendly pursuits of common goals, like in SALT, than SALT I had anticipated." See Jimmy Carter, "Interview with the President," **Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents** No. 13 (4 July 1977), p. 922.

[6] Rosati, **The Carter Administration's Quest for Global Community**, p. 53. Rosati identifies eleven relevant cases and identifies Carter administration assessments of Soviet behaviour along a continuum: expansionist (O percent); opportunistic (9.1 percent); cooperative and cometitive (36.4 percent); and cooperative (54.5 percent). Similarly, Rosati finds the administration's evaluation of the Soviets positive in 71 percent of seven relevant cases, and negative in 29 percent. While he acknowledges that the small universe of cases make the findings valuable only as rough indications, he does not identify them or explain the basis for his findings.

> Beyond all the disagreements between the United States and the Soviet Union–and beyond the cool calculations of mutual self-interest that our two countries bring to the negotiating table–is the invisible human reality that must bring us closest together. I mean the yearning for peace, real peace, that is in the very bones of us all. . .Mr. Brezhnev said something very interesting recently, and I quote from his speech: "it is our belief, our firm belief," he said, "that realism in politics and the will for détente and progress will ultimately triumph and mankind will be able to step into the 21st century in conditions of peace stable as never before." I see no hidden meaning in that. I credit its sincerity. And I express the same hope and belief that Mr. Brezhnev expressed. With all the difficulties, all the conflicts, I believe that our planet must finally obey the Biblical injunction to "follow after the things which make for peace."[7]

Carter professed his belief in détente, saying "To me, it means progress toward peace." and according to Vance, both he and Carter down played Brzezinski's contention that there was "an overarching US-Soviet 'geopolitical struggle' at the heart of US foreign policy.[8] Moreover, the dominant assumptions in the early Carter administration about global containment differed from those that had traditionally animated US policy. Initially, there was little talk of "credibility," the importance of resolve or indivisible commitments, few references to the importance of geopolitical "momentum," a balance of power that could be unsettled by an accretion of marginal changes, vulnerable sea lanes, choke points, or strategic minerals, and not much in the way of domino imagery. In May 1977, at the time of the Shaba incident, Carter proclaimed his "aversion to military involvement in foreign countries," adding that "we are suffering, or benefiting, from the experience we had in Vietnam."[9] He was reluctant to engage in Cold War with the Soviet Union and expressed his views in his famous Notre Dame speech:

> ....Being confident of our own future, we are now free of that inordinate fear of communism which once led us to embrace any dictator who joined us in that fear. For too many years, we have been willing to adopt the flawed and erroneous principles and tactics of our adversaries, sometimes abandoning our own values for theirs. We have fought fire with fire, never thinking that fire is better quenched with water. This approach failed, with Vietnam the best example of its intellectual and moral poverty.[10]

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[7] Quoted in Ibid., p. 54.

[8] Jimmy Carter, "University of Notre Dame: The President's Address at Commencement Exective at the University, 22 May 1977," Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents No. 13 (30 May 1977), p. 777; and Cyrus Vance, Hard Choices: Critical Years in America's Foreign Policy (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1983), pp. 26-28.

[9] Quoted in Samuel F. Wells, Jr., "Limits on the Use of American Militay Power," The Wilson Quarterly (Winter 1983), p. 124.

[10] Carter, "The President's Address at Commencement Exercises at the University," p. 774.

Carter expressed the hope of persuading the Soviet Union that one country cannot impose its system of society upon another, either through direct military intervention or through the use of a client state's military force.[11] In contrast to the Notre Dame approach, Carter seemed to be less interested in talking about Cuban intervention in Angola and willing to countenance improved relations with such states; he intended opening diplomatic and economic ties with Vietnam and Cuba. He was relaxed about the threat to US interests posed by Moscow's Third World clients and friends. The worst situation emerged in 1979 when the Soviets intervened in Afghanistan to protect their own sphere of influence and it quickly became apparent that the US was boxed into a no-win situation. But the Carter administration was not interested in backing any anti-Communist movement, from Ethiopia to Afghanistan, both for reasons of principle and for sound reasons of regional interests.

In large measure, the Soviet policy to capture Afghanistan was not merely opportunistic, but motivated by strategic concerns as well. Bruce Porter notes the assiduous efforts by Moscow to preserve influence in the entire Persian Gulf and concludes that it "demonstrated Moscow's unflagging interest in establishing a Soviet sphere of influence in the Indian Ocean."[12] The spokesman for the Soviet Foreign Ministry Press Department said as much in a television interview in February 1978:

> The Indian Ocean is first and foremost of military, political and economic significance. The importance of this region is determined by its geographical situation at the juncture of two continents—Asia and Africa, by the presence of first-class ports in the Gulf of Aden in the Indian Ocean, and what is most important, by the fact that important sea-lanes such as the Persian Gulf, linking the oil producing countries with America and Europe, pass through the region.[13]

Regional complaints about US passivity confirmed Brzezinski's point that "more was at stake than a disputed piece of desert. To a great extent our credibility was under scrutiny by our allies in a region strategically important to us."[14] This was a time when the United States appeared to be paralysed, while the Soviets resisted US calls for restraint and reliance on local states for a negotiated solution to the conflict and

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[11] Carter, "The President's Address at Commencement Exercises at the University," p. 777.
[12] Bruce D. Porter, The USSR In Third World Conflict: Soviet Arms and Diplomacy in Local Wars 1945-80 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984), p. 199.
[13] Cited in Valenta, "Soviet Intervention in Afghanistan," p. 356.
[14] Porter, The USSR In Third World Conflict, pp. 182-183.

demonstrated an impressive capability to engineer a decisive military victory at the expense of the US interests.[15] Brzezinski also "warned Carter on several occasions not to be passive or to underestimate the gravity of an entrenched military presence so close to weak and vulnerable allies."[16]

1-1. Carter's Low-Profile Approach

In 1979, the Soviets completely isolated the United States from the region and its position became vulnerable but this situation did not affect the Carter administration. Carter's concern in the region was to solve the US embassy hostage crisis in Iran, and the Communist coup in Afghanistan seemed not such an important issue. According to Ronald Powaski, "Carter did not believe that on the Afghanistan issue the US-Soviet relationship should be permitted to deteriorate to the point of open hostility."[17] Brzezinski did not agree with Carter's opinion and he argued that the invasion of Afghanistan warranted a "stronger US reactions" in the event of a "Soviet military move toward the Persian Gulf"[18] and to protect friends in the region. However, Carter attempted to find issues on which the US and the USSR could cooperate with each other. For this purpose, he approved a commercial deal with the Soviet Union and provided clearance certificates to US companies to sell technology and production equipment to the Soviet Union. One writer has claimed that these exports allowed the construction of "the $1.5 billion Kama River truck factory, which produced the military vehicles that carried the Soviet invaders into Afghanistan."[19] The same author also claims that the Carter administration also allowed the sale of IBM 360 and 370 computer technology to the Soviets, who later produced the "Ryad" computer, a copy of the IBM version, and used it for military purposes.[20]

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[15] US standing in the region was certainly not helped by Carter's refusal to accede to Brzezinski's request to send a carrier task force to the Persian Gulf and the Guld of Aden in early 1978 when Somali forces were being routed and Communist came into power in Afghanistan, it appeared that the Cuban and Ethiopians might launch a counter-offensive into Somalia and the Soviet would move to Afghanistan, reassurances to the contrary notwithstanding. US officials did issue warnings against such a move. In part, Carter turned down Brzezinski's request because the US had received several assurances from the Soviets and Cubans that there would be no move into Somalia and Afghanistan. See Vance, Hard Choices, p. 87.

[16] Brzezinski, Power and Principle, p. 179.

[17] Ronald E. Powaski, The Cold War: The United States and the Soviet Union 1917-1991 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 225.

[18] See Brzezinski, interview to the Wall Street Journal (15 January 1980), p. 20; See also Brzezinski, Power and Principle, pp. 430 and 445.

[19] John Barron, KGB Today: The Hidden Hand (London & Toronto: Hodder & Stoughton, 1983), p. 226.

It is also on record that after the April 1978 coup, the Iranian government considered the Afghan revolution as one more example of a Soviet grand design and of Moscow's intent to encircle Iran.[21] The Shah of Iran told the US Ambassador, William Sullivan, that he saw little to gain from "coddling" the Afghan regime.[22] In the same way, the Saudis interpreted the coup as a Soviet-directed operation that was part of the Soviets' strategy to encircle the Persian Gulf and the Arabian peninsula and to develop a base from which to subvert Iran and Pakistan.[23] Moreover, in a preliminary assessment, on the day of the coup, Harold Saunders, the Assistant Secretary of State for Near East and South Asian Affairs, warned Vance that the Pakistanis and Iranians would probably see the Communist regime in Kabul as "little more than a proxy" for the Soviet Union, that both Pakistan and Iran would find confirmation of their fears of Soviet encirclement and that foreign and domestic audience would portray Afghanistan as another Horn of Africa or Soviet victory, creating pressures to do something about it.[24] The US did not have to wait long to see that things were turning out rather badly in Afghanistan. Taraki's professions of nonalignment were purely fictional and the PDPA leaders demonstrated that they were indeed Communists and their country was closely aligned with the Soviet Union.[25] In June 1978, the US embassy in Kabul confirmed the pre-coup assessment, noted the degree of Afghan dependence on the Soviets and warned that the Soviets wanted to keep the Pakhtunistan and Baluchistan cards available for future use, with Afghanistan as their instrument.[26]

1-2. The Carter Administration and Afghanistan

The US response to the Afghan Saur Revolution 1978 under the leadership of Nur Mohammad Taraki was restrained and isolated. Eight days later after the coup, the US extended diplomatic recognition to the new government and Vance sent the Under

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[20] Ibid.

[21] Department of State Telegram, No. 04062, US Embassy, Tehran (30 April 1978).

[22] Department of State Telegram, No. 09279, US Embassy, Tehran (25 September 1978), p. 2. According to some observers, the 1978 Afghan coup emerges as one of the more disastrous legacies of the Shah's ambitious effort to roll back Soviet influence in surrounding countries and create a modern version of the ancient Persian empire. See Jonathan Steele, World Power: Soviet Foreign Policy Under Brezhnev and Andropov (London: Michael Joseph, 1983), p. 122; and see also "The Shah, Not Kremlin, Touched Off Afghan Coup," Washington Post (13 May 1979).

[23] Department of State, International Summary, No. 002774 (11 October 1979).

[24] Harold H. Saunders, Department of State Briefing Memorandum (28 April 1978), p. 1; and see Michael Ledeen and William Lewis, Debacle: The American Failure in Iran (New York: Alfred A. Knop, 1981), pp. 95-96.

[25] Thomas T. Hammond, Red Flag Over Afghanistan: The Communist Coup, The Soviet Invasion and the Consequences (Boulder: Westview, 1984), pp. 60-62.

[26] Department of State, US Embassy, Kabul, No. 04801 (13 June 1978), p. 1.

Secretary of State for Political Affairs, David Newsom, to Kabul to discuss the continuation of American education and cultural programmes, peace corps projects and economic aid. Newsom returned pessimistic about the new government in Kabul but he also considered the situation highly fluid.[27] Economic aid and other programmes or projects were continued and the Carter administration adopted a wait and see policy.

The Carter administration had reacted in a restrained manner to the Communist coup and continued to regard it as tangential to US interests. A policy of moderation was deemed to be the best possible course of action. It also seemed that the US lacked the wherewithal to undertake commitments in a region where its "vital interests were not involved."[28] The Carter administration's response consisted only of private warnings to the Soviet leadership and there was no clear-cut public warning to the Soviets, despite intelligence reports of troop build-ups on the Soviet-Afghan border. According to Cyrus Vance, since the US was besieged with problems such as the Iranian hostage crisis, Kampuchea and South Africa, the accumulating intelligence on the Soviet operation did not receive the attention it deserved.[29] In fact, the State Department and Carter administration failed to evaluate the Afghan situation and were also reluctant to take steps against the Soviets because they believed that Moscow would not intervene and get involved in a Vietnam-like war.[30] However, the National Security Advisor Zbigniew Brzezinski's approach was different and he advocated a strong stance against the Soviets. He argued in favour of a clear-cut warning to the Soviet Union, mobilising the Islamic world and extending support to the Afghan freedom fighters.[31]

Brzezinski was taking seriously the Communist take over in Afghanistan. At the same time, the American President's assessment of the invasion was likely to be influenced by the assessments of America's friends in the region. And, as Carter learned in the opening days of the crisis, countries such as Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Pakistan and Israel were deeply alarmed. The Carter administration was afraid that the mere display of power by the Soviets would have adverse political consequences in the region. The administration rightly feared that "key states of the Persian Gulf would conclude that they should accommodate to the rising wave of Soviet influence and power before they

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[27] Cyrus Vance, Hard Choices: Critical Years in America's Foreign Policy, p. 385.
[28] Ibid., p. 386.
[29] Ibid. , p. 387.
[30] Thomas Hammod, Red Flag Over Afghanistan (Boulder: Westview, 1984), p. 107.
[31] Zbigniew Brzezinski, Power and Principle: Memoirs of the National Security Advisor, p. 428.

themselves were swept away".[32] After the invasion, Carter publicly fretted that the bold and unprecedented exercise of Soviet power would be "unsettling to other peoples throughout the world."[33] It is also on record that before the invasion, Pakistani leaders had frequently informed the US officials about the growing sentiment in Pakistan in favour of "accommodating" the Soviets, due to the growth of the Soviet threat (especially the threat of cross-border subversion) and the absence of a reliable counter-weight.[34]

Thus, whatever the immediate Soviet objectives in Afghanistan, one consequence of the Soviet action might well have been increased regional deference to the Soviets and a corresponding decline in US influence unless the American response were sufficiently forceful to reassure local states that it was safe and prudent to pursue policies that would incur Soviet displeasure. Even in the Carter administration, those who shared similar concerns about American policy expressed some support for the "little-to-fear" argument. Carter was sensitive and defensive about this as indicated by his response when he was asked if his administration might have been guilty of sending mixed signals. Carter testily dismissed this as "completely fallacious" and a "ridiculous claim."[35] In such circumstances, the Pakistanis, foreign audiences and the Americans looked to the president for a response. The reputation and reliability of the United States were at stake and the people of the free world would accuse it of "losing Afghanistan," if an inadequate response was made.

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[32] Gary Sick, "The Evolution of US Strategy Toward the Indian Ocean and Persian Gulf Region," in Alvin Z. Rubinstein (ed.)., **The Great Game: Rivalry in the Persian Gulf and South Asia** (New York: Praeger, 1983), pp. 70-71.

[33] President Carter's remarks were made during his 4 January 1980 address to the nation. See WCPD, No. 16 (14 January 1980), p. 25.

[34] "US-Pakistan Talks: Regional Issues," Confidential Cable From the Secretary of State to the Embassy in Islamabad, No. 277901, 24 October 1979, pp. 1-2; President Zia himself suggested that accommodation might be the most prudent way to go for Pakistan. In as much as Zia wanted substantial US aid and a firm American commitment, he clearly used threats to appease the Soviets as a bargaining tactic. For an account that emphasises this factor, and the extent to which Zia, like other statesmen, was impelled to balancing behaviour regardless of US policy, see M. Walt, "Testing Theories of Alliance Formation: The Case of Southwest Asia," **International Organisation**, No. 42, (Spring 1988), pp. 306-307.

[35] See WCPD, No. 16 (14 April 1980),pp. 641-42. During the press conference, the question was rephrased twice in order to reassure the President that the question did not imply that he was to blame for the Afghan invasion. He did lend indirect support to this thesis by acknowledging that the Soviets might have underestimated the likely American response. In this connection, he made clear his view that the proper response was to impress upon the Soviets how badly they had miscalculated. For similar remarks see Carter's "Meet the Press," interview in **Department of State Bulletin**, No. 80 (March 1980), p. 29.

The United States' policy towards Afghanistan was initially selective, isolated and unclear. This area was always in the lowest priority of the US administration and on the other hand, the US had long accepted that Afghanistan was part of the Soviet global sphere of interest. The consensus for a restrained response was a product of several factors:

- There was the abiding perception that Afghanistan was not of vital importance to the United States. In general, only the "northern tier" countries, Greece, Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Pakistan were valuable to US policy makers for the purpose of the containment of Soviet Communism.

- The US administration had no evidence of direct Soviet instigation of or involvement in the coup. While it might have represented another Soviet gain, the Soviets could hardly be accused of breaking the rules by profiting from a development that to outward appearances was beyond their control.[36]

- There seemed to be little the US could do about events internal to Afghanistan and thus it seemed to make little sense to publicise and express alarm over matters beyond US control. There was also a danger that the Soviets would construe the relaxed US response as a sign of indifference to Soviet activities in Afghanistan. In turn, this might have encouraged the erroneous belief that the US response to direct armed intervention would be similarly muted. Vance, Brzezinski and Shulman acknowledged this and conceded that the failure to express concerns sooner and more forcefully was a mistake.[37]

- The US hoped that even if the Communists took power, Afghanistan would maintain its independence from Moscow. Geopolitical common sense indicated that a small nation on the periphery of a superpower should avoid its powerful gravitational pull, common ideology notwithstanding. The Carter administration thought that strong Afghan nationalism would almost invariably prove a stronger force than ideology. Thus, in order to preserve what influence the US had and to prevent the Afghans from lurching further into the Soviet orbit, Carter officials agreed that diplomatic relations and economic aid should continue.

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[36] Ibid., p. 384; and Hammond, **Red Flag Over Afghanistan**, p. 63.
[37] Ibid.

- Finally, the US administration adopted the wait-and-see approach because it was acceptable to at least some important friends of the United States. But Carter officials were worried about the destabilising effects on Afghanistan's neighbours, especially Pakistan and Iran.[38] However, Pakistan, Iran, Saudi Arabia and other Muslim countries decided to maintain relations with Afghanistan and tried to come to terms with the new Communist regime.[39]

1-3. Carter's Illusions About Afghan Policy

US concern only intensified with the killing of the US Ambassador to Kabul, Adolph Dubs, in February 1979. With the outbreak of major acts of insurgency, notably a large uprising in Herat, the US was compelled to address the question of Soviet influence in Afghanistan and its significance.[40] As the insurgency grew and the Soviet military was involved in crushing it, US concern and attentiveness also grew. It was reported that after Herat, the Soviets and Afghans began imputing responsibility for the mounting unrest to Pakistan, Egypt, China and Iran.[41] This drew the following warning from the State Department:

> We expect that the principle of non-interference will be respected by all parties in the area, including the Soviet Union. No useful purpose is served by false and provocative reports about outside interference-especially when they occur at the same time as increased Soviet activity in Afghanistan. We can only wonder at their intent. We would regard external involvement in Afghanistan's internal problems as a serious matter with the potential of heightening tensions and destabilising the situation in the entire region.[42]

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[38] Vance, Hard Choices, p. 385.

[39] As Hammond points out, humanitarian motives and a desire to preserve intelligence-gathering capabilities were probably also at work. See Hammond, Red Flag Over Afghanistan, p. 63; Vance, Hard Choices, p. 384

[40] Full detail can be found in Henry S. Bradsher, Afghanistan and the Soviet Union new and expanded ed. (Durham: Duke University Press, 1985); Hammond, Red Flag Over Afghanistan; Bradsher, Afghanistan and the Soviet Union; Joseph J. Collins, The Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan: A Study in the Use of Force in Soviet Foreign Policy (Lexington: Lexington Books, 1986); Louis Dupree, Red Flag Over the Hindu Kush -Part II: The Accidental Coup or Taraki in Blunderland (Hanover, NH: American University Field Staff Reports, 1979); David Charters, "Coup and Consolidation: The Soviet Seizure of Power in Afghanistan," Conflict Quarterly, No. 1 (Spring 1981); and Theodore L. Eliot, Jr., "The 1978 Afghan Revolution: Some Internal Aspects," Fletcher Forum, No. 3 (Spring 1979), pp. 82-87.

[41] Raymond Garthoff, Detente and Confrontation: Soviet-American Relations From Nixon to Reagan (Washington, D.C.: Brookings, 1985), p. 901.

[42] State Department Press Briefing Record, 23 March 1979, as quoted in Bradsher, Afghanistan and the Soviet Union, p. 150.

The impact of the warning was diluted somewhat because it was delivered, not by the Secretary of State, but by Hodding Carter, the administration's press spokesman, partly because of the president's preference for maintaining a fairly low profile and in part because he did not want Afghanistan to be a high-profile issue. However, "the administration was buffeted between Vance's scepticism and Brzezinski's enthusiasm."[43] Well before Vance's resignation, it was clear that Brzezinski's enthusiasm had prevailed. Brzezinski was more than willing to issue warnings but the State Department worked mightily to muzzle the National Security Advisor. This pattern would persist throughout 1979 as most warnings over Afghanistan were issued by officials of sub-Cabinet rank.[44] In the following months, there was a massive flow of cables from the embassy in Kabul about the flow of events in Afghanistan. The US embassy warned that the Afghan regime was in deep trouble and observed that the Soviets might be confronted with the dilemma of losing a Communist regime or interventing directly and walking into a Vietnam-like trap. While acknowledging Moscow's stake in the *Khalq* regime, the embassy believed that a direct intervention was unlikely, or that it would come only as a last resort if Soviet personnel were threatened.

It seemed all the more unlikely that the Soviets would bear the costs of intervention since their security interests were not threatened, for just as past Afghan governments had been highly sensitive to Soviet security concerns, any conceivable alternative to the Communist regime would accommodate itself to geopolitical realities, as it was often politely phrased. Thus, the embassy noted that the leader of one of the principal guerrilla factions, Syed Ahmad Gailani, declared his willingness to be "practical" in shaping Afghanistan's posture toward the Soviet Union, a statement that was endorsed by other resistance leaders.[45] However, if there was no realistic chance that a successor regime would threaten Soviet interests, then Moscow's stubborn defence of a discredited Communist regime would take on a more sinister meaning. A former ambassador to Afghanistan, Robert G. Neumann, wrote a letter to Brzezinski in June 1979 and he tried to impress a very similar point on the Carter administration. The Soviets must have known about and approved of the coup, argued Neumann, and since a Communist regime did nothing to promote their already secure interests in

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[43] Stansfield Turner, **Secrecy and Democracy: The CIA in Transition** (London: Sidwick & Jackson, 1985), pp. 87-88.

[44] Thomas Hammond, **Red Flag Over Afghanistan**, pp. 106-111.

Afghanistan, Soviet approval of the coup must have been motivated by considerations beyond Afghanistan's borders.[46] In this regard, Brzezinski repeatedly informed Carter that the "Soviets are strengthening their position in Afghanistan and ultimately they will promote a separate Baluchistan, which would give them access to the Indian Ocean while dismembering Pakistan and Iran." He also reminded the President of the Soviets' "traditional push to the south," as typified by the abortive Nazi-Soviet protocols of November 1940 that defined Soviet interests as centering on the "area south of Baku and Batum in the general direction of the Persian Gulf."[47]

However, despite mounting concern, the State Department continued to favour a low-key approach and this changed little, even as signs multiplied indicating the likelihood of Soviet intervention. In early November 1979 the CIA had detected alarming large movements of Soviet troops toward Afghanistan and a mobilisation of reserves and other troops in Turkmenistan. For the first time, Vance warned Ambassador Dobrynin during a private discussion that a military intervention would be regarded by the United States as a very grave matter.[48] By contrast, Brzezinski had for some time been issuing more concrete warnings to Dobrynin and other Soviet officials, to the effect that even the Soviets' "growing intrusion would jeopardise the American-Soviet relationship."[49] However, the Soviets found Brzezinski's warning vague and, although several analysis and intelligence reports predicted an invasion, no options or contingency plans were developed and no warnings, public or private were issued by President Carter or Secretary of State Vance. As late as 21 December 30,000 Soviet troops were sitting on the Afghan border and three battalions of troops had already moved to an air base near Kabul, but Hodding Carter and Vance refused to comment on the likelihood that the troops were part of an invasion force. It seems clear that the Carter administration was overwhelmingly preoccupied with the Iranian hostage crisis as compared to Soviet moves in Afghanistan. Whatever the reason, in fact, the Carter administration thus failed to convey adequately its concerns and to warn the Soviets of

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[45] US Embassy in Kabul, "An Assessment of Soviet Influence and Involvement in Afghanistan," Cable No. 6672 (6 September 1979).

[46] See letter to Zbigniew Brzezinski, from Robert G. Neumann, 4 June 1979, from the National Security Archives file.

[47] Brzezinski, **Power and Principle**, p. 427; and see Garthoff, **Detente and Confrontation**, pp. 941-942.

[48] Hammond, **Red Flag Over Afghanistan**, pp. 110-111. On 28 November 1979 the Soviets sent Lieutenant General Victor Paputin, a First Deputy Minister of the Interior and unidentified KGB General, apparently to engineer the ouster of Amin, which would have been followed by an invitation for Soviet fraternal assistance by the successor government. This was apparently also the point at which the Politburo decided to intervene. The Soviets' last chance to stage a "legitimate" intervention was missed on 17 December 1979, when an assassination attempt on Amin failed.

the adverse consequences of an intervention. This constituted a missed opportunity and undercut US efforts to forge a forceful, collective response to the invasion. In this regard, Brzezinski was the only major figure in the administration who was sensitive to Afghan developments and the Soviet military role in Afghanistan.

1-4. Carter's Response to the Soviet Union

Initially, within the Carter administration, Vance won the skimishes over Afghanistan policy and the administration did not pursue an over assertive policy. But, after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, Brzezinski's assessment of conflict prevailed, the National Security Adviser's image of Soviet activism in the Third World increasingly came to dominate administration thinking, even though Carter was not yet fully converted to the Brzezinski school of Sovictology.[50] Brzezinski argued that the "Soviets were well positioned to project power, to foster international "anarchy" and to "exploit global chaos," in a world that was "experiencing a political awakening on a scale without precedent in human history."[51] He also reportedly registered "serious concern" about Soviet involvement in Afghanistan in conversations with Soviet Ambassador Dobrynin between March and July 1980 and warned against the Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan.[52]

Carter's turn to the right was evident in two speeches he delivered in the first half of 1980. At Wake Forest in March, Carter, while reaffirming his desire to avoid American intervention in regional conflicts and his support for arms control, also stressed American opposition to "intervention by others" and he took the Soviets to task for their "excessive" military build up. Much of the speech was a protest against the Soviets breach of good faith:

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[49] Brzezinski, Power and Principle, p. 427.

[50] In his study of the Carter administration's images of international affairs, Jerel A. Rosati argues that highly contrasting images were the hallmark of the administration's second year and that Carter was still in the same camp as Vance. The first point is certainly accurate because the divisions between Vance and Brzezinski were deep on a host of issues concerning Soviet policy, China policy and regional conflicts (Horn of Africa and Afghanistan). Rosati notes that Carter had not wavered in his fixation with the lessons of Vietnam and Carter did appear uncomfortable with the dissonance implicit in his desire to avoid Vietnam while standing up to the Russians. Rosati's case for putting Brzezinski image that he places in opposition to the Carter-Vance perspective and he mentions, merely in passing, that the administration's overall evaluation of the Soviet Union changed radically between 1977and 1978. By his measurements, the administration's assessment was 71.4 percent positive in 1977 and 65.4 percent negative in 1978. See Jerel A. Rosati, The Carter Administration's Quest, pp. 58-69.

[51] Brzezinski, Power and Principle, p. 148.

> To the Soviet Union, détente seems to mean a continuing aggressive struggle for political advantage and increased influence in a variety of ways. The Soviet Union apparently sees military power and military assistance as the best means of expanding its influence abroad. Obviously, areas of instability in the world produce a tempting target for this effort and all too often they seem ready to exploit any such opportunities.[53]

Carter emphasised the global reach of American security interests, making special note of the Persian Gulf, and he made much of the administration's defence efforts, especially its improvement in forces that could be deployed quickly. One line in particular revealed both Carter's own growing concern about the Soviets and his sensitivity to criticism of his foreign policy from the right. He reiterated his willingness to cooperate with the Soviets, but warned: "if they fail to demonstrate restraint in missile programme and other force levels or in the projection of Soviet or proxy forces into other lands and continents, then popular support in the United States for such cooperation with the Soviet Union will certainly erode."[54] In the second speech, at the US Naval Academy in June 1980, Carter again defended foreign policy principles and repeated his determination to conclude a SALT treaty, and called détente "central to world peace." He criticised the Soviet "excessive" military build up, calling it "far beyond any legitimate requirements" for defence. He declared that détente had to be "broadly defined and truly reciprocal" and complained that "to the Soviet Union, détente seems to mean a continuing struggle for political advantage and increased influence in a variety of ways." He took the Soviets to task, in fairly sharp terms, for a number of sins. He condemned their human rights abuses and their "attempts to export a totalitarian and repressive form of government."[55] Carter denied a desire to link SALT to the USSR's global conduct, but warned that such linkage was unavoidable in a democracy "where public opinion is an integral factor" in the foreign policy process. He also identified the contours of the code of conduct or rules of the game that were the prerequisite for a constructive US-Soviet relationship.[56] In his speech he reiterated the desire for cooperation but put it in terms of a choice that Moscow had to make it clear:

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[52] Brzezinski, Power and Principle, pp. 345-346.
[53] Department of State Bulletin No. 78 (March 1980), p. 27.
[54] See Jimmy Carter, "Addresses at Wake Forest University, 17 March 1980," Weekely Compilation of Presidential Documents No. 14 (24 March 1980), pp. 529-539.
[55] Ibid., p. 1054.
[56] Ibid.

> The Soviet Union can choose either confrontation or cooperation. The United States is adequately prepared to meet either choice. We would prefer cooperation through a détente that increasingly involves similar restraint for both sides; similar readiness to solve disputes by negotiations, and not by violence; similar willingness to compete peacefully, and not militarily. Anything less than that is likely to undermine détente....A competition without restraint and without shared rules will escalate into grave tensions, and our relationship as whole with the Soviet Union will suffer.[57]

2. The Carter Doctrine

The overt Soviet intervention in Afghanistan marked a fundamental and "long-lasting turning point" in relations between the US and the Soviet Union.[58] US policy makers believed that national credibility was at stake if the United States did not respond properly. President Carter immediately stated that "the Soviet action is not only aggression" but a "blatant military interference in the internal affairs of an independent sovereign state."[59] Carter further declared that "we are the other superpower on earth and it became my responsibility.....to take action that would prevent the Soviet Union from (accomplishing) this invasion with impunity."[60] Carter condemned the invasion as a "blatant violation of accepted international rules of behaviour" and a grave threat to world peace."[61] He also protested against the move in a hot line message to Brezhnev, calling it a "clear threat to peace" and warning that his present course of action would inevitably jeopardise the course of United States-Soviet Union relations throughout the world.[62] President Carter claimed that "a Soviet occupied Afghanistan was a stepping stone to possible control over much of the world's oil supplies — including those of Iran. He stated that the "implications of the Soviet invasion could pose the most serious threat to peace since the World War II."[63] His most substantial action was his proclamation of the "Carter Doctrine," which revived the worst memories of the Cold War by warning the Soviets to halt their expansion into the

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[57] Ibid.
[58] Jimmy Carter, Keeping Faith: Memoirs of a President (New York: Bantam Books, 1982), p. 472.
[59] Department of State Bulletin, No. 80 (February 1980), p. 65; and see US International Communication Agency, Official Text (27 December 1979).
[60] Presidential Documents, No. 16 (28 January 1980), p. 111; see also Thomas Hammond, Red Flag Over Afghanistan, pp. 121-122.
[61] Quoted in Keesing's Contemporary Archives, 9 May 1980, p. 30232; Mark Heller, The Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan: Motivations and Implications CSS Memorandum No. 2 (Tel Aviv: Centre for Strategic Studies, 1980), pp. 13-14.
[62] Carter, Keeping Faith, p. 472.
[63] Quoted in Kessing's Contemporary Archives (9 May 1980), p. 30233; see also The Times (29 January 1979),p. 1.

Middle East. In his State of the Union address of 23 January 1980, the president warned that:

> Any attempt by any outside force to wrest control of the Persian Gulf region oil fields from its chosen allies in the region will be regarded as an assault on the vital interests of the United States and such an assault will be repelled by use of any means necessary, including military force.[64]

Carter's principal initiative, with its emphasis on the willingness of the United States to use force in defence of its vital interests, was dictated by the occurrence of two paramount developments in the Persian Gulf region, the stunning collapse of Iran as a bastion of regional stability and the growth and intrusion of Soviet power. Thus, in response to somewhat analogous circumstances-the development of what might crudely be called a power vacuum, the growth of Soviet power and influence and of Soviet related threats to regional stability and regional demands for reassurance-Carter responded with a "doctrine" strikingly similar to the Truman and Eisenhower Doctrines. He also responded with a pronouncement that was, as Gary Sick points out, very similar to Britain's response to growing Russian influence in Persia in 1903, when the Foreign Minister, Lord Lansdowne, stated that Britain would "regard the establishment of a naval base, or of a fortified port, in the Persian Gulf by any other power as a very grave menace to British interests, that would be resisted with all the means at our disposal."[65] Although the Carter Doctrine was defensive at the politico-strategic level it was decidedly offensive at the military level. The Carter doctrine involved an increased naval build-up and B-52 overflights and longer-term steps such as the acquisition of access to regional facilities, increased political and military collaboration with states in the region, military exercises and especially the creation of the Rapid Deployment Joint Task-Force, all these initiatives threatened the Soviets by bringing US power closer to their southern frontiers. The Soviet officials accused the United States of turning the Gulf region into the most dangerous area on earth, and of intensifying the risk of nuclear

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[64] The Carter doctrine was a departure from the Nixon doctrine of relying on regional allies to secure American interests and a return to the Eisenhower doctrine of 1957. See "Transcript of President's State of the Union Address to Joint Session of Congress," New York Times (24 January 1980), p. A12; and see also Department of State Bulletin, No. 80 (February 1980), p. B.

[65] Gary Sick, "An American Perspective," in Paul Jabber et al., Great Power Interests in the Persian Gulf (New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 1989), p. 31. For brief analysis of the circumstances prompting the Lansdowne statement, see Martin Sicker, The Bear and the Lion: Soviet Imperialism and Iran (New York: Praeger, 1988), pp. 18-24.

war in the region.[66] At the 26th Party Congress in February 1981, Brezhnev himself warned that the US was turning the region into a "powderkeg."[67]

For the United States, the Soviet domination of the Gulf would have made "economic vassals" of America's allies and it would have been an "irreversible catastrophe."[68] The Persian Gulf was not only on a par with the other two strategically vital (Southwest Asia and Europe) areas, but as Brzezinski said, "the fates of these zones are interdependent and a threat to the security and independence of one is a threat to the other two...."[69] Brzezinski emphasised that the point of the Carter Doctrine was to impress upon the Soviets the fact that a Soviet incursion into the Gulf area would "precipitate an engagement with the United States, and that the US would then be free to choose the manner in which it would respond."[70] The National Security Adviser also instructed the Defence Department to develop options for both horizontal and vertical escalation.[71]

Brezhnev responded to growing US hostility by claiming that "the direct Soviet intervention in Afghanistan was requested by the Afghan government"[72] in order to combat externally sponsored aggression. As soon as the aggression was halted, said the Soviet leader, the "limited Soviet contingent" would leave. In an interview with ABC's Frank Reynolds, President Carter called the Soviet response "completely inadequate and completely misleading."[73] It was in the context of Brezhnev's less than candid response that Carter made the embarrassing confession that the Soviet action had "made a more dramatic change in my own opinion of what the Soviets' ultimate goals are than anything they have done in the previous time I have been in office."[74] About a week later, in a discussion with members of Congress, Carter characterised the invasion as

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[66] Ibid., pp. 119-120.
[67] Ibid., p. 121.
[68] Gary Sick, "An American Perspective," in Paul Jabber et al., Great Power Interests in the Persian Gulf (New York: Praeger, 1983), pp. 31-37.
[69] Brzezinski describes an SCC meeting in September 1980 (when Soviet troops were massing on the Iranian border), in which Secretary of State Edmund S. Muskie opposed strong action by the US, arguing that Congress would not be willing to risk nuclear war over 11 percent of America's oil. Brzezinski then elicited Muskie's reluctant agreement to the proposition that "the loss of the Persian Gulf might lead to the loss of Europe", and that the Soviet had to be deterred from moving against Iran. Echoing Brzezinski, Brown made much of the fact that the security of the US., Europe and Japan was "linked directly" to the security of the Gulf. See Department of Defence, Annual Report, Fiscal Year 1982 (Washington, D.C.: Government Official Printing, 1983), p. 63.
[70] Brzezinski, Power and Principle, p. 445.
[71] Ibid.
[72] Ibid., p. 429.
[73] The New York Times (1 January 1980 & 27 December 1981), p. 1 & A7.
[74] See WCPD No. 16 (14 January 1980), pp. 40-41.

"the greatest threat to peace since the Second World War."[75] In the eyes of Carter's critics, the remark about the President's changed opinion constituted a confession of extreme naiveté, while the "greatest threat" comment betrayed a considerable overreaction. Carter publicly refuted Brezhnev's claim that "the Soviet forces had entered Kabul at the invitation of the Afghan government....the person that he claimed invited him in, President Amin, was murdered or assassinated after the Soviets pulled their coup."[76]

President Carter described the strategic threat in geopolitical terms, noting that the invasion, by bringing Soviet military forces to within 300 miles of the Indian Ocean and close to the Strait of Hormuz, posed a grave threat to the free movement of Middle East oil.[77] Protecting the vital oil transport and communication lines was defined as a necessary US objective in the wake of the Soviet invasion. Throughout the seventies, the Soviets had been successfully exerting influence in India, Iraq, South Yemen and countries along the east coast of Africa for military rights and naval facilities.[78] In this regard, control over Afghanistan was an important strategic gain for the Soviet Union. Further, the geostrategic threat was made all the more credible by the actual demonstration of Soviet military capabilities. Nearly 85,000 troops were air-lifted into Kabul in an impressive display of the capacity to project power beyond the Soviet border. A comprehensive evaluation of power projection capabilities in the Persian Gulf region demonstrated apparent Soviet superiority in the region. A report prepared by the Pentagon prior to the invasion concluded that if the Soviets decided to invade Iran, the US would have no option but to take recourse to tactical nuclear weapons to prevent the aggression. The report observed that the Soviets could use their advantageous position to launch attacks on oil facilities located in the area of Ras Tanura, Juamayah and Kharg island.[79]

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[75] Quoted in Kessing's Contemporary Archives, 9 May 1980, p. 30233.
[76] Carter, Keeping Faith, p. 471.
[77] Howard Jones, The Course of American Diplomacy: From the Revolution of the Present (New York: Franklin Watts, 1985), p. 585.
[78] See Clark Clifford, the former Secretary of Defence who was appointed as the special emissary to India by President Carter after the Soviet invasion in Afghanistan. Congress, Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, US Security Requirements in the Near East and South Asia: Hearings before the Committee on Foreign Relations and Subcommittee on Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs, 96th Cong. , 2nd sess (18 March 1980), p. 9.
[79] The Pentagon Report about the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan entitled "Capabilities in the Persian Gulf," see New York Times (2 February 1980), p. 1.

2-1. Regional Implications

The Soviet occupation of Afghanistan changed the strategic balance of power in South and Southwest Asia. The military balance favoured Moscow not only in terms of actual military capability but also because the Soviets were capable of deploying and mobilising forces in the region much more rapidly than the United States. Harold Brown, the Secretary of Defence, expressed the view of the US administration in the words:

> The full context of the Soviet invasion includes historical Russian ambitions in the region, a twenty year build up of Soviet military forces, the more recent development of Soviet power projection.[80]

Brzezinski evaluated the Soviet move around the Indian Ocean region and coined the phrase "arc of instability" for countries situated along the Indian Ocean littoral where the ongoing process of change and fragmentation had exposed the region to hostile elements.[81] The regional situation placed Moscow in an advantageous position to promote destabilisation in the region through covert and overt operations. These apprehensions were clearly expressed in the policy statement made by Peter D. Constable, the Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs, before the House Foreign Affairs Committee:

> It is an area vulnerable to direct Soviet aggression and to indirect Soviet subversion. This vulnerability has increased substantially over the past three years with the collapse of the Shah's regime in Iran, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and continued instability caused by regional disputes.[82]

Thus, the chain of events across the globe confirmed Moscow's intentions to expand its influence by taking advantage of regional disputes and rivalries.[83] The Soviet invasion convinced the US administration that the Soviet Union had no intention of observing

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[80] Harold Brown, Secretary of Defence, briefing about the Soviet invasion and its implications for Persian Gulf region, Department of State Bulletin (July 1982), p. 19.

[81] Fred Halliday, Soviet Policy in the Arc of Crisis (Washington: Institute for Policy Studies, 1981), p. 19.

[82] Peter D. Constable, "US Policy Toward the Middle East and Persian Gulf Region," Department of State Bulletin, No. 80 (June 1981), p. 43.

[83] In Angola the Soviet Union had helped a Marxist group to power in 1975; Ethiopia and South Yemen in 1976; and the discovery of a Soviet combat brigade numbering some 2,000-3,000 men in Cuba in August 1978 further damaged the process of détente between the US-Soviet relations.

the rules of détente because its aggressive actions had transgressed the limits. The Soviet Union and the United States had implicitly recognised the non-aligned status of those nations which were located outside the ambit of superpower competition. Although Afghanistan was in the Soviet security zone, its neutral and non-aligned status had been respected by both powers. Thus, in the US perspective, the occupation of Afghanistan was considered as unprecedented because it was a blatant and direct application of force against a neutral country outside the Soviet sphere of influence. This was repeatedly emphasised in all international fora. On 12 January 1980, the US ambassador Donald McHenry addressed the UN General Assembly and portrayed the Soviet action as an invasion of a non-aligned sovereign state which violated the international legal principle prohibiting intervention by force in the internal affairs of another state.[84]

2-2. International Implications

The Soviet invasion in Afghanistan was interpreted as an attempt to appropriate critical Persian Gulf oil reserves, to seize strategic waterways and to gain access to warm water ports.[85] It was feared and assumed that the Soviet control of the Gulf region would reduce the industrialised and the developing countries to a state of economic dependency.[86] The US also interpreted the Soviet invasion in Afghanistan as a gross violation of the tacit rules of the game governing the entire spectrum of relations between the USA and Soviet Union. Both countries had developed norms with concrete expression in concepts like "peaceful coexistence" and "détente." They were embodied in documents such as the 1972 Agreement on Basic Principles of Relations between the US and the Soviet Union.[87] The Soviet Union, in invading Afghanistan, seemed to the Carter administration to have acted outrageously, and at the same time have made a "tragic miscalculation." To Carter, "the worst disappointment was the immediate and automatic loss of any chance for early ratification of the SALT II

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[84] Ambassador McHenry, "General Assembly Acts on Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan," A statement before the General Assembly (12 January 1980), Department of State Bulletin, No. 80 (February 1980), p. 72.

[85] Zbigniew Brzezinski, "After the Carter Doctrine: Geostrategic Stakes and Turbulent Crosscurrents in the Gulf," in Richard H. Sindelar (ed.), Crosscurrents in the Gulf: Arabs, Regional and Global Interests (New York: Routledge, 1987), pp. 1-8.

[86] "US Interests in the Persian Gulf Region," Address by Harold Brown (Secretary of Defence to the Council on Foreign Relations) in New York on 6 March 1980, Department of State Bulletin, No. 80 (May 1980), p. 63.

[87] Mark Heller, The Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan: Motivations and Implications, CSS Memorandum, No. 2 (Tel Aviv: Centre For Strategic Studies, 1980), p. 48.

treaty.[88] Brzezinski argued that the Afghanistan crisis was a major watershed in the American-Soviet relationship, and he led the creation of a "general consensus" that the US needed to respond with a "broad strategy." America's objective had to be to "ostracise and condemn the Soviet and to reinforce regional confidence."[89] He hoped, however, that it might be turned to advantage as it would strengthen arguments with the Europeans over the installation of the Pershing II and ground launched cruise missiles.[90]

The events confirmed the worst fears of détente's critics in the West. Afghanistan, like Vietnam, came to have associations in both East and West far beyond its geographical meaning. Anthony Hyman labels Carter's reaction to the Soviet invasion as one of "overreaction and bluff at the same time."[91] Carter accused the Soviets of a "blatant violation of the accepted rules of international behaviour."[92] The US special envoy Clark Clifford told reporters in New Delhi that "The Soviet Union must understand that if they move toward the Persian Gulf, that means war."[93] Thus, in the US perspective the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan was the worst example of Communist colonialism. The people of Afghanistan under the Soviet-backed Marxist regime had been systematically denied the right to self-determination. The independent, neutral and non-aligned status of Afghanistan had been violated. The act of intervention was described as a transgression of the Helsinki Final Act (1975) that upheld the basic international norms of sovereign equality of states, inviolability of frontiers, opposition to threat or use of force, non-intervention in internal affairs and equal rights and self-determination of peoples.[94]

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[88] The decision to defer the SALT II treaty was undertaken with considerable trepidation and was a personal disappointment for President Carter because it set back the process of detente and arms control. See Jimmy Carter, Keeping Faith, p. 473.

[89] Zbigniew Brzezinski, Power and Principle, p. 429; see also Raymond Garthoff, Detente and Confrontation, p. 828.

[90] The New York Times (7 August 1980), p. A2.

[91] Washington Post (5 January 1980), p. 1; see Presidential Documents, No. 16 (14 January 1980), pp. 25-27.

[92] Quoted in Kessing's Contemporary Archives (9 May 1980), p. 30233.

[93] The Times of India (5 January 1980), p. 1.

[94] Congress, House of Representatives, Committee on Foreign Affairs, Soviet Violation of Helsinki Final Act: Hearing before the Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organisation

2-3. US Strategy of Sanctions

The rationale behind the US sanctions was to provide the Soviets with incentives for leaving Afghanistan. According to Vance, getting Soviet forces out of Afghanistan was the administration's "fundamental objective."[95] The punitive measures were to serve that objective by maximising the costs of their presence and by providing them with incentives for departing, i.e., the potential restoration of business as usual. The administration recognised, however, that there was little chance that sanctions would lead to an early withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan.[96] As Kim Richard Nossal argued, there was little evidence that anyone in the Carter administration entertained a serious expectation that the Soviet Union would actually bow to the US sanctions and withdraw."[97] Thus, the more immediate objectives of the US sanctions were to punish the Soviets or to "make Soviet involvement as costly as possible," and to deter them from committing other transgressions.[98] Similarly, Vance described the initial measures as "strong and calculated to make Moscow pay a price for its brutal invasion."[99]

The forceful response was intended to contribute to the deterrence of future "Afghanistans" by impressing on the Soviets that any subsequent event of the same kind would be subject to very severe penalties. In an interview with the Wall Street Journal in January 1980, Brzezinski made administration thinking on this point explicit by stating his belief that:

> ....there is going to be a great deal of turbulence in the course of the Eighties and that there will be a major temptation for our adversaries to exploit that turbulence and that therefore it behoves us to make it very clear in advance that there are also costs to succumbing to that temptation.[100]

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of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives and the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, 97th Cong, 1st sess., (22 July 1981), pp. 1-3.

[95] Cyrus Vance, Hard Choices, p. 389.

[96] In Brzezinski's words "we had no illusions that sanctions in themselves would force the Soviets out, but we all felt that the Soviet Union had to pay some tangible price for its misconduct." See Zbigniew Brzezinski, Power and Principle: Memories of the National Security Advisor, p. 430.

[97] Kim Richard Nossal, "International Sanctions as International Punishment," International Organisation, No. 43 (Spring 1989), p. 317.

[98] Vance, Hard Choices, p. 389.

[99] Ibid.

[100] An Interview with Zbigniew Brzezinski," Wall Street Journal, (15 January 1980), p. 20.

The Carter administration designed a forceful reaction to communicate to Moscow and it was intended to demonstrate the depth of the American conviction that the Soviets had crossed a line, broken the rules and thereby undermined the basis for a constructive relationship. The administration drew up a menu of options and President Carter chose most of those available to him, even outdoing his hard-line National Security Adviser in the process. This choice led one critic to denounce the administration for going "overboard in tossing almost everything movable onto the sacrificial bonfire of sanctions."[101] However, in some respects, the positions taken by the key players in those deliberations marked a reversal of the usual roles. Except on the critical issue of relations with China, Vance favoured a more forceful response than did Brzezinski. According to Carter's recollections:

> It was interesting that on these punitive measures, the State Department advocated stronger action than the NSC staff, a reversal of their usual attitudes. Brzezinski was remarkably sober, concerned about future relationships with the Soviet Union. I was sobered, too, by my conversation with Senator Fritz Hollings [about the political impact of a grain embargo in the Midwest] and by our strained relations with the Soviets, but I was determined to make them pay for their unwarranted aggression without yielding to political pressures at home.[102]

Brzezinski advocated a much broader embargo of grain sales to the Soviet Union and reinstitution of selective service registration.[103] On the other hand, the administration was facing a challenge from Senator Kennedy, Vice-President Mondale and Carter's domestic political advisers adamantly opposed to a grain embargo. However, initially President Carter cut off the sale of 17 million metric tons of grain which had been ordered by the Soviet Union and called on the other major grain exporting nations to stop their supplies.[104] The grain embargo was potentially the most powerful of sanctions, because the Soviet Union had suffered a series of poor harvests. The Soviets purchased 6 million tons, mostly from Argentina, to make up for the blocked American

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[101] Quoted in Department of State Bulletin No. 80 (March 1980), p. 38; and see Garthoff, Detente and Confrontation, p. 956.
[102] Carter, Keeping Faith, p. 476.
[103] Brzezinski, Power and Principle, pp. 431-432; see also Cyrus Vance, Hard Choice, p. 391.
[104] Mark Allen Heller, "The Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan," in Nimrod Novik and Joyce Starr, Challenges in the Middle East: Regional Dynamics and Western Security (New York: Praeger, 1981), p. 17; see also Presidential Documents, No. 16 (14 January 1980), p. 41.

tonnage, thus suffering a net loss of between ten and twelve million tons.[105] Carter's modest expectations were clear in the following comments on the grain embargo:

> We do not anticipate that this withholding of grain to the Soviet Union will force them to withdraw their troops from Afghanistan. We understood this from the beginning. We don't think that economic pressure or even condemnation by the United Nations of the Soviet Union will cause them to withdraw their troops. But we hope that we have laid down a marker and let them know that they will indeed suffer, now and in the future, from this unwarranted invasion of a formerly independent, non-aligned country.[106]

On 3 January 1980, Carter asked the Senate Majority Leader, Robert Byrd, not to bring SALT II to the floor for a vote but to leave it on the calendar for future action.[107] While the move had the incidental effect of adding to the list of punitive measures directed against the Soviet Union, it was taken entirely for defensive reasons. Carter feared that the Senate, then in the grips of a strongly anti-Soviet mood, would seize the opportunity to vote on, and defeat the treaty. Thus, Carter suggested that SALT would have to be indefinitely postponed.[108]

Carter cancelled the American athletes' participation in the 1980 summer Olympic Games in Moscow and prohibited sales of goods and technology for the Olympics.[109] He used his executive authority to ban sales of high technology or other strategic items (mostly computers, electronic devices and oil drilling equipment) pending a review of licensing policy.[110] Carter cancelled the US-Soviet export agreement of 1975 and

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[105] President Carter at a news conference, 19 April 1980. See American Foreign Policy Documents 449.

[106] "Hostage in Iran, Invasion of Afghanistan," Department of State Bulletin, No. 80 (March 1980), pp. 34-35.

[107] National Security Advisor Brzezinski advised, that President Carter delay consideration of the SALT II Treaty on the Senate floor. See Public Papers of the Presidents: Jimmy Carter 1980-81 (Washington, D.C: Government Printing Office, 1982), p. 121.

[108] The Treaty had been signed by Carter and Brezhnev at the Vienna summit on 18 June 1979. Brzezinski observes that the postponement of Senate consideration of SALT II was personally and politically painful to Carter. See Brzezinski, Power and Principle, p. 432; Writing about the need to withdraw the treaty from the Senate, Carter said: The worst disappointment to me personally was the immediate and automatic loss of any chance for early rectification of the SALT II treaty. Keeping Faith, p. 473.

[109] In 1936 Adolf Hitler had used the Berlin games to glorify Nazism. Since then, they had become increasingly political. The Munich games of 1972 had been shattered by the murder of Israeli athletes by Palestines. The 1976 Montreal games had been boycotted by most black African nations because white countries had not done enough to ostracize South Africa. Thus, President Carter wrote to Robert Kane (president of the US Olympic Committee) on 20 January 1980 that no American team would go to Moscow and cancelled the programme altogether. Gaddis Smith, Morality, Reason and Power: American Diplomacy in the Carter Years (New York: Hill and Wang, 1986), pp. 226-228; and see Garthoff, Detente and Confrontation, p. 953.

[110] Ibid.

announced a cutback in *Aeroflot* flights to US to two per-week instead of the usual three stipulated in the US-Soviet Civil Aviation Agreement. At the same time the president received assurances from the leaders of major West European nations that their governments supported this important measure.

The administration decided to curtail Soviet fishing privileges in US waters and imposed sanctions on fish sales to the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union, whose fleets of trawlers and giant factory ships had previously ravaged the fishing banks off New England, was allocated a small quota of fish of certain species which it could take from the American zone. Carter revoked all Soviet fishing rights. This reduced possible Soviet catches by 350,000 metric tons annually, cutting some 4 percent from the Soviet world-wide catch. Also the Carter administration imposed an embargo on the export to the Soviet Union of fertiliser and truck components. The administration also decided to delay the opening of new consular facilities in New York and Kiev.[111] On 21 January, after receiving reports that trucks produced in the Kama River truck plant (a plant supported by heavy American and other foreign investment) were being used in Afghanistan, Carter ordered the revocation of previously granted licences for spare computer parts for that plant. In early March 1980, Vance stated that the sanctions would remain in force until "all Soviet troops are withdrawn from Afghanistan."[112] The suspension of high-level contacts was an exercise in signalling that was, paradoxically, designed to foster real communication precisely by the disruption of the normal modes of exchange. Carter's interest in this kind of signalling is at least implicit in a discussion of sanctions in his memoirs:

> We also need to have a well-conceived strategy for economic warfare against the Soviet Union if it should become necessary in order to restrain its aggressive tendencies-some expanded form of punitive action, like the grain embargo, which could be effective, but one major step short of war. A maximum effort should be made to include our allies in this planning, so that they will be firmly committed to

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[111] This particular move was disheartening to Ukrainian nationalists, who believed that the opening of the consulate would enhance Ukrainian prestige and expand contacts between Ukrainian and foreigners. Sergei Maksudov and William Taubman, "Russian-Soviet Nationality Policy and Foreign Policy: A Historical Overview of the Linkage Between Them", in Michael Mandelbaum (ed.)., The Rise of Nations in the Soviet Union: American Foreign Policy and the Disintegration of the USSR (New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 1991), p. 35.

[112] Quoted in Department of State Bulletin, No. 80 (March 1980), p. 38; Raymond Garthoff also cites additional statements by Vance and Carter reaffirming this position. Raymond L. Garthoff, Detente and Confrontation, p. 956.

> take joint action, and the Soviet leaders will understand clearly in advance the serious consequences to them of additional aggression.[113]

Carter believed that sanctions themselves could have compellent power. He suggested that recourse to the grave step of economic warfare would be at least partially intended as a signal to the Soviet leaders that they should not be kept in the dark about the gravity of the situation. Thus, Afghanistan epitomised a broader impasse in US-Soviet relations, an impasse that arose from a pattern of Soviet conduct that was fundamentally incompatible with a relationship previously characterised by such cooperative endeavours as expanding commerce, cultural ties, and even arms control. The superpowers were at a crossroads and from the United States' point of view, the Soviet Union had some profound choices to make which Carter articulated in his State of the Union address:

> The Soviet Union is going to have to answer some basic questions: will it help promote a more stable international environment in which its own legitimate, peaceful concerns can be pursued? Or will it continue to expand its military power far beyond its genuine security needs and use that power for colonial conquest? The Soviet Union must realise that its decision to use military force in Afghanistan will be costly to every political and economic relationship in values.[114]

Carter also directed that various steps be taken to send clear warning signals to the Soviets and to enhance the ability of the United States to exercise military power in the Persian Gulf region. On 4 January the administration decided to maintain a permanent naval presence in the Indian Ocean and five days later, it was announced that the US would seek the regular use of facilities in Oman, Kenya and Somalia. At the same time, the Department of Defence ordered the nuclear-powered aircraft carrier *Nimitz* to join two conventionally-powered carriers, the *Midway* and the *Kitty Hawk*, which had been dispatched to the area south of Iran for manoeuvres. On 12 January, the US informed Britain that it planned to upgrade the facilities on Diego Garcia.[115] In the same move the US sent B-52s to overfly Soviet naval vessels in the Indian Ocean and Arabian Sea, a move fraught with nuclear symbolism.[116]

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[113] Jimmy Carter, Keeping Faith: Memories of President, pp. 588-589.
[114] WCPD, NO. 16 (28 January 1980), p. 196.
[115] Keesing's Contemporary Archives (9 May 1980), p. 30235.
[116] Richard Betts, Nuclear Blackmail and Nuclear Balance (Washington, D.C.: Brookings, 1987), p. 130.

The Carter administration established the "Rapid Deployment Joint Task Force" (RDJTF) to enhance the US strategic position in the region. The RDF later became the US Central Command (CENTCOM), with responsibility for 19 countries spanning Southwest Asia, the Persian Gulf, and the Horn of Africa. Pakistan, with its strategic location near the Gulf, was accorded a critical allied role. Much of US aid to Pakistan at this time came from CENTCOM-linked aid. The US administration began production of long-range cruise missiles and allocated $14 billion to be spent on facilities which were to be linked to the rapid deployment force to the Indian Ocean region.[117] This force had the capacity to land upwards of 60,000 troops in the area under wartime conditions. The Rapid Deployment Force came into existence in October 1979.[118] On 4 January 1980, after the Soviet invasion, the administration announced its decision to station the RDF on a permanent basis in the Indian Ocean. The administration proceeded to bolster its naval presence in the area by deploying two carrier task forces, and making available 800 aircraft for airlift. Oman, Kenya and Somalia agreed to provide access facilities to the US naval forces in the area.[119] The major objective of strengthening the US military position was to deter or prevent the Soviet Union from moving towards the Persian Gulf region and to overcome logistical difficulties faced by the US in the region, which hindered rapid mobilisation.

2-4. Carter's Military Support to the Afghan *Mujahideen*

Initially, the Carter administration was slow to go beyond economic coercion in its overt policy preferring to engage in covert operations.[120] During the first year of the Soviet invasion, CIA Director Stansfield Turner worried that supplying arms to the Afghan *mujahideen* resistance fighters would simply encourage them to commit suicide in a hopeless struggle against a much more powerful opponent. But later both Carter and Turner were convinced that the *mujahideen* were determined to fight on, whether or not they received outside help. It was, Turner remembers, "not a big struggle" to gain Carter's approval for covert support to the *mujahideen*:

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[117] R. K. Ramazani, "Weapons Can't Replace Words," Newsweek (22 September 1980), p. 17.
[118] Lewis C. Sowell, Base Development of the Rapid Deployment Force: A Window to the Future (Washington, D.C.: National Defence University, 1980), p. 15.
[119] Gray Sick, "The Evolution of US Strategy and the Indian Ocean," in Alvin Z. Rubinsten (ed.)., The Great Game: Rivalry in the Persian Gulf and South Asia (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1983), p. 74.
[120] Carter administration allocated $30 million for Afghan resistance in the year of 1980 and about $50 million in 1981.

> The primary thing we discussed was how we were going to pull it off, and that meant getting Pakistani cooperation. I explained to him how we were going to send Soviet-made weapons [through Pakistan] because we did not want knowledge of our own involvement to get out.[121]

Carter was determined to make the Russians pay a heavy price for the Afghan war. "Soviet involvement," Carter directed, was to be made "as costly as possible."[122] Carter told a student audience in 1981 that covert action had been the best way to resist Soviet aggression in Afghanistan, short of "going to war, which was not possible."[123] Turner also reported "that the Carter administration, despite its dedication to human rights and its considerable reservations about the morality of covert actions, turned easily to covert devices...." Carter approved what Turner discreetly describes as "a wide variety of covert operations"[124] and took a number of measures to begin a programme of aid to Afghan *mujahideen*.

At the 28 December NSC meeting in which reassurances to Pakistan were discussed, plans were made to "further enhance our cooperation with Saudi Arabia and Egypt regarding Afghanistan," a euphemism for covert aid to the *mujahideen*.[125] Subsequently, the Special Coordination Committee (SCC) of the National Security Council decided to supply light infantry weapons to Afghan rebels.[126] Carter also approved the dispatch of weapons to the *mujahideen* and within two weeks of the invasion, CIA arms shipments began to arrive in Pakistan. In its modest beginning, the US covert programme involved $20-30 million in arms.[127] When Carter approved shipment of weapons to *mujahideen*, that shipment came from Egypt and according to President Anwar Sadat: "the first moment that the Afghan incident took place, the US contacted me about channelling Soviet-made arms to the *mujahideen* from Cairo on US planes to Pakistan."[128] More

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[121] See Christopher Andrew, For the President's Eyes Only: Secret Intelligence and the American Presidency from Washington to Bush (New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 1995), p. 448.
[122] Ibid.
[123] The Washington Post (7 October 1982).
[124] Carter took action against the quasi-Marxist regimes in Afghanistan, Angola, Ethiopia, Mozambique and South Yemen. See Admiral Stansfield Turner, Secrecy and Democracy: The CIA in Transition (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1985), pp. 86-89.
[125] Brzezinski, Power and Principle, p. 427; see also Khalilzad's in an unpublished paper cited in Selig S. Harrison, "Afghanistan: Soviet Intervention, Afghan Resistance and the American Role," in Michael T. Klare and Peter Kornbluch (ed.)., Low Intensity Warfare: Counterinsurgency, Proinsurgency and Antiterrorism in the Eighties (New York: Pantheon Books, 1988), p. 199; and Raymond Garthoff, Detente and Confrontation, p. 942.
[126] New York Times (16 February 1980), p. 1.
[127] Carl Bernstein, "Arms for Afghanistan," The New Republic (18 July 1981), p. 9.
[128] Jay Peterzell, Reagan's Secret Wars, CNSS Report, No. 108 (Washington, D.C.: Centre for National Security Studies, 1984), pp. 9-10.

modern American weapons replaced the Egyptian stocks.[129] The Egyptian government also trained two thousand Afghan *mujahideen* (mostly belonging to the Gulbuddin Kekmatyar and Burhanuddin Rabbani groups) in the use of Soviet weapons. For this purpose, the Afghan *mujahideen* received training in the military schools of Alexandria and Cairo (Abbasia).[130] Saudi Arabia also assumed a central role in financing arms flows to the guerrillas. Moreover, the Saudis, who provided substantial military aid to Pakistan, were instrumental in persuading President Zia to permit the weapons flow.[131]

The Carter administration made a gesture of support for the Afghan refugees by declaring the week of 17 July to 27 July 1980 as *Afghanistan Relief Week* and proclaiming 21 March 1980 as Afghanistan Day. In his sanctions speech of 4 January 1980, Carter referred to the "small nonaligned, sovereign nation of Afghanistan, which had hitherto not been an occupied satellite of the Soviet Union."[132] In the same speech, Carter condemned the Soviet invasion as the deliberate effort of a powerful atheistic government to subjugate an independent Islamic people.[133] In a 20 January interview on *Meet the Press*, Carter asserted that "they [the Soviets] cannot invade an innocent country with impunity."[134] The Carter administration contributed $5 million in emergency refugee funds for the Afghan relief programme of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) and $300,000 in grant aid for voluntary agency efforts.

Carter's decision to approve aid to the *mujahideen* appears to have come after difficult domestic debate. Turner claims that "we had some moral dilemmas in the beginning."[135] Vance, too, may have had qualms[136] but opposition was minimal and Congress displayed not the least hesitation. In contrast to the bitter divisions that arose over covert aid to anti-Communist forces in Angola, Nicaragua and Kampuchea, the

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[129] Tim Weiner, Black Check: The Pentagon's Black Budget (New York: Warner, 1990), pp. 146-48

[130] The Egyptian Islamic Brother-Hood Party had close association with Kekmatyar's party Hezb-i-Islami and Rabbani's Jamiat-i-Islami. During 1980-81, the Islamic Brotherhood provided hospitality to Afghan *mujahideen*. The New York Times (8 August 1980); Gulf News (17 March 1981); and see Al-Ahram (23 July 1984).

[131] Bernstein, "Arms for Afghanistan," p. 9.

[132] WCPD No. 16 (14 January 1980), p. 25.

[133] Ibid., p. 26.

[134] Quoted in Department of State Bulletin, No. 80 (March 1980), p. 29.

[135] The issue was morally troubling because of the strong possibility that covert aid to a losing cause would only prolong and exacerbate the suffering. In spite of moral qualms, Tuner asserts that events in Iran and Afghanistan prompted the administration to turn "easily and quickly to covert devices to respond to some of these despotic acts". Nothing in the written record would indicate that Carter was at all hesitant or ambivalent. See Admiral Stansfield Turner, Secrecy and Democracy, p. 87.

issue of covert aid in Afghanistan engendered broad, bipartisan support and little debate. On 9 January 1980 members of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence were briefed and according to press reports, none raised objections.[137] This was probably due to the modest size of the covert programme, which was little more than symbolic in its early stages and, of course, to the widespread and deep sympathy for the Afghans and the opprobrium attached to the Soviet intervention in the United States. However, it is interesting that the issue did not generate more controversy, either initially or later when it acquired greater military significance. The CIA acquired Soviet-made weapons from Egypt to transfer to the Afghan *mujahideen* to prevent a direct revelation of the US connection. The operation began with a small budget of $30 million in 1980 but expanded to $700 million within the first three years.[138] The US provided assistance to Afghan *mujahideen* with the hope that the Soviet forces would be defeated.

At the beginning of 1980s, an election year, Jimmy Carter was certainly vulnerable to domestic political pressures. As a candidate for re-election, he seemed extraordinarily weak. Until the end of 1979, Carter's public approval rating was so low that "it seemed impossible that he could win the Democratic nomination," much less the general election.[139] Carter was being challenged for his party's nomination by Edward Kennedy, heir and apparent vindicator of his brothers' unfulfilled destinies. In July 1979, preference polls showed that Kennedy led Carter by 36 percentage points among Democrats.[140]

Kennedy's challenge proved brittle, in large part because of Afghanistan and the hostage issue. But in the political climate of 1980, Carter was highly vulnerable to a challenge from the right. The Republican hawks were assertive and Carter's Republican rival Ronald Reagan gleefully roasted Carter for his alleged naiveté towards the Soviets,[141] for having "lost" Nicaragua and Iran, and for giving away the

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[136] According to Turner, Vance "was unenthusiastic about almost all covert actions and firmly opposed to all paramilitary ones," Ibid., p. 88.
[137] Henry S. Bradsher, Afghanistan and the Soviet Union, p. 223.
[138] See Tim Weiner, Black Check: The Pentagon's Black Budget (New York: Warner Books, 1990), pp. 144-147.
[139] Kathleen A. Frankovic, "Public Opinion Trends," in Gerald Pomper et al, The Election of 1980: Reports and Interpretations (Chatham, NJ: Chatham House, 1981), p. 99.
[140] Paul R. Abramson, John H. Aldrich and David W. Rohde, Change and Continuity in the 1980 Elections (Washington, D.C.:CQ Press, 1982), p. 20.
[141] During the election campaign Republican distributed photo of Carter kissing Brezhnev at Vienna and it created a negative image in domestic politics.

Panama Canal.[142] Moreover, pressures for a tough response to Afghanistan were, of course, greatly magnified by the hostage crisis, which was nothing less than a national obsession. Indeed, the Afghanistan crisis produced an outpouring of anti-Soviet sentiment and even longshoremen refused to unload cargoes from Soviet ships, while angry citizens poured Russian Vodka down drains.[143] The President's responses to Afghanistan were enormously popular. Public approval for Carter's policies was as follows: the grain embargo 86 percent; the high-technology embargo 74 percent; increased defence spending 78 percent; reinstitution of draft registration 73 percent; and the Olympic boycott 67 percent.[144] Support for the use of force to preserve access to the Persian Gulf commanded a majority of 60 to 80 percent and a majority also favoured a commitment to the defence of Pakistan and provision of military equipment to China.[145] Even in Congress, Carter received overwhelming support for practically all of the measures adopted in response to Afghanistan and "it's almost as though they are giving him a blank check (sic)."[146]

In both general and specific ways, there was something to the domestic-politics explanation of Carter's anti-Soviet moves. Given the mood of the country and the Republicans' scathing criticisms of Carter's leadership, there would have been a strong presumption in favour of responding forcefully to the Soviet invasion, whatever the administration's beliefs about the threat or about appropriate responses. Carter's foreign policy had appeared ineffective and incompetent to prevent the Soviets' aggression. His policy toward the Soviet Union seemed inconsistent, ambivalent, defensive and plagued with starts and stops.[147] .

In addition, upcoming elections cast long shadows and domestic pressures for a forceful reaction were matched by international expectations for assertive American leadership. In the case of Carter, such pressures were magnified by Carter's reputation

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[142] Carter's sensitivity to the charge of appeasing the Russians was evident well before the presidential campaign. An incident that occurred when Carter travelled to Vienna to meet Brezhnev is both amusing and revealing. Mindful of Scoop Jackson's comparison of Carter to Neville Chamberlin, the President ordered that no umbrellas be produced, even though it was raining when he arrived in Vienna. According to one account, Carter said, "I d' rather drown than carry an umbrella." The account is taken from Strobe Talbott, Endgame: The Inside Story of SALT II (New York: Harper Colophon, 1979), p. 7.

[143] "Who Needs Their Vodka?," Time (28 January 1980), p. 11.

[144] "In a Fiercely Hawkish Mood," Time (4 February 1980), p. 22.

[145] Cecil V. Crabb, Jr., The Doctrine of American Foreign Policy (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982), pp. 342-43.

[146] Quoted in "Drawing a Line Around the Persian Gulf," Newsweek (4 February 1980), p. 23.

[147] Howard Jones, The Course of American Diplomacy, pp. 587-588.

for weakness and vacillation; a series of prior Soviet transgressions, real and perceived; and the humiliating display of American helplessness in Iran. Having "lost" Nicaragua and Iran to unfriendly regimes, Carter might well have responded as Kennedy did in defence of his commitment to Vietnam in 1961: "there are limits to the number of defeats I can defend in one twelve-month period. I have had the Bay of Pigs and pulling out of Laos and I can't accept a third."[148] Carter had to cope with what might be called the lost-country syndrome. Every president since Truman (Democratic presidents, especially), had been acutely aware of the harsh political fall-out that could ensue from "losing" countries to the Soviets (or, earlier, to Communism). There were, however, two manifest differences between, say, Johnson's deep-seated fear of being politically roasted for losing Vietnam and Carter's situation. Afghanistan was lost at the time of the Communist coup, when Carter was the prisoner of the hostage crisis. There was no question of preventing or reversing its loss through the direct use of American forces.

The Soviet invasion also convinced the USA to establish close ties with China. The Carter administration had offered China non-lethal military equipment and reaffirmed an earlier decision to seek special treatment for China on high technology transfers. Harold Brown, Carter's Secretary of Defence, talked publicly about the evolution to "potential partnership" between the United States and China[149] and raised the issue of Washington and Beijing working "in parallel" to assist Pakistan.[150] Brown also confirmed the evolution of a military security relationship with China in the following words:

> We would deepen and broaden bilateral areas and begin to discuss the areas in which both sides had common strategic objectives. There are a growing number of such areas and none more urgent than the area of South Asia.[151]

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[148] Quoted in Robert Jervis, "Domino Beliefs and Strategic Behaviour," in Robert Jervis and Jack Snyder (ed.)., Dominoes and Bandwagons: Strategic Beliefs and Great Power Competition in the Eurasian Rimland (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), p. 37. Jervis notes that Nixon and Kissinger had comparable incentives to show strength and resolve during the 1971 Indo-Pakistan war because of the US simultaneously withdrawal from Vietnam, as did Ford and Kissinger during the Maysguez incident, which came shortly after the fall of South Vietnam.

[149] Takashi Oka, "Message for Moscow: US-China Dialogue," Christian Science Monitor (14 January 1980), p. 12.

[150] See Cyrus Vance, Hard Choices, p. 391.

[151] The Times (10 January 1980), p. 8.

Although the Brown visit produced no formal accord, it initiated a series of discussions that intensified the strategic nature of the Sino-American relationship and specifically led to the subsequent conclusion of several economic and security agreements. This was an attempt to create a Beijing-Washington and Islamabad axis as a counterpoise to Soviet expansionism. The effort to establish a coordinated collective response to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan was a whole-hearted endorsement of the US policy approach. Brzezinski argued that geopolitical considerations could be given priority over diplomatic ones. He wanted to adopt an offensive policy to resist the Soviet aggression. He advised President Carter to take the military option to oppose the Soviet adventure. He indicated that the Soviet route was directed towards the Persian Gulf and warned that its expansionist ambitions must be repelled by any means, including the use of military force.[152]

3. Reagan's Grand Strategy

The Soviet arms build-up and invasion of Afghanistan contributed to Ronald Reagan's landslide victory in 1980 and provided justification for his administration's massive arms spending and support of anti-Communist insurgencies in the Third World to prevent Soviet global adventurism. Reagan's policy towards the Soviets was striking because it emphasised a much more proactive approach to countering the Soviet Union. When Reagan entered the White House, the position of the US appeared to be at an all-time low. But America under Reagan's leadership reasserted itself on the international stage and presided over a major shift in the global balance of power at Moscow's expense. Reagan believed the root of US foreign policy problems lay an unwillingness to stand up to a clearly expansionist enemy, a lack of political will to promote the political and economic values that distinguished the US and a refusal to use military power to secure US interests and values.[153]

In Reagan's time, the American policy swung from "superdoves" to "superhawks"[154] to maintenance of global prestige and strategic advantages. Superdoves were looking for victory in the Cold War with the assumption that in the long run the Soviet Union would crumble in the face of American competition and pressure. Superhawks still

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[152] See Facts on File, No. 40 (8 February 1980), p. 80; and see Raymond Garthoff, Detente and Confrontation, pp. 154-164.

[153] David Mervin, Ronald Reagan and the American Presidency (London: Longman, 1990), pp. 165-66.

basically subscribed to the long-established strategy of containment.[155] This was a time, when the Soviet Union expanded its dòmination in the Arabian Peninsula, in Southwest Asia, in Africa and in Latin America. However, its reversals started when the Reagan administration took extreme action to prevent Soviet military adventurism in Afghanistan.

Reagan's superhawk advisers called for the total isolation of the Soviet Union. They argued that the Soviets were in deep trouble economically and militarily. They suggested that the United States should not only strive for military superiority but also cut Moscow off from all Western loans, credits and trade.[156] Reagan also realised that without strong defence, the US could not deter the Soviet aggression. Thus, weapons were used in supporting rather than front-lines roles—apart from those which were supplied to "allies" in select areas outside the central fronts, such as Nicaragua and Afghanistan. Superhawks criticised the ostensibly principled human rights policies of the Carter administration on the basis of "double standards." Jeane Kirkpatrick a political science professor, appointed as Reagan's UN ambassador strongly attacked Carter's policies and questioned "how morally defensible was it, to cut support for Somoza in Nicaragua and the Shah in Iran when the regimes that came to power in their wake (the Marxist-Leninist Sandinistas, the Ayatollah Khomeini and Islamic fundamentalists) were not just authoritarian but totalitarian? While authoritarians were not democratic, at least they largely limited their repression to the political sphere; totalitarian regimes sought "total" domination of the personal as well as the political spheres of life." Kirkpatrick claimed that Communists often were far more repressive than other leaders. She explains that this argument resquared the circle, casting principles and power as complementary once again. The contras were freedom fighters, nothing less than the "moral equal of our Founding Fathers."[157]

The Reagan administration showed its determination to increase the United States' nuclear and conventional capability, in order to extend its deterrence and so prevent Soviet agression against the US and its allies. A problem had arisen when the superdoves unilaterally cut back on US defence programmes and Moscow accelerated

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[154] Richard Nixon, Victory Without War 1999 (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1988), pp. 58-62.
[155] C. J. Bartlett, The Global Conflict: The International Rivalry of the Great Powers, p. 377.
[156] Ibid., p. 59.
[157] Bruce W. Jentleson, "Discrepant Responses to Falling Dictators: Presidential Belief Systems and the Mediating Effects of the Senior Advisory Process," Political Psychology, Vol. 11, No. 2 (June 1990), p. 372.

its arms build up, and moved from a position of strategic parity to decisive superiority in land-based ballistic missiles in the later 1970s.[158] The superhawks realised that the marginal Soviet nuclear superiority had challenged the credibility of the United States and there was no option except to increase the defence budget and to build up offensive strategic forces (land-based missiles). In this regard, the Reagan administration also decided to negotiate an arms control agreement with Moscow to create a stable and enduring balance of power.

3-1. Peace Through Strength

In fact, détente not only had failed to bring about peace, but as far as Reagan and his colleagues were concerned, it had been used by the Soviets "as a cover for their traditional and basic strategy of aggression." Reagan stated in his rhetorical punches that "the Soviet Union underlies all the unrest that is going on. If they were not engaged in this game of dominoes, there would not be any hot spots in the world."[159] The reference to the early Cold War domino theory[160] was intentional but the Soviet had not changed one iota as far as Reagan was concerned. Democrats like Carter, and even Republicans like Richard Nixon, Gerald Ford and Henry Kissinger, had been deluding themselves, and endangering the country, to think the Soviets had changed. However, with Reagan, peace was not going to be achieved through negotiations. His administration set out to reassert America's international prestige with the notion of "peace through strength" against Third World revolutionaries as well as the Soviet Union and its allies.[161]

In this regard, power considerations were the basis for the Reagan military build up. The Reagan administration set itself the task of reversing perceived deficiencies. The "window of vulnerability" that the Reaganites believed had opened up because of the combined effects of the Soviet nuclear build up and the Carter "defensive neglect"

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[158] Ibid.

[159] Bruce W. Jentleson, "Discrepant Responses to Falling Dictators: Presidential Belief Systems and the Mediating Effects of the Senior Advisory Process," Political Psychology, p. 371.

[160] The Domino theory held that if one country became Communist, other states in the region would probably follow, like falling dominoes in a line. The analogy, first applied (1954) to Southeast Asia by President Dwight D. Eisenhower, was adopted in the 1960s by supporters of the US role in the Vietnam war. The theory was revived in the 1980s to characterise the threat perceived from leftist unrest in Central America.

[161] See Bruce W. Jentleson, American Foreign Policy: The Dynamics of Choice in the 21st Century (New York: Norton & Company, 2000), p. 165; and W. LaFeber, The American Age (New York: W.W. Norton, 1989), p. 671.

needed to be closed. Reagan's national security advisers were anti-Soviet hardliners[162] drawn heavily from the "Committee on the Present Danger," the nucleus of conservative opposition to the SALT II Treaty. The Committee on the Present Danger believed that the Soviet Union had not only acquired a first-strike capability, but was also prepared to use it. George Shultz, the US Secretary of State 1982-88, defined the new Reagan strategy by stating that while "it was once our goal to contain the Soviet presence within the limits of the immediate post-war reach, now our goal must be to advance our own objectives where possible."[163] The Reagan strategy, therefore, not only consisted of a renewed willingness to contain Soviet expansion but also envisaged an ambitious policy of confronting and perhaps even reversing Soviet gains on a world wide scale. This approach sought to explode the myth that history was on the side of an implacably hostile Soviet Union. Indeed, Reagan was also convinced that reinvigorated superpower competition would prove the Soviet Union was weak rather than strong. In a speech at Notre Dame University in May 1981, he asserted that "the West will not contain Communism; it will transcend Communism."[164]

In practice, Reagan's 'containment plus' strategy consisted of two key elements. The first was the rearmament of America to a point where, in Reagan's own words, "no enemy will dare threaten the United States."[165] Reagan insisted that his administration had to increase the size of the US nuclear arsenal in order to close a "window of vulnerability," that the alleged nuclear superiority of the Soviet Union had created for the United States. As a consequence, defence spending went up from $171 billion to $376 billion between 1981-1986, the greatest peacetime military build-up in US history. New nuclear weapons systems, such as the B-1 bomber, the Trident II D-5 SLBM and the MX ICBM, the Pershing II IRBM were rapidly developed, along with an increase in naval ships from 454 to 600, including 15 aircraft carrier groups.[166] A general weapons modernisation and ammunition replenishment started in the Navy,

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[162] William Casey (CIA Director), Caspar Weinberger (Secretary of Defence), George Shultz (Secretary of State), Richard Allen (National Security Adviser), Bill Clark, Roger Robinson, Donald Regan, Robert McFarlane, Glenn Campbell, David Wigg, Charles Wick, Vladimir Kutinov, John Poindexter, Herbert Meyer, Henry Rowen, William Schneider and Alan Fiers.

[163] George Shultz, in Don Oberdorfer, The Turn: From the Cold War to a New Era (New York: Poseidon Press, 1991), p. 36.

[164] Ronald Reagan's speech at Notre Dame University, 17 May 1981, Reagan Public Paper 1981, p. 434.

[165] Ibid.

[166] Ronald E. Powzaski, The Cold War: The United States and the Soviet Union 1917-1991(New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 233.

Army, Air force and Marine Corps.[167] The go-ahead was given for deployment in Europe of the Pershing II and ground launched Cruise missiles.

In addition, on 23 March 1983, Reagan announced the Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI), popularly known as "Star Wars," the long-term military programme to defend the United States against ballistic missile attack.[168] This programme was to some extent balanced by the growing flexibility of the Reagan administration in its dealing with the Soviet Union from 1984-85. Moreover, Reagan's SDI was not only useful in forcing the Soviets to negotiate seriously but also created the possibility of deploying a limited defence. Nixon supported Reagan's SDI programme and indicated that, "if Reagan had not proposed SDI, the Soviets would not be negotiating arms control."[169] In fact, the SDI provided diplomatic advantages to Washington to claim that it was in a position to negotiate from strength. Thus, Reagan's military build up created two main shifts in deterrence doctrine. First, the Reagan administration was much more sceptical of arms control than the Nixon and Carter administrations. Security had to be guaranteed principally by one's own defence capabilities to gain more bargaining chips to bring the Soviet to the table. Second, the Reagan administration doubted the security and stability of the MAD doctrine. The superhawks advocated replacing MAD with Nuclear Utlisation Targeting Strategy (NUTS) which constituted a nuclear war-fighting capability.[170] They believed that by having the capacity to fight a "limited" nuclear war, deterrence would be strengthened—and the United States would be in a position to "win" the imposed war.

A resumption of arms talks took place in November 1985 at Geneva between Reagan and Gorbachev and they combined to call for a 50 percent cut (in broad terms) in the superpower strategic arsenals, for an interim agreement on intermediate range nuclear forces, and for steps to prevent an arms race in space. A second round of talks between Reagan and Gorbachev was held in December 1985 at Reykjavik and both leaders considered halving their strategic nuclear forces over five years. They also decided that INF weapons were to be removed entirely from Europe, with each power retaining 100

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[167] John Lewis Gaddis, Russia, The Soviet Union and the United States (2nd ed.)., (New York: McGraw Hill, 1990), pp. 315-16.

[168] Star Wars or SDI appeared to be an abandonment of the deterrence doctrine of Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD) which had kept the peace between the nuclear powers for nearly 40 years.

[169] Richard Nixon, Victory Without War 1999, p. 86.

[170] Bruce W. Jentleson, American Foreign Policy, p. 167.

on its own territory (in Asia in the case of the USSR).[171] An impasse was reached over the future of SDI but Reagan refused to accept the Soviet demand that there should be no testing of space weapons outside the laboratory during the next ten years.[172] Gorbachev consistently used his options to try to get the Reagan administration to abandon the SDI as part of a deal to cut strategic forces by 50 percent. The Reagan administration firmly took the stand that, without landmark concessions, there would be no compromise on SDI research, testing and development, because SDI was the real counter measure of Moscow's advantage in offensive land-based weapons.

In spite of a strong political reaction by the peace movement in Europe, NATO stuck to its commitment to deploy 572 Pershing II and Tomahawk cruise missiles in Western Europe after the Soviets refused to withdraw their SS-20 missiles.[173] In addition, the Reagan administration decided to develop a number of highly sophisticated weapons systems in order to stretch Soviet resources to the limit if the Soviets tried to compete. Its rearmament policy provided the United States with a much stronger position to negotiate with the Soviet Union. Conventional arms increases were planned to enable the United States to meet a crisis without early resort to nuclear threats. It was also hoped that an enemy challenge could, if necessary, be met by what was described as "horizontal" rather than "vertical [or nuclear]" escalation. Moreover, Reagan and his advisers wanted to close the perceived window of vulnerability and they wanted to use an arms race as an instrument of technological superiority — to strain and bankrupt the Soviet economy. The Reagan strategy toward the Soviet Union amounted to what a senior White House official called "a full-court press."[174] Instead of assisting the Soviet Union in maintaining an inefficient economic system with US trade and credits, the Reagan administration intended to disrupt the Soviet economy by denying it critical resources, hard currency earnings from oil and natural gas exports and access to Western high technology. Moreover, the Reagan administration's military build-up and

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[171] The INF treaty was finally signed in Washington in December 1987 and eliminated only about 5 percent of the combined nuclear armouries of the two superpowers.

[172] R. A. Melanson, Reconstructing Consensus: American Foreign Policy Since the Vietnam War (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991), p. 189.

[173] Robert G. Patman, "Reagan, Gorbachev and the Emergence of New Political Thinking," Review of International Studies, Vol. 25 (1999), p. 581.

[174] Robert Sheer, With Enough Shovels: Reagan, Bush and Nuclear War (New York: Preager, 1982), p. 7; See also Christopher Simpson (ed.)., National Security Directive of the Reagan and Bush Administration: The Declassified History of US Political and Military Policy 1981-1991 (Washington, D.C.: Institute of Foreign Policy, 1995), pp. 62-64.

economic squeeze undoubtedly increased the strain on the Soviet economy and thereby contributed to the collapse of the Soviet Union and Communist ideology.[175]

3-2. The Reagan Doctrine

The Reagan administration considered the Soviet Union as a major cause of tensions in the Third World and was determined to prevent its influence by all means. Reagan wished to adopt a hard-line, consistent policy with the Soviet Union that combined deterrence, competition and negotiation. He also expanded America's military forces to counter the Soviets' global "game of dominoes."[176] In July 1982, the Reagan administration responded to a Soviet-backed Ethiopian incursion into Somalia by airlifting military aid to Somalia to shore up the regime of Siad Barre.[177] The CIA Director, William Casey, persuaded Saudi Arabia to cooperate with the US in lowering oil prices on the world market. This move helped to slash Soviet hard currency earnings, which relied heavily on energy exports.[178] Then, in October 1983, the US troops invaded Grenada and overthrew the Marxist-Leninist regime. Moreover, the Reagan administration reinvigorated the CIA and provided it with expanded military and financial means directly or indirectly to subvert the Soviet Union. The CIA also extended covert aid to Solidarity in Poland against martial law and anti-Communist guerrillas movements in a number of Third World countries, such as Nicaragua, Angola and Cambodia, as well as Afghanistan.[179]

The Reagan administration had a propensity for acting covertly to deal with Communist regimes by arming right wing anti-Communist guerrilla movements against Communist expansionism.[180] Reagan said that Marxism-Leninism would be left on the "ash heap of history" and predicted that Eastern Europe and the Soviet

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[175] Yevgenmy Novikov (a former Soviet KGB General) admitted during interview with Peter Schweizer that Reagan policies were the major factor in the demise of the Soviet Union. See Peter Schweizer, **Victory: The Reagan Administration's Secret Strategy That Hastened the Collapse of the Soviet Union** (New York: The Atlantic Monthly Press, 1994), p. xi.

[176] Ibid.

[177] Robert G. Patman, **The Soviet Union in the Horn of Africa: The Diplomacy of Intervention and Disengagement** (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 262.

[178] Robert G. Patman, "Reagan, Gorbachev and the Emergence of New Political Thinking," pp. 581-82.

[179] Peter W. Rodman, **More Precious than Peace: The Cold War and the Struggle for the Third World** (New York: Scribners, 1994), p. 265.

[180] Ronnie Dugger, **On Reagan: The Man and His Presidency** (New York: McGraw Hill, 1983), pp. 350-354; and Karen Elliott House, "Republicans Stress Arms-build-up: A Firm Line to Soviets," **Wall Street Journal**, (3 June 1980).

Union itself would experience "repeated explosions against repression."[181] In his most celebrated statement, on 8 March 1983, Reagan called the Soviet Union an "evil empire" and he made no apologies for this anti-Soviet message. He also proclaimed, "I believe that Communism is another sad, bizarre chapter in human history whose last pages even now are being written."[182] This tone was linked to the imperative of negotiating from strength. The harsh language also made clear to the Soviets the resilience and strength of the West: it made them understand the lack of illusions on the Western part about them or their system. Reagan told to Casey "We learned long ago that the Soviets get down to serious negotiations only after they are convinced that their counterparts are determined to stand firm."[183]

A second major feature of Reagan's strategy was a sustained ideological offensive against the Soviet Union. From the outset, the Reagan administration attacked the USSR with the same rhetorical fervour that Moscow had always reserved for its own attacks on the West. President Reagan accused the Soviet leadership of reserving "the right to commit any crime, to lie, to cheat" in order to attain "a one-world Socialist or Communist state."[184] Such strong language signalled that the administration rejected in principle the perception of the possible co-existence of a free world and a Communist world. Reagan made it clear that his opposition was not confined to aspects of Moscow's external behaviour but centred on the Soviet system itself.[185] In the 1985 State of the Union address, Reagan overwhelmingly supported the anti-Communist liberation movements in the world and announced that arms exports were the linchpin of his administration's global anti-Communist crusade. He claimed that "the US had a moral responsibility to assist groups and movements fighting for freedom and democracy."[186] President Reagan proclaimed US support for the Afghan people "in

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[181] Reagan Address to the Dame University students in 5 May 1981. See details New York Times, (6 May 1981).
[182] Peter Schweizer, Victory: The Reagan Administration's Secret Strategy, p. xiv.
[183] Ronald Reagan, in Don Oberdorfer, The Turn: From the Cold War to a New Era (London: Jonathan Cape, 1992), p. 285.
[184] Ronald Reagan in Michael Turner, "Foreign Policy and the Reagan Administration," in John D. Lees and Michael Turner (ed.)., Reagan's First Four Years: A New Beginning? (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), p. 127; John Lewis Gaddis, Russia, The Soviet Union and the United States, p. 314.
[185] Peter W. Rodman, More Precious than Peace: The Cold War and the Struggle for the Third World, p. 234.
[186] Robert W. Tucker, "Reagan's Foreign Policy," Foreign Affairs, No. 68 (1988-1989),p.13.

their historic struggle in the cause of liberty."[187] He also declared the policy and asserted that:

> You are not alone freedom fighters. America will support with moral and material assistance — your right not just to fight and die for freedom, but to fight and win freedom — in Afghanistan, Angola, Combodia and Nicaragua. We must not break faith with those who are risking their lives — on every continent, from Afghanistan to Nicaragua — to defy Soviet-supported aggression and secure rights which have been ours from birth.[188]

A third feature of Reagan's strategy was a policy of support to anti-Soviet rebels. Anti-government insurgencies were in progress against Soviet clients in Angola, Ethiopia, Nicaragua, Mozambique, and Cambodia as well as Afghanistan. Most of these rebel movements combined fierce internal resistance with growing military aid from the United States or regional actors to disrupt severely the Soviets client regimes.[189] Interestingly, in Reagan's time, US arms control, defence and foreign policies also underwent important and long-term changes after the Soviet invasion. The Reagan administration's massive defence build up under the "Reagan Doctrine," its increased aid to insurgencies against Soviet clients in Afghanistan, Nicaragua, and later Angola and Cambodia, its uncompromising arms control policies on strategic and Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces (INF), and a demonstrably greater willingness to use US military forces in regional conflicts such as those in Lebnon and Grenada, all put considerable pressure on the Soviets.

The Reagan doctrine developed as the basis not only for taking a harder line on global containment, but going further than ever before toward rolling-back communism. Where John Foster Dulles failed to deliver on rollback against the 1956 Soviet invasion of Hungary, the Reagan administration provided extensive military aid, weapons, and

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[187] President Reagan, "Statement on Soviet Occupation of Afghanistan," Department of State Bulletin, No. 86 (February 1986), p. 22.

[188] Reagan generated the idea of arming right-wing rebel movements in the middle of the Cold War era in the 1960's when he was serving as a paid spokesperson for the General Electric Corporation (GEC), Reagan frequently warned his listeners about the "war" against the United States and its values that "was declared a hundred years ago by Karl Marx and reaffirmed 50 years later by Nikolai Lenin." Reagan added ominously that "we are losing that war because we don't know we are in it." Quoted by H. W. Brands, The Devil We Know: America and the Cold War (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), p. 169; Peter Kornbluh, "President Reagan's Dangerous Doctrine," Newsday (8 February 1985); Ronald Reagan, "State of the Union Address," Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents - 22, No. 6 (March 1986), p. 139; and see New York Times (7 February 1985).

[189] Andrew Bennett, Condemned to Repetition? The Rise, Fall and Reprise of Soviet-Russian Military Interventionism (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1999), p. 217.

covert action for Nicaragua and the Afghan *mujahideen* to fight against the Soviet Union. Reagan's tough stance in support of anti-Communist "freedom fighters" was quickly labelled the "Reagan Doctrine" by the conservative observer Charles Krauthammer, and the term stuck.[190] Brands claimed that Reagan Doctrine of "support for freedom fighters was based on self-defence."[191] Afghanistan, Nicaragua and Angola represented visible manifestations of the Reagan Doctrine where covert and overt assistance was being provided to resistance groups or freedom fighters seeking to oust Marxist—Leninist governments. Critics called Reagan a "reckless cowboy" who might steer the US to the nuclear brink.[192] The determination and commitment to the containment of communism in the Reagan period led to an aggressive policy of rolling back communism in areas of the Third World where nominally socialist governments had come to power with assistance from the Soviet Union. Thus, the Reagan administration was committed to arming the Afghan *mujahideen* with the purpose that Afghanistan should be the Soviet Vietnam. The Reagan Doctrine was a major instrument to contain communism and oppose tyrannical Communist regimes. It provided the stage for the death of Communist ideology and the demise of Soviet Union.

The Reagan administration picked up the gauntlet and adopted a comprehensive strategy to compete with the Soviet Union. It was decided by the Reagan administration that the US must compete with the Kremlin not only within the Soviet bloc but also across the board. For this purpose, the administration used new communication technologies to exploit the Soviet internal weaknesses and put up a satellite capable of beaming television programmes throughout the Soviet Union against the violation of human rights, Communist ideology and the brutal Soviet system. Reagan gave the green light to the CIA to use all means "to Finlandise the countries of Eastern Europe and to push for incremental increase in their freedom or

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[190] When Reagan amplified this point in a mid 1970's interview with *US News* and *World Report* he asserted that "this nation should have a master plan, if you want to call it that, based on what we believe is the enemy's master plan.....Maybe part of the answer in a hot spot such as Vietnam was to give the enemy something else to worry about in another corner of the world....." He also told a *Wall Street Journal* reporter in the 1980 that, "the Soviet Union underlies all the unrest that is going on....if they weren't engaged in this game of dominoes, there would not any hot spots in the world" Wall Street Journal (18 December 1980); and see Charles Krauthammer, "The Unipolar Moment," in Graham T. Allison and Gregory F. Treverton (ed.)., Rethinking American Security: Beyond Cold War to New World Order (New York: Norton, 1992), p. 26.

[191] H. W. Brands, The Devil We Knew: Americans and the Cold War, p. 170.

[192] Peter Schweizer, Victory: The Reagan Administration's Secret Strategy, p. xiii.

independence from the Soviet Union."[193] Thus, it was the commitment of the Reagan doctrine that the US must treat the Soviet-Afghan war, not as a peripheral conflict in a faraway place, but as a crucial battle with Moscow.

4. The Washington–Islamabad Axis

The Reagan doctrine asserted that the United States had a right to intervene against Marxist-Leninist governments because they had been brought to power by illegitimate methods. The Reagan administration added decisively to the difficulties of the USSR in Afghanistan with its arms supplies to the *mujahideen* and Afghanistan became one of the most successful covert operations centre since the Second World War. The avowed objectives of the US articulated in public statements were the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, restoration of the right of self-determination of the Afghan people, repatriation of Afghan refugees to their homeland and restoration of the non-aligned status of Afghanistan. The actual thrust of the US strategy was to escalate the costs of occupation by rendering military assistance to the resistance groups and to inflict the greatest possible damage to the credibility of the Soviet Union by keeping the tragedy in the international limelight. The Afghan operation, though far from flawless, was run by experienced CIA professionals.

In 1983, the CIA was facing logistical problems to supply arms to the *mujahideen*. They needed a direct supply route and help from the Pakistan army and its agencies for the success of the Afghan war. For this purpose, Casey approached Zia ul-Haq who allowed Washington to use facilities in Pakistan as the logistical supply line to the Afghan resistance. After Zia's "green signal" to Casey, the support of the Reagan administration for the Afghan resistance gathered momentum. In October 1984, Casey secretly arrived in a specially equipped C-141 Star-lifter transport plane at a military airbase (Chaklala) south of Islamabad, to plan the strategy for the war against the Soviet forces. Zia warmly welcomed Casey when he entered the Presidential office. Casey showed some satellite pictures to Zia about the Soviet military deployments in Afghanistan and the placement of troops by Zia's arch-enemy, India. After the three hours long meeting, Casey assured Zia of the US's growing concern over the

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[193] Richard Nixon, Victory Without War 1999, p. 151.

possibility of a Soviet thrust into Pakistan. Casey also passed on the president's reassurances that the US was fully behind him.[194]

In Islamabad, Casey also met General Akhtar Abdur Rehman, head of the Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) and effectively, chief of the Afghan resistance movement. Casey discussed the battlefield situation with General Akhtar and both decided on the training programme which was essential in making the *mujahideen* more effective. Both felt that professional military training for the *mujahideen* was important because, without proper knowledge of war tactics and weapons, the war would not be made sufficiently costly for the Soviet Union. Moreover, General Akhtar provided information to Casey about the resistance, Soviet casualties, arms shipments and the requirements for weapons. Casey absorbed it all and began analysing ways to make the war more costly for the Soviet Union.[195] General Akhtar and Casey decided to give heavier weapons to *mujahideen*, including 122-mm rocket launchers and artillery batteries. General Akhtar demanded better quality surface to air missiles (SAMs) instead of SAM-7 to counter the Soviet airpower advantage. Casey promised to provide long range weapons to improve the quality of the war effort and to ensure that the *mujahideen* could more effectively "bleed" Moscow. Casey directed the CIA's officers to provide satellite intelligence data to the *mujahideen* to target the Soviet installations and facilities in Afghanistan. The CIA took pictures by the satellite and sent them by courier to the CIA office in Pakistan and this intelligence data played a vital role against the Soviet-Kabul forces.[196]

Casey offered CIA specialists in explosives and electronic devices to consult the ISI on special operations. For this purpose, the CIA trained Pakistani army personnel for the Afghan *mujahideen* to target Soviet sensitive installations deep inside Afghanistan. According to the *New York Times* report "in the mid 1983 the CIA and the ISI together launched secret operations to sabotage the Soviet military bases and instruments in Afghanistan. General Akhtar provided hundreds of ISI volunteers (Pakistani army soldiers) to carry out critical tasks—blowing up fuel depots, bridges, roads, and ammo dumps."[197] In 1984 Casey and General Akhtar decided to provide artillery and rockets training to the Afghan *mujahideen* on professional military lines. It was necessary to

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[194] Peter Schweizer, Victory, p. 151.
[195] Ibid., p. 63.
[196] Ibid., p. 118.

see more effective results in the battlefield and to reduce the quantity of *mujahideen* casualties. For this purpose, the CIA and Pakistan army trained thousands of Afghan *mujahideen* within a year and sent them to the different battle areas inside Afghanistan.

In March 1985, Reagan offered Pakistan a considerably expanded military and economic aid package and gave vague assurances of security for Pakistan against India.[198] The administration provided economic and military aid to Pakistan with the objective of reducing the potential for political instability and enabling Islamabad to resist Soviet military intimidation on the issue of Afghanistan. The US's overt position was that Pakistan's non-aligned status would not be affected and that the US would have no interest in establishing any military bases in Pakistan.[199] There was, however, evidence that the US undertook secret negotiations with Pakistan to arrange naval and air facilities on the Makran coastline in Baluchistan and near Karachi, for CENTCOM. In November 1986 General George Crist, the Commander-in-Chief of CENTCOM, visited Pakistan with a high military delegation, amid conjectures that President Zia had agreed to give the United States the requested facilities.[200] The speculation was fuelled by reports that the US Agency for International Development (USAID) had funded the construction of major highways and airfields, as well as other infrastructural development works on the coast.

5. Reagan's Support to Afghan *Mujahideen*

Reagan took power and appointed William J. Casey Director of the CIA in late 1981 to contain communism in the world. For Casey, Soviet communism was not a new threat but part and parcel of the totalitarian menace previously posed by Nazi Germany.[201] In mid 1981, the US and Saudi Arabia spent millions to get arms for the *mujahideen* to counter Soviet adventurism in the region. The Saudi government agreed to match

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[197] The New York Times (7 July 1985), p. A9; and see Peter Schweizer, Victory: The Reagan Administration's Secret Strategy, p. 152.

[198] According to Bartlett the Reagan administration orally assured Pakistan that if India will disturb Pakistan on the behalf of the Soviet Union, certainly the United States will protect Pakistan's security. See C. J. Bartlett, The Global Conflict: The International Rivalry of the Great Powers, pp.373-383; however, on 10 October 1984, the US ambassador to Pakistan restated the non-committal US position in regard to Pakistan's possible conflict with India. See Dean R. Hinton, US Ambassador to Pakistan, Question and Answer Session after Hinton's address to the Council on Security Studies in Lahore on 10 October 1984. See The Muslim (Islamabad: 11 October 1984).

[199] See State Department Bulletin, "Soviet Dilemma in Afghanistan," Special Report, No. 72 (June 1980), p. 54.

[200] Jamal Rashid, "Pakistan and the Central Command," Middle East Report (July-August 1986),p. 33.

[201] Ibid.

dollar for dollar[202] the US total expenditure for Afghan war, because the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan was also widely interpreted in Saudi ruling circles as a move toward the Persian Gulf to capture rich oil fields on the Arab peninsula.[203]

In fact, Afghanistan was the major target of the Reagan doctrine and it was one of the most extensive and sophisticated covert operations in American history. In early 1982 the CIA planned a comprehensive covert programme to support the Afghan *mujahideen*. Casey had ordered the Directorate of Operations to seek out and recruit Afghans living abroad to help run the international conduit of arms to the rebels. By the spring of 1982, the CIA had trained more than one hundred Afghans in the art of international arms shipping and after a short time they were coordinating the purchase of arms and arranging shipment to the *mujahideen* under the guidance of CIA officials.[204] The CIA purchased arms from the international market with Saudi Arabian money and transferred them to the ISI for the Afghan *mujahideen*. The CIA went to great lengths to keep the Afghan project secret; only six agency officials on the ground handled the entire operation. Rifles, ammunition and rockets were supplied through crates marked "television sets" and "appliances." The ISI officials were put to work carrying the equipment by unmarked trucks to the *mujahideen* staging areas.[205]

The CIA provided funds, weapons and general supervision of support for the *mujahideen*, but day-to-day operations and direct contact relied on the ISI.[206] The CIA supplied the *mujahideen* with extensive satellite reconnaissance data of Soviet targets on the Afghan battlefield, plans for military operations based on satellite intelligence, intercepts of Soviet communications, tons of C-4 explosive material for urban sabotage and guerrilla attacks and anti-tank missiles. The CIA also purchased arms on the international market with Saudi money and flew them from Dhahran to Islamabad. The CIA paid an advance for weapons that could hurt the Soviets—AK - 47s, grenade launchers and mines.[207]

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[202] Bob Woodward, Veil: The Secret Wars of the CIA 1981-1987 (London: Simon Schuster, 1987), p. 372.
[203] Peter Schweizer, Victory: The Reagan Administration's Secret Strategy, p.26.
[204] Ibid., p. 150.
[205] Ibid.
[206] The Washington Post (13 July 1992), p. 4.
[207] According to western sources, the Egyptians were "charging top dollar and selling up crap." The weapons were not effective against the Soviet forces and the *mujahideen*, who were losing their fellow brothers, and showed their dissatisfaction with the quality of arms. In this regard, McMahon told Casey about *mujahideen* complaints over the quality of weapons. Casey told President Sadat in no uncertain terms that the current arrangement for supplying the *mujahideen* was unacceptable because "the stuff is

Casey succeeded in upgrading appropriations for the Afghan aid programme to $80 million for the 1981-82 fiscal year, and he was to play an increasingly active role in administration policy debates on Afghanistan as he consolidated his power during the years thereafter. The US and Saudi Arabia agreed to enhanced military cooperation under a general package that included favourable American reviews of Saudi requests for arms purchases and Saudi support for Afghan refugees, *mujahideen* and for Pakistan.[208] The Saudis also began to discuss an $8.5 billion weapons deal with the United States and ultimately the Reagan administration approved the sale of extra-fuel tanks and bomb racks for their F-15s, four KC-135 tankers, an unspecified number of AWACS and Sidewinder air-to-air missiles.[209] In this regard, Casey helped to push through the AWACS sale in return for Saudi agreement to give large-scale support to anti-Communist covert action programmes, especially in Afghanistan.[210] The CIA was also taking weapons and ammunition from China and flying over sensitive areas of Kashmir. A variety of states–China, Egypt, Israel and Britain–were chipping in and the contributions were being brought to the port of Karachi. The Pakistani ISI then loaded the cargo on heavily guarded trains, which carried it to Islamabad and to the Baluchistan coast.[211]

One of the great supporters of the Afghan *mujahideen* was Congressman Charles Wilson. He argued that "the Afghan war is the right war at the right time and $30 million is peanuts for this good war." He wanted revenge for the 58,000 American killed in Vietnam by Russian weapons. During the House Appropriations Committee meeting for the Defence Department budget, Wilson said he wanted only one thing —

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garbage. We want to bleed the Soviet and with your low standard of weapons, the Soviet cannot pay a price." On the other hand, the Saudis were also unhappy to learn how Cairo was spending their money, since the Saudi government was providing substantial funds to support Sadat's government. See Peter Schweizer, Victory: The Reagan Administration's Secret Strategy, p.10; see also The Washington Post (13 July 1992), p. 4.

208 Brzezinski, Power and Principle, p. 450.

209 Shahram Chubin, Security in the Persian Gulf 4: The Role of Outside Powers (Totowa, NJ: Allanheld, Osmun for International Institute for Strategic Studies, 1982), p. 50. As did the 1978 sale, the 1980 proposal generated opposition in the US. In spite of Saudi statements indicating that Riyadh considered the sale a test of the relationship, Carter backed off. The issue was deferred until the Reagan administration fought and won another tough fight in Congress, leading to a large arms sale in 1981 centered on AWACS.

210 Peter Schweizer, Victory, p. 28.

211 ISI and Saudi General Intelligence Agency (al-Istakhbarah-al-Amah), headed by Prince Turki al-Faisal Saud, helped to manage this immense flow of money and arms. See Gulf News (13 June 1982); The New York Times (9 November 1982), p. 2; and Peter Schweizer, Victory: The Reagan Administration's Secret Strategy, p. 116.

more money for the Afghan rebels.[212] Wilson was successful in providing the extra $40 million for the Afghan operation in July 1980 and an additional $50 million in July 1981. Thus, under the Reagan doctrine, US military aid to the Afghan *mujahideen* rose from $80 million in 1983 to $120 million in 1984, $250 million in 1985, $470 million in 1986 and $630 million in 1987.[213] The *Washington Post* estimated that the US and Saudi Arabia contributed about $1 billion per annum to the Afghan *mujahideen* and Saudi Arabia alone provided $250 million annually.[214] Western sources indicated that the US indirectly supplied non-US bazookas, mortars, grenade launches, mines, Kalashnikovs (AK-47) a few anti-aircraft missiles, and money to the Afghan *mujahideen* through Pakistan.[215] Western sources estimated that approximately $5 billion in weapons was supplied to the *mujahideen* during 1982-1989 and a conservative estimate of $5.7 billion worth was sent to the *mujahideen* through Pakistan.[216] There were 50,000 tons in all, arriving annually for the *mujahideen*. However, the number of arms in the pipeline had jumped sharply: 10,000 rocket-propelled grenades and 200,000 rockets arrived for the *mujahideen* in 1985.[217] According to one estimate, the US humanitarian assistance to Afghan refugees reached $45 million per year during the 1980s but covert aid to the resistance ran at nearly $600 million annually.[218] Thus, the Afghan war became a cash and carry for the CIA—the Americans provided the tens of millions and the Pakistanis ran the war.

At this time, the Reagan administration was divided between two factions, each advocating its distinct policy approach to the crisis. The "negotiation" led by under

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[212] Gaddis Smith, Morality, Reason and Power, p. 402.

[213] Selig Harrison, "Inside the Afghan Talks," Foreign Policy, Vol. 72 (Fall 1988), p. 50; Diego Cordovez and Selig Harrison, Out of Afghanistan: The Inside Story of the Soviet Withdrawal (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 157; Barnet R. Rubin, The Search for Peace in Afghanistan: From Buffer State to Failed State (New Haven: Conn.: Tale University Press, 1995), p. 30; The Economist, "Foreign Report," (London: 13 November 1986), p. 42; Raymond Garthoff, Detente and Confrontation, pp. 921-923.

[214] By 1988, resistance organisations might have received more than $ I billion worth of external support annually. See The Washington Post (13 January 1985 and 21 December 1987).

[215] Zalmay Khalilzad, "The United States and the war in Afghanistan," in Leo E. Rose and Noor A. Husain, United States-Pakistan Relations (Berkeley: California University Press, 1985), p. 186.

[216] The 'covert' military support of the Afghan *mujahideen* was not just a Reagan administration programme: it had extremely wide bipartisan Congressional support. The greater part of the financial assistance was mandated by congress, both in the House and in the Senate, far above the administration's requests and at times against CIA wishes. Senate Concurrent Resolution 74, passed by the Congress in October 1984, stated that it should be the policy of the US 'to support effectively the people of Afghanistan in their fight for freedom,' was passed the Senate by a vote of 97 to 3 and by unanimous consent in the House. See International Herald Tribune (19 September 1985); Defence Intelligence Agency, Intelligence Commentary (7 January 1980), p. 524; and Daily Telegraph (3 January 1981).

[217] Peter Schweizer, Victory: The Reagan Administration's Secret Strategy, p. 251.

Secretary of State Michael H. Armacost with support from the National Security Council pressed for an early negotiated settlement of the Afghan crisis. The main actors, among them Congressmen Gordon Humphrey and Charles Wilson, opposed a negotiated settlement. In view of the heavy investment by the Reagan administration in the Afghan crisis [$2.6 billion] an unconditional settlement was considered detrimental to the US interests. On the other side, the hawks advocated strongly for the greatest possible damage to the Soviet Union. Charles Wilson opposed the cessation of aid to Afghan resistance groups and he gained a significant vote in the Congress to continue support to the Afghan *mujahideen* groups.[219] In April 1985, the president signed National Security Decision Directive (NSDD) 166 which outlined a strategy to drive Soviet forces from Afghanistan "by all means available."[220] The Reagan directive used bold language to authorise stepped-up covert military aid to the *mujahideen* and it made clear that the Afghan war had a clear goal of defeating Soviet troops in Afghanistan through covert action.

Thus, Casey and the Reagan administration were satisfied that the *mujahideen* were running sophisticated and large-scale operations, more effective as compared to the past. *Mujahideen* units once equipped with bolt-action rifles now marched into Afghanistan searching for soft targets using high-technological weapons and hitting Soviet air bases. New radio communications systems with effective ranges of up to 600 miles were now being used. Moreover, the United States Congress continued to be active in supporting the struggle of the Afghan *mujahideen* struggle against the Soviet Union. In 1987 Congress appropriated as much as $660 million for the *mujahideen*, and in 1988 they received an average of $100 million a month worth of arms.[221] By mid-1989, the United States and Saudi Arabia had agreed to supply $600 million each to the *mujahideen* by the end of 1989; an additional $100 million from the United States brought the total to $1.3 billion.[222] It is interesting to note that most of the

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[218] Richard P. Cronin, "Pakistan's Nuclear Programme: US Foreign Policy Considerations," Issue Brief, Congressional Research Service, 13 June 1988, p. 3.

[219] See Morley Jefferson, "The Negotiators Versus the Bleeders," The Nation (20 February 1988), p. 231; and see also New York Times (31 January 1988), p. 2.

[220] NSDD 166 provided more authority to CIA and both Pakistan and US decided to escalate the conflict beyond the hopes even of some supporters of NSDD by sponsoring ISI-planned attacks across the Amu Darya into Soviet Central Asia. See for more details in Seth Singleton, "The Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan", Air University Review (March-April 1981), p. 196;

[221] See John Merriam, "Arms Shipment to the Afghan Resistance," in Grantt M. Farr, Afghan Resistance: The Politics of Survival (Boulder: Westview Press, 1989), p. 74.

[222] By November 1989, the United States and Saudi Arabia came up with another $715 million for fiscal 1990. The US share of the aid was only $280 million, a reduction of the previous outlay by 60 percent. Saudi and Kuwaiti princes also contributed $100 million of their private funds. US funds were reduced

financial aid and military equipment went to Gulbuddin Hekmatyar and other Saudi affiliated groups extensively enjoyed the US, Pakistan and Arab assistance.[223]

5-1. US Stingers for *Mujahideen*[224]

The *Mujahideen* air defence was ineffective and confined to heavy machine guns and a small quantity of unreliable, Soviet-designed SA-7 surface-to-air missiles (SAMs), obtained from defecting Afghan army troops or supplied covertly. The Soviet SA-7 also had proved largely ineffective, especially after Soviet and Afghan aircraft were equipped with flares to distract such heat-seeking missiles.[225] The CIA supplied Blowpipe, a British-designed SAM to maintain plausible deniability but it was not a "fire-and-forget" weapon, so that the *mujahideen* would be vulnerable to attack as they stood in the open to guide the missile onto its target with a joystick. The Swiss-made Oerlikon anti-aircraft gun was supplied to the *mujahideen* to counter Soviet air attacks. Reports surfaced that British missiles were being used in Afghanistan.[226] British secrecy laws worked effectively to ensure that the details of British covert aid would remain unknown, but there was "sufficient evidence" to indicate that Britain provided sophisticated missiles to the *mujahideen*, probably the Blowpipes.[227]

By early 1985, the CIA and Reagan administration were both compelled to reassess their approach to the *mujahideen* because the Soviet forces had sharply escalated

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but Saudi Arabia and Kuwait continued to provide about $535 million to $1 billion in 1990 before Saddam Hussain invaded Kuwait on August 2, 1991. Under the Reagan administration, Saudi arms lifts to the rebels increased to an estimated value of $1.5 billion. See details in Muhammad Yousaf and Mark Adkin, The Bear Trap: Afghanistan's Untold Story (London: Mark Cooper, 1992), pp. 102, 106, and 117.

[223] Gulbuddin Hekmatyar also received $10 million from Libya and Iraq to use for weapons purchases from China. See Muhammad Yousaf and Mark Adkin, The Bear Trap: Afghanistan's Untold Story, p. 40.

[224] The Stinger is a thirty-four-pound, five foot, anti-aircraft laser-guided, shoulder-mounted portable missile. The US Congress appropriated $65 million for Stinger, twice their original cost. At the end of war a few were recovered, but about 200 to 400 were not found. On June 6, 1985, Pakistani leaders also asked the US government for Stingers and Sidewinders for Pakistani forces. Later on the United States provided twenty Stingers and a larger number of Sidewinders only for use by Pakistan's own forces to counter Soviet air attacks on Pakistan territory. See more detailed analysis about this issue in Weiner, Black Cheek, pp. 150-71; and Selig S. Harrison and Diego Cordovez, Out of Afghanistan, pp. 194-201.

[225] Alan J. Kuperman, "The Stinger Missile and US Intervention in Afghanistan," Political Science Quarterly Vol. 114, No. 2 (1999), p. 226.

[226] Bob Woodward, Veil: The Secret Wars of the CIA 1981-87, p. 316; and Selig S. Harrison and Diego Cordovez, Out of Afghanistan, pp. 158-159.

[227] As Payne notes, the Soviet lodged a official protest in July 1987, accusing the British of providing the resistance with the "newest weapons, including the Blowpipe anti-aircraft systems.". See Richard J. Payne, The West European Allies, The Third World and US Foreign Policy: Post- Cold War Challenges (Westport, Connecticut City.: 1991), p. 116.

attacks against the *mujahideen* and their weapons pipeline on the Pakistan border, putting the *mujahideen* in an indefensible position and the whole course of the war at risk.[228] On the other hand, US officials received news that the Soviets were prepared to invade Pakistan.[229] In the circumstance, the US aid was no longer limited to enabling the *mujahideen* to "harass" the Soviets and also to protect the security of Pakistan. As well as satellite reconnaissance and other US intelligence to assist the *mujahideen* and Pakistani special forces for targeting the Soviet and Afghan army installations, demolition expertise and secure communications technology were supplied.[230] Secretary of State George Shultz reported that both he and the CIA's Casey "fully supported the measures" to protect the basis of *mujahideen* and Pakistan security.[231]

In mid 1985, Zia ul-Haq asked Casey for effective weapons to protect the border area of Pakistan from Soviet aircraft incursions. The CIA took seriously the request for high-technology weapons such as Stinger surface-to-air missiles.[232] Congress reportedly authorised more than $65 millions in secret funds for the purchase of Stingers and the CIA ultimately supplied these missiles for an estimated $200,000 each. The 35-pound Stinger missile, considered at the time the world's most advanced portable missile, was designed to hit low-flying aircraft at a distance of about three miles. It had a sensitive infrared guidance system that homed in on heat emitted from the aircraft engine or exhaust. It also had a system that identified aircraft as friend or foe. The ISI trained hundreds of *mujahideen* to operate Stinger anti-aircraft missiles. The supplying of the *mujahideen* with hand-held Stinger heat-seeking missiles, never previously used in combat, was a major turning point in the Afghan war.[233] The Reagan administration supplied Stinger to the Afghan *mujahideen*, the first time that an ultrasophisticated weapon not shared with some NATO allies had been distributed to any rebel group. The US Defence Department allotted only three hundred Stingers, by the approval of Congress, for both the Afghan resistance and for use in Angola.[234] In September 1986 the US supplied 250 launchers, 1,000 missiles and hundreds of

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[228] The New York Times (19 June 1986).
[229] Alan J. Kuperman, "The Stinger Missile and US Intervention in Afghanistan," p. 227.
[230] Washington Post (19 July 1992 and 20 July 1992).
[231] George Shultz, Turmoil and Triumph, p. 1087.
[232] The New York Times (12 July 1985).
[233] George P. Shultz, Turmoil and Triumph: My Years as Secretary of State (New York: Charless Scribner's Sons, 1993), pp. 692 and 1087; Mohammad Yousaf and Mark Adkin, Bear Trap: Afghanistan's Untold Story (London: Leo Cooper, 1992), p. 182. Brigadier Yousaf, head of the Afghan Bureau of Pakistan Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) from 1983-1987, cooperated with the CIA in supplying the *Mujahideen* with Stingers.
[234] Alan J. Kuperman, "The Stinger Missile and US Intervention in Afghanistan," pp. 226-234.

Stingers to the *mujahideen.*[235] This was a most effective weapon in Afghan conditions and it was also a most damaging instrument against Soviet aircraft. Stingers were first used on 25 September by three *mujahideen* concealed near Jelalabad airfield, not far from the Khyber Pass. As a group of Soviet Hind helicopter gunships approached the airfield, each *mujahideen* selected a target and waited until a pinging noise from the launcher indicated that the missile was locked onto its target. To shouts of "Allah-o-Akbar!" (God is Great), five missiles were fired and three Hinds were shot down.[236]

With the arrival of the Stingers, the Soviet forces lost most of their ability to use helicopters and low-level aircraft against *mujahideen* positions. The tide of the war began to turn because of the Soviet loss of air supremacy. The Stingers forced Moscow to reduce its reliance on airpower and turned the tide of the war, forcing the Soviets to withdraw from Afghanistan. This weapon gave the resistance increased confidence and mobility against Soviet forces and enabled rebel forces to shoot down an average of more than one Soviet aircraft or helicopter per day. Thus, Stinger was a "silver bullet" against the Soviet-Afghan aircraft which began to fall from the skies as never before and within two months the Soviet Politburo had set a deadline for withdrawal of its troops. It is hard to imagine that the Soviet Union would have withdrawn at all, much less withdrawn unconditionally, if the *mujahideen* had lacked the military strength that foreign aid helped provide.

By early 1987 there were already signs that the Soviet Union was planning a withdrawal from Afghanistan. After a visit to Moscow at the end of 1986, the Afghan leader, Mohammad Najibullah, reported to the Communist Central Committee in Kabul that Soviet troops were to be withdrawn in one and a half to two years time. This was a reflection of how the rise to power of Mikhail Gorbachev in March 1985, followed by his summit meetings with Reagan at Geneva in November 1985 and Reykjavik in October 1986, had changed the atmosphere of East-West relations. On 8 February 1988 Gorbachev announced that Soviet forces would withdraw from Afghanistan by mid-May 1988 and would complete their departure within ten months. Thus, by the time Reagan arrived in Moscow for his fourth summit on 29 May 1988,

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[235] Selig Harrison, "A Break Through in Afghanistan," Foreign Policy (October 1983), p. 472.

[236] A video of the attack was rushed to Washington and shown to Reagan in the Oval Office. Its quality was disappointing. The *Mujahideen* cameraman had become so excited during the attack that he had been unable to stand still. Much of the video thus consisted of blurred images of sky, scrub and ground. The cameraman steadied himself after the shoot-down, and the president was able to see black

Soviet troops had begun to leave Afghanistan. As Reagan strolled across Red Square with Gorbachev, one reporter asked him whether he still thought the Soviet Union was an "evil empire," "No," replied the president. "I was talking about another time, another era."[237] One of Gorbachev's predecessors, Reagan was convinced, "had vowed to pursue the Marxist commitment to a one-world Communist state." Gorbachev was "the first not to push Soviet expansionism," and Reagan believed that he marked a break with the past.[238] On 20 January 1989, Reagan's presidency came to a peaceful conclusion and he said to General Colin Powell, that "the world is quiet today."[239] According to Kissinger, this was the triumph of Reagan's foreign policy, because the Cold War ended with the dawn of a new American era.[240] The Soviet empire collapsed even more suddenly than it had erupted beyond its borders and the US reversed its attitude toward the new Russia, from hostility to friendship.

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smoke billowing from the wrecks of three helicopter gunships. See Mohammad Yousaf and Mark Adkin, Bear Trap: Afghanistan's Untold Story, pp. 174-76.

[237] Christopher Andrew, For the President's Eyes Only, p. 500.

[238] Ronald Reagan, An American Life, paperback ed. (New York: Pocket Books, 1992), p. 707.

[239] Don Oberdorfer, The Turn: How the Cold War Came to an End (London: Jonathan Cape, 1992), p. 325; and see Reagan, An American Life, pp. 722-23.

[240] Henry Kissinger, Diplomacy (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1994), p. 802.

CHAPTER FIVE

The US-Pakistan Strategic Partnership

An alliance is not a love affair, but it cannot stand without a basis of mutual trust and respect.[1]

—Dr. Wilhelm G. Grewe, 1961

The major function of this chapter is to demonstrate the motives which have, for nearly a decade, guided the behaviour of the United States and Pakistan in the international environment. Both countries' strategic and political alignment was motivated by mutual strategic interests in the defence of South Asia and the Middle East. The United States was concerned for the defence of these regions and declared a policy of checking the expansion of Communist aggression and influence in areas considered vital to the security interests of the United States. To Pakistan, there was only one contingency involving external attack to which a reasonably high probability could be assigned: an attack by Kabul and New Delhi. However, Pakistan gained importance to the United States in view of its strategic location and pro-Western orientation. The interests of the two states overlapped significantly, giving them powerful motives for cooperation. The following discussion will include the major factors that helped shape these motives and the initial steps that the two countries took to achieve strategic partnership.

Alignment has long been associated with the balance of power. In political terms, an alliance's objectives are to maximize gains and share liabilities. The decision to align (or not to align) in what form, and with whom is made with reference to national interests. Security is the chief interest governing alignment between two unequal states. Weak states with security fears rely on a stronger power as a reaction against the threat from another strong power.[2] In theory, the relation of alliances to the balance of power is simple enough but actually, states enter into alliances with one another in order to supplement each other's capability. Thus, alliance is a means of reducing the impact of

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[1] Dr. Wilhelm G. Grewe, the German Ambassador to the United States, in an address before the Ford Hall Forum in Boston in 1961. Quoted from Deane and David Heller, The Berlin Crisis: Prelude to World War III? (Derby: Monarch Books, 1961), p. 21.

antagonistic power, perceived as pressure, which threatens one's independence. The objective is to check or divert pressure with counter pressure, applied at the point of the adversary's initiative or at his weakest point; the art is to achieve the best possible results within the limits of existing resources.[3] Moreover, associations of alliance between equal and unequal states depend on the existence of identical interests. The interests may be identical from the outset; or they may be capable of becoming identical in and through the association, or capable of merging in a higher, more inclusive, common interest. International actors select their goals before entering in a crisis arena and they will use all possible means to achieve their objectives. In the wake of the Afghanistan crisis the United States adopted a multi-pronged approach involving actions at several levels. They also worked out unilateral and multilateral strategies to counter the Soviet aggression.

1. Revival of US - Pakistan Relations

In the 1970s Pakistan was internationally isolated and relations with the United States were at their lowest ebb. The country was not a priority area for the US administration because of its undemocratic system, violations of human rights, and its efforts to acquire a nuclear weapons capability. In fact, the US administration always treated Iran and Saudi Arabia as the principal allies of the United States in the Persian Gulf region. But the Afghan crisis dramatically altered the administration's policy toward Pakistan and it became a most important country, in the changed circumstances. The United States, which had followed a low profile policy towards the region since 1971, overnight changed its policy and began to plan a major role in the area.

Before the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the US administration took a hard line with Pakistan's nuclear programme. Pakistan perceived that the Carter administration had adopted an ambitious counter-proliferation policy. In the 1970s, through policies of denial, control, persuasion and cooperation, France was forced unilaterally to cancel the fully IAEA safeguarded 1976 Chashma reprocessing plant deal with Pakistan.[4] One year

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[2] George Liska, Nations in Alliance: The Limits of Interdependence (Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press, 1962), p. 13.

[3] Ibid.

[4] President Jimmy Carter (1977-1981) who assigned a high priority to the cause of non-proliferation, vigorously worked for the annulment of the Franco-Pakistan nuclear deal. The US efforts to stall Pakistan's attempts to procure a reprocessing plant succeeded when in August 1978, France accepted the American suggestion to cancel the deal. See more details in P. I. Cheema, "Pakistan's Quest for Nuclear Technology," Australian Outlook Vol. 34 (August 1980), pp. 188-90; and Hasan Askari Rizvi, Pakistan and the Geostrategic Environment (London: St. Martin's Press, 1993), p. 92.

later, President Carter had lifted the ban to India, in June 1977, on shipments of highly enriched uranium for Tarapur nuclear plant.[5] On the other hand, Carter, in spite of events in Iran in 1978 and in Afghanistan in 1978, invoking the Symington-Glenn Amendment,[6] cut off all economic and military assistance to Pakistan and this action was considered by Pakistan as "moral relativism," which politicised the nuclear issue and created almost a national consensus within Pakistan. For the United States, the nonproliferation policy linked the issue of nuclear exports to the acceptance of full-scope safeguards by all recipients, whether or not they were signatories to the NPT.[7] The United States initiated the formation of the London Suppliers Group (LSG) to control the supply of sensitive nuclear items to potential proliferators. Its Nuclear Non-Proliferation Act (1978) had imposed moral norms on nuclear commerce. Pakistan regarded US nuclear diplomacy as selective and discriminatory toward the Third World in general and Pakistan in particular. In the Pakistani view, there was a touch of irony to the whole nuclear issue. The United States had never censured India for its nuclear programme, which, despite its peaceful appearance, was actually close to nuclear weapons production. The US administration was, however, very concerned about Pakistan's nuclear programme.[8] The Pakistanis asserted that the US concern was premature, since there had been no official decision either to carry out a nuclear test or carry out any nuclear weapons research, and they argued that no test was likely in the near future. But the US did not want Pakistan to undertake a nuclear weapons research programme, or to export or import nuclear technology likely to help in any weapons research.[9]

The US Congress imposed a ban on Pakistan's aid programme in April 1979 because of the country's refusal to halt its nuclear programme. The Congressional order to cut off Pakistan's economic and military assistance had further convinced Pakistan of American bias. The Carter administration cut off aid all development assistance as well as

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[5] Shafqat Ali Shah, "Pakistan's Perceptions of US Domestic Politics," in Leo E. Rose and Noor A. Husain (ed.)., United States—Pakistan Relations (Berkeley: University of California, 1985), p. 101.

[6] Under the Symington and Glenn amendment, in order to continue aid, the President had to certify annually that the country did not possess 'a nuclear explosive device' and called for a cutoff of economic assistance to any country which did not accept safeguards on dangerous nuclear technology. Moreover, the Symington Amendment forbade US assistance to countries that pursued nuclear enrichment technology and refused to give assurances that they were not developing nuclear weapons. See Keesing's Contemporary Archives (6 July 1979), p. 29701; (11 September 1981), p. 31074; and (17 September 1982), p. 31707.

[7] See sections 699 and 670 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended in Legislation on Foreign Relations Through 1981 (Washington: US Government Printing Office, 1982), pp. 177-81.

[8] Shirin Tahir-Kheli, The United States and Pakistan: The Evolution of an Influence Relationship (New York: Praeger, 1982), p. 124.

[9] Far East Economic Review (23 November 1979), p. 23.

commodity loans, except those covering food under PL-480 (a long-standing US aid instrument which provides surplus American food grains to developing countries). This law directly affected Pakistan's military aid, which for the last few years had been running at a level of around $45 million in development assistance and grants for military training.[10] On the other hand, military sales worth $25 million and more were already subject to prior Congressional approval. US laws also prevented international agencies to provide development aid to Pakistan.

In reply to Pakistan's protestations, it was proposed that research facilities be opened to inspection to ensure that no weapons-grade plutonium or other fissionable material was being stockpiled. But the Carter administration considered that Pakistan's programme was well advanced and there were apprehensions of possible weapons production. His administration thought that Pakistan had to be made a test case to demonstrate the seriousness of their nonproliferation objectives. It was also believed that since the Pakistani nuclear programme was financed by Saudi Arabia and Libya, Islamabad might be obliged to provide the "bomb" to one of these two countries and it would be injected into the Arab-Israel conflict.[11] By contrast, the Carter administration's benign attitude toward the Indian nuclear programme had puzzled Pakistanis. In September 1980 the Carter administration managed to push through Congress the sale of some thirty-eight tons of enriched uranium to India.[12] Pakistan believed that, despite the official IAEA safeguard in this material the transfer had been carried out "with full knowledge of the evident fact that the building and stock-piling of nuclear weapons had continued in India. . . .[Moreover] the seriousness of Carter's commitment to nonproliferation was . . .suspect because of serious and illogical discrepancies between treatment meted out to India and Pakistan."[13]

The other event which badly affected US-Pakistan relations was the burning of the US embassy in Islamabad on 21 November 1979 in which two Americans–a marine guard and an army warrant officer–were killed, together with four Pakistanis.[14] More than 40 Americans and 76 Pakistani embassy staff were jammed in stifling heat in the embassy's

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[10] Far East Economic Review (23 November 1979), p. 23.
[11] Shafqat Ali Shah, "Pakistan's Perceptions of US Domestic Politics," in Leo E. Rose and Noor A. Husain (ed.)., United States-Pakistan Relations (Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies, 1985), p. 101.
[12] Ibid.
[13] Tahir-Kheli, United States and Pakistan, pp. 129-130.
[14] Dawn (22 November 1979).

vault in the burning chancery for nearly six hours waiting for Pakistani troops to clear the mob from the building. In fact, Pakistani forces reacted very slowly, responding only five hours after the beginning of the incident.[15] This was a reaction to an armed assault on the Grand Mosque, Islam's holiest of places, which whipped up a great deal of Islamic indignation in the Muslim world, particularly in Pakistan. The Pakistani demonstrators believed that the attack on the Grand Mosque at Mecca in Saudi Arabia was mounted by US and Israeli agents. In retaliation Pakistani mobs destroyed the US embassy in Islamabad as well as the American Cultural Centres in Rawalpindi, Lahore and Karachi.[16] It was believed that there was certainly a large measure of organisation behind the violence and most of this was attributed to the Islam-i-Jamiat Tulcba, the youth wing of the highly-disciplined Muslim party, the Jamat-e-Islami. One commonly held theory was that a Radio Pakistan broadcast on the morning of 21 November 1979, giving details of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini's charge that Western imperialists and Zionists were behind the takeover of the Grand Mosque in Mecca by armed fanatics, was responsible. But it seems certain from the degree of organisation behind the demonstration, and its coordination with similar action elsewhere in Pakistan, that a move against the Americans in the name of Islam had already been planned.[17]

The attack on the Grand Mosque which houses the Kaaba and its sacred black stone, took place on the first day of Muharram, the beginning of the Muslim calendar. In that year, Muslims throughout the world had also begun a three-year celebration to mark the turn of the 15th Muslim century. It was believed that the attackers chose the date deliberately to protest against the exclusion of Iran from the Islamic summit which was being held in Tunis. The Iranian aim was to show the strength of Muslims to the United States, to secure the cause of Iran. In this regard, Khomeini apparently had a large measure of support in the Muslim world, particularly in Pakistan, even though the majority of people are Sunni Muslims as opposed to the Shi'ite sect which predominates in Iran.

Zia ul-Haq expressed deep regret and embarrassment about the US embassy incident and assured foreign missions in general and minority religious communities that they would be adequately protected in future. He also offered to build a new embassy for the United

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[15] The situation was like a "black hole," as the Americans ruefully recall; they had to squeeze to safety through an air vent, probably only a matter of minutes before they would have begun to be roasted alive. See Far East Economic Review (7 December 1979), p. 27; and Christopher Van Hollen, "Leaning on Pakistan," Foreign Policy, No. 38 (Spring 1980), p. 37.

[16] See Far East Economic Review (7 December 1979), p. 27.

States, a gesture which the Americans gratefully accepted, even though they doubted whether the Pakistan government could afford it, because the destroyed buildings in the 31-acre compound had cost more than $30 million to build and at current prices new construction would cost at least $40 million.[18] These events hurt US-Pakistan relations, but the Soviet military invasion brought the West promptly to Pakistan's rescue with promises of renewed economic and military assistance: it also suddenly boosted Pakistan's declining prestige. Carter felt strongly about the Soviet intervention and viewed Afghanistan as a watershed in East-West relations. Moreover, the Afghan crisis provided an opportunity to both Pakistan and the US to come closer to contain Soviet expansionism. This being the case, Washington immediately revived its military relationship with Pakistan and thrust Pakistan into the role of a "front-line state." Brzezinski (President Carter's National Security Advisor) dashed to Islamabad with the US military offer to Pakistan but Zia surprisingly gave it a cool reception and was reluctant to get involved with the US aid offer.[19] General Fazal Haq, Zia's strong-man and the Governor of the NWFP, told Brzezinski, "You screwed up in Vietnam and Korea. You'd better get it right this time."[20] After Brzezinski's meeting with Fazal Haq, he had publicly affirmed that Washington would support Pakistan with military force if necessary.[21]

2. The New US-Pakistan Strategic Partnership

After the Afghan crisis, the United States adopted multilateral measures to contain Soviet aggression and they believed that the Soviet presence in Afghanistan constituted a serious threat to Pakistan's security. For the United States, the task of repairing relations with Pakistan was formidable. Pakistan shared with the United States limited but important regional and global policy interests, especially a healthy concern for Soviet expansionism. In addition, Pakistan recognised that only the United States could potentially counter a threat from the Soviet Union. The task for Islamabad, then, was to maintain its access to US security assistance. Pakistan had no alternative means to minimise the intensity of the threats it faced.

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[17] Ibid.
[18] Far East Economic Review (7 December 1979), p. 26.
[19] Ibid. p. 100.
[20] Christina Lamb, Waiting For Allah: Pakistan's Struggle For Democracy (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1991), p. 222.

The US administration reversed its earlier policy toward Pakistan because the country was intrinsically important in a location where the United States needed friends. Congress lifted the ban on its military and economic assistance and both countries established a partnership for the sole purpose of expanding the scope of America's policy of containing communism. According to Henry Kissinger: "Pakistan had never found the sympathy in the United States that India enjoyed, at least among opinion-making groups."[22] The US always interpreted the arrangement to mean that it would assist Pakistan if the country were being attacked by the Soviet Union or a country or countries acting on behalf of Soviet policy. Thus, the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan emphasised the common interests in the US-Pakistan relationship as it created the greatest threat since partition to Pakistan's northern border. The Carter administration's stand on non-proliferation was set aside, and it was argued that America's national interests demanded open support for Islamabad. The shift in US opinion, particularly in the media and in academic circles, in favour of Pakistan was phenomenal. The significant shift in Washington's official attitude toward Pakistan was reflected in the following statement:

> Pakistan's strategic location at the Eastern flank of the Persian Gulf, makes it very important that we and US allies undertake a major effort to help Pakistan against the Soviet pressures and to become stronger and more self-confident. It is therefore necessary to help Pakistan to maintain a military force capable of meeting the emerging threat, to maintain levels of economic activity and standards of living capable of supporting US interests in the part of South Asia. At the same time, US strategy for the Persian Gulf was being outlined and Pakistan and other countries friendly to the United States were seen as being important to Washington in this context.[23]

US policy makers were aware that Pakistan occupied an important position in the region and the Islamic nature of the people made them a dependable bulwark against communism. In fact, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan was a long-lasting turning point

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[21] Ibid.

[22] Henry Kissinger, **The White House Years** (Boston: Little, Brown, 1979), pp. 849.

[23] General David Jones, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, spoke before a Senate subcommittee on March 17, 1981. He pointed out: "We need to improve our linkages with the countries of South and Southwest Asia both to increase their confidence in our commitment and to facilitate our entry into the region if the threat dictates. We are particularly interested in improving certain facilities in a number of places in Southwest Asia that we could use as transit and staging or support areas rather quickly if a conflict were to erupt. We would prefer to maintain multiple facilities arrangements than to have a few large fixed bases for operations primarily because of the size of the area and the uncertainty of where

with lasting consequences, because the US revived its relations with Pakistan and strengthened the country's ability to defend its borders against Soviet incursions from Afghanistan. For the United States, Southwest Asia had acquired a critical importance and it was a region where the US policy and posture remained vulnerable. The Eurasian continent represented the vortex of global power and it was the US perspective that whoever dominated in the Gulf region would determine the outcome of the US-Soviet competition and would emerge as the preponderant world power. Therefore, it had been, and it remained, United States policy to ensure that no single hegemon emerged as the dominant force over that enormous landmass.

President Carter referred to Pakistan as a "front-line" state in the battle between the "free world" and the Communist empire. He also declared that the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan threatened the Persian Gulf - Indian Ocean oil supply line, and asserted that the United States would act alone if necessary to protect Middle East oil from a Soviet take-over.[24] The security threat to Pakistan's western border and US vital interests in the Persian Gulf forced both counties to narrow the differences between them. Moreover, the Afghan issue offered a fertile basis for a bilateral relationship that reflected mutual sensitivity to new realities and a more realistic assessment of what each had to offer. Pakistan wished to live in a secure environment where its continued survival would be ensured. The varied threats along Pakistan's borders were one of the major causes for Pakistan's search for outside balances and to come closer to the United States. The US also showed willingness to strengthen Pakistan as a bulwark against the Soviet Union, promote prospects for democracy, ensure the territorial integrity of the states in the region, and protect Western strategic and economic interests. In this regard, the US invoked the hitherto dormant 1959 Bilateral Agreement of Cooperation[25] to reaffirm its

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conflict might occur. We would also like to increase participation by our Southwest Asian friends in regional security and exercises." See Department of State Bulletin, April 1981, pp. 121-134.

[24] Richard Crockatt, The Fifty Years War: The United States and the Soviet Union in World Politics 1941-1991 (London: Routledge, 1995), pp. 286-288.

[25] On 5 March 1959 the United States and Pakistan entered into the Bilateral Agreement of Cooperation whereby the US declared that "it regards as vital to its national interest and to world peace, the preservation of the independence and integrity of Pakistan." After the Soviet intervention, these agreements were invoked by Washington to provide military aid to Pakistan. For details see, Council on Foreign Relations, Documents in American Foreign Relations, 1954 (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1955), pp. 373-383; In this regard, Article II assured the continuation of US military and economic aid to Pakistan and Article I of the agreement with Pakistan states that: "in case of aggression against Pakistan, the Government of the United States, in accordance with the Constitution of the United States, will take such appropriate action, including the use of armed forces, as may be mutually agreed upon and is envisioned in the Joint Resolution to promote peace and stability in the Middle East, in order to assist the Government of Pakistan at its request. See US Department of State, United States Treaties and Other International Agreements, Vol. 10, pt. 1, (1959), p. 318.

commitment to Pakistan's security vis-à-vis the Soviet Union, and, as a gesture of solidarity, the National Security Adviser, Zbigniew Brzezinski declared that "the free world was to be protected from communism, whether it be of the Soviet Union, or some other variety, and Pakistan was an integral part of the denial plans."[26]

In Carter's 4th January 1980 sanctions speech, the President announced his intention to provide economic and military aid to Pakistan.[27] The United States wanted Pakistan to stay helpful rather than become irritatingly "neutralist," like India. On the other hand, Pakistan was considering some form of accommodation with the Soviet Union, in case the West did not meet Pakistan's full demands, because of the feeling that Pakistan could not confront a neighbouring superpower. On 11th to 13th January 1980 Foreign Minister Agha Shahi visited Washington and Carter offered a modest two-year $400 million package of economic and military assistance, in roughly equal amounts. The offer, however, did not satisfy Pakistan.

On 17 January, President Zia spoke bravely and vaguely of a relationship "not of outright hostility, not of a camp follower, but as partners with equal rights." He peremptorily rejected Carter's offer as insufficient, calling it "*peanuts*" and "not even a drop in the ocean."[28] He said: "You take Pakistan out of the region, and you will find that you have not one inch of soil where America can have influence—right from Turkey down to Vietnam."[29] Washington contemplated the sale of late model jet fighter-bombers to Pakistan but Zia added that the US offer was too small and the duration of the relationship too uncertain to attract Pakistan. In a rejoinder to the offer, he suggested that Pakistan's needs were roughly comparable to those of Egypt, a recipient of $3 billion in US aid.[30] Zia declared heatedly that Pakistan was entitled to "no less, and in terms of the threat that we face, even more."[31]

Foreign Minister Agha Shahi complained: "Acceptance of the US offer would have detracted from, rather than enhanced our security. Also, we could not ignore that US

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[26] See Department of State Bulletin (Washington, D.C: Government Printing Office, 1981), p.83.
[27] "By jingo, help us to be men of peace," The Economist (26 January 1980), pp. 44-46.
[28] Ibid.,p. 46; See also Prithvi Ram Mudiam, India and the Middle East (London: I. B. Tavris, 1994), p. 124; and William J. Barnds, "The United States and South Asia: Policy and Process," in Stephen P. Cohen, (ed.)., The Security of South Asia: American and Asian Perspectives (Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1987), p. 157.
[29] The New York Times (18 January 1980), p. 1.
[30] Stephen P. Cohen, The Security of South Asia, p. 157.
[31] See Independent (20 June 1987).

sensitivity to Indian reactions appeared to be determining the size and nature of the aid package."[32] In the same way, Finance Minister Ghulam Ishaq Khan criticised the value of US aid to Pakistan and stated, the acceptance of the small aid package means "Pakistan must earn the ire of the Soviet Union. America has no option in the region to check Soviet expansionism except Pakistan, thus, America must treat us fairly."[33] Pakistani spokesmen also expressed serious doubts about US constancy and reliability. They further argued that if the United States were not more forthcoming, Pakistan would pursue understanding with the United States, but would also move toward accommodation with Moscow. Thus, there was genuine anxiety and concern about US reliability.

Zia's government had also complained repeatedly about what it saw as the Carter administration's "ostrich syndrome," and its "implacable lack of concern" over Moscow's growing influence in Afghanistan and the region more generally.[34] Zia also demanded that a formal security treaty replace the Mutual Defence Assistance Agreement of 1954, an executive agreement. The government of Pakistan wanted to be assured that the US move was a part of a lasting policy and not an act of expediency intended to meet an isolated situation. In Washington, the issue of Pakistan was taken up at an NSC meeting on 28 December 1979 and a decision was made to offer reassurances to Pakistan and to send Warren Christopher there for consultations.[35] On a Sunday morning public affairs programme on 30th December 1979, Brzezinski affirmed that the United States stood behind the assurance extended to Pakistan in 1959 and he specifically stated that President Carter had authorised him to assure the Pakistani leadership that the United States would stand behind Pakistan to preserve its independence.[36] On 1 February 1980, National Security Adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski and Deputy Secretary of State Warren Christopher arrived in Islamabad to begin talks that would lead to a US aid offer to Pakistan, but Zia felt that the US "wanted to give a little aid, let Pakistan burn its bridges

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[32] Quoted in Bhabani Sen Gupta, The Afghan Syndrome: How to Live with Soviet Power (New Delhi: Vikas, 1982), p. 150.
[33] Khalid Mahmud Arif, Working With Zia: Pakistan's Power Politics 1977-1988 (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 334.
[34] Ibid., pp. 73-75.
[35] Zbigniew Brzezinski, Power and Principle, p. 429.
[36] Ibid., p. 448.

to the Soviet Union for ever, and then leave it in the lurch."[37] Zia bluntly expressed his concerns:

> If the US is going to help Pakistan, let it come whole hog. If I accept such a meaningless level of aid, I will only provoke the Russians without really getting a defence against them. I will burn my bridges: Do you really want me to do that?.[38]

Carter reiterated the American commitment to Pakistan's security in his State of the Union address. The Brzezinski-Christopher mission was helpful in reducing friction with Pakistan. It acceded to Pakistan's request for support in the event of an Indian attack on Pakistan and promised that "the United States would prevent India from becoming a full-fledged ally of the Soviet Union."[39] According to Thomas Thornton, "Pakistan was aggressively preoccupied with the historic threat from the east [India] to the detriment of common effort vis-à-vis the more real Soviet danger."[40] Zia was not satisfied with Brzezinski's oral assurances that India could not attack Pakistan. He mentioned to Brzezinski that during the 1971 crisis, Mrs. Indira Gandhi had given assurances to the Nixon administration that India had no aggressive designs against Pakistan but India and the Soviet Union both dismembered Pakistan.[41] Brzezinski replied that the problem of Afghanistan was strategic and global in nature. He argued that the USSR should not be allowed to consolidate in Afghanistan and expressed American unhappiness over the ambivalent stand taken by India on Afghanistan.[42] He explained that "the US administration would be not willing to upgrade the 1959 executive agreement (which

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[37] Noor A. Husain, "Pakistan-US Security Relations: Arms Sales, Bases, and Nuclear Issues," in Leo E. Rose and Noor A. Husain, United States-Pakistan Relations (Berkeley: California University Press, 1985), p. 6.

[38] Diego Cordovez and Selig S. Harrison, Out of Afghanistan: The Inside Story of the Soviet Withdrawal (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 57.

[39] Khalid Mahmud Arif, Working With Zia: Pakistan's Power Politics 1977-1988, p. 333.

[40] Thomas P. Thornton, "Between the Stools?: US Policy Towards Pakistan During the Carter Administration," Asian Survey Vol. 22, No. 10 (October 1982), p. 971.

[41] President Zia was on official visit to the United States on 3 October 1980 and former President Richard Nixon called on him. During an hour-long conversation, Nixon displayed a penetrating grasp of the international geopolitical situation. He appreciated Pakistan's stance on the Afghanistan crisis and recalled with gratitude the assistance given by Pakistan in arranging Henry Kissinger's secret visit to China on 9-11 July 1971. He also talked about Pakistan's nuclear programme and told to General Zia "I do not know the details of your nuclear effort. If you have weapons capability, personally I would not mind if you get over with it." During the conversations Zia informed Nixon that Pakistan wanted cordial relations with India and Indira Gandhi had assured him that India had no aggressive designs against it. Nixon retorted: "I hope you did not believe her. You don't know that during 1971 Indo-Pakistan war Indira had given similar assurances to the United States but what she did, you know better than me." See Khalid Mahmud Arif, Working With Zia: Pakistan's Power Politics 1977-1988, pp. 337-338.

[42] Ibid., p. 333.

technically only required consultations in the event of an attack) to the level of a treaty.[43] In fact, Zia desired unambiguous guarantees and a treaty commitment, ratified by Congress, since the 1959 executive agreement embodied no prior congressional commitment. However, the State Department felt it to be a totally inappropriate request on Zia's part. [44] In fact, Pakistan perceived that the bilateral agreement contained too many loopholes in the definition of the "threat" and Islamabad continued to be uneasy with India because of the fact that major issues between India and Pakistan remained unresolved.[45] The reason behind such a move was the realisation that Pakistan had suffered from the personalised nature of its relationship with the United States and that congressional commitment would provide much-needed continuity.

The United States perceived a Soviet Communist threat to the whole international system and made Pakistan one of its allies in the region in order to have access to Pakistani bases so as to expand the scope of its policy of containment. The US provided political stability to Zia's regime, to enable it to follow a pro-Western policy in international affairs, to restrain itself from developing warm and friendly relations with the Soviet Union and to be a faithful partner in the struggle with communism. It can, therefore, be said that the US military and economic assistance to Pakistan was primarily motivated by a belief that Pakistan would contribute to the security of the United States to institute and maintain the type of world order in which American interests and expectations would be secure. Further, the US expressed interest in the protection of Pakistan's security and its territorial integrity against foreign aggression. For Pakistan, the search for security had become, for all practical purposes, a search for moral and material assistance against Afghanistan and India. Pakistani leaders were convinced that the interests of the country in the realm of foreign policy could best be served by seeking a greater friend for the protection of its security. Thus, this was the first time that there had been a significant mutual understanding between the US and Pakistan on the question of the threats to be faced. However, the whole situation was changed when President Reagan came to power. Pakistan expressed satisfaction with Reagan's military and economic offer and its policy makers believed in the Reagan administration's determination to give strong support to Pakistan's independence. At that time, Pakistan played a key role by providing a haven for Afghan refugees and a channel for aid to the Afghan resistance.

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[43] Ibid., pp. 333-334.
[44] Ibid., p. 101.
[45] Shirin Tahir-Kheli, The United States and Pakistan, p. 102.

3. Rules of the Game Between the USA and the Soviet Union

Brzezinski, Carter's National Security Adviser, had been warning him for some time that earlier failures to respond with sufficient vigour to Soviet transgressions would lead to more of the same. In particular, Brzezinski interpreted the invasion as a vindication of his concern that the Soviets would be emboldened by US lack of response over Ethiopia. Carter indicated that he shared Brzezinski's view, at least to the point of believing that the Soviets had failed to receive the correct message. Thus, he offered his opinion that the Soviets had "underestimated the adverse reaction from around the world and some multilateral responses involving Western allies, as well as regional initiatives designed to minimise the intimidating impact of the Soviet action."[46] Similarly, Brzezinski averred that the Soviets "had seriously misjudged our own nation's strength and resolve and unity and determination....."[47] Carter asserted that the mistake would not be repeated; if the Soviets had gone into Afghanistan expecting a minimal response from the United States, they had made a "tragic miscalculation."[48] His determination to impress that fact upon them (and upon allies, states in the Gulf region and his domestic critics as well) was all the greater since he was obviously stung by criticisms from the right, which held that the weakness of his policies had encouraged the Soviets in the belief that they could "act with impunity." The following remarks by Carter speak volumes regarding his definition of the situation, a definition that derived from his role as US president as much as it did from his personal assessment:

> It became my responsibility to represent our great nation, to take action against the Soviet aggression. The Soviets had to suffer the consequences. In my judgement our own Nation's security was directly threatened. There is no doubt that the Soviets' move into Afghanistan, if done without adverse consequences, would have resulted in the temptation to move again and again until they reached warm water ports or until they acquired control over a major portion of the world's oil supplies.[49]

There were several factors not directly related to immediate threats that helped shape the Carter administration's assessment of Afghanistan. These centered on broader concerns

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[46] Brzezinski, Power and Principle, p. 430; and see Department of State Bulletin, No. 80 (March 1980), p. 34.
[47] See Department of State Bulletin, No. 80, p. 30.
[48] Jimmy Carter, Keeping Faith: Memoirs of a President (New York: Bantam, 1982), p. 472.
[49] See Department of State Bulletin (DSB), No. 80 (March 1980), p. 34.

about the implications of the Soviet action, the precedent it set, and its significance in terms of the "rules of the game" of the superpower relationship. For one thing, it occurred against the backdrop of earlier events and developments of the Soviet defence build-up, Third World gains and more assertive and confident formulations of doctrine and public statements about the changing correlation of forces. As Henry Bradsher observes, many in Washington explained the intensity of the US reaction by reference to a "trigger theory." Afghanistan merely triggered existing frustrations and alarm over Soviet conduct.[50] Moreover, the administration's trigger response was not just an exercise in venting frustration. Rather, it was genuine concern over an escalating pattern of Soviet global activism and what appeared to be signs of new muscularity, even aggressiveness in Soviet behaviour. For Washington, Afghanistan was merely the straw that broke the camel's back. It was the culminating event in what many considered a broad and sustained Soviet geopolitical offensive.

As Raymond Cohen noted, an actor's perception of threat is often related to his understanding of the "rules of the game" that operate between himself and another actor.[51] The unwritten rules of the superpower relationship differed from those that operated between the small state and the great power. For the Carter administration, the US-Soviet game was a global one, and Soviet activism in the Third World was an infringement of the unwritten rules. Some within the administration also emphasized the extent to which such activism violated the written ones of the 1972 Agreement on Basic Principles.[52] In this regard, Afghanistan undoubtedly constituted a "brutal infringement" of those rules. Some Carter officials explicitly invoked the 1972 Agreement on Basic Principles, arguing that Afghanistan was only the most egregious in a series of Soviet violations of the accord.[53]

Afghanistan was also ominous because it was consistent with a definition of the rules of the game Soviet spokesmen had been playing since Gromyko's 1971 boast that there was "no question of any significance which can be decided without the Soviet Union or in opposition to it." It was consistent with Moscow's definition of itself not only as a superpower equal to the United States, but also as an equal global power, entitled to use

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[50] Henry S. Bradsher, Afghanistan and the Soviet Union (Durham: Duke University Press, 1985), pp. 191-93.
[51] Raymond Cohen, International Politics: The Rules of the Game (New York: Longman, 1981), p. 141.
[52] See Time (14 January 1980), p. 12.
[53] "My Opinion of the Russian Has Changed Most Drastically," Time (14 January 1980), p. 12.

force globally and entitled to a role in regional affairs and disputes the world over.[54] As Vernon Aspaturian wrote, Afghanistan was the culmination of a trend in which Moscow acted "as if it were ready to supersede the US as the paramount power in the interstate system, with its behaviour assuming increasingly interventionist and expansionist dimensions."[55] Western observers claimed that Carter was not a geopolitician, like his adviser Brzezinski, but he instinctively resisted Moscow's claim to equal status with the United States as a global power, for both strategic and moral reasons. But Carter, like Nixon before him, sought to "domesticate and contain Soviet power, not unleash it."[56]

The Soviets' lack of restraint in Afghanistan contrasted starkly with the US action in Iran, where the US had acquiesced to the emergence of a revolutionary regime that was profoundly hostile to the United States. During the Vienna summit in June 1979, Carter had urged Brezhnev to acknowledge the need for mutual restraint in the Third world, especially in the Persian Gulf. Carter reminded Brezhnev that:

> There are many problems in Iran and Afghanistan but the United States has not interfered in the internal affairs of those two nations. We expect the Soviet Union to do the same.[57]

Despite the United States' restraint and Carter's personal expression of concern to the Soviet leaders, and in spite of Brezhnev's willingness in November 1978 to demand American restraint in Iran, the Soviets continued to conduct a large-scale intervention in Afghanistan. The US had long remarked at the Soviet tendency to say, in effect, "what's mine is mine" (Afghanistan), "what's yours is negotiable or up for grabs" (Iran?). To a disturbing extent, that vague attitude seemed to be an operational objective of Soviet policy at a time when the Soviet Union had a greater capacity to act on it than ever before. At least some in the Carter administration saw the Soviet action as fraught with yet graver risks, as Warren Christopher said that it was the "very audacity of the move" that caused the administration to be "taken a back." He then added that the administration did not think the Soviet Union would take such a great risk...."[58] Ambassador Watson expressed similar surprise, saying he thought the Soviets would not take such an action

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[54] Vernon V. Aspaturian, "Soviet Global Power and the Correlation of Force," Problems of Communism, No. 29 (May-June 1980), pp. 1-18.
[55] Ibid., p. 3.
[56] Ibid., p. 4.
[57] Carter, Keeping Faith, p. 254.
[58] DSB, No. 80 (February 1980), p. 7.

because they had a better appreciation of the risks of nuclear confrontation.[59] Objectively, these assertions were clearly mistaken, as there was no chance that Carter would have reacted militarily, in Afghanistan or elsewhere. It is virtually certain that the Soviets moved as they did only because they were absolutely certain that intervention carried very low risks– or that the risks were worth the obligations.

Many US officials acknowledged that Moscow underestimated the political costs of invasion in Afghanistan but the Soviets knew that, with or without specific warnings, the United States would react very strongly to the use of force in Afghanistan. Moscow's willingness to pay those costs at least called into question the long-standing assumption that Soviet political interests served to constrain the more aggressive impulses in the Kremlin. Soviet willingness to pay those costs was even more disturbing because the Soviet leaders assumed that a non-Communist Afghanistan would have been injurious to Soviet vital interests. However, Carter called the invasion "a quantum jump in the nature of Soviet behaviour."[60] Thus, the combination of direct threat and precedent was especially potent. Brzezinski had this to say about the invasion:

> The Soviet military action in Afghanistan marks a new stage in Soviet assertiveness. It is a watershed event-the first time since 1945 that Soviet armed forces have been used to impose direct Soviet will on a foreign country not previously under Soviet control. The imposition of Soviet control over Afghanistan, if it is accomplished, poses a direct security threat to Iran and Pakistan, countries in a region of vital importance to the US.[61]

Similarly, Carter refered to the invasion as "a direct threat because Afghanistan, formerly a buffer state between the Soviet Union and Iran and the world's oil supplies and the Hormuz Straits and the Persian Gulf, has become kind of an arrow aiming at the toes of crucially strategic regions of the world."[62] He described the Soviet action as a "radical departure" from behaviour that had been characteristic of the Soviet Union since World War II. He also characterised the move as a "sharp escalation in the aggressive history of

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[59] Watson is quoted in Thomas T. Hammond, Red Flag Over Afghanistan: The Communist Coup, The Soviet Invasion and the Consequences (Boulder: Westview Press, 1984), p. 131. At the political level, the Afghan venture was risky and the Soviets did miscalculate the political costs. But in the military sense meant by Christopher and Waston, it was unquestionably a very low-risk venture. Given the balance of commitment and stakes, there was not the slightest chance of a direct US military response. The fact that high-level US officials thought otherwise could not inspire confidence in the acumen of US policy.

[60] Time (14 January 1980), p. 11.

[61] Ibid., p. 18.

[62] DSB, No. 80 (March 1980), p. 30.

the Soviet Union."[63] In this regard, the above statements show that the perception of threat was very much influenced by the perceived novelty of the Soviet action, and by the fact that it was a large-scale operation, prepared in secrecy, swiftly conducted and shrouded in deception. Moreover, the Soviet challenge seemed to combine serious direct threats with assaults on the psychological underpinnings of the global political equilibrium. Carter considered Afghanistan unacceptable and was willing to suspend "business as usual" until the Soviets departed. However, he was not faced with a need to compel the Soviets to reverse course earlier and, like Kennedy in the Cuban missile crisis, he felt the need to draw the line and deter future challenges. In his sanctions speech, Carter stated this more baldly, implicitly drawing on the "lesson" of Munich, just as all of his post-War predecessors had done: "History teaches, perhaps, very few clear lessons. But surely one such lesson learned by the world at great cost is that aggression, unopposed, becomes a contagious disease."[64]

Moreover, the Soviet move came hard on the heels of the Iranian revolution, which had drastically altered the regional balance of power. Carter reacted to the direct intrusion of Soviet power into the southwest Asian region in which a vacuum of power had developed in much the same way a Truman reacted in the Eastern Mediterranean in 1947 when the announced British departure left a similar vacuum in prospect. It was quite logical, then, that Brzezinski would urge Carter to fashion his response after Truman's. The direct Soviet move into Afghanistan seemed every bit as threatening as the challenge posed by what appeared to be Stalin's meddling in the Greek Civil War. It was also natural that Carter and Brzezinski treated Truman as a model, since their assessments of the Soviet Union in 1980 were very similar to Truman's in 1946 and 1947. Carter's post-Afghanistan remarks were very much the same as Truman's in the case of the Soviet unwillingness to vacate Iran in March 1946. Carter spoke of the security of neighbouring states and of oil supplies, principles of international order and the dangers of unopposed aggression.

4. Soviet Views About Invasion in Afghanistan

By the end of the 1970s the Soviets publicly stated that anti-imperialist forces growing stronger in the client states such as Angola, Laos, Ethiopia, Mozambique, Nicaragua

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[63] Ibid., p. 33.
[64] "Grain Becomes a Weapon," see details in Time (21 January 1980).

and Afghanistan. Soviet leaders interpreted events in these countries as confirming their views on the imperialist sources of regional conflicts, the ripeness of developing countries for socialism, the possibility of Soviet support for national liberation movements and the inevitable triumph of Soviet-supported national liberation movements. In this regard, the Soviet leaders were concerned to the growing rapprochement between the United States and China. They attributed this development not to increased Soviet assertiveness, but to the aggressive ambitions of the United States and China. This interpretation argued for toughening Soviet policies, rather than assuaging US and Chinese security concerns.

The most important source of lesson concerned with Afghanistan internal development where the 1978 coup contributed to Soviet optimism. Subsequent developments, however, made Soviet leaders more circumspect about using force to protect revolution. On April 1979, the twenty Soviet advisers killed in Herat (Afghanistan), and the Soviet response was that "only one thing is clear— we cannot surrender Afghanistan to the enemy."[65] Alexei Kosygin, who was together with Andrei Kirilenko, the Politburo member most reluctant to use Soviet troops in Afghanistan, replied, "Our troops would not resolve any of the problems in Afghanistan."[66] In this context, Gromyko, Kosygin and other Politburo members pointed out numerous drawbacks to the use of force in Afghanistan and rejected the Afghan request for Soviet troops, with the advice that Afghan forces should fight themselves.[67] However, throughout internal Soviet deliberations on Afghanistan in 1979, as far as the available evidence shows, the most consistent argument raised in favour of Soviet intervention was the concern that the United States would be able to take advantage of conflict in Afghanistan.

The Soviet officials were concerned about possible US involvement in Afghanistan. General Valentin Varennikov, a top official on the Soviet General Staff in 1979, recalled that Soviet leaders were concerned that the CIA was making Pakistan a base for the rebels (*mujahideen*), and that the United States was looking to replace listening posts lost in Iran and make Afghanistan a "base of operations" against the Soviet

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[65] Andrew Bennett, Condemned to Repetition? The Rise , Fall, and Reprise of Soviet-Russian Military Interventionism 1973-1996 (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1999), p. 172.

[66] "The Soviet Policies in Afghanistan," Bulletin of the Cold War International History Project, No. 4 (Fall 1970), p. 70; and Diego Cordovez and Selig Harrison, Out of Afghanistan: The Inside Story of the Soviet Withdrawal (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 46.

Union.[68] A secret report to the Politburo in April 1980 acknowledged the local sources of the Afghan conflict but analysed them in class terms and accused Pakistan and the United States of exacerbating local tensions and supplying money and weapons to the rebels.[69] In fact, the victory in Angola (1976), Sandinista revolution in Nicaragua (1979) and coup in Afghanistan (1978) had further boosted Soviet optimism and confidence. The Soviet leader Mikhail Suslov remarked that "the defeats of imperialist and neocolonialist forces in Angola, Ethiopia, Mozambique, Nicaragua and Afghanistan provided "striking evidence" of the chief trend of the modern time—the growth of the strength and might of real socialism and the steady development of revolutionary processes in the world."[70]

In the early 1980s the Soviet Union perceived that socialist successes would cause the imperialists to try harder, but that socialism would inevitably triumph as victories in the developing world gave it increased resources and momentum. This was a time when Brezhnev remarked that capitalists would respond to their losses by "feverishly unfolding military preparation."[71] Moreover, Soviet leaders acknowledged balancing dynamics even more sharply in their secret discussions on Afghanistan, noting that the use of Soviet troops there would "widen the scope of the counter-revolution both domestically and internationally, bringing the attack of anti-governmental forces to a much higher level."[72]

The Soviets insisted that their aid to national liberation movements should have no effect on the US-Soviet relations. Publicly, Soviet leaders asserted that national liberation revolutions were indigenous and that Soviet support for these revolutions could be separated from détente. At the same time, Soviets tried to persuade Third World revolutionaries that détente would help rather than hinder the national liberation process. At the 35th Party Congress in February 1980, soon after the Soviet invasion in Afghanistan, Brezhnev argued about détente that:

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[67] Krasnaya Zvezda (Moscow: 25 December 1983 and 1992), p. 3.
[68] David A. Welch and Odd Arne Westad (ed.,) "The Intervention in Afghanistan and the Fall of Detente," transcript of the Norwegian Nobel Institute Symposium, Lysebu, Norway, 17-20 September 1995, pp. 71-73 and 75-76.
[69] Pravda (21 May 1981).
[70] Suslov, speech in Briansk, Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS) 21 September 1980.
[71] Brezhnev's speech at the October 1981, Central Committee Plenum, pp. 1-23.
[72] Bulletin of the Cold War International History Project, No. 3 (Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson International Centre for Scholars, Fall 1993), p. 68.

> Détente has become a reality, both in the international workers movement and among its opponents the question often arises as to how it will affect the class struggle....détente and peaceful coexistence are concerned with interstate relations....détente does not in the slightest way abolish, and cannot abolish or change the laws of the class struggle....we do not conceal the fact that we see détente as a way to create more favourable conditions for peaceful socialist and Communist construction.[73]

Brezhnev discussed these points with President Carter and publicly affirmed the Soviet Union's "solidarity with the liberation struggles of the peoples" and rejected assertions that these struggles were "Moscow's intrigues and plots." Brezhnev also questioned why the US should, "pin on the Soviet Union the responsibility for the objective course of history, and, what is more, use this as a pretext for worsening relations between the US and the Soviet Union?"[74] Other Soviet leaders, including Yuri Andropov, Anatoli Gromyko, Ponomarev and Georgi Arbatov also rejected any linkage between Soviet support for national liberation movements and US-Soviet relations.[75] This was consistent with the Soviet view that it was US weakness that had forced it to pursue détente. Soviet leaders and commentators continued to argue for separating détente from other issues and suggested that détente would help to resolve regional conflicts or that regional peace agreements would contribute to it.

Gromyko and other Politburo members were against the use of Soviet troops in Afghanistan and they warned that this action could damage realtions with the West. Gromyko argued in private meetings that "we would be throwing away everything we achieved with such difficulty, particularly détente [and] the SALT II negotiation....there would be no meeting of Brezhenv with Carter....and our relations with Western countries, particularly with Germany, would be spoiled."[76] The statements of the Soviet leaders suggested that they greatly underestimated the US response to their invasion of Afghanistan. Anatoli Dobrynin warned Brezhnev in January 1980 that Afghanistan might lead to a "total disruption" in relations with the United States, Brezhnev replied, "Do not worry, Anatoly, we will end this war in three or four weeks."[77]

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[73] Brezhnev's speech at the 35th CPSU Congress, p. 27.
[74] FBIS, 18 June 1980, p. AA7.
[75] See Kommunist, No. 14 (September 1979), p. 27; and Andropov's speech, FBIS, 5 April 1979, p. R8.
[76] Zasenaniye Politburo TSK KPSS, 7 March 1979, p. 71.

In fact, the Soviet leaders claimed that the invasion was inevitable and it was in the Soviet's regional interest. *Pravda* accused Pakistan, China and the United States of fomenting unrest in Afghanistan.[78] The Soviets made repeated charges interference by Pakistan, China and claimed that the US itself was interfering in Afghanistan through the CIA.[79] As early as August 1980, the Soviet officials accused the United States, China, Saudi Arabia, and, implicitly, Pakistan of supporting the "Muslim Brotherhood."[80] In March 1983, Andropov stated in a Politburo meeting on Afghanistan that "we are dealing here with a struggle against American imperialism....for this reason we cannot retreat."[81] Thus, the Soviet overemphasis on the external dimension of the conflict was entirely consistent with Soviet views on regional issues and it was likely that the Soviet leadership believed that external aid to the *mujahideen* was more substantial and significant to destabilise socialist revolution in Afghanistan.

5. US Policy of Containment

The basic and, indeed, dominant foreign policy objective of the United States was to prevent the spread of communism. This objective found a concrete form shortly after World War II in response to the perceived threat of Soviet expansionism, initially manifested by Communist subversive activities from the Atlantic to Southwest Asia. The United States' policy planners took a serious view of the Communist threat and consequently, they became increasingly convinced that, unless they acted quickly, the Soviet Union could soon overrun many vulnerable countries and place the independence and security of the United States itself in grave jeopardy. The realities of the post-war era made the Communist threat seem more menacing and the need for American action more urgent. Europe, Asia and Africa-all were economically and militarily weak and politically unstable. Britain was no longer strong enough to assume its traditional role of maintaining the European balance of power and defending the continent. Indeed, it now relied on the United States for its own protection. Only the United States was powerful enough to challenge the Soviet Union in the bipolar international structure that had emerged after the Second World War. In the light of these realities, the US abandoned its

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[77] Welch and Westad, "Intervention in Afghanistan," p. 95.
[78] Pravda (23 March 1979 and 18 August 1980).
[79] See A. Petrov in Pravda (25 August 1980), p. 6.
[80] Joseph J. Collins, The Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan: A Study in the Use of Force in Soviet Foreign Policy (Lexington: MA: Lexington Books, 1986), p. 56.

traditional policy of isolationism and assuming the leadership of the "free world," embarked upon a global strategy of containment of communism.

In this regard, the Persian Gulf was now seen as part of a single strategic theatre with Western Europe: thus Brzezinski's repeated references to it as America's "third strategic zone." In his memoirs, Brzezinski says that in the initial briefings for President Carter after the invasion, the most serious matter was that the Soviet military presence was so close to the Persian Gulf.[82] Secretary of State Vance, in a interview with the *New York Times*, declined to "psychoanalyse" the Soviets' motives or combination of motives. Independent of Soviet intentions, the move into Afghanistan adversely affected the naval balance in the northwest Indian Ocean. Thus, US naval supremacy in the region was necessary as a partial counter to the advantages the Soviets held on the ground as a result of simple geographic propinquity. The American ability to conduct carrier-based air operations was especially critical. In testimony to Congress five weeks after the invasion, Vance described the Soviet motives as "unclear" and in a prepared statement before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on 27 March 1980, Vance expressed the view that:

> The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan increases and dramatises the potential threat to the security of nations there and to the world's free access to natural resources and shipping routes. That is the fact whatever we may speculate about Soviet aims. For intentions can change. Our response must be based upon Soviet capabilities and Soviet behaviour.[83]

In his 4 January 1980 sanctions speech, President Carter made all these points, and reminded the allies that they, too, had vital interests in developments in Southwest Asia:

> A Soviet-occupied Afghanistan threatens both Iran and Pakistan and is a steppingstone to possible control over much of the world's oil supplies....If the Soviets are encouraged in this invasion by eventual success, and if they maintain their dominance over Afghanistan and then extend their control to adjacent countries, the stable, strategic and peaceful balance of the entire world will be changed. This would threaten the security of all nations including, of course, the United States, our allies and our friends.[84]

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[81] See Politburo documents of 10 March 1983, p. 3.
[82] Brzezinski, **Power and Principle**, p. 430.
[83] Cyrus Vance, **Hard Choices: Critical Years in America's Foreign Policy** (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1983), p. 505.
[84] WCPD, No. 16 (14 January 1980), p. 26.

Secretary of Defence Brown also warned that if the Soviets consolidated their position in Afghanistan, they would be "severely tempted" to push on to the oil regions and if the West were deprived of access to Gulf oil "there would almost certainly be a worldwide economic collapse of the kind that has not been seen for almost fifty years, probably worse. In the event of such a cut-off, nothing could save the NATO allies from "irreversible catastrophe." If the Soviets gained control of Gulf oil, Brown added, the Europeans and Japanese would become "economic vassals" of the Soviet Union.[85] While the worst-case threat was certainly unlikely, Brown's dire assessment of the potential consequences was not overdrawn. According to estimates by the Congressional Budget Office, Department of Energy and private analysts, the loss of Persian Gulf oil would have produced a 13 percent decline in US GNP and monstrous GNP declines of 22 percent in the case of Western Europe and 25 percent in Japan.[86] Of course, it was not necessary for the Soviets to make actual moves in the Gulf for the oil threat to have serious political consequences. In fact, the Soviet invasion posed new dangers for Southwest Asia as the Soviets encountered opportunities or self-defined military imperatives, such as the need to deal with Pakistan, the primary sanctuary for Afghan guerrillas. At worst, it was part of the apparent strategic encirclement or pincer movement aimed at the Persian Gulf region. This crisis called for a firm and collective response, especially from the United States and its Western partners.

5-1. US Revenge for Vietnam War

Casey thought that Afghanistan was the best battle ground to punish the Soviets and the longer the US kept them engaged in Afghanistan, the more they would suffer.[87] Moreover, "the general mood was that as long as the Russians were bleeding and hurting we were doing fine."[88] Charles Wilson (the US Congressman) advised the Congress and Reagan Administration to use all possible means to punish the Soviets with maximum loss because this was the appropriate time to take revenge for the Vietnam humiliation.

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[85] Richard Halloran, "Brown Warns That a Persian Gulf War Could Spread," New York Times (15 February 1980), p. A.3.

[86] Joseph S. Nye, "Energy and Security," in David Deese and Joseph Nye (ed.)., Import Management and Oil Emergencies (Cambridge, Mass: Ballinger Publishers, 1981), p. 4.

[87] Interview, Boston (15 April 1984).

[88] Yaqub Ali Khan on 24 May 1980, facing hostile questions at a press briefing, he held out hopes for an early breakthrough but said that Pakistan had "no intention of being the suckers to bleed the Soviets white in Afghanistan." See Diego Cordovez and Selig S. Harrison, Out of Afghanistan, pp. 104 and 106.

He suggested the complete defeat of the Soviet Union by the Afghan resistance as compared to a long war.[89] Reagan's hawks' core purpose in providing covert aid to *mujahideen* was that it was both strategically desirable and psychologically satisfying to use covert aid to make the Soviet operation "long, bloody and expensive," as Beecher reported, so that "we can help make this Russia's Vietnam."[90] During the Vietnam war three million US military personnel served, approximately 50,000 to 58,000 personnel died and at the peak of the war, over 500,000 soldiers were deployed.[91] In Afghanistan, the Soviet Union only used approximately 2.1 percent of its force, compared to 21 percent in the US case. In the Soviet case, half a million military personnel served, approximately 13,833 to 25,000 were killed (over $40 billion had been spent on the war, and expenses were running at over $10 billion annually),[92] 35,478 to 49,985 were wounded and 50,000 surrendered.[93] They also lost 118 jets, 333 helicopters, 147 to 800 tanks, 882 guns and mortars, 1314 armoured personnel carriers and 11,369 military trucks.[94] Reagan's colleagues were not satisfied with the Soviet losses and they wanted to raise the cost and penalties to the point at which the Soviets should face complete and disastrous humiliation. The evidence shows that the United States wanted to prolong the war to increase the Soviet casualties to a level comparable with those of the Americans in the Vietnam war. For this reason, in 1983 the United States was strongly averse to the

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[89] Alexander Alexiev, "Inside the Soviet Army in Afghanistan," R-5627-1 (Santa Monica, Calif.: RAND, May 1988), p. 7

[90] On 5 January 1980 William Beecher of the Boston Globe reported a coordinated supply programme with China and Egypt aimed at doing "everything possible to ship weapons to the Muslim insurgents" in Afghanistan. A few days later, the chairman of the Senate Intelligence Committee, Birch Bayh, stated in a television interview that the United States had taken "certain steps" to help the rebels, reportedly with prior approval from the White House. It seems quite plausible that political self-interest might have accounted for the leaks. See more details in Jay Peterzell, Reagan's Secret Wars, CNSS Report, No. 108 (Washington, D.C.: Centre for National Security Studies, 1984), pp. 9-11.

[91] The Soviet Union was less engaged in Afghanistan than, the United States in Vietnam but the aftermath of Afghanistan was even more dramatic. However, comparison of the Soviet war in Afghanistan with the US war in Vietnam must make clear the different levels of engagement. See Bruce D. Porter, "The Military Abroad: Internal Consequences of External Expansion," in Timothy J. Colton and Thane Gustafson (ed.)., Soldiers and the State: Civil-Military Relations From Brezhnev to Gorbachev (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), pp. 293-294; Alexander Alexiev, "The War in Afghanistan: Soviet Strategic and the State of the Resistance," P-7038 (Santa Monica, Calif.: RAND, November 1984), p. 2; and Sarah E. Mendelson, Changing Course: Ideas, Politics and the Soviet Withdrawal From Afghanistan (Princeton, NJ.: Princeton University Press, 1998), p. xii.

[92] See Richard Nixon, Victory Without War 1999 (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1988), p. 36.

[93] Yevgenia Albats, The State Within a State: The KGB and its Hold on Russia Past, Present and Future (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1994), p.35; William E. Odom, The Collapse of the Soviet Military (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), p. 249; A. Z. Hilali, "Afghanistan: The Decline of Soviet Military Strategy and Political Status," The Journal of Slavic Military Studies, Vol. 12, No. 1 (March 1999), pp. 114-115; Boston Globe (26 May 1988), p. 5; and Theodore L. Eliot, Jr, Gorbachev's Afghan Cambit, National Security papers, No. 9 (Cambridge: Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, 1988), p. 3.

[94] General Kahlid Mahmud Arif (Retd), Working With Zia: Pakistan's Power Politics 1977-1988 (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 327; Boston Globe (26 May 1988), p. 5; Pravda (26 May 1988), p. 5; and Izvestiya (26 May 1986), p. 8.

UN approach to settle the Afghanistan crisis under the pressure of the Soviet Union who needed earlier negotiations and a time frame for withdrawal of its forces from Afghanistan. The driving force behind this factor was CIA director William Casey who focused single-mindedly to provide weapons to the Afghan *mujahideen* before the Soviet request for negotiations for the settlement of the Afghanistan crisis.

5-2. US Desire to Continue to Bleed the Soviets

In mid 1983, Reagan addressed Congress members to gain more support for the Afghan *mujahideen* and asserted that "an increase in aid to the Afghans is in the interest of the United States and Pakistan because raising the military and political cost of the war is the only way to pressure the Soviets to withdraw from Afghanistan."[95] He further stated that "we have the leverage to succeed. Moscow can win if Kremlin leaders are willing to pay the price—but we can raise that price."[96] Casey made a similar assessment in 1984 when he talked to the Afghan commanders in Peshawar (Pakistan) and argued, that "it is in the interest of the Afghan people that they should continue to increase pressure on the Soviet Union to liberate their country. This is the best chance of success because their pressure has been a direct correlation between the flexibility of the Soviets at the negotiating table and the intensity of the fighting on the battlefield. It is not coincidental that Moscow's willingness to reduce its withdrawal timetable from six years to one year came after the incredible fighting and resistance."[97] Nixon also stated that Reagan ought to scrap the UN talks on Afghanistan and make the Soviet Union realise that Afghanistan was a nonaligned country. Neither the Soviet Union nor any other country had a right to determine the nature of Afghanistan's political system.[98]

Senator Humphrey and the CIA Director Casey believed that withdrawal of Soviet troops was a diplomatic move to strengthen its covert operations, as well as to destabilise the resistance movement or psychologically demoralise the resistance supporter, Pakistan. They also feared that if the US cut off aid to the resistance, the Soviet Union might continue to support the Kabul regime.[99] Congressmen and CIA reports saw an intensification of Soviet efforts to intimidate Pakistan into cutting off aid to the resistance

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[95] Ronald Reagan, address to the Republican Congress members, Washington, D.C., (13 July 1983), printed in the New York Times (14 July 1983).
[96] Ibid.
[97] New York Times (7 October 1984), p. A2; and Dawn (13 October 1984), p.1.
[98] Richard Nixon, Victory Without War 1999 (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1988), p. 141.

by destabilisation, terror and subversion as likely. All these dangers convinced Reagan's advisers that cutting off aid to the resistance and a badly negotiated agreement would be a severe, even fatal, blow. At that time, Reagan administration officials, in cooperation with Congress members, were working hard to sustain the resistance. He advised the National Security Advisor Robert McFarlane "to give Afghanistan high priority." He also said, "On the diplomatic front, we must not allow Moscow to win at the negotiating table as it has failed to win on the battlefield.[100] Afghanistan is not a minor issue and it will not end as Moscow desired. Moscow's goal is to withdraw after a Communist government is firmly entrenched and this is not acceptable for the United States."[101]

In fact, Gorbachev's proposal for a protracted withdrawal period was designed to enable Soviet forces to crush a resistance starved of ammunition and supplies before packing up to leave. This was a time when Reagan declared that "we will not cut off American aid to the resistance until the Soviet Union has removed all its forces from Afghanistan."[102] He also asserted that "we will protect Pakistan from Soviet intimidation and help the Afghan to increase the cost of the Soviet occupation."[103] In January 1988, the White House reportedly instructed the State Department that US policy was not to cut off aid until all Soviet troops had left.[104] Secretary of State George Shultz also stressed that the Soviet troop withdrawal must be "front-end loaded" and acquire a "certain inevitability" before the US would end aid to the resistance—which in any case would be gradual, not all at once.[105] Nixon advised Reagan that he should handle the Geneva negotiations carefully because Moscow needed time to decimate the resistance before its forces would have to depart. He emphasised that America must pursue two goals in Afghanistan–a pullout of Soviet forces and self-determination for the Afghan people. Neither US interests nor those of Pakistan and the Afghan resistance would be served if the US settled for the first without the second. To achieve its objectives, the US had to work on both the military and

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[99] Washington Post (14 December 1987).
[100] Peter Schweizer, Victory: The Reagan Administration's Secret Strategy That Hastened the Collapse of the Soviet Union (New York: The Atlantic Monthly Press, 1994), p. 206.
[101] Diego Cordovez and Selig S. Harrison, Out of Afghanistan, p. 253
[102] Ibid., pp. 261-262.
[103] New York Times (8 March 1982), p. A2.
[104] Diego Cordovez and Selig S. Harrison, Out of Afghanistan, pp. 261-262 and Washington Post (5 January 1988).
[105] See Bill Gertz, "White House and State in Conflict over Afghan Aid," Washington Times (15 December 1987), p. 1 and Federal News Service (FNS), Secretary of State George Shultz, News Conference (7 January 1988), pp. 4-1 and 6-1.

diplomatic fronts. It had to aid the resistance, protect Pakistan and negotiate with Moscow under its own conditions.[106]

On the other hand, Casey admitted that Moscow had failed to win the war in the battlefield and at the conference table. Thus, US aid to the Afghan *mujahideen* also made an eventual and unconditional Soviet withdrawal more likely by convincing the Soviet leaders that a military solution was not possible. The whole edifice of Soviet tactical beliefs on military intervention had failed to resolve the bleeding wound of Afghanistan. The only way out, conceptually, was to change the core belief about the inherent antagonism of the US, even though at the time US bahaviour appeared to demonstrate such antagonism. The Soviet leaders realised that without building US trust, they could not achieve progress on arms control and economic relations, and the best way to establish trust was to get out of Afghanistan.

In this regard, the Soviet Union reacted by criticising the United States policy on a peace settlement in Afghanistan. The Soviets claimed –with some truth – that the US was not sincere about settling the Afghan problem and only wanted to keep Soviet forces pinned down in Afghanistan and that neither the United States nor Pakistan was genuinely seeking a political settlement.[107] In fact, after 1983, the Soviet military, diplomatic and political strategies on Afghanistan was to resist military escalation in Afghanistan in an attempt to limit its casualties. For this purpose, the Soviet troops reduced the scale of their offensive operations and concentrated on controlling Afghan roads.[108] On the diplomatic front, Andropov initiated the first serious efforts toward a negotiated settlement in Afghanistan. According to one report, Andropov was willing to withdraw Soviet forces if the UN-sponsored talks provided suitable protection of Soviet and PDPA interests in Afghanistan.[109] Moreover, Andropov frankly expressed his desire to withdraw from Afghanistan during an hour-long meeting with UN negotiators Diego Cordovez and Perez de Cuellar on 28 March 1983, just before the April round of UN negotiations on Afghanistan. According to Cordovez, Andropov maintained that the Soviet Union had no intention of keeping troops in Afghanistan idenfinitely.[110] In one meeting, Andropov was talking to Poltiburo members and stated that the deployment was expensive, it was

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[106] Richard Nixon, Victory Without War 1999, p. 139.
[107] Diego Cordovez and Selig S. Harrison, Out of Afghanistan, pp. 247-260.
[108] Andrew Bennett, Condemned to Repetition?, p. 239.
[109] Cordovez and Harrison, Out of Afghanistan, p. 98.
[110] Andrew Bennett, Condemned to Repetition?, p. 240.

causing loss of life and it was damaging the Soviet Union's status in the world. Andropov added, however, that Soviet troops would leave Afghanistan provided the PDPA remained in power and in control of the army and security services.[111] Moreover, Andropov did not propose any timetable for a Soviet withdrawal, and the two sides remained at odds over whether a Pakistani guarantee to end arms supplies to the Afghan *mujahideen* should precede or be linked to a timetable for the withdrawal of Soviet troops.

In mid 1983, the Soviet negotiator Stanislav Gavrilov promised to provide a proposal for an eighteen-month time frame for a Soviet withdrawal and Cordovez publically announced that an agreement was "95 percent completed" but Islamabad and Washington both opposed this agreement and called it unfair.[112] As a result, a meeting between Gromyko and Yaqub in 1983 proved to be the end of any hope for a settlement. The two sides retreated to their earlier incompatible position on whether a Pakistani guarantee of noninterference should be linked to a Soviet withdrawal timetable and the Soviet side did not propose an eighteen-month timetable as Gavrilov had promised. Thus, after the disappointing outcome of the negotiations on Afghanistan in June 1983, the Soviet Union made no significant new diplomatic proposals and there was no progress in the Geneva talks, which did not take place from August 1983 until June 1985. During this time, the Soviet Union increased its military escalation in Afghanistan and also increased its strikes across the border into Pakistan.

After 1986, the USSR adopted a policy of withdrawing troops from Afghanistan, but the US preferred to continue the war in Afghanistan and rejected any hint of Soviet capitulation. The Soviet leaders also believed that the United States was dominated by "bleeders" who sought Soviet capitulation in Afghanistan and preferred an ongoing war to a negotiated settlement.[113] The Soviet officials blamed the US for the "undeclared war in Afghanistan," and "bloody orgies" and claimed that the US wanted to engage Soviet

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[111] Cordovez and Harrison, **Out of Afghanistan**, p. 98.

[112] In this agreement the Soviet maintain its stand that the PDPA should remain in power and that the internal structure of the PDPA regime could not be explicitly linked to any international settlement. See Barnett R. Rubin, **Search for Peace in Afghanistan: From Buffer State to Failed State** (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), p. 61; Riaz M. Khan, **Untying the Afghan Knot: Negotiating Soviet Withdrawal** (Durham: Duke University Press, 1991), pp. 115-118; and Cordovez and Harrison, **Out of Afghanistan**, pp. 91 and 98-102.

[113] First Deputy Foreign Minister Georgi Kornienko told Diego Cordovez in 1982 that some Soviet leaders thought the United States just wanted to "bleed" the Soviets in Afghanistan, while others thought that the United States was ready to cut a deal if the Soviet Union was more forthcoming in the negotiations. See Diego Cordovez and Selig Harrison, **Out of Afghanistan: The Inside Story of the Soviet Withdrawal** (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 102-103.

troops in Afghanistan in retaliation for the Vietnam war.[114] Gorbachev initiated diplomatic moves and declared that troops would be withdrawn within seven to twelve months, provided an international agreement was signed and "no other state interferes."[115] The meaning was clear: aid to the resistance would have to be terminated at the beginning of the withdrawal. At the same time, Dr. Najibullah stated that Soviet troops would leave Afghanistan and the US and Pakistan should cut off aid to the resistance. On the other hand, the UN mediator held indirect meetings in Geneva with Afghan and Pakistan diplomats in an effort to break the deadlock. These developments were a great surprise for the US and Pakistan who wanted to continue the war to "bleed" the Soviet Union more and more. At the US-Soviet summit in December 1987 at Washington (D. C.), Gorbachev offered to withdraw Soviet troops in twelve months or less but refused to announce a fixed timetable. In the same vein, President Reagan held his position that the PDPA government in Afghanistan was patently unacceptable to the United States and the date and duration of a Soviet withdrawal must be set with no link to any preconditions.[116] On the other hand, the Soviet view that there was no common ground between their position and that of the United States was not unrealistic, as the United States provided an estimated $80 million in aid to the Afghan *mujahideen* in 1987. Also, by one account, the United States worked to undercut Pakistani officials who favoured a settlement in Afghanistan.[117]

In fact, the Soviet military officials also emphasised a political solution of the problem over military means. For example, Defence Minister Yazov endorsed political over military means and Chief of the General Staff Akhromeyev noted that "security was a political objective requiring political means."[118] Akhromeyev further argued that the danger was not simply that the United States might unleash a war, but that it might use superior military forces for political purposes, such as putting pressure on the Soviet Union.[119] Moreover, military officers who had served in Afghanistan insisted that there would be no military victory except to admitted political realities. In this context, General Gromov stated that "peace cannot be achieved by military means alone. It also needs the corresponding political preconditions. However, if one....looks at this war only in terms

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[114] See Marshal Nikolai Ogarkov in Izvestia, FBIS (12 May 1983), p. V5; and Dmitri Ustinov in Pravda, FBIS (27 July 1986), p. AA2.
[115] Washington Times (17 November 1987).
[116] Washington Post (10 December 1987).
[117] Ibid., pp. 6 and 53.
[118] Yazov in Pravda, FBIS (10 May 1988), p. 71

of the military aspect, it would not have been a great problem to leave the country as winners. However, "we did not have this goal."[120]

Given the momentous changes in Soviet foreign and domestic policies that Gorbachev eventually set in motion he viewed Afghanistan as one of his most important policy problems. In the beginning of spring 1986, Soviet leaders reduced the combat roles of their troops. Gorbachev announced in a speech in Vladivostok on 29 July 1986 that six Soviet regiments would be withdrawan from Afghanistan, and Afghan President Najibullah declared a unilateral cease-fire starting on 15 January 1987. However, the US and Pakistan continued their aid to the *mujahideen* but the Soviet forces limited their use of force to operations directly impinging upon their withdrawal. At that time, Gorbachev stated that the Soviets would announce a timetable for withdrawal, but the US must agree to a "beginning of the end to arms and financial supplies" to the resistance. Reagan explicitly rejected Gorbachev's condition and even a temporary cutoff of aid to the resistance before a complete Soviet withdrawal. He gave a clear statement that aid to the resistance must continue until all Soviet troops were out and an independent, non-Communist government was in place.[121]

6. Pakistan's Motives

The Soviet presence in Afghanistan created a serious threat to Pakistan's northwest borders vis-à-vis the enemy to the east—India. Pakistan had never faced such a multidimensional external threat and it felt incomparably weaker, sandwiched between the hostile Soviet Union and unfriendly India. In these years Pakistan had been, in political geographical terms, a most unhappily constructed state. New geopolitical developments in the region, however, encouraged Pakistan's policy makers to reevaluate old policies and strengthen its political, economic and strategic options with reference to the new regional realities. The strategic environment was also marked by conditions of strategic asymmetry, dependence, and ambivalence, all presenting major obstacles to Pakistan's policy ingenuity. Pakistan as a minor power with regional interests, seized

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[119] See Sergei Akhromeyev on Moscow radio, FBIS, (10 May 1988), p. 75; and Sands and Philips, "Reasonable Sufficiency," pp. 164-178.
[120] Gromov in Der Spiegel, p. 38; and see Sovetskaya Rossia, p. 105.
[121] Constantine C. Menges, The Twilight Struggle: The Soviet Union-v- The United States Today (Washington: The AEI Press, 1990), p. 69.

upon the opportunity offered by the United States search for anti-Communist allies in South Asia in order to achieve political, economic and strategic objectives:

6-1. Protection of State Ideology, System and Structure

For Pakistan to oppose the Soviet adventurism in Afghanistan was a titanic struggle between two different value systems. Pakistani elites considered only alliance with the US could protect its feudal structure, capitalist values and religious oligarchy. In fact, Pakistan's socio-political system and its state structure are derived from its feudal heritage. Thus, the elites of the country (feudal landlords, capitalists, religious leaders, military and bureaucracy) and majority of population were worried about the Soviet invasion and feeling a potential threat to their existence and survival of the country. This was the reason when people hesitated to oppose Zia's Martial Law; rather, they cooperated to legitimise his regime to prevent Soviet expansionism. They forced Zia ul-Haq to compromise with the United States for the protection of the existing structure of society and traditional values.[122] In the circumstances, Pakistan considered itself as a bulwark against an atheist force bent on establishing its hegemonic presence in the region. Zia defended his policy against Soviet aggression and argued, "Pakistan was morally bound to support the *mujahideen* because it was an Islamic state and had provided shelter to Afghan refugees on humanitarian grounds in keeping with the Islamic spirit of brotherhood."[123] The military and religious leadership in Pakistan called the Afghanistan crisis an assault on the Islamic *Umma* (brotherhood). They indicated that "the Afghan *mujahideen* were not only waging Jihad (holy war) for the liberation of their homeland but also fighting for the cause of Pakistan and the entire Muslim world."[124] On the other hand, a small number of leftist elements supported the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and called for the destruction of the feudal order of Pakistani politics and society. The Communist Party of Pakistan (CCP) stated that "communism is a victory of proletarian class and Pakistan's political and social ills are greatly accentuated by its feudal culture which have no relevance to the common people, who feel like slaves under

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[122] Mushtaq Ahmad, "Is it a new beginning," Dawn (8 June 1993); and see Ashfaq Saleem Mirza, "Colonialism in the Present Context of Pakistan," (Islamabad: Cultural Forum, 19 May 1998), pp. 5-13.

[123] Pakistan Times (8 July 1987), p. 1; see also the editorial comment, "Afghanistan provides the best and bravest example of Pakistan's support of a Muslim people," Pakistan Times (21 July 1987), p. 4.

[124] Dawn (17 November 1987), p. 1.

feudal authoritarianism.[125] These elements also argued that democracy and martial law could not change Pakistan's class composition and the only solution was a Communist revolution.[126]

6-2. Desire to Counter Indo-Soviet Alignment

In the wake of the Soviet invasion, Pakistan adopted a coercive strategy to deal with the Moscow-Kabul and New Delhi axis. Pakistan was determined to support the *mujahideen* against Najibullah's government to get them to recognise the Durand Line as a border between the two states. Moreover, Pakistan remembered Soviet encouragement and support for India's detaching East Pakistan in 1971 and setting it up as independent Bangladesh, as well as Soviet collusion with Afghanistan to destabilize Pakistan through ethnic disturbance and internal subversion by Pakhtuns and Baluch separatist elements who sought more autonomy or even independence. In the circumstances, Pakistan was also willing "to bleed the Russians white" in order to take revenge against the Soviets. The military leaders of Pakistan, including Zia, were content to see in the Afghan war an opportunity to damage the Soviet Union through US assistance and *mujahideen* iron will. Zia had made clear the Pakistan policy and he was enthusiastic about the idea of a "whole-hog" commitment to play the role of "front-line"— if the price was right. Zia referred to the Soviets as "bullies" who wanted to force Pakistan into a position where it would be in conflict with everybody else and totally isolated.[127] Moreover, Pakistan wanted secure northern borders and supported the Afghan *mujahideen* for the establishment of a friendly and stable government in Kabul. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's and Zia's regimes both supported Islamists in Afghanistan because they always served Pakistan's security interests, as they were the only group in Afghanistan that had opposed the breakup of Pakistan in 1971 and always supported that country against India.[128] At one time Zia told Selig Harrison that "we have earned the right to have a friendly regime in Afghanistan." He declared, "we took a risk as a front line state, and we would not

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[125] See Syed Hadir Hassan, "Feudal System in Pakistan," ViewPoint (Lahore) Vol. 3, No. 5 (Summer 1980), p. 11; Iqbal Jafar, "People Revolution in Pakistan," Evening News (27 October 1982); and Dawn (5 December 1983).

[126] M. A. Majid, "Communist Revolution in Afghanistan and Hopes for Pakistan," Viewpoint, Vol. 7, No. 2 (Summer 1982), pp. 17-23; see also Mushtaq Ahmad, "Republic of the Landlords," Dawn (3 December 1995).

[127] See Dawn (19 October 1982).

[128] Barnett R. Rubin, The Search for Peace in Afghanistan: From Buffer State to Failed State (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995), p. 27.

permit it to be like it was before, with Indian and Soviet influence there and claims on our territory."[129]

6-3. Modernisation of the Defence System

Pakistan's alignment with the United States was motivated by its desire to improve its defence capacity of Pakistan against India. Zia-ul-Haq, one of the architects of Pakistan's alignment with the US, explained Pakistan's motives for joining the US club in these words: "Our main and only purpose was to safeguard the safety and security of Pakistan and we need support from like-minded and peace-loving nations. There is no doubt that we apprehend a threat to our security from India."[130] Many officials privately expressed that Pakistan was more inclined to build its military strength as a bargaining factor in dealing with India on the Kashmir issue than as a defence against other countries, including the Soviet Union.[131] The fear of aggression by India had always been a cause of great concern to the policy makers, defence planners and political leaders of Pakistan. It was generally felt that the problem of Pakistan's defence was the problem of defence against India. Pakistan had therefore, constantly sought protection against a possible attack from India. The real fear of Indian aggression was a major factor in Pakistan's desire to gain US military and economic assistance. Moreover, Pakistan's concern for India rather than Communist aggression was evident because Zia's regime induced the United States to commit itself to the defence of Pakistan against all types of aggression, irrespective of the label. Zia emphasised in a meeting with Casey and George Shultz that aggression from a non-Communist side is as great an evil as aggression from Communist quarters. He said, "there are no varieties of evil, no varieties of aggression and it is necessary to resist it wherever it comes from."[132] In this regard, Pakistan's strategic motives were to receive the US military equipment and bolster its defence against the perceived threat of India. It was very clear that Pakistan used United States fears of Communist expansion and its support to contain communism for its own purposes to strengthen itself vis-à-vis India, to neutralize Indian superiority in the South Asian region and enlist US support for its case on Kashmir. Through the increased military power and

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[129] Charles Wilson recalled a map that Zia had also shown to him in which overlay indicated the goal of a confederation embracing first Pakistan and Afghanistan and eventually Central Asia and Kashmir. Zia further explained about the Pakistan-Afghanistan confederation in which Pakistanis and Afghans could travel freely back and forth without passports. See Diego Cordovez and Selig Harrison, Out of Afghanistan, p. 92.

[130] See Dawn (18 April 1983).

[131] The New York Times (22 November 1986), p. 5.

the political support of the US, Pakistan hoped that military power would strengthen its bargaining position vis-à-vis Afghanistan and India. Zia ul-Haq was quite explicit in explaining the Indian factor as a reason for partnership with the the US and stated that "Pakistan's interest was exclusively in terms of the defence of the country and to take maximum advantage from the US cooperation to build up the defence forces of Pakistan."[133] In many ways, the real and immediate problem before Pakistani policy makers was the defence of Pakistan against India and their primary motivation for alignment with the United States was the need for arms and economic assistance.

6-4. Zia's Intention to Prolong the Afghan War

Zia created an impression that the Soviet invasion was irreversable and "it would be a miracle of the twentieth century if the Soviets depart from Afghanistan."[134] His senior army officers believed that "the Soviets would never leave Afghanistan and that the Geneva talks were "only a sideshow."[135] General Akhtar Abdur Rahman (Director ISI) and Casey also felt strongly that the Russians would not leave.[136] Former US Ambassador to Pakistan Ronald I. Spiers added "that he did not believe the Russians had any intention of leaving and that any withdrawal agreement could be trusted." In a conversation on 8 May 1983 Charles Cogan, Director of Covert Operations in the Near East and South Asia in 1983, confidently asserted to Spiers that Pakistan would not conclude the projected settlement in June "or ever." He went on to say that Zia "knows how we feel about it. He recognises that this will be a long, long war, and he is committed all the way." He added, after a long discussion, "Zia and General Akhtar fully accept our view that Pakistan's security is best assured by keeping the Russians tied down there."[137] However, Akhtar regarded Geneva as a potential sellout because it did not include the *mujahideen* as participants who would emerge in control of the follow-on government. He thought it was just a facade, while the 'struggle' was the reality.[138] In fact, Zia and his colleagues

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[132] The Washington Post (9 September 1983), p. 4.
[133] Shahid Javed Burki and Craig Baxter, Pakistan Under the Military: Eleven Years of Zia-ul Haq (London: Westview Press, 1991), p. 24-48.
[134] Khalid Mahmud Arif, Working With Zia: Pakistan's Power Politics 1977-1988, p. 313.
[135] George Shultz and Howard Schaffer, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs talks during a dinner in honour of Secretary of State in Islamabad on 3 July 1983. See Diego Cordovez and Selig S. Harrison, Out of Afghanistan, p. 107.
[136] Diego Cordovez and Selig S. Harrison, Out of Afghanistan, p. 107.
[137] Ronald I. Spiers, "Geneva Negotiation and Afghanistan," Washington Post (4 April 1989), p. A16; and see Diego Cordovez and Selig S. Harrison, Out of Afghanistan, p. 104.
[138] Ibid., p. 107.

and Casey desired to prolong Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan in order to serve complementary interests.

By all accounts, Zia and its colleagues perceived that the Soviets used Geneva talks as a shield to prepare for final strikes against the *mujahideen* and Pakistan. This idea was realised when Chernenko took office in 1984 and the Soviet military escalation increased in Afghanistan. The Soviet started a major offensive in Panjsher, with a force of about 15,000 and 5,000 DRA troops in the spring of 1984. This was the largest Soviet operation up to that time, and it was the first operation in which Soviet forces used massive high-altitude carpet bombing and large-scale helicopter assaults against the *mujahideen*. The Soviet also raised the risks of regional escalation by increasing military strikes into Pakistan. By Pakistan's estimate, these strikes grew from the sporadic forays of around 88 border violations between 1984-1985 and a similar number in the first half of 1986.[139] These strikes were not limited in scale and territory and Soviet-Kabul forces on many occasions undertook a concerted campaign of air strikes against *mujahideen* sanctuaries and Pakistan's military instalations. During 1986, the Soviets pursued a "bomb and negotiate"[140] strategy and launched a major offensive in involving an estimated 10,000 Soviet and 8,000 Afghan troops, to curtail *mujahideen* attacks on the highway to Kabul. Soviet attacks also at times appeared to be timed to exert pressure on Pakistan to finalise the Geneva talks for the settlement of Afghanistan crisis.

At that time, Najibullah intensified the PDPA's attempts at national reconciliation, calling in May 1986 for greater unity in the party and a broadening of its social base to include all social strata and ethnic groups. In December 1986, Najibullah visited Moscow and Gorbachev emphasised the importance of national reconciliation and warned that Soviet troops would be withdrawn by the end of 1988.[141] In the same month, Yuli Vorontsov stated talks with a Pakistani diplomat over the possibility that some representatives of the Afghan refugees and *mujahideen* could be brought into the Afghan government under the policy of national reconciliation.[142] In 1987, Soviet military efforts diminished as the Soviet Union increased its efforts to "Afghanise" the war, and put pressure on the PDPA government for domestic reforms and international concessions as part of a deal that

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[139] Bradsher, Afghanistan and the Soviet Union, p. 275.
[140] Andrew Bennett used this term as a Gorbachev's strategy in Afghanistan for peace. See Condemned to Repetition?, p. 247.
[141] Najibullah's interview in CDSP, 10 January 1990, pp. 16-17.
[142] Riaz Khan, Untying the Afghan Knot, pp. 181-182.

would include withdrawal of its troops from Afghanistan. Moreover, the Soviet-Afghan position in the Geneva talks hardened in March 1987 on the issue of the PDPA's leading role in Afghanistan.[143] On 20 July, Gorbachev brought Najibullah and Babrak Karmal to Moscow to clarify Soviet policy and warned that Najibullah had to strengthen his political base because Soviet forces would be withdrawn in twelve months.[144] According to Pravda, Gobachev officially offered US leaders a twelve-month time frame at the December 1987 Washington summit, and on 8 February 1988, he announced that he had agreed with the Afghan government that a "front-loaded" Soviet withdrawal would start on 15 May 1988. Gorbachev's promise of front-loading was later codified in a commitment that 50 percent of Soviet forces would be withdrawn within the first three months.[145]

As the Soviets moved toward the final timetable, however, Soviet officials continued to insist that a withdrawal could take place only if outside aid to the rebels ended or the PDPA government was able to achieve stability on its own.[146] The Soviet also linked withdrawal to guarantees against international intervention and stated that the PDPA revolution was irreversible.[147] On the other hand, Najibullah had announced several reforms, including an offer of twenty posts to the opposition (exiled Afghan political figures), including those of vice-president and deputy prime minister. Najibullah also indicated that the office of prime minister would be negotiable. None of the proffered posts, however, was in the key areas of foreign affairs, defence and internal security. Najibullah would have remained in control of a strong presidency, the PDPA would still have a leading role and there was no guarantee that rebels (*mujahideen*) would be included in the future broad based coalition government. The USSR provided sufficient time to Najibullah government to gain firm control of domestic politics. In February 1987, Shevardnadze continued to link any Afghan agreement to guarantees of a leading role for the PDPA but after July 1987, the Soviet Union changed its traditional policy and stated that it would withdraw its troops regardless of whether Njibullah government was stable or national reconciliation succeeded.[148] At that time, Najibullah threatened not to

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[143] Ibid., pp. 199-210.
[144] Riaz Khan, Untying the Afghan Knot, p. 214; and Rubin, Search for Peace, p. 84.
[145] Riaz Khan, Untying the Afghan Knot, pp. 233-234; and Gorbachev in Pravda, FBIS (8 February 1988), pp. 34-36.
[146] Primakov, FBIS, 7 October 1986, pp. CC1-CC14; and Riaz Khan, Untying the Afghan Knot, p. 152.
[147] FBIS, 2 January 1987, pp. D1-D4.
[148] Riaz Khan, Untying the Afghan Knot, pp. 187 and 199.

sign the Geneva accords without additional arms and greater assurances from Moscow.[149] The Soviets provided a guarantee to the Najibullah government and he agreed to sign the accords. It was then possible to withdraw Soviet troops from Afghanistan.

However, the US and Pakistan both rejected the Soviets' condition that the aid to the Afghan *mujahideen* be ended.[150] At that time, Gorbachev and Shevardnadze believed they had assurances from the United States and Pakistan that they would cut off aid to the Afghan rebels once Soviet troops were withdrawn.[151] Many Soviet leaders argued that the escalation of US arms aid and Pakistan support to the Afghan *mujahideen* empowered Soviet conservatives and were therefore a major cause of retarded progress toward a settlement. In either view, the Soviet leaders were convinced that Pakistan and the United States were more concerned to impose a high military cost on the Soviet Union than to seek a negotiated settlement in Afghanistan.[152] Moreover, Gorbachev and Shevardnadze thus felt they had been misled when President Reagan rejected any cutoff of US aid to the Afghan rebels in spontaneous remarks in a television interview in December 1987. George Shultz communicated Reagan's position to Shevardnadze in January 1988, leading to a tense series of meetings between Shultz and Shevardnadze between 21-23 March when Shultz offered a proposal for negative symmetry, but Shevardnadze rejected this as inconsistent with Soviet treaty commitments to Afghanistan. The failure to reach agreement by 23 March led Shevardnadze to suggest that Moscow could solve the Afghan problem without the United States as a guarantor, and the Soviet Union raised this possibility with Pakistan in the UN talks.[153] In fact, neither the US nor Pakistan gave a guarantee in Geneva that they wanted cut off aid to the *mujahideen*. Pakistan rejected any agreement without the United States, however, and on 31 March, the United States proposed positive symmetry, even though US and Pakistani aid would be inconsistent with the language already negotiated in the Geneva accords.

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[149] Barnett Rubin, Search for Peace, p. 90.
[150] Riaz Khan, Untying the Afghan Knot, pp. 233-234.
[151] According to the Soviet officials the US Deputy Secretary of State John Whitehead gave assurance to cutoff aid to the Afghan *mujahideen* provided the Soviet announce timetable of withdrawal from Afghanistan. See more details in Cordovez and Harrison, Out of Afghanistan, p. 193.
[152] Barnett R. Rubin uses the term "Bleeder" for those in the United States who sought Soviet capitulation in Afghanistan and preferred continued war there over a settlement at Geneva that would allow the Soviet Union a face-saving way out of Afghanistan. US "dealers" also would have liked Soviet capitulation best of all, but they preferred a negotiated settlement to a continuing war. Barnett Rubin, The Search for Peace in Afghanistan (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), pp. 48-50.
[153] Riaz Khan, Untying the Afghan Knot, pp. 272-273.

The Soviets complained publicly about the US and Pakistani arms transfers to the Afghan rebels. Najibullah, concerned over the continuation of arms supplies to the Afghan rebels, threatened not to sign the Geneva accords, leading to his sudden meeting with Gorbachev in early April 1987 and his acquiescence in the accords after Gorbachev's promises of additional aid.[154] Thus, the US and Soviet negotiations did not reach agreement on a mutual cutoff of arms supplies until September 1988 and this situation affected the Soviet Union because the Soviet strategy, tactically and politically, failed miserably. At that time, the Soviets used Indian channels to pressurise Pakistan for accommodation in the Geneva peace process, but the US warned the Indian government that interference in Pakistan would be considered a threat to US strategic interests in the region.[155]

However, the Soviets put tremendous pressure on Pakistan to agree to a settlement in Geneva over Afghanistan. As a part of the pressure tactics, they kept accusing Pakistan of adopting a negative approach towards concluding a peaceful settlement of the issue. The Soviet lobby was successful in mobilising Pakistan's public opinion and media against the Zia regime. According to Peter Schweizer, Pakistani intelligence had evidence of Soviet-sponsored subversion directed against the *mujahideen* and Zia government. The Pakistan Progressive Party (PPP), factions of the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy (MRD), the Baluch Students Organisation (BSO) and the Pakistan National Party (PNA) were all receiving Soviet funds to encourage dissent.[156] As a consequence, the majority of the National Assembly members in Mohammad Khan Junejo (prime minister nominated by the Zia) government advocated an early settlement, a demand which irritated Zia, who desired to continue the war to bleed the Soviet as much as possible and gain more benefits for the country.[157] According to the *Washington Post* "the Soviet successfully polarised Pakistan's domestic politics and seized the opportunity to demoralise Zia's position as part of the pressure for a peace settlement in Geneva."[158] In this situation, the USSR dropped the idea of formation of an interim transitional government in Afghanistan from the question of the withdrawal of Soviet troops. Later, the US also changed its position about "broad-based transitional government in Kabul" and consulted Zia to give reasons for the United States agreeing to the withdrawal of

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[154] Barnett Rubin, Search for Peace, p. 90.
[155] The New York Times (8 April 1989); Washington Post (12 August 1989); and Dawn (17 October 1990).
[156] Peter Schweizer, Victory: The Reagan Administration's Secret Strategy that Hastened the Collapse of the Soviet Union (New York: The Atlantic Monthly Press, 1994), p. 229.
[157] Diego Cordovez and Selig S. Harrison, Out of Afghanistan, pp. 106 and 328; and Khalid Mahmud Arif, Working With Zia: Pakistan's Power Politics 1977-1988, pp. 325-326.

Soviet troops without simultaneously demanding the formation of a transitional government. Zia stated that the Soviet Union had initially been keen to negotiate on both the issues together, but the two superpowers could not reach an agreement on the modalities. At that time, Shultz had suggested to Shevardnadze that they should delink the two issues and settle the question of withdrawal once and for ever.[159]

In fact, Pakistan was informed about this situation after the US and the Soviet Union had already reached an agreement on the point of withdrawal of forces. Pakistan was faced with a *fait accompli*.[160] Zia's desire that the Soviet should include as a core point in the agreement the formation of a broad-based transitional government in Kabul was not accepted by either the US or the Soviet Union. Shultz told Sahabzada Yaqub Khan, who was then Foreign Minister of Pakistan, that the Soviet Union, for reasons of its own had delinked the point of an interim transitional government with the withdrawal of forces and therefore, it would be difficult for the US to go back to the Soviets and argue with them.[161] However, Zia told Lally Weymouth, the *Washington Post* correspondent, that he would not sign the Geneva Accord with the Soviet-backed president Najibullah. He frequently made statements that "he could not shake hands with the man who had come riding into Kabul on a Soviet tank."[162] Zia said he would sign the accords with a coalition government formed of and by Afghans and controlled by the *mujahideen* and Afghan exiles.[163] Pakistan increased pressure on US officials to continue armed aid to the resistance until all Soviet troops had left. Zia asserted that he would never sign a settlement with Najibullah or any other Kabul government dominated by the Communists. The Soviets and Kabul both increased pressure on Pakistan with air, artillery and terrorist assaults—most carried out through KGB and KHAD agents.[164]

The Soviets started a high-intensity terrorist campaign against Pakistan and targeted its urban population centres, transport and communication facilities, not only to cause maximum loss of life and public property but to generate fear and create widespread panic to demoralise the government for the Geneva settlement. But these tactics were

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[158] Washington Post (21 February 1988), p. 7A.
[159] Khalid Mahmud Arif, Working With Zia: Pakistan's Power Politics 1977-1988, pp. 325.
[160] Ibid., p. 326.
[161] Washington Post (13 July 1986); and Dawn (5 September 1987).
[162] Diego Cordovez and Selig S. Harrison, Out of Afghanistan. p. 98.
[163] See Lally Weymouth, "Does Moscow Really Plan on Leaving Afghanistan?," Washington Post (21 February 1988).
[164] US Department of State, Afghanistan: Eight Years of Soviet Occupation, Special Reports, No. 173 (December 1987), p. 21.

unsuccessful in shaking Zia's stand and he declared his continued support for the Afghan *mujahideen*. The resistance leader, Younis Khalis, reportedly said, "We will never accept any Communist element in a future government of Afghanistan."[165] It was not possible for Pakistan to accept UN negotiations without alienating the United States, conservative Arab patrons and the Afghan *mujahideen* groups. This was a clear indication that Pakistan and the United States were in no mood to bargain and both deeply distrusted Soviet motives in the UN negotiations and regarded it as desirable, in any case, to keep Soviet forces pinned down in a no-win situation.

In early 1988, Zia had gone along with the US in opposing the Soviet policy of linking the withdrawal to US and Pakistani acceptance of a coalition government. Zia's military regime gradually reversed course and declared that Pakistan would not sign the Geneva accords unless Moscow removed Najibullah and agreed to an interim government to be chosen through processes dominated by the Pakistan-based *mujahideen* groups.[166] Thus, the serious prospect of a settlement of the Afghan crisis in the April 1988 round of the UN Geneva talks forced a showdown in Islamabad. In fact, the Zia regime deliberately delayed settlement because Zia regarded the war as the key to Pakistan's American support and was content to see it continue indefinitely.[167] It was also perceived that a settlement in Afghanistan "would mean that Pakistan would slip back in the queue for US military and economic aid."[168] In contrast, Pakistani public opinion was overwhelmingly favourable to the settlement, reflecting concern over the refugee influx and fears of Soviet border pressures. Mohammad Khan Junejo's government supported the Geneva accord and Soviet withdrawal but Zia and the military officers strongly opposed signing an accord.[169] After the approval of the Geneva accord in April 1988, Zia claimed that "the US and the Soviet Union have made a secret agreement on the Afghan issue and they are attempting to smear Pakistan in the bargain as an obstacle to peace." The US, Zia said, "is interested in the withdrawal of Soviet troops and it does not care what happens to the Afghans afterward."[170] He also reaffirmed his belief that the accord was a setback for

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[165] Quoted in Weymouth, "Does Moscow Really Plan on Leaving Afghanistan?," (21 February 1988).
[166] Steven R. Weisman, "Pakistani Leaders Back Compromise for Afghan Peace," New York Times (13 January 1988), p. 1; and Lally Weymouth, "Zia: No Deal With Najibullah," Washington Post (24 January 1988), p. C2.
[167] Ibid.
[168] Romey Fullerton, "From Earth to Sky," Far Eastern Economic Review (14 July 1983), p. 13.
[169] Diego Cordovez and Selig S. Harrison, Out of Afghanistan, pp. 258-60 and 328-29.
[170] "Our Name Being Sullied by US-USSR Deal on Afghanistan," The Nation (Lahore: 19 February 1988), p. 1; and see Diego Cordovez and Selig S. Harrison, Out of Afghanistan, p. 259.

Pakistan and he declared that the Soviet Union "would have come back sooner or later."[171]

In compliance with the Geneva accords, signed on 14 April 1988, the Soviet Union began to withdraw its forces from Afghanistan in the spring of 1988. Zia was determined to continue support the *mujahideen* against Najibullah's rule in Kabul. On the other hand, the PDPA requested for ground forces and Soviet air strikes in support of PDPA forces which were turned down by Moscow.[172] The Politburo followed Gorbachev's adamant refusal to allow a continuing Soviet military role, however, and it reaffirmed that all Soviet forces were to be withdrawn. Soviet Defence Minister Yazov visited Kabul in June 1988 to convey a message that the Soviet decision to pullout was unchangeable.[173] In May 1988, when the *mujahideen* increased their pressure over Kabul government, Shevardnadze, the Foreign Minister and Vladimir Kryuchkov, the KGB Chairman, requested air strikes out of Soviet territory in support of the Afghan army, but Gorbachev rejected this idea as "unnecessary and premature," and he approved the Politburo decision to continue "demonstration" flights near the Afghan border.[174] Thus, the Geneva accord helped the United States to achieve its strategic objective of securing the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan. By and large Moscow had been humiliated but not as Zia wished because it was not of vital concern to the United States.

6-5. Economic Motives

A major objective for Pakistan was to secure financial assistance from multinational agencies and individual countries. The great influx of Afghan refugees from Afghanistan to Pakistan created a grave burden on the economy. Thus, the country needed outside economic aid to address the complex problems that emanated from the flood of Afghan refugees. Pakistan facilitated and supplemented the massive international aid programme that sustained the refugees, and a broad consensus held that the Afghans should be allowed to stay until they could return with a sense of security. In fact, it was quite difficult to manage the burden of refugees and Pakistan was dependent on the continued assistance of the international community.

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[171] Washington Post (30 June 1988), p. 2; and see Diego Cordovez and Selig S. Harrison, Out of Afghanistan, p. 260.
[172] FBIS (29 November 1988), p. R25; and see Pravda (27 June 1988), p. 13.
[173] Pravda (18 June 1988).

For this purpose, a primary objective of Pakistan was to receive massive US economic aid to manage the economic dislocations resulting from the influx of Afghan refugees and for the purpose of rapid economic development. President Zia warmly approved the America's efforts to bring others into a military aid consortium for Pakistan:

> I think the United States has been very wise in taking that step. The threat that has been created is not only a threat to American interests, it is a threat to sea lanes, to oil, to Western European economic requirements. Therefore the United States is right in feeling that everybody should chip in . . . We expect the EEC will play its role at least in helping Pakistan economically and also sharing a bit of the burden of the Afghan refugees.[175]

It was a major objective of foreign policy to gain substantial economic and technical assistance to deal with such problems as mass poverty, illiteracy, lack of adequate raw materials and technical skills and to improve the country's low industrial capability. Foreign aid in the form of grants, loans, and technical assistance was the primary means through which the United States contributed to the economic development of Pakistan. Zia's administration, through pragmatic developmental planning and more effective utilization of available resources, established an impressive record of economic progress during 1980 to 1988. One of the most outstanding achievements of Zia's time was the high growth rate of agriculture and developments in the field of communication and transportation, particularly in the borderlands of North West Frontier Province and Baluchistan. The Pakistani government increased the economic opportunities and also improved the standard of living for the people of Baluchistan and the Northwest Frontier, to counter Soviet propaganda and subversive tactics in the region. For this purpose, US aid was designed to assist Pakistan in achieving its developmental goals by enabling it "to accomplish the improvement of the low level of agricultural efficiency and production, rural development and assistance to lay the basis for industrial expansion".[176] The main objective of the development of the badly neglected areas of NWFP and Baluchistan was to create political stability in Pakistan. The level of development was linked to the level of internal insecurity and external threat perceived by the Pakistani leaders.

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[174] Cordovez and Harrison, Out of Afghanistan, p. 269; Politburo, "On the extension of additional Aid to the Afghanistan," Document - 36, No. 10, (19 May 1988 and 1989).
[175] See The Economist (26 January 1980), p. 45.

Baluchistan, finally, received attention from the federal government and the US and the area was exposed to the currents of national life, the improvements in economic infrastructure, transport and in extractive technologies, an increase in political linkages, and the modest reduction of social barriers to increased contact between the Baluch and the rest of Pakistan. For the development of Baluchistan, the US provided $1.6 billion for the economic progress of the province and US also allocated $250 million for the development of Baluchistan. The improvement of physical infrastructure along the Makran coast was a feature of the US aid programme, and more than $100 million were allocated to the coastal areas. $70 million were set aside for large-scale projects such as water reclamation plant. Millions of dollars were awarded to build and improve roads linking the towns along the Makran coast.[177] In 1985, $40 million of US aid was spent on a road project linking Bela to Turbat. In 1987 US aid also reportedly funded a five-hundred mile long highway connected with Karachi to Makran coast, and terminated at the Iranian border. The US officials agreed to provide 80 percent of the estimated $70 million required to construct a five-mile road and tunnel across the 10,000 feet high Lowari Pass near the border with Pakistan. That amount was allocated from the 1987 US aid package of $4.02 billion but after the Soviet forces withdrawal from Afghanistan US aid to Pakistan suspended and the Lowari pass tunnel project was abandoned.[178]

6-6. Strategic Motives

Pakistan is situated in an area of great geopolitical importance whether seen from a regional, continental, or global standpoint. In this context, Pakistan was viewed by the policy-makers in Washington as a major base of the area adjoining to the Middle East and the Persian Gulf. Moreover, Pakistan's ability to play a significant role in the defence strategy of the United States arose from the peculiar position which Pakistan occupies in Asia, largely due to its geographic and strategic location. It has common borders with Iran, Afghanistan and China and is separated from Central Asia by intervening Afghan territory which is nowhere more than fifty miles in width. From this point of view, Pakistan gained an opportunity to improve its south-western port facilities and air strips at

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[176] Smith, Interview with Pakistani President Zia-ul Haq, The New York Times (Magazine) (12 December 1982).

[177] Francis Fukuyama, The Security of Pakistan: A Trip Report (Santa Monica, California.:Rand Corporation, 1980), pp. 31-34; Government of Pakistan, The New Face of Baluchistan (Islamabad: Government of Pakistan Publications, 1980), p. 23; Government of Baluchistan, White Paper on the Budget 1981-82 (Quetta: Government of Baluchistan, 1982), pp. 75-82. and Mahnaz Z. Ispahani, Roads and Rivals, pp. 67-82.

Karachi, Gwadar, Jiwani, Pasni and Peshawar with US economic and technical assistance. The US continued to back Pakistan by extending economic and military assistance and this support and commitment from its superpower patron served as a morale booster for Pakistan.

The Soviet military presence in Afghanistan had upset the balance of power in the Persian Gulf region where both Pakistan and the United States had vital political, strategic, and economic interests. Both needed oil, but any disruption of Gulf oil supply was likely to hurt Pakistan more, because it had very limited alternative sources of energy and sources of supply abroad. The Gulf countries were important markets for goods and services for both Pakistan and the United States. In addition, Pakistan earned about $3 billion annually through its migrant workers in the Gulf—an amount that was crucial to Pakistan's balance-of-payment situation. Furthermore, Pakistan had common religious, cultural, and historical ties with the Gulf countries and would look adversely upon any trend that was likely to weaken these ties. However, Gulf countries were also important to Pakistan for military and strategic reasons. Pakistan had a weak defence capability, so it must rely on the support of Gulf Muslim countries to overcome this deficiency. Further, Pakistan also had military links of varying size and significance with most countries of the Gulf which was vital for its economy and defence.

[178] Ibid.

CHAPTER SIX

The Afghan Crisis and its Consequences for Pakistan

Asia is but a body of mud and water. Its throbbing heart is the Afghan nation. The Afghan nation's relief gives relief to Asia and its corruption corrupts Asia.[1]

—Mohammad Iqbal, 1920

The US-Pakistan alignment during the Afghan crisis was an excellent example of an opportunistic partnership between two unequal powers. Nations often join formal and informal alliances with specific objectives and the primary objectives of almost all participating states are to secure their interests and minimise their liabilities by sharing them with others.[2] Normally, nations join an alliance or alliances for potential gains but costs are equally obvious. Thus, it is a calculated response to a peculiar set of circumstances that influences policy makers to join a partnership to seek security or the protection of others.[3] Moreover, the initiative for an alliance could come from either a weaker state or a great power, depending upon the force of the factors experienced by the states involved.

The United States, as a great power with global responsibilities and commitments, took advantage of Pakistan's desperate need for military and economic assistance and its search for powerful friends in order to have access to Pakistani bases and other vital facilities so as to expand the scope of its policy to contain communism. On the other hand, Pakistan, as a weak state with regional interests, seized upon the opportunity offered by the United States search for anti-Communist allies in South Asia in order to achieve economic and military assistance and to strengthen its bargaining position vis-à-vis India. Indeed, this was the first time the United States had provided an unequivocal guarantee of protection against a possible attack by India and its Communist allies, primarily the Soviet Union. Thus, Pakistan built up its defence capabilities which, in turn, removed the existing sense of insecurity and replaced it with the much-desired sense of security

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[1] Mohammad Iqbal is a national poet, philosopher and scholar of Pakistan. His philosophical contribution is available in Urdu and Persian poetry books. The present comment is a translation of one of his couplet in Persian poetry book Javed Nama Verse No. 1 (Lahore: Shiekh Ghulam Ali and Sons, 1983), pp. 177-178; and see Kulyat-e-Iqbal Persian version (Lahore: Iqbal Academy Pakistan, 1990).

[2] Perviaz Iqbal Cheema, Defence Policy of Pakistan (London: Macmillan, 1995), p. 145.

[3] J. W. Burton, International Relations: A General Theory (Cambridage University Press, 1967), p. 171.

deemed so necessary for a satisfactory pace of development. Moreover, Pakistan's policy makers fully calculated the probable gains and most likely losses, of which most small or weak states are well aware and can accept in respect of the alignment. It would be useful here, to discuss the costs incurred and benefits attained by Pakistan as a result of the temporary alignment with the United States. These can be classified into political, military, economic, social and strategic categories.

1. Political Benefits

The Soviet adventurism in Afghanistan posed a serious challenge to Pakistan's external security, its national survival and territorial integrity. In these circumstances, Zia made excellent use of the opportunities arising from changes in the geopolitical environment, as a result of the revolution in Iran and the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan, to legitimise his regime, make personal gains, and obtain a renewed US commitment to Pakistan's security, funds from Islamic countries and a continuing supply of weapons from the US and China. The American moral, military and economic support generated a variety of political benefits for Pakistan in general and for Zia ul-Haq's regime in particular, helping the ruling elites to deal with the situation effectively and maintain internal security, which in turn secured their considerable power position in the country.

1-1. Success of Pakistan's Afghan Policy

Pakistan's Afghan policy brought a fundamental change in the regional scenario. The *mujahideen* resistance, hitherto directed against the Kabul Communist rulers, turned into an Afghan Jihad against the Soviet Union. According to General K. M. Arif, "the new threat posed to Pakistan's national security was too serious to ignore and the choices available were uneasy."[4] Pakistan was too small, weak and vulnerable a country to take up cudgels with the Soviet Union. The existing options were limited for Pakistan because it was perceived that Pakistan could be the next victim, which caused great anxiety.[5] Pakistan condemned the Soviet intervention. It was obvious that Pakistan could not afford continuing instability on its Western borders and would have to resist foreign invasion by all means, including by the *mujahideen*. It was believed that the subjugation of a Muslim country was an insult to Islam and it was incumbent on all the faithful to wage a Jihad

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[4] See General K. M. Arif, "Success of Afghan Policy," Dawn (Karachi: 19 May 1992).
[5] Ibid.

(war) against the atheist Soviets. In the 1980s Zia operated a highly efficacious Afghan policy.[6] At this time, Pakistan strongly opposed the Soviet support to the Kabul government and its intervention. The Soviet Union exerted relentless pressure on Pakistan in all conceivable ways and threatened Pakistan with "unpredictable consequences" if it continued "hurting its interests."[7] However, during the Zia era, Afghanistan was deemed to be the central point of Pakistan's foreign policy and this brought Pakistan to the fore in international affairs. Zia's Afghan policy rolled back the Soviet military adventure in Afghanistan.

1-2. Nuclear Capability

Pakistan's nuclear programme and doctrine have been based on fairly clear and straightforward means to forge a credible deterrent to counter India's threat. Throughout its history, Pakistan's foreign policy has been formed by the perceived threat from India, defined in terms of Kashmir and the integration of the Pakistani state. Moreover, defence planning in Pakistan is almost wholly directed at achieving some kind of parity with India, since Pakistan is unwilling to accept the role of an Indian satellite and sees military developments in India as potential threats.[8] In 1974, India conducted a nuclear explosion and changed the character of the South Asian strategic environment. India emerged as the undisputed power of the region which was unacceptable to Pakistan because it was a weak and subservient country.

In the circumstances, Pakistan was not prepared to accept India's preeminent position and regarded India's nuclear explosion as evidence of its imperialistic designs in the region. Thus, Pakistan was understandably cynical and felt that unless it obtained its own nuclear bomb, it could be blackmailed into accepting the dominant position of its rival. Moreover, Pakistan was unwilling to accept the role of an Indian satellite and was therefore pushing forward to acquire a nuclear capability. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto expressed determination that the Pakistanis would "eat grass" if necessary to match the Indian nuclear capability.[9] In 1976 Bhutto signed an agreement with France to purchase a nuclear reprocessing plant. His contract with France was interpreted in America as Pakistan's move to becoming a

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[6] Khalid Mahmud, "Is There a Foreign Policy?," The Nation (Lahore: 13 September 1992).
[7] Ibid.
[8] Barry Buzan and Gowher Rizvi, South Asian Insecurity and the Great Powers (London: Macmillan, 1996), p. 119.
[9] Brahma Chellaney, "The Challenge of Nuclear Arms Control in South Asia," Survival, Vol. 35, No.3, Autumn 1993, p. 122; and see Z. A. Bhutto, If I Am Assassinated (New Delhi: Vikas, 1979), p. 137.

nuclear power.[10] Secretary of State Henry Kissinger bluntly warned Bhutto in August 1976, "we can destabilise your government and make a horrible example out of you."[11] In 1977, Jimmy Carter came into power and from the very first days publicly dedicated himself and spent an enormous amount of time to halt nuclear proliferation. He perceived that the destructive potential of nuclear technology posed an immediate threat to international peace and stability. Carter announced his nuclear policy on 7 April 1977, asserting his determination to discourage the development and spread of dangerous nuclear technologies and to minimise worldwide accumulation of potential nuclear explosives in peaceful power programmes. In July 1977 Bhutto's democratic government was overthrown by declaration of Zia martial law; continued the nuclear programme. In particular, Zia encouraged the country's nuclear scientists to speed up their work. Pakistan also showed much resentment over the American stance on the nuclear issue. In 1978 Carter took action against Pakistan to neutralise its nuclear programme and he used pressure on France and Pakistan to cancel the reprocessing plant deal.

After the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, Pakistan was informed that the Carter administration was prepared to send a team to Islamabad to discuss the emerging security problems in the region. The US also expressed its willingness conditionally to lift its embargo on economic aid to Pakistan. In fact, the Carter administration realised the importance of Pakistan and emphasised that an enduring friendship with Pakistan was in the vital interest of the United States. Carter offered to seek legislation allowing him to waive the requirement of the Symington amendment. At that time, Senator Glenn felt that nonproliferation had to be subordinated to meet the challenge involved in the Soviet invasion and was willing to support a waiver for Pakistan.[12] Brzezinski also contacted Zia, but "his response was very cold and hardly accommodative because of the US tough stand against Pakistan's dubious record on human rights and on its nuclear programme."[13]

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[10] See Perviaz Iqbal Cheema, "Pakistan's Quest for Nuclear Technology," Australian Outlook, No. 34 (August 1980), pp. 188-190.

[11] Benazir Bhutto, Daughter of the East (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1988), p. 86; Christina Lamb, Waiting For Allah: Pakistan's Struggle for Democracy (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1991), pp. 38 and 82; and see also Anthony Hyman & M. Ghayur and Nasresh Kaushik, Pakistan: Zia and After (London: Asia Publishing House, 1988), p. 23.

[12] William J. Barnds, "The United States and South Asia: Policy and Process," in Stephen Philip Cohen (ed.,). The Security of South Asia: American and Asian Perspectives (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1987), p. 157.

[13] Zbigniew Brzezinski, Power and Principle: Memoirs of the National Security Adviser 1977-1981 (New York: Farrar, 1983), p. 448.

However, in 1981, the Reagan administration believed that Pakistan faced a serious security threat due to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and deserved economic and military aid to protect its sovereignty. Pakistan fully cooperated with the United States for the containment of communism and provided all necessary facilities to the US and Afghan *mujahideen* against the Soviet Union. As a result, Reagan gave the necessary clearance certificate to Congress about Pakistan's nuclear programme. In January 1982 efforts in Congress to reduce military assistance to Pakistan were beaten back by the Reagan administration which kept the Afghan pipeline open for aid for Pakistan to continue. The Reagan administration also asked Congress to waive the Symington amendment[14] and make an exception regarding Islamabad's nuclear programme, to allow a military and economic aid package for Pakistan. Nixon also strongly supported Pakistan and urged that "the US must help Pakistan in the event of a Communist attack." He stated that "Congress must not cut military and economic assistance package to Pakistan, notwithstanding its concerns about whether Islamabad is developing the capability to build nuclear weapons." He further mentioned that "the US must recognise that if we cannot secure Pakistan against Soviet intimidation we cannot secure a just settlement of the war in Afghanistan."[15]

In the circumstances, the waiver of the Symington amendment in favour of Pakistan provided an opportunity to the Zia government for acquisition of a nuclear weapons capability. Pakistan had produced weapons-grade uranium and it had achieved its goal —the production of deliverable weapons—by 1986-1987.[16] Thus, Zia's regime was completely successful in its clandestine efforts to secure classified designs of a centrifuge - based uranium enrichment plant and in obtaining a number of critical sub-systems, components and materials. Emma Duncan quotes Stephen Cohen as saying that there were rumours that the Fauji Foundation (Pakistan's military based industrial project) and many private investors were involved in importing equipment for the

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[14] The Reagan administration urged the Congress to act favourably on their request to extend the duration of the follow-up aid package the authorisation provided in section 620E of the Foreign Assistance Act to waive the Symington amendment sanction that would otherwise apply to Pakistan. See details Robert A. Peck, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Near East and South Asian Affairs, Testifying to a House Sub-Committee hearing on aid to Pakistan, 5 March 1987. See **Keesing's Contemporary Archives** (6 July 1979), p. 29701; (11 September 1981), p. 31074; and (17 September 1982), p. 31707.

[15] Richard Nixon, **Victory Without War 1999** (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1988), p. 140.

[16] David Albright and Mark Hibbs, "Pakistan's Bomb: Out of the Closet," **Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists** (July/August 1992), pp. 38-43.

nuclear weapons programme.[17] Moreover, Zia strongly supported Pakistan's nuclear programme and refused to accept full-scope safeguards. He said: "We shall eat crumbs but will not allow our national interest to be compromised in any manner what-so-ever."[18] Zia admitted that "Pakistan can build a (nuclear) bomb whenever it wishes. Once you have acquired the technology, which Pakistan has, you can do whatever you like."[19] He deliberately took calculated risks, and skilfully exploited the international environment in the wake of the Afghan crisis, to enable Pakistan to obtain significant sensitive Western materials and technology from black-market sources for its uranium enrichment plant (Kahuta). Pakistan also obtained specialised containers for the handling of uranium hexafluoride, along with 130 metric tons of aluminum for use as centrifuge housings.[20]

However, nuclear ambiguity ended when India took the initiative to conduct five nuclear tests on 11 May and 13 May 1998 and subsequently Pakistan also conducted nuclear tests in May and June 1998, long after both countries initiated their military-nuclear efforts. Gauhar Ayub, the Foreign Minister, declared that: "India'a actions, which pose an immediate and grave threat to Pakistan's security, will not go unanswered."[21] Pakistan had to go for its own nuclear test, as the credibility of Pakistan's deterrent had been called into question by India's behaviour. Thus, military doctrine in Pakistan was concerned about its survival and to deter India's conventional military superiority as well as to counter more subtle forms of Indian dominance in regional affairs. In addition, Pakistan's nuclear weapons programme was more punitive than acquisitive; possession of such weapons was seen as the only option to defend the state.

1-3. International Support

Pakistan made vigorous use of all the accessible multilateral fora to gain support against the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and it was fully backed by the majority of the international community. (Table-4) The annual resolutions passed by the UN General

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[17] Quoted by Emma Duncan, **Breaking The Curfew: A Political Journey Through Pakistan** (London: Michael Joseph, 1989), p. 281.
[18] **The Pakistan Times** (Lahore), 28 July 1979, p. 1.
[19] William R. Doerner, "Knocking at The Nuclear Door," **Time**, 30 March 1987, p. 42.
[20] Leonard Spector, **Nuclear Ambitions** (Boulder: Westview, 1990), pp. 34-91.
[21] **Financial Times** (London), 14 May 1998, p. 3.

Table - 4

Voting Pattern on Afghanistan in the UN General Assembly

No.	Session	Month	Year	Vote For	Against	Abstentions
1.	6th Emergency Special Session	January	1980	104	18	18
2.	35th Annual Session	November	1980	111	22	12
3.	36th annual Session	November	1981	116	23	12
4.	37th Annual Session	November	1982	114	21	13
5.	38th Annual Session	November	1983	116	20	17
6.	39th Annual Session	November	1984	119	20	14
7.	40th Annual Session	November	1985	122	19	12
8.	41st Annual Session	November	1986	122	20	11
9.	42nd Annual Session	November	1987	123	19	11
10.	43rd Annual Session	November	1988	123	18	13

Source: UN General Assembly Annual Session Record 1980-1988 (New York: Publications Office, 1989);Rashid Ahmad Khan, "Afghan Question at the UN", The Muslim (Islamabad: 13 October 1988); Dawn (Karachi: 11November 1987); and UN Annual Session Reports From 1980-88 (New York: UN Publication and Record, 1989).

Assembly called for immediate, unconditional and total withdrawal of foreign troops. The Afghanistan problem become a hot issue for the UN's sixth emergency special session in 1980.[22] Moreover, in the annual sessions, the resolutions on Afghanistan succeeded in mustering an increased number of votes calling for the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan, political settlement of the dispute and the creation of such conditions as would enable the Afghan refugees camped in Pakistan and Iran to return in security.

The Soviet Union came under severe diplomatic pressure from other international fora such as the Non-aligned Movement (NAM), the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO), Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) and the Organisation of the Islamic Conference (OIC). The NAM ministerial meeting at New York also made reference to the on-going Afghanistan problem, issuing a call for political settlement based on the withdrawal of foreign troops.[23] In the emergency conference of thirty-six Islamic Foreign Ministers, Ayatollah Khomeini pledged "unconditional support" for Muslim insurgents fighting the Soviet-backed government.[24] The second Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers in Pakistan also gave support and demanded the withdrawal of Soviet troops and restoration of the Islamic and non-aligned status of Afghanistan.[25] The European Union issued a joint statement calling for Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan "without delay" while Yugoslavia condemned the Soviet move at a UNESCO conference hosted by it.[26] Thus, the Afghan war increasingly isolated Soviet Union from the world community because its action was legally untenable and morally unjustified.

1-4. Decline of Pakhtun Radical Nationalism

The paramount objectives of Pakistan's policy makers in supporting the Afghan war were to block the revival of Afghan nationalism and to persuade a friendly government in Kabul to recognise the current "Durand Line" as an international border. In 1985 the

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[22] **The New York Times** (15 January 1980), p. 8. The UN (General Assembly) resolutions neither mention the Soviet Union as the aggressor, nor comment on the light of the refugees who were forced to flee their homeland because of the state of upheaval within Afghanistan. See more details **UN Chronicle**, No. 24 (February 1987), p. 69.

[23] **Dawn** (9 October 1987); and see Zalmay Khalilzad, "Afghanistan and the Soviet Union in 1987," **Current History**, No. 86 (October 1987), p. 335.

[24] Ibid. (30 January 1980), p. 1.

[25] **Pakistan Times** (Lahore: 9 April 1988).

[26] Ibid. (6 February 1980), p. 1; see also **The New York Times** (26 October 1980), p. 1.

Communist government in Kabul summoned tribal chiefs in both countries to call for Pakhtun unity under Afghan sovereignty. They also claimed self-determination for the creation of Pakhtunistan on Pakistan's territory (NWFP and some parts of Baluchistan) to upset the Islamabad government, which provided sanctuary to anti-Communist elements.[27] However, Pakistan tended to favour the Afghan Islamists' resistance factions over the pro-western traditionalists, mainly because they reject the secular idea of Pakhtunistan.[28]

In 1989 the Pakistani delegation in Geneva tried to obtain a definitive statement on the border from the Afghans, but the only reference to the border was contained in the agreement dealing with mutual assurances of non-interference between Pakistan and the Kabul regime. It called on both parties "to refrain from the threat or use of force in any form whatsoever so as not to violate the boundaries of each other."[29] During the Geneva talks, the Pakistan government claimed that the peace agreement, which banned interference across Afghanistan's "internationally recognised border," implies Afghan acceptance that the frontier lies on the old Durand line. The Kabul government tried at the last minute to have those words struck out, but failed.[30] It was thought that the influx of Afghan refugees in the NWFP and Baluchistan would increase Pakhtun nationalism but this was not the case. Despite their cultural and linguistic affinity with the local people, the Afghan refugees were hardly popular in NWFP and Baluchistan.[31] As a consequence, the Afghan refugees reduced the strength of Pakhtun nationalism and may have dispelled once and for all the myth of Pakhtunistan.[32]

1-5. The End of Pakhtunistan Problem

The Government in Kabul had always had friendlier relations with India and the Soviet Union than Pakistan. However, the decade long Afghan war changed the previous political status of the country because its major ally, the Soviet Union, collapsed and left behind Afghan *mujahideen* contending for power. It appeared that even the long-standing

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[27] The Economist (14 May 1988), p. 72.
[28] Marvin G. Weinbaum, "War and Peace in Afghanistan: The Pakistani Role," Middle East Journal, Vol. 45, No. 1, (Winter 1991), p. 77; and see The Economist (14 May 1988), p. 72.
[29] Theodore L. Eliot, Jr, Gorbachev's Afghan Gambit (Washington, D.C.: Institute For Foreign Policy Analysis, Inc, 1988), p. 14.
[30] See The Economist (14 May 1988), p. 72.
[31] Grant M. Farr, , "Afghan Refugees in Pakistan: Definitions, Repatriation and Ethnicity," in Ewan W. Anderson and Nancy Hatch Dupree (ed.)., The Cultural Basis of Afghan Nationalism (New York: Pinter Publishers, 1990), p. 141.

dispute over Pakhtunistan might become a thing of the past, and Zia envisioned a friendly Afghanistan providing Pakistan with strategic depth. Zia's regime, from the beginning of the war, was committed to destroying the Communsit infrastructure in Afghanistan, installing a client regime and bringing about a "strategic realignment" in South Asia. Zia told Selig Harrison, "We have earned the right to have a friendly regime in Afghanistan." He declared, "We took risks as a frontline state and we will not permit it to be like it was before, with Indian and Soviet influence there and claims on our territory. It will be a real Islamic state, part of a pan-Islamic revival that will one day win over the Muslims in the Soviet Union, the world will see."[33] In fact, Zia and the ISI were more concerned about what they called "strategic realignment" and about establishing a pan-Islamic confederation between Pakistan and Afghanistan. Zia declared that if Diego Cordovez (The Special Advisor of the UN Secretary General for Afgahnistan, 1986-1988) did not succeed in establishing an interim government in Kabul, then the *mujahideen* would either throw Dr. Najibullah out of Kabul or form a provisional government inside Afghanistan. Zia declared that Pakistan and Afghanistan would establish a confederation in which Pakistanis and Afghans could travel freely back and forth without passports.[34] Policy makers felt that after ten years Pakistan was entitled to run its own show in Kabul. They did not want Afghanistan with 25,000 Soviet and 1500 Indian advisors and technicians.[35] Actually, Pakistan perceived that this situation would serve as a shield to Pakistan's security and it gave comfort to the defence planners of Pakistan, who wanted peace on its northern border. From a cynical perspective, Zia's regime opted for a disunified and decentralised Afghan state as the best insurance that no government antagonistic to Pakistan would emerge in the future.[36] Thus, after the fall of the Najibullah government, the Islamists established control in Kabul. In 1992, the President of Afghanistan, Sibghatullah Mojadeddi, visited Pakistan and declared that "the Durand Line is the official border between Pakistan and Afghanistan but unofficially there is no border between the two countries."[37] The Afghan Charge d'Affairs in Pakistan, Karamatullah Mossa Qazi, also said that "the Pakhtunistan issue would never be raised with Pakistan because nation and country played an important role in the Afghan Jihad."[38]

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[32] Ibid.
[33] Diego Cordovez and Selig S. Harrison, **Out of Afghanistan: The Inside Story of the Soviet Withdrawal** (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 92.
[34] Ibid., p. 260.
[35] Ibid., p. 259.
[36] Marvin G. Weinbaum, "War and Peace in Afghanistan," p. 84.
[37] See **The News** (Rawalpindi - 28 May 1992).
[38] See **Dawn** (15 October 1992).

2. Military Benefits

Pakistan's effort to modernise its armed forces and defence posture provided justification to Pakistan's policy makers to become a party with the United States to strengthen defence capabilities. In fact, Pakistan's forces dependend on US weapons systems and they wanted to modernise their weapons to compete with India's conventional superiority. During the Afghan crisis, Pakistan eventually succeeded in obtaining modern sophisticated weapons from the United States.

2-1. US Military Aid to Pakistan

Unlike Carter, President Reagan was determined to challenge the Soviets anywhere in the world and Afghanistan emerged as a major trump card in the containment of Soviet power and influence. Arms transfers to the Third World became an important policy instrument for the Reagan administration in its programme to revive the military power of the US and its allies around the world. As James Buckley explained "arms transfers properly considered and employed represent an indispensable instrument of the US policy that both complements and supplements the role of our own military forces."[39] The partnership between US and Pakistan was one of many contemporary instances of cooperation serving complementary interests. For the United States it served the primary purpose of expanding the scope of the policy of containment; for Pakistan it served primarily the purpose of increasing its political, military and economic potential vis-à-vis its neighbour i.e., India and the Soviet-backed Kabul government. President Zia ul-Haq, who was the architect of the new alignment, explained Pakistan's motives in cooperating with the US in these words: "Our main and prime objectives are to keep out the Soviet Union and Afghanistan in the north and to safeguard the safety and security of Pakistan from India in the east."[40] William Casey analysed Pakistan's fear of the Indian threat and explained "I talked to President Zia and General Akhtar that who is number one enemy India or the Soviet Union. Both replied India but according to the situation both were determined to defeat the Soviets."[41] It was very clear to the US that Pakistan lacked the requisite capabilities to

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[39] James L. Buckley, "Conventional Arms Transfers," statement before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee (28 July 1981), reprinted in Current Policy, No. 301, Bureau of Public Affairs, Department of State, Washington, 1981, p. 3.

[40] Dawn (23 March 1983).

[41] Peter Schweizer, Victory: The Reagan Administration's Secret Strategy That Hastened the Collapse of the Soviet Union (New York: The Atlantic Monthly Press, 1994), p. 63.

cope with the Indian threat, the Soviet-backed Afghan threat, or a joint Indo-Soviet-Afghan threat. In fact, the capabilities of both India and the Soviet Union were beyond the reach of Pakistan.[42]

Policy makers, political leaders and military planners in Pakistan have almost unanimously believed that the problem of Pakistan's defence is a problem of defence against India. They have, therefore, constantly sought protection against a possible attack from India. In this regard, Pakistan's concern for India rather than Communist aggression was evident and their primary motivation for entering into partnership with the US was the need for arms. However, the Pakistan-US arms relationship was advocated by US analysts and policy makers on the grounds that:

- Soviet control or influence over Pakistan would have serious effects on US commercial and strategic interests in the Persian Gulf region;

- Pakistan could be used as a channel for US assistance to the Afghan resistance groups;

- Pakistan territory could be used as a base for further contingencies involving the Rapid Deployment Force (RDF);

- A credible defence of Pakistan would increase US prestige among the Middle Eastern countries and China;

- Pakistani defence planners needed to modernise the state's defence forces with a view to reducing the existing disparity between India and Pakistan and obviously this was only possible with the help of the United States.

Pakistan's military deficiencies were significantly redressed and Zia's government obtained sophisticated weapons to safeguard its security interests. Thus, the Pakistani army was better equipped and its security was improved with US assistance (Table-5). It included improved warning and communication systems, anti-tank missiles, ground attack aircraft, tanks and armoured personnel carriers. In 1981, the Reagan administration provided $3.2 billion in military and economic aid and within this package $343 million

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[42] Pervaiz Iqbal Cheema, "The Afghanistan Crisis and Pakistan's Security Dilemma," **Asian Survey**, Vol. XXIII, No. 3 (March 1983), p. 240.

Table -5

US Arms Supply to Pakistan During 1980-1987

No. of Order	Weapon Designation	Weapon Description	Year of Order	Year of delivered
5	E-2C-Hawkeye	Airborne Early Warning Aircraft (AEW)	1986	1987
3	Model 204 U11-4B	Helicopters	1986	1987
88	M-109 A-2 155mm	Self Propelled Howitzer	1985	1986-87
110	M-113-A-2	Armoured Personnel Carrier	1985	1986-87
60	155mm	Tracled Howitzer	1986	1987
1	AN-IPO	Tracking Radar	1987	1987
500	AIM -7	Air-to-Air Missiles	1985	1986-87
400	BGM-71C I-TCW	Air Targeting Mode (ATM)	1986	1987
86	BGM-71D TGW-3	ATM-Military Aircraft	1987	1987
150	FIM-92 Stinger	Surface-to-Air Missiles (SAM)	1987	1987
40	F-16	Fighting Falcon	1984	1986
3	P3s	Maritime Reconnaissance	1985	1985
2	Naval Ship	Carrier Class Destroyers	1985	1985
21	Cobra	Combat helicopters	1985	1986
10	Radars	Ground-based air defence radars	1985	1986
2	Naval Ship	Gearing class destroyers	1985	1986

80	Naval Missile	Harpoon	1985	1986
2	M - 198	Howitzers	1985	1986
100	M 1A1 Abrams & M 48 A5	Battle Tanks	1984	1986
50	M113 Military Vehicles	Armed Personnel Carrier	1984	1985
9000	SMAW- anti-armour rocket	Shoulder-fire rockets	1985	1986
50	Self-propelled	Self-propelled Artillery	1985	1986
100	AIM 9L Sidewinder	Advanced AAM	1985	1986
2	Mohawk	Observation Aircraft	1986	1987
560	AIM-7 Sparrow	Air to Air Missile	1986	1987
200	AIM 9L Sidewinder	Anti-tank missiles	1986	1987
150	TOW	Anti-Tank Missile	1986	1987
124	TOW	Air-to-Air Missiles	1987	1988

Sources: "Commentary on US Military Aid to Pakistan," Delhi General Overseas Service, (6 January 1988), reported in FBIS-NES-88-004, (7 January 1988), p. 48; and see US Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, World Military Expenditures and Arms Transfer 1990 (Washington, D.C.: Institute of Strategic Studies, 1991), p. 9; Richard F.Grimmett, Conventional Arms Transfers to the Third World 1986-1993 (Washington, D. C.: US Library of Congress, Congressional Research Service (29 July 1994), pp. 38-56; and Michael T. Klare, "The Arms Trade: Changing Pattern in the 1980s," Third World Quarterly, Vol. 9, No. 4 (1987), pp. 1257-1281.

were allocated to buy 40 General Dynamics F-16 Hornet fighter/interceptors, Sparrow and Sidewinder missiles.[43] The F-16 fighter planes are modern advanced aircraft and it was widely believed that the F-16s would provide a credible deterrent and strategic edge to Pakistan in the region. Pakistan's success in convincing the administration of the need for a deep penetration aircraft like the F-16 in place of the initially proposed but less advanced F-5G aircraft demonstrated the leverage that a dependent nation could exert on the US.[44] The aircraft were initially supposed to have been equipped with the ALR-46 electronic counter-measure system rather than the more sophisticated ALR-69 version used by NATO and eventually, the US provided F-16s with the advanced version, as requested by Islamabad.[45] Additionally, Pakistan obtained the AIM 9L version of the Sidewinder missile. It also received Harpoon anti-ship missiles, upgraded M-48 tanks, tank recovery vehicles, towed and self-propelled field artillery, armed helicopters, and second-hand destroyers. Radar equipment purchased from US companies was used to provide aircraft warning systems on the western border.[46] The US provided necessary equipment for infantry divisions, armoured divisions, air force squadrons and assistance to build new air force bases in NWFP and Baluchistan. They also provided special assistance to build sea ports in Gwadar and Karachi harbours and to provide ancillary equipment.

3. Economic Benefits

The war in Afghanistan attracted international assistance to Zia's government, especially from the United States. The US assistance committed to Pakistan's military and economic budgets through the 1980s totalled more than $7.2 billion.[47] Thus, foreign economic assistance in the years of 1981-88 enabled Pakistan to enter the ranks of middle-income countries, establishing moderate industrial sectors, a vibrant urban economy, a large middle class and a rapidly growing service sector. Overall, the Zia years saw an

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[43] International Herald Tribune (7 April 1988).

[44] See W. Howard Wriggins, "Pakistan's Search for a Foreign Policy After the Invasion of Afghanistan," Pacific Affairs, Vol. 57, No. 2 (Summer 1984), pp. 284-303.

[45] The US provided the first batch of six F-16s immediately from US and European stocks within 12 months after signing of the acceptance offer between the US and Pakistan. The remaining 36 were to be delivered at a rate of five per quarter beginning 27 months after the signing of the agreement. See T. V. Paul, "Influence Through Arms Transfers: Lessons From the US-Pakistani Relationship," Asian Survey, Vol. XXXII, No. 12, (December 1992), p. 1086; Robert G. Wirsing, "The Arms Race in South Asia: Implication for the United States," Asian Survey, Vol. 25, No. 3 (March 1985), pp. 265-290; and Aid and Proposed Arms Sales of F-16s to Pakistan, Congress, 97th Session, Hearings before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, 12-17 November 1981.

[46] Rodney W. Jones, "The Military and Security in Pakistan," in Craig Baxter (ed.)., Zia's Pakistan: Politics and Stability in a Frontline State (Boulder: Westview, 1985), p. 83.

impressive growth rate of 6.3 percent, nearly two points higher than in the Zulfikar Ali Bhutto period and growth in the manufacturing sector was almost six points higher.[48] Pakistan also finally put behind it the double-digit inflation that had dogged the economy since the 1970s and reduced the rate of inflation to around 9 percent. The successes registered in Pakistan's balance of payment over much of the 1980s, mostly from externally generated inflows (foreign aid, investment and remittance), enabled the government to avoid addressing more fundamental structural problems in the economy. Remittances from workers abroad, totaling over $25 billion in the 1980s, helped greatly.

In August 1981 the United States provided a five year (1981-85) aid package to Pakistan in the amount of $3.2 billion divided equally between military and economic assistance (Chart-1). This sizable aid agreement catapulted Pakistan into third place among major US aid recipients, after Israel, Egypt and Turkey. The agreement confirmed the determination of the US government to maintain close political ties with Pakistan in the face of the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan. This package was half economic, half military. The $1.6 billion in economic assistance was oriented toward development, focusing on the Pakistani government's development priority sectors of agriculture, energy and social services and emphasized balance of payment support. The programme had a considerable commodity component—PL480 edible oil, phosphatic fertilizer, agricultural equipment, insecticides and contraceptives — and a large element of local currency financing for different projects.

During 1982-88 USAID provided $954.2 million in development aid to Pakistan and $205 million for the development of irrigation, energy and farm water management projects.[49] With the sharp curtailment of domestic absorption that this required, the balance of payments were also strengthened, although pressure emerged in 1984 because of poor agricultural conditions in 1983-84. Pakistan received approximately $1.6 billion in foreign military sales credits and $1.7 billion in economic assistance over a five-year period commencing in fiscal year 1983.[50] During the first three years of the aid programme, Pakistan Fiscal Years (PFY) 1982-1984 around $50 million of the annual appropriation

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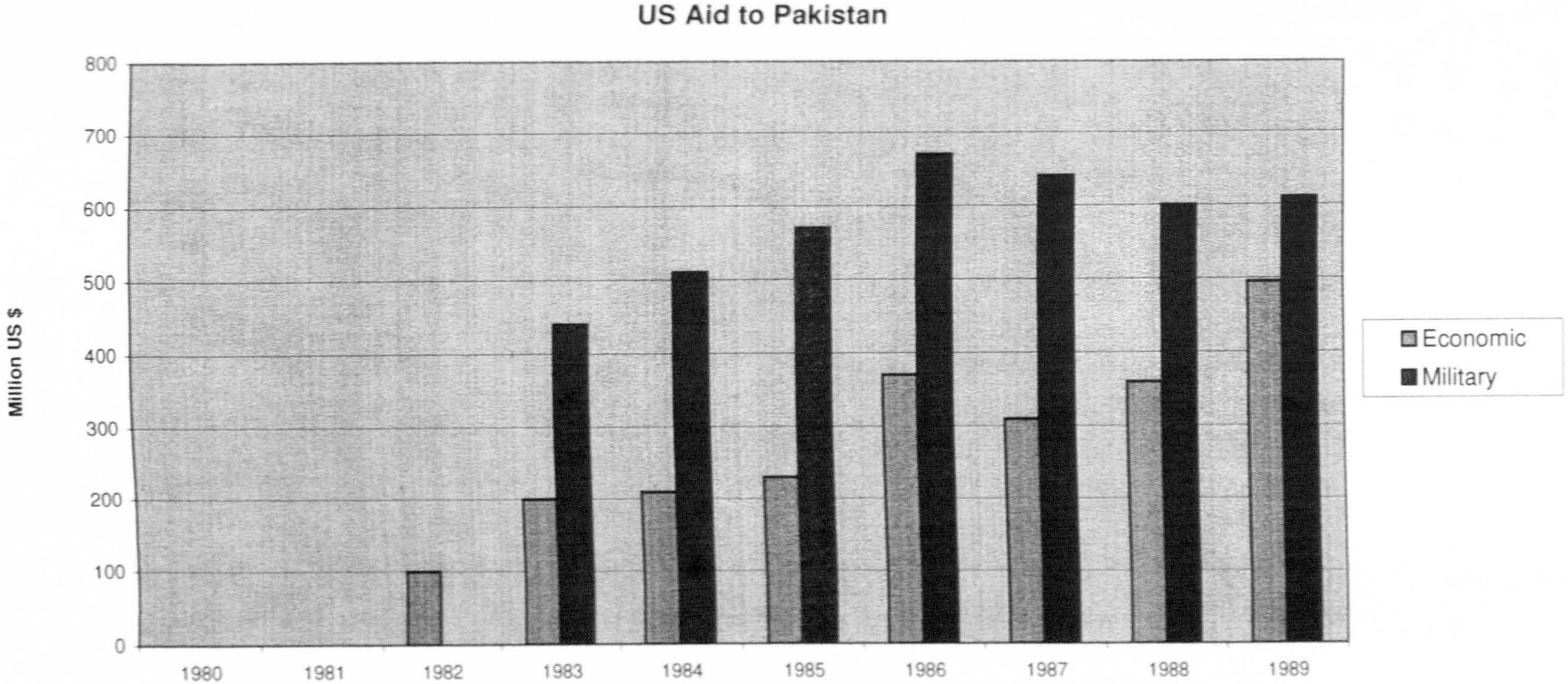
[47] Marvin G. Weinbaum, "War and Peace in Afghanistan: The Pakistani Role," p. 72.

[48] Marvin G. Weinbaum, "Pakistan: Misplaced Priorities, Missed Opportunities," in Selig S. Harrison, Paul H. Kreisberg and Dennis Kus (ed.)., **India and Pakistan: The First fifty Years** (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 93.

[49] Ibid.

[50] The major purchases by the Pakistani government utlising these credits spent on 40 F-16 aircraft. See more details in Arshad Zaman, "Economic Relations Between Pakistan and the United States," p. 72.

Chart-1



Sources: US Agency for International Development 1990; and The Economist (16 April 1988), p. 59.

was used for PL480 financing of edible oil imports. The non-PL480 component of the programme rose from $100 million in PFY 1982 to $200 million in PFY 1983 and $225 million in PFY 1984. Terms of the assistance were two-thirds grants and one-third concessional loans. Economic aid helped to improve the economic condition of backward provinces of NWFP and Baluchistan and it also worked to stabilise Pakistan as a whole.

In 1985 the US approved a further package of $4.02 billion ($670 million annually) in military and economic aid for the next six years (1986-1990), on generally concessional terms, and Pakistan emerged as the second largest recipient of the US aid, after Israel.[51] The US aid package materially improved the fighting capabilities of Pakistan's defence forces, contributed to the country's economic growth (Table-6) and helped bridge a major hard currency deficit. The US also played a role in promoting badly needed credits from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and development loans from the World Bank. The United States Agency for International Development (USAID) was the largest donor to Pakistan, followed by Japan, the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank in financing projects and setting the conditions attached to projects. The US also initiated some projects and funded the improvement of the health, energy and agriculture sectors. The United States provided finances to the extent of $125 million during 1986-87 for the proposed Lakhra coal-fired electric generation project at Jamshoro in Sindh, the first large-scale exploitation of Pakistan's substantial lignite coal reserves for power generation. In the same year the US also allocated $94 million to rural development projects in the north West Frontier Province (NWFP), including the Makran division of Baluchistan and the tribal areas of the NWFP.[52]

4. Afghan Cultural Influence on Pakistan

Historically, South Asia has always been influenced by Afghanistan, Southwest Asia and Central Asia, because of its traditions, civilisation and culture. Afghanistan has been both a meeting place and the melting pot of cultural influences from which has evolved throughout history its own highly distinctive cultural contribution to civilisation. In the

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[51] The post 1987 package comprised $2.28 billion in economic and $1.74 billion in military aid. See G. W. Choudhury, **Pakistan: Transition From Military to Civilian Rule** (England: Scorpion Publishing Ltd, 1988), p. 44; and see Thomas P. Thornton, "The New Phase in US-Pakistan Relations," **Foreign Affairs** (Summer 1989), p. 151.

[52] Arshad Zaman, "Economic Relations Between Pakistan and the United States: Aid, Trade and north-South Issues," in Leo E. Rose and Noor A. Husain (ed.)., **United States-Pakistan Relations** (Berkeley: University of California, 1985), p. 60.

Table-6

Agreed Schedule of US Economic Assistance ($ million)

US Fiscal Year	Loan	Grant	Total
1982	84	66	150
1983	117	133	250
1984	125	150	275
1985	133	167	300
1986	142	183	325
1987	142	183	325
Total	743	882	1.625

Source: Arshad Zaman, "Economic Relations Between Pakistan and the United States: Aid, Trade and North-South Issues," in Leo E. Rose and Noor A. Husain (ed.)., United States- Pakistan Relations (Berkeley: University of California, 1985), p. 61.

1980s an influx of Afghan refugees to Pakistan took place and during their stay of more than a decade they influenced the local society through their culture, social behaviour and pattern of life and by their intellectual contribution. In this regard, Afghan refugees socially and culturally influenced Pakistani society in myriad ways, perceptible and imperceptible. The influence of Afghan culture over Pakistani society can easily be seen in languages, customs, morality, types of economy and modes of entertainment. Many values were already common between Afghans and Pakistani people and the refugees' decade-long stay provided an opportunity for both communities to come closer through social values and commercial activities. The Afghans influenced Pakistani society through their language, dress, food, music and songs.[53] This influence can easily be seen in NWFP, Baluchistan and major urban cities (Lahore, Karachi, Multan, Islamabad etc) of Pakistan. In the same vein, the Afghan (Pakhtu) language influenced national and local languages and it also helped to modernise the Pakistani Pakhtu language.[54] Interestingly, Pakistani and Afghan intellectuals have created a common alphabet for Pakhtu, which is a great achievement and contribution to the Pakhtu language.[55] Such commonality in the Pakhtu language was necessary to understand each other's literature and common values. On the other hand, the Afghan new generation, who were born in Pakistan, are greatly influenced by Western culture and movies. They have adopted Western dress such as jeans and shirts and learnt and speak English. They were traditionally fans of football, but now they love cricket and hockey also.

5. Afghan Refugees' Burden on Pakistan

For Pakistan, the ten year war in Afghanistan has had same painful consequences. When Soviet troops marched into Kabul in 1979, refugees poured over the border. Muslim resistance fighters, the *mujahideen*, set up supply bases inside Pakistan. The Soviet-Kabul commandos escalated their offensive, sending aircraft and shells into Pakistan territory, killing and maiming civilians. It is also estimated that within the Afghan total population of 16.4 million, more than 1.5 million (*mujahideen* and citizens) were killed, 3 million maimed or wounded (majority citizens), 1.2 million disabled (*mujahideen* and citizens)

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[53] See Interview Dr. Ashrif Adeel (Professor of Philosophy at the University of Peshawar), Special Edition, Urdu daily **Jang** (Rawalpindi), (24 June 1995).
[54] Ibid.
[55] Interview of Dr. Nawaz, Chairman of Pakhtu Academy, Peshawar, in Daily **Jang** (24 June 1995).

and 4 million became refugees in Pakistan.[56] A Swiss study indicated that the war's death rate ranked among the highest in history, exceeding even the estimated 8.6 percent death rate experienced by the Soviet Union in World War II and the country still has more than 40 million land mines.[57] Half of the disabled population is constituted by those hit by sensory disabilities; the majority of them suffer from blindness, deafness and mental retardation.[58] According to a UNHCR report, since 1979 more than 2.7 million Afghan people have been displaced in Pakistan and more than 1.2 million displaced to exile in Australia, Europe and United States.[59] Many refugees fled to Pakistan and as a result, the country suffered literally hundreds of air and ground attacks on its border areas as well as almost daily terrorist bombings by the KHAD and KGB against civilian targets. It was difficult, even impossible, to ignore the war and domestically, its grave consequences were obvious for Pakistan. The situation forced the government to deal with a gamut of problems ranging from possible ethnic unrest to economic costs. Pakistan's championship of the Afghan resistance struggle and its embrace of refugees were motivated by geostrategic and domestic imperatives which placed Pakistan in a grave position during the course of the war. The consequences of the Afghan crisis for Pakistan could be seen in the provocative slogans on the walls of Peshawar and Quetta, in the proliferation of weapons, in the heroin trade, in sectarianism, in ethnic conflict, in the bombings and acts of sabotage that afflicted the NWFP and Baluchistan particularly, in the atmosphere of political tension and emerging conflicts over local economic assets between Afghans and Pakistanis.

The migration of refugees to Pakistan started in the wake of the Saur Revolution in 1978 as a result of repressive reform measures introduced by the Communist regime. The largest influx took place soon after the Soviet invasion in 1979 and Pakistan provided asylum for approximately 3.45 million—almost 3.5 percent of Pakistan's entire population and one fourth of the entire Afghan population. Pakistan paid $500,000 a day in refugee relief.[60] They were settled in 386 camps, most of them in rural areas of the two

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[56] See The Nation (18 October 1986); Dawn (31 December 1991); The News (20 December 1994); Amin Saikal and William Maley, Regime Change in Afghanistan: Foreign Intervention and the Politics of Legitimacy (Boulder: Westview Press, 1991), p. 135; and Wayne C. McWilliams and Harry Piotrowski, The World Since 1945: A History of International Relations (London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1990), p. 421.

[57] Marek Sliwinski, "Afghanistan: The Decimation of a People," Orbis, Vol. 33, No. 1 (Winter 1989), pp. 39-56.

[58] See report of the Comprehensive Disabled Afghans Programme (CDAP), Peshawar, 1999, pp.18-23.

[59] See Refugees, UNCHR Magazine, Vol. 4, No. 117 (1999), pp. 16-17.

[60] Of the 3.27 million refugees around 44.99% were children, 29.06% female and 25.95% were male. See details South (London: October 1982), p. 24; Arabia (October 1982), pp. 27-28; Afghan Refugees In

Pakistani provinces–the NWFP and Baluchistan–adjoining the border with Afghanistan with which they had cultural, religious and linguistic ties. The presence of a large number of Afghan refugees had the potential to generate disruptive consequences in Pakistan's domestic politics. The threat to domestic security could not be ruled out, particularly given the precarious nature of Pakistan's political system, which already had separatism and disparities among the federating units. The possibility of a spill-over effect of the crisis situation on domestic politics became a significant factor in the considerations of Pakistan's decision makers. During 1980-81, the refugee problem that confronted Pakistan and its implications for the security of the state shaped the perceptions of the crisis-situation. The Afghan refugee migration to Pakistan can be easily understand by Bar Chart-1 which shows that from 1980 to 1988 more than 5.9 million Afghan left the country, the highest number in world history. The Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan in 1989 provided an opportunity to the refugees to go back to their country.[61] Thus, from 1992 the percentage gradually decreased. Even now, however, thousands of refugees remain in Pakistan and Iran. However, in many areas of NWFP and Baluchistan, the presence of refugees destroyed the ecological balance, causing desertification and consequent soil erosion. In fact, for a number of reasons, the Afghan refugees, in general, have given birth to many complex problems which are perhaps less obvious but quite disturbing.

5-1. Refugee Burden on NWFP

The Afghan war hit the NWFP province hardest because it was the principal conduit for foreign-supplied military equipment to the *mujahideen* resistance forces as well as the main staging ground for guerrilla operations inside Afghanistan. Its refugee camps were the backbone for *mujahideen* military strength and in many cases served as training facilities for the rebel guerrillas fighting Soviet-Afghan forces. The violence created by the Afghan refugees raised tension in the frontier region and the frequency and savagery of the KHAD and KGB explosions were high, averaging a bomb a week in the Northwest

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Pakistan (Islamabad: Commissioner Afghan Refugees, 1989), pp. 8-13; Zafar Malik, "Afghan Influx May Increase", **Tribune** (2 May 1980), p. 4; Nancy Hatch Dupree, "The Demography of Afghan Refugees in Pakistan", in Hafeez Malik (ed.)., **Soviet-American Relations with Pakistan, Iran and Afghanistan** (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987), pp. 366-94; and "A Time of Terror," **Newsweek** (9 June 1986), pp. 8-11.

[61] According to a government report, around two million refugees during 1990-1994 had gone back to their homes, leaving 1.7 million Afghan refugees remaining in Pakistan. Former Minister for Kashmir Affairs, Northern Areas and Frontier Regions, Majid Malik told to Senate on 1 September 1998 about the repatriation of Afghan refugees. See **Dawn** (2 September 1998).

Afghan Chronology

1973
After more than two centuries of monarchy, King Zahir Shah is ousted in a military takeover by Mohammed Daoud.

1978
President Daoud killed in coup. Nur Mohammed Taraki declared president of revolutionary council.

1979
Islamic opposition [illegible]

600,000 refugees

1980
U.N. calls for immediate withdrawal of foreign forces. Mujahedeen armed resistance increases.

3.9 million refugees

1983
War spreads and intensifies as arms flow to rebels increases.

5.1 million refugees

1987
Babrak Karmal replaced by chief of secret police Najibullah.

5.9 million refugees

1988
Geneva Accords call for withdrawal of Soviet troops. While some refugees continue to flee others begin returning.

6.1 million refugees

1989
Last Soviet soldier departs on 25 February.

6.2 million refugees

1990
A peak of *6.2 million refugees* is reached, but 350,000 have returned since 1988.

6.0 million refugees

1992
Najibullah government falls to mujahedeen in April. Sibghatullah Mojadidi named president and later replaced by Burhanuddin Rabbani. 1.6 million refugees go home.

4.4 million refugees

1993-94
Kabul reduced to rubble in factional fighting. Up to one million displaced inside Afghanistan. Another 1.3 million refugees return home to peaceful areas.

3.4 million refugees

1994
Taliban guerrilla forces capture southern city of Kandahar.

2.7 million refugees

1995
Taliban capture Herat and advance to outskirts of Kabul. Repatriation from Iran stops after fall of Herat.

2.7 million refugees

1996
Taliban capture Jalalabad and Kabul in September. Najibullah hanged after sheltering in U.N. compound since 1992. Fighting in western and central Afghanistan.

2.7 million refugees

1997
Fighting continues in western, central and northern Afghanistan. Taliban briefly capture northern city of Mazar-i-Sharif, but are driven out after 4 days. Repatriation continues to eastern and southern areas.

Source: "Afghanistan: The Unending Crisis," **Refugees**, UNHCR Publication, No. 108, II-1997, pp. 4-5.

Frontier Province. Moreover, the refugee influx was clearly heaviest in the NWFP. This province held 267 (76 percent) of the 386 refugee camps in Pakistan (Table-8) and about 2.5 million (68 percent) of the total refugee population. The province was packed with refugees but the majority were in settled districts of the provinces as well as in seven of the eight Federal Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) of the tribal belt. In Peshawar, the refugees nearly equalled in number the indigenous population. In Kurram Agency, half of the population consisted of refugees. According to one of the survey in the NWFP, roughly every seventh person was a refugee; in the tribal belt, in particular, the proportion was closer to one in three or four.[62] The following table gives some indication of the ratio between refugees and total local population.

Table –7

Ratio of Refugee and Local Population in Specific Areas

District	Registered Refugee Population	Local Population	Ratio AR:Local
Abbottabad	142,801	1,328,250	1:9
Kohat	228,781	933,240	1:4
Culistan	164,181	87,780	1:0.5

Source: **Afghan Refugees in Pakistan** (Peshawar: Afghan Refugee Commission, 1988).

The presence of refugees was a major cause of trouble in the NWFP province. The refugees had settled with mixed results but most of the local population hesitated to mix with them. The local inhabitants held the alien residents responsible for the escalating level of violence and the deteriorating law and order situation in the province. The resentment exploded into anti-refugee demonstrations and people demanded the expulsion of refugees from the major areas of the province.[63] Public opinion surveys conducted between 1982-1986 indicated a decline in public support for the refugees and registered a high degree of antagonistic feeling among the local population.[64] According to a Gallup report, "Pakhtuns based on Pakistan keep distance from the Afghan refugees because they are perceived as superior to the Afghans and due to their better socio-economic status,

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[62] Nancy Hatch Dupree, "The Demography of Afghan Refugees in Pakistan," pp. 366-94.

[63] In February 1987, a bomb blast in the city of Peshawar left a number of school children dead. See details in **The Frontier Post** (Peshawar: 22 February 1987).

[64] Ijaz S. Gilani, **Afghanistan: A Study of Pakistan-Afghanistan Relations and Their Impact on Foreign Policy** (Islamabad: Pakistan Institute of Public Opinion- Gallup Political Weather Report, 1987), p. 51.

Table- 8

Afghan Refugees Camps in Pakistan

North West Frontier Province (NWFP)						Baluchistan		Punjab		Sindh	
Districts	Camps	Tribal Agencies	Camps	Hazara Division	Camps	Districts	Camps	Districts	Camps	District	Camps
Bannu	08	Bajour	25	Abbotabad	18	Chagai	16	Attock	05	Karachi*** (Shurab Ghot)	01
Chitral	05	Khyber	02	Manshera	09	Gulistan	11	Bhakkar	10		
Dir	17	Kurram	33			Loralai	07	Hazro	06		
D. I. Khan	10	Malakand	03			Pishin	14	Issa Khail	08		
Kohat	18	Mohmand	02			Quetta	05	Kot Chandna	16		
Mardan	17	North Waziristan	24			Zhoob	05	Main Wali	10		
Peshawar-I*	32	Orakzai	02			Chaman	05				
Peshawar-II**	29	South Wazristan	06								
Swat	02	Darra Tang	05								
Total.	138		102		27		63		55		01
Grand Total:	138+102	+27+63+55+1=	386								

* Peshawar-I included Landi Kotal, Jamrod and tribal areas. ** Peshawar-II included areas of Jalozai, Aza Kel, Nowhera, Akora and Charsadda.

*** After 1982 the most of the Afghan Refugees (867,000) migrated from Baluchistan to Karachi and government established one refugee camp in Shurab Ghot.

Sources: **Afghan Refugees in Pakistan** (Islamabad: Chief Commissionerate for Afghan Refugees, 1990), pp. 13-76; Said Azhar, "Afghan Refugees in Pakistan: The Pakistanis View," in Ewan W. Anderson and Nancy Hatch Dupree, **The Cultural Basis of Afghan Nationalism** (New York: Pinter Publishers, 1990), pp. 106-108; Azmat Hayat Khan, "Afghan Refugees in NWFP-Campwise Data," **Journal of Central Asian Studies**, No. 13 (Winter 1983), pp. 155-169; and see Beverly Male, "A Tiger by the Tail: Pakistan and the Afghan Refugees," in Nilton Osborne, **Refugees Four Political Case Studies** (Canberra: The Australian National University Press, 1981), pp. 39-56.

political influence in the bureaucracy, army and administration."[65] The common value system, culture, religion and language did not influence the local population; rather, tensions and conflicts arose immediately after the refugees' arrival.[66] Pakhtuns from South Waziristan and other tribal areas were among the first to complain about the privileges accorded the refugees which, they claimed, enabled the Afghans to live better than they did. Specifically, they criticised the wide array of services available in the camps as compared with far less access to education, housing and health services available to the border area people of Pakistan. Local people also believed that domestic expenditures on the refugees meant that assistance was at the expense of development programmes for their impoverished areas.[67] Privately, the NWFP government officials admitted that Pakistan's hospitality to the refugees was being stretched to its limits. A senior Pakhtun bureaucrat asserted that "99 percent of the province people are sick of the refugees. I have never met anyone in the province who wanted the refugees to stay in Pakistan. In truth, there was no deep sense of community between the refugees and the locals."[68] However, local people also showed almost incredible tolerance towards the refugees because of tribal, cultural and social familiarity. The evidence seems to indicate that the refugees, while not exactly front-runners in popularity, generally provoked ambivalent–and often quite positive—feelings among the people of the NWFP. Even the strongest antagonists of the government's refugee policy, including ANP leader Khan Abdul Wali Khan, conceded that the refugees were decent and industrious people and that there had been almost no serious dispute among the local population and the refugees.[69]

5-2. Refugee Burden on Baluchistan

The province of Baluchistan equally bore the enormous pressure of Afghan refugees from the war in Afghanistan. The refugee influx into Baluchistan has been estimated at over

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[65] Gallup Reports 1984-1988 (Islamabad: Gallup Political Weather Report, 1985, 1986 and 1989), pp. 54-78, 38-42, 18-28 and 13-25; see also "Afghanistan: Many Unhappy Return," The Economist (16 October 1993), p. 40; and Robert Adams, "Abandoned in Afghanistan," World Press Review, No. 38, (May 1991), p. 41.

[66] Inger W. Boesen, "Honour in Exile: Continuity and Change Among Afghan Refugees," in Ewan W. Anderson and Nancy Hatch Dupree (ed.)., The Cultural Basis of Afghan Nationalism (London: Pinter Publisher, 1990), pp. 166-167; and Robert Mandel, "Perceived Security Threat and the Global Refugee Crisis," Armed Forces & Society, Vol. 24, No. 1, (Fall 1997), p. 89.

[67] Marvin G. Weinbaum, "The Impact and Legacy of the Afghan Refugees in Pakistan," in J. Henry Korsen (ed.)., Contemporary Problems of Pakistan (Oxford: Westview Press, 1993), p. 133; and "Afghanistan: Biting the Hand that Feeds Them," Economist (12 May 1990), pp. 35-36.

[68] The Frontier Post, (18 April 1986).

[69] Robert G. Wirsing, Pakistan's Security Under Zia 1977-88: The Policy Imperatives of a Peripheral Asian State (London: Macmillan, 1991), p. 48.

800,000[70], and one out of every four inhabitants of Baluchistan was an Afghan refugee. This massive influx disturbed the province's resources such as wood fuel, pasture land and water supply, and placed undue pressure on the natural environment. The refugees also provoked overt unrest among the native population, who felt that the quality of their own lifestyle was threatened. Popular feeling against the refugees was stronger in Baluchistan than in the NWFP and their leaders openly expressed in the strongest sentiments the call to push back the refugees to their own country.

The influx of Pakhtun speaking Afghan refugees in Baluchistan disturbed the delicate ethnic balance in the province by strengthening the ranks of the Pakhtuns, thereby reducing the Baluchis to a minority in their own province.[71] The refugees not only increased the ratio of Pakhtun population by 10% to 15%, but were instrumental in rapidly reducing Baluchi predominance.[72] The Baluch had long resented the domination of the Pakhtun tribes in their area. Quetta (the provincial capital) is heavily Pakhtun, and with the influx of mostly Pakhtun refugees the province appeared likely to develop a Pakhtun majority and Baluchi-speakers were very likely a minority in their own province.[73] For the sake of their basic rights, Baluch nationalists had already fought an insurgency against central government in the 1970s which they suffered heavy casualties and material losses.[74] However, after the Baluch defeat in 1977, Baluch guerrillas found refuge under the PDPA regime in Kabul but this alliance collapsed when the Afghan *mujahideen* struggle gained momentum against the Marxist regime in Afghanistan. Thus, in contrast with the NWFP situation where socio-cultural and ideological similarities promoted solidarity between the refugees and the indigenous population, such harmony did not exist in Baluchistan. The reason for this was that the Afghan refugees in Baluchistan, unlike the NWFP, were concentrated in camps located almost entirely in one part of the province—the northern and Pakhtun-settled tier of districts close to Afghanistan-thus

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[70] Grant M. Farr, "Afghan Refugees in Pakistan: Definitions, Repatriation and Ethnicity," in Ewan W. Anderson and Nancy Hatch Dupree (ed.)., **The Cultural Basis of Afghan Nationalism**, p. 135; and Akbar S. Ahmad, **Pakistan Society: Islam, Ethnicity and Leadership in South Asia** (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), p. 171.

[71] Hafeez Malik, "The Afghan Crisis and its Impact on Pakistan," **Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies**, Vol. 5, No. 3, (Spring 1982), pp. 40-45.

[72] See **South**, (London: October 1982), p. 24.

[73] According to the 1981 census, the Baluch accounted for only 36 percent (Baluch-speaking Brahuis were included 57 percent) of provincial households. See Government of Pakistan, Population Census Organisation, 1981 Census Report of Pakistan (Islamabad: Statistics Division, December 1984), p. 186.

[74] See Selig S. Harrison, **In Afghanistan's Shadow: Baluch Nationalism and Soviet Temptations** (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1981), p. 3; and Tahir Amin, **Ethno-National Movements of Pakistan: Domestic and International Factors** (Islamabad: Institute of Policy Studies, 1988), pp. 23-56.

effectively isolating them from the Baluch, who were numerically dominant in the sprawling province's more southern districts.[75] The other reason was that the "Pakhtun belt" of the province, built up over the years by a steady stream of Pakhtu-speaking migrants heading south in search of opportunity, lay between the Baluch and their would-be political supporters in Afghanistan. Pakhtuns in this area had a traditional ethno-ideological rivalry with Baluch tribesmen. Selig S. Harrison argued that the refugees provoked Baluch leaders but their presence also neutralised Baluch nationalists' dream of creating a Greater Baluchistan.[76]

5-3. Refugee Burden on Punjab

Punjab is one of the biggest fertile province in terms of population and resources. In general, this province is one of the most moderate and open-minded areas in Pakistan, but the Afghan refugee influx led to religious extremism, weapons proliferation, and drug trafficking, generating a serious law and order situation. In late 1985 the Afghan refugees moved to other parts of Punjab, in particular to the major urban and industrial areas of the province (Islamabad/Rawalpindi, Lahore, Multan, Gujranwala, Faisalabad and Sargodaha) for a better business and commercial environment.[77] The Punjab is ethnically the most homogeneous of Pakistan's provinces and the refugees did not meet the same resentment towards their establishing permanent localities in Lahore, Islamabad, Multan and other cities of the province as that they faced in the NWFP and Baluchistan.[78] There were, according to an official estimate, about 175,000[79] registered refugees in the province in 1987. These refugees were in the twelve camps of Isakhel subdistrict of Mianwali district (west bank of Indus river) in western Punjab which is the southern end of the NWFP. The people of Mianwali district are Punjabi and Pakhtu-speaking but politically and religiously the Jamiat-ul-ulema-i-Islam party (JUI) has great influence in this region.

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[75] The Baluch were barely represented in the heavily Pakhtun-speaking districts of Quetta division in the northern part of the province, where only 9 percent of households were reported Baluchi by birth or mother tongue in 1981. See **Census Report of Baluchistan 1981** (Islamabad: Government of Pakistan Statistics Division, December 1984), p. 107.

[76] See Selig S. Harrison, "Nightmare in Baluchistan," **Foreign Policy**, No. 32 (Fall 1978), pp. 136- 160.

[77] **Dawn** (4 March 1986).

[78] Rashid Ahmad, "Afghan Refugees and Punjab's Hospitality," **The Nation** (8 October 1986), p. 4; and see **Gallup Political Weather Report 1985-86** (Islamabad: Institute of Policy Studies, 1987), pp. 67-89.

[79] Grant M. Farr, "Afghan Refugees in Pakistan: Definitions, Repatriation and Ethnicity," p. 135. Akbar S. Ahmad, **Pakistan Society: Islam, Ethnicity and Leadership in South Asia**, p. 171.

Some observers argued that the Punjabis showed generosity because the military and bureaucracy were dominated by Punjabis and they were thinking that the *mujahideen* had fought a war for Pakistan and thus, the Afghan war itself was not a major political issue in the Punjab. It was brought up for discussion on the floor of the Punjab provincial assembly or no more than five occasions during 1988-95.[80] There had been only a few incidents of terrorist bombing in the province and they did not lead to public debate or even any change in attitude toward the refugees. Public opinion seemed to support this argument because many more Punjabi politicians and representatives expressed their view in favour of Afghan *mujahideen* than were opposed.[81] However, opponents of the government suggested that the Punjab's relatively benign view of the refugees stemmed from the huge economic and political benefits that had come to the province by virtue of Pakistan's "front-line" role against the Soviet Union. The ANP leader, Khan Abdul Wali Khan, described the Afghanistan war as a giant cow, the Frontier having hold of its horns and the Punjab of its teats.[82]

5-4. Refugee Burden on Sindh

The influx of Afghan refugees had less impact on the Sindh province because the province is geographically further from the country's border with Afghanistan, than those of either NWFP or Baluchistan. The impact of the Afghan refugees on the Sindh was more political and social than anything else. In 1985 when the ethno-linguistic riots erupted in urban centres in the Sindh between Urdu-speaking *Mohajirs* and Sindhis, it had little effect on Pakhtun migrants from the NWFP, who numbered 1.2 million in Karachi. However, there were increasing allegations in the Western and Pakistani press that the Afghan refugees, widely seen as the political allies of the migrant Pakhtun population, were mainly responsible for the drugs and weapons smuggling in the province.[83] In December 1986, Karachi police by order of the Sindh government took action in Sohrab Goth and captured arms and narcotics and they accused the Afghan refugees of direct involvement in the rioting.[84] The local Sindhis also accused the refugees of openly carrying weapons, wandering aimlessly, causing traffic problems, and generating

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[80] Robert G. Wirsing, **Pakista's Security Under Zia 1977-88, p. 52.**
[81] **Gallup Political Weather Report, p. 51.**
[82] See Khan Abdul Wali Khan interview with the Urdu Daily **Jang** (Lahore) (13 November 1987).
[83] **The Guardian** (7 April 1986), p. 6; and see **The New York Times** (25 May 1988), p. A1.
[84] **The New York Times** (16 December 1986), p. A2; and (17 December 1986), p. A6.

apprehensions for law and order agencies.[85] There were complaints against the refugee migration toward Karachi and Hyderabad and people demanded their expulsion from the province. The unfriendly environment for refugees in Sindh, however, seemed far more a by-product of ethno-regionalist rivalries and anti-federal government sentiment than a direct result of the refugee influx itself. The province was without any refugee camps and its refugee population was relatively small and concentrated mainly in Karachi. According to government figures, registered refugees in the Sindh in 1988 numbered fewer than 23,000, mostly based on Karachi; there were no statistics available about the other parts of Sindh.[86] Nevertheless, it can be concluded that Afghan refugees were clearly problematic for Pakistan's internal politics and their consequences were harmful for Pakistan.

5-5. NWFP and Baluchistan Under Soviet Threat

The Soviet Union launched its campaign against a background of adverse reaction to Pakistan cooperation with the Afghan *mujahideen*. The Soviet offensive against Pakistan was conducted at three levels: military pressure on the border; diplomatic pressure and pressure from a combination of New Delhi and Kabul. The Soviets claimed that Pakistan had established 30 bases and 50 centres in Pakistan which trained nearly 15,000 terrorists for armed insurgency within Afghanistan.[87] The Soviet leaders categorically declared, "Pakistan is completely wrong to carry out a hostile policy towards Afghanistan and is thereby undermining Soviet-Pak relations."[88] Gromyko, the Soviet Foreign Minister, on his 1980 visit to India, was highly critical of Pakistan's role in supporting the insurgency in Afghanistan. He also drew the attention of his hosts to the rearmament of Pakistan by the United States, a move that was calculated to exploit the historic Indo-Pakistani divide.[89] Moreover, the Geneva negotiations under the United Nations were aiming for a solution leading to a Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan. For the Soviet Union, the negotiations provided a means of trying to separate the Islamabad government from the *mujahideen*. They used every opportunity to point out that support for the resistance was costly for Pakistan's security.

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[85] Perviaz Iqbal Cheema, "The Afghanistan Crisis and Pakistan's Security Dilemma," Asian Survey, Vol. XXIII, No. 3, (March 1983), p. 235.
[86] Dawn (23 February 1989).
[87] See The Times (5 February 1980), p. 1.
[88] During Zia's visit to Moscow in November 1982, the Soviet leadership warned Pakistan about its support to Afghan *mujahideen*. See Andrei Gromyko, Memories (London: Century Hutchinson Ltd, 1989), p. 247.
[89] "Soviet-Indian Talks," Pravda (4 February 1980), p. 4; reported in The Current Digest of the Soviet Press, No. 32 (19 March 1980), p. 14.

The Soviets were determined to discredit the Zia regime and to make Pakistan ungovernable through exploitation of regional and enthnolinguistic differences by dissident elements of turbulent provinces of the NWFP and Baluchistan. They planned to incite discord or accentuate secessionism in Sindh through India to distabilise Pakistan. For this purpose, the Moscow and Kabul governments provided material support to ethnic separatist elements. As Arthur Ross indicated, the Soviets had already carefully cultivated support among the Baluchis to increase their leverage against the regime in Islamabad.[90] The Soviets used Baluch nationalist elements and some Baluch leaders expressed their desire for Moscow to intervene in their affairs to establish an "independent Baluchistan."[91] Baluchistan had long been a test of the *modus operandi* between the regional countries. It has been often reported that the Baluchi felt that "they never had a fair chance and are still not getting one."[92] The separatist elements were also active in Sindh and the NWFP but the central government and bureaucracy was unable to understand the gravity of problems.[93] However, when the Soviets tried to use discontented Baluchi groups as proxies, they faced traditional Baluch resentment because the Baluchi nation disliked superpower imperialism and they saw the Soviets in their true colours in Afghanistan.[94]

5-6. Soviet Air Attacks and Terrorist Activities

The Soviet and Afghan intelligence made deep inroads into Pakistan, particularly in areas close to the Durand Line. The primary objective of their subversive activities were to create anarchy and destabilise the Zia government, while the border and air space violations caused panic. There were over 200 violations of Pakistani airspace in 1985 and

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[90] Arthur Ross, "In Afghanistan's Shadow," Washington Quarterly (Autumn 1982); see also Soviet Ambassador Smirnove's speech to the Press Club in Karachi on 18 November 1984, The Muslim (19 November 1984); and Times of India (13 April 1984).

[91] For a broader discussion of the Baluch movement during 1980-90, see Yosef Bodansky, "The Bear on the Chessboard: Soviet Military Gains in Afghanistan," World Affairs (Winter 1982-83), pp. 293-95.

[92] Selig S. Harrison, In Afghanistan's Shadow: Baluch Nationalism and Soviet Temptations (New York: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1981), pp. 161-168.

[93] Perviaz Iqbal Cheema, "Impact of the Afghan War on Pakistan," Pakistan Horizon, Vol. XLI, No. LI (January 1988), p. 38.

[94] S. A. Yetiv, "How the Soviet Military Intervention in Afghanistan Improved the US Strategic Position in the Persian Gulf," Asian Affairs (Summer 1990), p. 75.

the total violations in 1986 exceeded 700.[95] In 1986 the NWFP experienced 143 fatalities or nearly 95 percent of a countrywide total of 151 deaths in such bombings.[96] According to a US Defence Department report, roughly 90 percent of the estimated 777 acts of international terrorism committed worldwide in 1987 occurred in Pakistan.[97] The US Department of State estimated that in the first ten months of 1987 there were 574 air and 517 artillery attacks on Pakistan from across the Afghan border and 540 terrorist incidents launched from Afghanistan against targets in Pakistan. Between 1980-1988, there were almost daily violations of Pakistani territory by Soviet and Afghan aircraft, which frequently bombed targets inside Pakistan. Such actions were designed to stir up animosity against the Afghan refugees and the *mujahideen* and to weaken Pakistan's military positions across the border. By 1988 the tribal areas and major population centres of Pakistan were under the target of KGB and Khad subversive activities, leading to civilian casualties and attacks on *mujahideen* sanctuaries and guerrilla bases.[98]

Thus, during 1980-1988 Pakistan's air space was subjected to intrusion by the Afghan and Soviet Air Force on 2,730 occasions, killing or wounding 1,355 civilians. In the same period, Pakistan's territory was violated by artillery fire 2,599 times in which over 1,000 person were killed[99] (Table-9). The major urban centres (Islamabad, Lahore, Karachi, Quetta and Peshawar) and government property in the NWFP and Baluchistan were the main targets of Soviet-Kabul agents. According to Richard Nixon, the Soviet extended their campaign to Pakistan, eventually killing 5,000 civilians in 4,500 bombings.[100] In addition, strong circumstantial evidence implicated Moscow-Kabul in the August 1988 assassination of Zia ul-Haq[101] because the Soviets perceived that Zia wanted to affect the Geneva process adversely. A senior American diplomat in Moscow had been told by Soviet officials that the Kremlin intended to "teach Zia a lesson" for supporting the

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[95] Joseph J. Collins, "War in Afghanistan: The Strategic-Military Context," in Ewan W. Anderson and Nancy Hatch Dupree (ed.)., **The Cultural Basis of Afghan Nationalism** (London: Pinter Publishers, 1990), p. 185.

[96] See special article about "Repatriation of Afghan Refugees," **Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies**, Vol. 12, No. 1 (Fall 1988), pp. 20-41; and **The Muslim** (13 March 1988).

[97] **International Herald Tribune** (16 December 1987), p. 3.

[98] Prime Minister Mohammad Khan Junejo alleged that the Afghan Air Force had intruded into Pakistan air-space on 760 occasions in 1986. See "Junejo Warns of Action if DRA Violates Border," **Karachi Domestic Service** (7 January 1987), reported in **Foreign Broadcast Information Service** (FBIS)-SAS-87-005 (8 January 1987), p. F1.

[99] Khalid Mahmud Arif, **Working With Zia: Pakistan's Power Politics 1977-1988** (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 315-316.

[100] Richard Nixon, **Seize The Moment: America's Challenge in a One-Superpower World** (New York:Simon & Schuster, 1992), p. 91; see also "Feature Afghanistan," **Department of State Bulletin** (March 1988), p. 22.

[101] Richard Nixon, **Seize The Moment**, p. 91.

Table - 9

Casualties in Pakistan Due to Soviet-Kabul Air Violations and Terrorist Blasts 1980- 88

Year	Air Attacks			Artillery Attacks			Terrorist Explosions			Total		
	Violations	Persons Injured	Persons Killed	Violations	Persons Injured	Person Killed	Incidents	Persons Injured	Persons Killed	Violations	Persons Injured	Persons Killed
1980	174	4	2	25	—	—	—	—	—	199	4	2
1981	94	3	5	17	—	—	—	—	—	111	3	5
1982	59	—	—	22	4	—	2	4	—	83	8	—
1983	93	2	—	41	8	—	47	27	4	181	37	4
1984	119	261	133	49	24	38	28	48	8	196	333	179
1985	256	38	19	121	19	25	118	173	96	495	230	140
1986	779	67	39	495	120	56	487	798	216	1,761	885	411
1987	684	437	305	619	180	36	540	953	428	1,843	1,520	2,339
1988	867	2,412	1234	1,583	1,172	1,041	1,465	1,247	1,186	1,150	3,784	2,695
Total										6019	6804	5775

Source: Constantine C. Menges, **The Twilight Struggle: The Soviet Union -V- The United States Today** (Washington: The AEI Press, 1990), p. 73; US Department of State, **Afghanistan: Eight Yers of Soviet Occupation**, Special Report, No. 173 (December 1987-88),pp. 8-22; and see Lally Weymouth, "Moscow's Invasible War of Terror Inside Pakistan," **Washington Post** (13 March 1988).

resistance.[102]

6. Economic Cost of the Afghan Refugees

The large majority of Afghan refugees were dependent on relief assistance from Pakistan and the government provided necessary food items and a small amount of cash to shelterless and homeless people. The government provided a wide variety of goods and services to the refugee population, despite the burden on the economy. Pakistan had more than 3.27 million registered refugees and it is estimated that there were a further 540,000 unregistered refugees.[103] The majority of refugees camps were in the front-line provinces of NWFP and Baluchistan. These camps, which encompassed about 10,000 inhabitants, were divided into refugee villages, each serving about 1,200 to 1,300 families. The refugees were treated generously by the government of Pakistan, which allocated its own resources to care for the refugees, paying subsistence allowances to hundreds of thousands.

By the mid-1980s, the government of Pakistan was officially responsible for 45 percent of the cost of maintaining the refugees, the UNHCR for 25 percent, the World Food Programme (WFP) for 25 percent and others, including Saudi Arabia and Kuwait as well as the Red Cross, for the remaining five percent[104] Pakistan assumed the costs of the internal transport of refugee aid, a figure estimated at $70 million yearly in the mid-1980s, along with its responsibility for the administration and security of commodities.[105] Later, the world community provided one of the world's largest refugee relief aid programmes estimated at $1 million per year.[106] However, the government of Pakistan spent more than $1 million a day from its own resources, a considerable drain on the national budget.[107] The total refugee budget for the 1984-85 fiscal year was $419 million.[108]

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[102] Peter Schweizer, **Victory: The Reagan Administration's Secret Strategy that Hastened the Collapse of the Soviet Union** (New York: The Atlantic Monthly Press, 1994), p. 253.

[103] Grant M. Farr, "Afghan Refugees in Pakistan: Definitions, Repatriation and Ethnicity," p. 135. Akbar S. Ahmad, **Pakistan Society: Islam, Ethnicity and Leadership in South Asia**, p. 171.

[104] Hasan Askari Rizvi, "Afghan Refugees in Pakistan: Influx, Humanitarian Assistance and Implications," **Pakistan Horizon**, Vol. 36, No. 1 (1987), p. 49.

[105] Nancy Dupree, "Demographic Reporting on Afghan Refugees in Pakistan," **Modern Asian Studies**, Vol. 25, No. 2 (1988), p. 244.

[106] Said Azhar, "Afghan Refugees in Pakistan: The Pakistani View," in Ewan W. Anderson and Nancy Hatch Dupree (ed.)., **The Cultural Basis of Afghan Nationalism**, p. 105.

[107] The administrative cost of 2.4 million registered refugees was put at around one million dollars a day in 1985. The flow of refugees continued and it was also difficult to manage unregistered refugees. It is quite safe to assume that the cost of maintaining those refugees was more than a million dollars a day.

6-1. Afghan Livestock

The refugees brought with them more than 2.5 million head of livestock (i.e., herds of sheep, goats, camels, cattle and yaks) which had a detrimental effect on the environment because of grazing on the scarce pasture land and fragile soil. In this regard, the provision of grazing grounds and water for Afghani livestock was a cause of constant problems for Pakistani officials. The UNHCR estimates that the Afghans brought with them 45,000 camels and 25,000 donkeys for commercial purposes.[109] The UNHCR also launched a comprehensive programme for veterinary services for these animals. More than 20 mobile veterinary units were set up in NWFP and Baluchistan, to provide medical care for animals affected by disease, as well as to check the outbreak of epidemics in the herds of these animals, with the objective of minimising losses for the refugees and to save the animals of the local population from being affected by diseases or epidemics.[110] Refugees used to work as labourers in agricultural fields, or relied on the income from their domestic animals.

6-2. Problem of Green Grazing

The refugees caused some resentment amongst the local people, particularly in relation to the control and use of grazing fields. Indiscriminate and uncontrolled grazing ruined the sparse grazing grounds and extensively damaged the ecology of the green areas. In NWFP and Baluchistan provinces, the green grazing land, which was already limited, was captured by the Afghan refugees. In NWFP, most of the land belongs to private landowners, but in Baluchistan, part of the land is owned by the government and there are not many grazing areas, and inadequate forests. [111] The private owners guarded their land with all the care they could muster, while the government land was not sufficient to

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See details in Dabra Benker, "Along Afghanistan's War Torn Frontier," **National Geographic**, (June 1985), p. 788; and Marvin G. Weinbaum, "The Impact and Legacy of the Afghan Refugees in Pakistan," in J. Henry Korsen (ed.)., **Contemporary Problems of Pakistan** (Oxford: Westview Press, 1993), p. 128.

[108] See Azmat H. Khan, "The Afghanistan problem: Its Impact on Pakistan," **Journal of Central Asia**, No. 24 (Summer 1989), p. 144.

[109] Grant M. Farr, "Afghan Refugees in Pakistan: Definitions, Repatriation and Ethnicity," in Ewan W. Anderson and Nancy Hatch Dupree (ed.)., **The Cultural Basis of Afghan Nationalism**, p. 139.

[110] Ekber Menemencioglu, "From Tents to Katchas," **Refugee Magazine** (UNHCR), No. 1, September 1982, pp. 39-40.

[111] Beverly Male, "A Tiger by the Tail: Pakistan and the Afghan Refugees," in Ewan W. Anderson and Nancy Hatch Dupree (ed.)., **The Cultural Basis of Afghan Nationalism**, p. 57

accommodate all the cattle. Thus, these resources became scarce as the grazing fields were overcrowded by the refugee livestock.

6-3. Ecological Problems and Deforestation

Environmental despoliation reached crisis proportions due to influx of the Afghan refugees in NWFP and Baluchistan. Deforestation and overgrazing of livestock caused erosion of valleys.[112] Serious deforestation in Pakistan's Chitral, Dir and Hazara division could easily be traced to refugees seeking firewood for cooking and heating.[113] The Afghan refugees had a hand in using the free forest resources of the NWFP-Baluchistan and virtually changed the landscape of the provinces. According to one report, they not only felled trees but also dug up roots, leaving hollows in the ground.[114] The result of the reckless cutting of forests was that land erosion took place upstream in the mountainous areas of Pakistan, causing land slides and large-scale havoc and disruption of communications.

It also inevitably led to piling up of earth in dams, thereby reducing considerably the usefulness of existing dams and of those to be built in the future. Arab Mohammad Jahangir (the former Chief Minister of the NWFP) drew attention to the problems spawned by the refugee burden by noting that: "we are facing a very odd situation in the wake of the losses of our forest wealth and more burden on vital departments such as health, education etc."[115] In the face of the inadvertent damage being done to the environment and ecological resources in NWFP, Baluchistan and some parts of Punjab and Sindh, the local governments took many measures to supply potable water, such as digging of tube wells and open surface wells, but due to the rapid movement of refugees from one area to another, the government measures did not produce a positive impact.

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[112] Congress. Senate, Committee on the Judiciary. Subcommittee on Immigration and Refugee Affairs. **Afghanistan: Peace and Repatriation. A staff Report Prepared for the use of the of the US Senate,** 100th cong., 2nd sess, (14 May 1988), p. 30.

[113] Zafar Samdani, "The Afghan Refugees: The Human Aspect," **Pakistan and Gulf Economist** (9-15 October 1982), pp. 24-25; and Said Azhar, "Afghan Refugees in Pakistan: The Pakistani View," in Ewan W. Anderson and Nancy Hatch Dupree (ed.)., **The Cultural Basis of Afghan Nationalism**, p. 105.

[114] Zafar Samdani, "Pakistan's Forest Resources: Hazards of Depletion," **Dawn** (11-17 June 1994).

[115] **Pakistan Times** (2 January 1987), p. 1.

6-4. Afghans as Low Cost Labour

The arrival of many skilled and unskilled Afghan refugees looking for jobs and willing to work for low wages escalated the unemployment problem in NWFP and Baluchistan. Many Afghans managed to secure employment, mainly in agriculture and the construction industry. They were a powerful stimulus to the growth of markets in backward areas of the province and an abundant source of cheap labour in a labour-scarce environment. Moreover, their influx also produced a bonanza for local propertied classes and shopkeepers, especially in the urban areas, as well as for the medical, legal and teaching professions. In addition, they secured a reasonable proportion of odd jobs in urban centres and worked as a vendors, salesmen, waiters, shoeblacks, and construction workers, etc.[116] They often agreed to work at rates much below the wages normally demanded by local labourers and the employers naturally preferred the refugees over the local population.

6-5. Control of Local Business and Transportation

Many wealthier Afghan refugees invested capital in various types of commercial pursuits including real estate, transport and commercial properties. The purchase of immovable property and inexpensive small retail shops caused a boom in real estate business, especially in NWFP, Baluchistan, urban centres of Punjab and Sindh and along major highways.[117] A significant number of Afghans were able to pay higher rents and rates in commercial areas of NWFP and Baluchistan and open food restaurants. They introduced their food and culture which immediately became popular in the country. In Peshawar, it is possible to find almost everything that was to be found in Kabul: Afghan restaurants, tailors, jewellery, leatherwork, fruitshops, food stores and music cassettes.

However, the wealthier class generated tension with the local business class because rents were pushed beyond the reach of the small commercial class. Although by law Afghan refugees were not allowed to purchase immovable property, Zia's government's flexibility provided an opportunity to wealthy Afghans to evade the operative rules either through utilizing loopholes within the existing rules or through employing illegal means. Moreover, refugees were also involved in the transport business of NWFP and

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[116] Inger W. Boesen, "Honour in Exile: Continuity and Change Among Afghan Refugees," in Ewan W. Anderson and Nancy Hatch Dupree (ed.)., The Cultural Basis of Afghan Nationalism, p. 165.

Baluchistan. It was estimated that more than 6,000 Afghan vehicles were on 'temporary registration licences' and many without registration were plying the roads.[118] In NWFP alone there were over 893 heavy trucks, 55 large buses, 173 minibuses, 152 tractors, 411 cars, cabs, jeeps and pick-ups and 21 motorcycles or rickshaws — a total of 1705 vehicles registered to refugees[119] and there were at least as many more unregistered. It was estimated that 60,000 Afghan refugee families were supported by the motorised transport business in NWFP and in the rest of Pakistan.[120]

6-6. Property Ownership and Legalisation

Hundreds of refugees were accused of settling on private property and required to give compensation to the landowner. Many better-off refugees managed to get around the restrictions through legal means and purchase real estate in Punjab, NWFP, Baluchistan and Karachi (Sindh).[121] This practice of buying land to build houses on it, and buying already constructed houses by the local people persisted, which caused a boom in the real estate business. The wealthy Afghan refugees found a way to get around the law that restricted their right to purchase property by obtaining National Identity Cards, domiciles and even passports through 'agents' who charged handsome fees for such procurements.[122] Accommodation was difficult to find and competition for cultivated land heightened local tension. As a result prices, in particular house rents, were inflated, and soared in urban areas mainly, because city dwelling Afghans were willing to pay higher rent which, in turn, pushed the rent ceiling beyond the capacity of local residents.

6-7. Smuggling

The Afghan refugees also brought a boom in illegal cross-border trade by Afghan vehicles, bringing cherished items to the Pakistani market such as fruit, vegetables, nuts, dried fruit, cloth, timber, etc. Shortages of wheat and rice in the Pakistani market were blamed on the smuggling of these commodities to higher priced markets in Afghanistan as

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[117] South (October 1982), p. 24.
[118] Ibid. p. 166.
[119] Grant M. Farr, "Afghan Refugees in Pakistan: Definitions, Repatriation and Ethnicity," in Ewan W. Anderson and Nancy Hatch Dupree (ed.)., **The Cultural Basis of Afghan Nationalism**, p. 139.
[120] Marcel Ackerman, "Self-Reliance/Income Generating of Afghan Refugees in NWFP," Memo to Chief Police Office (Peshawar: September 1982), pp. 18-23.
[121] Non-Pakistanis are prohibited from purchasing immovable property, but Afghan refugees evaded the operating rules and used unfair means to gain land. See details South (October 1982), p. 24.

well as India[123] Despite Pakistan's bumper wheat crop in 1986-90, the country was forced to import 1.8 million tons of wheat. The real problem started due to Afghan tax free imports via Pakistan. The trade turned around at the border and returned right back into the country, causing considerable loss in state revenues. The local business community was worried over the growing smuggling under the guise of the Afghan Transit Trade (ATT) which was being misused and has demanded appropriate action for the protection of local industries.[124] By the 1990s there was hardly any major city in the country that did not have a market for selling smuggled goods. They offered all kinds of foreign goods, ranging from crockery to household appliances and from clothes to petroleum products. Peshawar's "Bara Market" was full of smuggled items such as air conditioners, refrigerators, TV sets and all other types of electrical goods. Tea was also one of the major items being smuggled under the cover of the Afghan transit trade, causing a huge financial loss to the exchequer, estimated at Rs. 400 million annually.[125] A tyre manufacturer and a Sony TV assembling factory had to be closed down after going into huge losses. Pakistan has a population of 140 million and Afghanistan of 15 million with much lower per capita income and a war-ravaged economy. There was, thus, no sense in import values being Rs. 0.83 billion for Pakistan and Rs.1.1 billion for Afghanistan in TV sets, Rs. 0.10 billion for Pakistan and Rs. 0.2 billion for Afghanistan in soap and shampoo, Rs. 0.7 billion for Pakistan and Rs. 1.4 billion for Afghanistan in art silk fabrics.[126] It has hurt the government's finances hard in the form of lost revenues, around Rs. 4.7 billion annually, that it would have earned in custom duties and other levies had those goods come in through formal channels.[127]

6-8. Decline of the Tourism Industry

The Afghan war and its fall-out not only jolted NWFP's infrastructure and its economy but in its wake brought immense sufferings to the local tourist industry since the 1980s. The inflow of foreign tourists, chiefly from the Western countries, went down because of the war in Afghanistan. The major tourist centres such as Kaghan, Chitral, Swat valley,

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[122] Hassan Askari Rizvi, "Afghan Refugees in Pakistan: Influx, Humanitarian Assistance and Implications," Pakistan Horizon, XXXVII: 1 (I st Quarter 1984), p. 54.
[123] Marvin G. Weinbaum, "The Impact and Legacy of the Afghan Refugees in Pakistan," p. 135.
[124] See Dawn (17 November 1993).
[125] Ibid; and Sultan Ahmad, "Rs. 100 billion worth smuggling Subverts the Economy," Dawn (5 November 1993).
[126] See R. M. U. Suleman, "Problems Posed by Afghan Transit Trade," Dawn, Economic & Business Edition (18-24 March 1995).
[127] The News (19 March 1994); and see The Frontier Post (5 November 1999).

Naran, Hazara division, Dir, Kohistan and the Northern areas were scriously hit, with devastating impact on their economy and commercial activities. Before the Afghan war, Peshawar served as gateway to Kabul for foreign tourists and visitors. The traditional bazaars, cafes and hotels were flooded with foreign tourists. Those were the days when there were no bomb blasts, acts of sabotage, fear of rockets, missiles, nor were there any Kalashnikovs or Afghan refugees. This flourishing tourist activity came to a halt and the entire area became out of bounds to visitors and foreign tourists.

7. Political and Social Costs

Pakistan and the Afghan *mujahideen* won the war against the Soviet Union but Pakistan's involvement in Afghanistan exacted a fearful price. The political and social impacts were grave and devastating for Pakistan. Drugs, corruption and armed violence became ubiquitous, reaching previously unheard-of levels. The impact of the Afghan advanture on the Pakistani social fabric was severe. Thus, the social impacts of the Afghan refugees on Pakistan were far greater than those of any other immigrant group.

7-1. Legitimacy of Zia's Rule

Zia ul-Haq, whose domestic political position had been weak at the beginning of the Afghan war, was able to consolidate and maintain power in ways that were ultimately damaging to Pakistan's political system. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan might well have seemed to some in Islamabad to contain a silver lining.[128] The Afghan war enabled Zia to continue martial law and "legitimise" his military rule. Zia ordered the execution of his deposed predecessor, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and he further aggravated the US concerns by postponing elections indefinitely, tightening martial law and adopting a number of orthodox Islamic edicts into government. At one stroke, the US was distracted from Pakistan's internal situation and turned a Nelson's eye to human rights violations, allowing the dictatorship to run amok and trample the democratic aspirations of the people. [129] In this regard, the CIA was running several programmes to help keep Zia in power. He was receiving plenty of intelligence reports, including highly prized satellite

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[128] Robert G. Wirsing, "Pakistan and the War in Afghanistan," Asian Affairs, Vol. 14, No. 2 (Summer 1987), pp. 57-75.
[129] See Newsweek (9 July 1984), p. 39.

pictures and electronic communications intercepts about opposition.[130] Thus, Zia was able to transform his image in the West from "bad guy to good guy," since Pakistan was a vital bulwark against Soviet expansionism. Zia was thus able to suppress opposition parties and postpone elections, indefinitely. The Afghan crisis had turned Zia in the eyes of the West from a hangman into a defender of the frontier of the free world. There were reports that the CIA was running several programmes to keep Zia in power. For this purpose, strong contingents of CIA agents were stationed in Pakistan to protect the Zia regime and for monitoring its government activities.[131] They also used electronic communications intercepts on Zia's political opponents.[132]

Thus, after getting legitimacy in the eyes of the US, Zia succeeded in destroying the status of national institutions (parliament, judiciary and media) and their high reputation. According to Emma Duncan, "Zia held absolute power and had no need to bother with appearances, yet he did - not just in his deference to visitors, but also in legal matters. His constitutional amendments sewed up every possible loophole, down to the point where all the actions of the martial law government were not only unchallengeable in any court, but also where all orders made, proceedings taken, acts done or purporting to be made, taken or done by any authority or person would be deemed to have been made, taken or done in good faith and for the purpose intended to be served thereby."[133] Moreover, Zia encouraged many local, regional and religious parties, as part of his divide and rule strategy to keep tensions high and justify continued army rule. For this purpose, Zia's regime through the Inter Services Intelligence (ISI) encouraged ethnic groups and religious parties on sectarian lines and ultimately many Sunni and Sha'ia groups emerged which divided society and undermined the *raison d'etre* of Pakistan.

Many Pakistanis had no doubt that the US arms for Zia would be used for internal repression. The Baluch community seemed rather ambivalent about the threat of Russian aggression or even the invasion of Afghanistan. They recalled how in the mid-1970s, the US helicopter gunships supplied via the Shah of Iran were used by the Pakistani army against Baluch separatists and their villages.[134] The *Guardian* observed editorially: "More

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[130] Peter Schweizer, Victory: The Reagan Administration's Secret Strategy that Hastened the Collapse of the Soviet Union (New York: The Atlantic Monthly Press, 1994), p. 229.
[131] Ibid.
[132] Bob Woodward, Veil: The Secret Wars of the CIA 1981-87 (London: Simon and Schuster, 1987), p. 311; and Peter Schweizer, Victory: The Reagan Administration's Secret Strategy, p. 229.
[133] Emma Duncan, Breaking The Curfew: A Political Journey Through Pakistan, p. 72.
[134] Noam Chomsky, Towards a New Cold War: Essays on the Current Crisis and How We Got There (London: Sinclair Browne, 1982), p. 197.

American helicopter gunships blasting Baluchis; the finest Russian propaganda in the world....The West will be in an appalling dilemma, reviled in Baluchistan, the NWFP and Sindh as the succourer of the oppressor,"[135] and reviled as well by other Pakistanis, who might have turned to the Russians for support against their tormentor, "defending" them with US aid. According to a Baluch chief , "If the West props up Zia and the Russians move south, there will be no civil resistance as I see it. Some might even be prepared to aid them." As one politician added: "This American aid is not to the people. It is aid to the army junta. They will perhaps use it on the wrong people–on the Pakistanis for internal repression or to the Baluchis."[136] However, American support secured Zia's unrestricted authority and his moves restored the pre-eminence of the military in Pakistan's politics.

Zia also used various methods to attain legitimacy domestically. He exploited religion and started an Islamisation compaign to legitimise and prolong his own rule. Charles H. Kennedy analysed this situation and argued that Zia successfully exploited the political utility of Islam and promised to implement Nizam-i-Mustapha (Islamic reforms) just to gain popularity among the common people. His major concern was his own survival and the stability of his government, not the propagation of Islam. He only paid lip service to the Islam as far as it could legitimise his rule. Thus, he used religion as one of the main weapons to pressurise the opposition and to justify the holding of non-party based elections. He used non-ballot techniques and introduced a partyless National Assembly and Senate under the Islamic banner "Majlis-i-Shura." He used "referendum" to regularise his government but all these tactics failed to attain legitimacy. In this situation, Zia kept on playing with politicians and offered the prime ministership of the country to Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, Wali Khan, Pir of Pagara and to retired air marshal Asghar Khan as well, Jatoi and Wali Khan are known to have refused and the others adopted less openly negative approaches.[137]

7-2. Corruption in Distribution of US Weapons

In mid-1985, the CIA and the US officials accused the Peshawar-based Afghan leaders of massive corruption and involvement in the weapons and equipment black market. The CIA complained about the gross mismanagement and corruption in the arms supply to the *mujahideen* and indicated that more than 40 percent of the total arms aid was siphoned off

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[135] Guardian (18 July 1975), p. 3.
[136] Dawn (28 November 1980).

along the way by local administration, military officials and Afghan *mujahideen* to parties outside the conflict.[138] The CIA shared responsibility for running the Afghan war with Pakistan Inter Services Intelligence (ISI) and each year (1981-88) they provided $640 million for Afghan covert operations. It was estimated 40 percent of the weapons destined for the war effort 'leaked' into Pakistan. Army officers and *mujahideen* were reported as selling weapons on the open market in Pakistan, while some Afghan *mujahideen* commanders also traded their weapons to raise funds for the transport of medical and food supplies into Afghanistan. According to a CIA report, "during the Afghan war some Pakistani army officers, civilian and leaders of *mujahideen* groups were much more concerned with confiscating weapons destined for the resistance as with supplying them to the actual purpose."[139] Smuggling across Afghanistan's borders was one of the routes to receive weapons for Afghan *mujahideen* shipments which were later institutionalised.[140] The most serious criticism was directed at Pakistanis for diverting to their own use shipments of supplies meant for the Afghan *mujahideen*. The survival of the resistance movement and the supply of sophisticated weapons to the *mujahideen* depended on Pakistani officials and they were reluctant to act too openly as an arms conduit. A US Senator made accusations of "serious mismanagement in the US aid programme, perhaps of scandalous proportions."[141] According to one report, "extensive corruption wastes much of the growing US assistance....."[142] Published material estimates that "between one-third and one half of the aid was diverted by Pakistan or sold by corrupt Afghan mujahidden groups."[143] Edward R. Girardet (a Western journalist) argues that the American Military aid that was "seeping through....tended to be of poor quality or insufficient quantity...."[144] He also indicated that weapons that came for Afghan *mujahideen* through Karachi port, including machine guns, disappeared and reappeared for sale in the weapons bazaars.[145]

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[137] Anthony Hyman and M. Ghayur and Nasresh Kaushik, **Pakistan: Zia and After**, p. 51.

[138] The extravagant lifestyles of some of the Peshawar leaders, reminiscent of the Contra leaders in Miami, with their many homes and cars, investments in businesses in Pakistan and abroad and secret Swiss bank accounts, have disillusioned many commanders. See details in **The Nation** (31 July 1987); Edward Girardet, **Christian Science Monitor** (7 September 1988); and Marvin G. Weinbaum, "War and Peace in Afghanistan," p. 76.

[139] Tara Kaetha, "The Weaponisation of Afghanistan," **Strategic Analysis**, Vol. XIX, No. 10-11 (January-February 1997), pp. 1396-1398; and **Herald** (October 1995), pp. 25-35.

[140] Robert G. Wirsing, **Pakistan's Security Under Zia 1977-1988**, p. 55.

[141] **Washington Post** (27 December 1984), p. A6.

[142] **Wall Street Journal** (27 December 1984), p. 16.

[143] **The Sunday Times** (London: 10 March 1985), p. 23; and **The Economist** (8 December 1984), p. 12.

[144] **Christian Science Monitor**, back page (26 September 1984).

[145] Edward R. Girardet, **Afghanistan: The Soviet War** (London: Croom-Helm, 1985), p. 67.

In 1987 American magazine *Newsweek* mentioned that Pakistani high officials, both military and civilian, were skimming off 30 percent or more of covert US aid to the *mujahideen.*[146] However, there was bound to be leakage both in Pakistan and Afghanistan; indeed, as it turned out 20-30 percent and perhaps as much as 50 percent of the weaponry was stolen or sold.[147] Fears that aid would fall into unfriendly hands[148] constituted a major part of the reason for the reluctance of both Carter and Reagan to send sophisticated weapons to the rebels. The Stinger anti-aircraft missile was the key system in this connection. While it was exactly what the Afghan *mujahideen* needed to counter the Soviets' deadly use of advanced MiGs and Hind helicopter gunships, it was also a fearsome weapon for terrorists. Many within the CIA opposed transfer of Stingers. In fact, a dozen or more did fall into Iranian hands.[149] After the conclusion of the 1988 Geneva accords that paved the way for Soviet withdrawal, it was congressional pressure that led the Reagan Administration to abandon its approach of discontinuing aid to the *mujahideen* as a quid pro quo for Soviet withdrawal in favour of a policy of "symmetry" that linked the US military aid to the *mujahideen* groups to comparable Soviet aid for the Kabul regime.

The blast on 10 April 1988, at the Ojhri camp arms dump in Rawalpindi, which was reportedly used as a transit centre or an arms depot of US arms for the Afghan *mujahideen*, brought the reputation of the army to an all-time low. In this camp, around 7,000 tons of arms and explosives, including a rockets and missiles store which were worth almost $100 million intended for the *mujahideen* rained down on the twin cities of Ralwalpindi and Islamabad, causing thousands of casualties.[150] Rumours were spread that

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[146] See Newsweek (23 March 1987), pp. 32-33; and Jan Goodwin, Caught in the Crossfire (London: Macdonald, 1987), p. 45-46.

[147] See the discussion in Tim Weiner, Blank Check: Pentagon's Black Budget (New York: Warner Brothers, Inc, 1990), pp. 152-53.

[148] Selig Harrison, Out of Afghanistan, p. 316.

[149] See more detailed analysis in Weiner, Blank Check, pp. 150-171. See Rosanne Klass, "Afghanistan: The Accords," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 66 (Summer 1988), pp. 929-30 and 934-36; and Jay Peterzell, Reagan's Secret Wars, CNSS Report No. 108 (Washington, D.C.: Centre for National Security Studies, 1984), p. 12.

[150] The Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) Directorate, dealing with the covert military support, selected Ojhri Camp to serve as an arms depot. This Camp received armament from the US, the lethal cargo by train from the port city of Karachi, storing it for short periods, and then sending it in batches to its destination by trucks. The supply started as a trickle, for which the Camp had adequate storing facility. As the intensity of operations inside Afghanistan increased, so did the requirement of arms and ammunition for fighting against the Soviet Union also increased. Thus, the existing accommodation became inadequate. Some additional sheds were built to increase the storage capacity but it was also inadequate for keeping the further ammunition and explosives. The loading work was performed by a untrained and unsuspecting labour. On 10 April 1988 when the loading work was performed some of the boxes fell down and then at about 9.30 am the site of Ojhri Camp started burning and the sheds were set ablaze. See full details in Khalid Mahmud Arif, Working With Zia: Pakistan's Power

the dump had been blown up deliberately by a conspiracy of senior army officers just before the arrival of a US defence audit team,[151] to cover up the fact that "a significant number of Stinger missiles had been sold off to Iran, where they could have been put to use against the US forces.[152] Actually, the US covert arms supplies to the Afghan *mujahideen*, all of which were distributed through the ISI with no paperwork involved, and thus extraordinarily little accountability, enabled many government bureaucrats, army officers and Afghan leaders to get financial benefits.[153] Moreover, the Afghan *mujahideen* leaders were unconcerned about corruption charges because they themselves were among those who profited. Many Afghan *mujahideen* and Pakistan army officiers were also involved in arms corruption and both never felt resentment against each other.

7-3. Drugs Trade

The Islamic revolution in Iran closed the old traffic routes to the West and the Afghan war led many Afghan poppy growers not only to shift production of poppy and heroin across the border into Pakistan's hospitable tribal areas (especially the Khyber Agency where heroin laboratories flourish), but also to use Pakistan as the main trans-shipment point for heroin travelling westwards.[154] In the late 1980s, the US's Cold War strategies in Afghanistan, combined with the Pakistani perception of a threat to its territorial integrity in NWFP and Baluchistan, led the intelligence agencies in Pakistan and the US to deflect money from heroin trafficking to support the war in Afghanistan. In Pakistan, the ISI, was alleged to have been involved in the strategic use of drug money in insurgency wars in Afghanistan. Similar allegations were made about the CIA's underhand connection with the promoters of the heroin trade in Pakistan and Afghanistan during the Cold War era.[155] In an attempt to promote security interests in Southwest Asia, the US turned a blind eye to

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Politics 1977-1988, pp. 386-390; and see also Salamat Ali, "Soldiers and Spooks," Far Eastern Economic Review (10 November 1988), p. 36.

[151] Christina Lamb, Waiting For Allah: Pakistan's Struggle for Democracy, pp. 42 and 223.

[152] William D. Harting, And Weapons For All (New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 1994), p. 126; and see also Diego Cordovez and Selig S. Harrison, Out of Afghanistan, p. 316.

[153] Christina Lamb, Waiting For Allah: Pakistan's Struggle for Democracy, p. 94.

[154] M. Emded-ul Haq, Drugs in South Asia: From the Opium Trade to the Present Day (London: Macmillan, 2000), p. 5.

[155] There is general perception that the ISI and CIA encourged poppy cultivation in Pakistan and Afghanistan to collect money for the Afghan war. Some shady links are exposed, but normally they remain concealed. In fact, it was difficult to get evidence from primary sources about the alleged activities of the leading secret agencies of CIA and ISI due to the sensitivities of the issue. It is also equally difficult to collect some official and rare documents from overseas sources. However, there are some evidence about CIA and drugs trade in Afghanistan, Central America and South west Asia. See for more details in Alfred W. McCoy's book on The Politics of Heroin in Southeast Asia (New York: Harper & Row, 1991), pp. 19 and 447.

strategic use of drug money by some army personnel in Pakistan and by bosses of the Afghan *mujahideen.*

As a result, the Afghan and Pakistani Pakhtun cultivators produced around 70 percent of the world's high-grade heroin and its largest supplier,[156] overseen by an estimated 40 drug 'cartels' (or sub-cartels).[157] Thus, with the introduction of heroin technology to finance the Afghan war in the 1980s, Pakistan eventually emerged as the world's largest consumer and supplier of illicit heroin in the world market. The Afghan war and the clandestine trafficking of arms offered a natural lucrative pairing with drugs and this business handsomely rewarded individual Afghans and Pakistanis. The *mujahideen* increased the opium harvest to 575 tons between 1982-83 and they sold it to Pakistani heroin refiners who operated under the protection of (Retd) General Fazal -ul Haq, governor of the NWFP.[158] For his likely links in underground drug trade, General Fazal Haq was described as the "notorious Pakistani" by *International Intelligence* during his official visit to Washington in April 1982.[159] His drug connections became an open secret when at a tribal caucus at Wana in South Waziristan, Governor Fazal Haq declared heroin a Pakistani "mineral."[160] Thus, beside the army personnel, the drug trade was lucrative to many influential people who became beneficiaries of the underground heroin trade. This business also created a powerful arms and drugs Mafia in Pakistan which was one of the major causes of expansion of the heroin and arms trade throughout the country.[161]

The drug trade increased the financial potential of the *mujahideen*, so that during 1983-86 they became self-sufficient and established strong private armies and bought arms in the clandestine markets.[162] The *Washington Post* in 1983 reported that Afghan militants were

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[156] The Economist (20 December 1987).
[157] Jonathan Beatty and S. C. Gwynne, The Outlaw Law Bank (New York: Random House, 1993), p. 259.
[158] Ikramul Haq, "Pak-Afghan Drug Trade in Historical Perspective," Asian Survey, Vol. XXXVI, No. 10 (October 1996), p. 954. Kathy Evans, "The Tribal Trail," Newsline (Karachi: December 1989), p. 26.
[159] Zahid Hussain, "Narco Power: Pakistan's Parallel Government," Newsline (December 1989), p. 14.
[160] Despite Fazal Haq open advocacy of the drug trade, and reputation as the "Poppy General," Fazal Haq remained in the good books of General Zia. His son had been convicted of charges of drug trafficking in New York, and this compelled General Haq to resign but General Zia appointed him as the Chief Minister of NWFP in late 1988. A. S. Yusfi, "National/ NWFP: Khyber Crackdown," The Herald (January 1986), pp. 59-60; and Dawn (27 September 1993), p. 14.
[161] See Time (3 October 1994), p. 22; and Stanley J. Tambiah, Leveling Crowds: Ethnonationalist Conflicts and Collective Violence in South Asia (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), pp. 183-185.
[162] Ikramul Haq, "Pak-Afghan Drug Trade in Historical Perspective," Asian Survey, Vol. XXXVI, No. 110 (October 1996), p. 954.

"financing their battle" to some extent through the sale of drugs to the West.[163] Some reports hinted that the Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA) officials stationed in Pakistan were privately involved in the drug trade to secure Cold War objectives.[164] *The Hindustan Times* claimed that with the rise of the Afghan crisis "a foreign trained adviser" had suggested to General Zia that he use drug money to the military challenge.[165] The ISI tacitly ignored the involvement of the tribal Pakhtun and the *mujahideen* leaders, especially Gulbuddin Hekmatyar (Hezb-i-Islami), who drew money from the drug trade to support his insurgency in Afghanistan. However, the US policy in Afghanistan backfired when a substantial amount of Pakistani heroin started to arrive in the US and other Western countries. A report by the US Committee on Foreign Affairs indicated that the smuggling of Southwest Asian heroin into the country accounted for only 3 percent in 1978 while this figure rose to 51 percent by 1983.[166] In the same vein, *The Times* of London in 1983 argued that 80 percent of heroin sold on the streets of UK came from Pakistan.[167]

Moreover, the whole business was inextricably involved with the movement of drugs into the country in an operation controlled by the Inter Services Intelligence (ISI) and Pakistani army. Alfred W. McCoy pointed out the links between the CIA and ISI and argued that "in the wake of Afghan crisis the Pakistani secret agency had become involved in drug trafficking. Trafficking was conducted via channels which normally carried arms and goods to Afghan refugee camps. Under the CIA's auspices, arms were collected from different countries and mainly carried from Karachi to Peshawar by the National Logistic Cell (NLC), the largest army transport organisation, handling the shipment of arms to the border areas. The NLC armoured vehicles were beyond the inspection of the police or customs authorities. With this advantage, the NLC trucks carried heroin from Peshawar to Karachi.[168] Some reports indicated that after the end of

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[163] Washington Post (17 December 1983), p. A32.
[164] Kalim Bahadur, "Opium Racket in Pakistan," Link (4 January 1981), p. 26.
[165] The unnamed adviser was presumably General Fazal Haq, the Governor of NWFP and the most powerful general in Pakistan army. See The Hindustan Times (1 October 1994), p. 14; and M. Emded-ul Haq, Drugs in South Asia, p. 187.
[166] Review of United States Narcotics Control (Washington, D.C.: Department of State, 1986), p. 17
[167] The Times (6 May 1983), p. 7.
[168] The Washington Post (13 May 1990); Tara Kartha, "The Diffusion of Light Weapons in Pakistan," Small Wars and Insurgencies, Vol. 8, No. 1 (Spring 1997), p. 73; and Sankar Sen, "Heroin Trafficking in the Golden Crescent," The Police Journal, Vol. LXV, No. 3 (July 1992), p. 254.

war the CIA overlooked Afghan militants who helped receive weapons in exchange for drug money.[169]

According to the *US State Department* report, between 1985 and 1988 Afghan opium production rose from 400-500 metric tons to 700-800 metric tons: the country also produced 200-400 metric tons of hashish. In the same time, Pakistan's opium production rose from 40-70 metric tons in 1985 to 205 metric tons in 1988.[170] As a result, by 1980 Pakistan had no reported heroin addicts; in 1983 there were 30,000 and in late 1988 there were more than one million heroin addicts.[171] By 1985-86 Pakistan had emerged as a major refiner of Southwest Asian opium into heroin and a principal channel for heroin destined for US markets.[172] By 1987-1988 drugs were bringing in at least $4 billion a year — more foreign exchange than all Pakistan's legal exports combined.[173] Thus, despite an increase in the drug trade from Pakistan, the US officials were reluctant to review its strategic relationship with Pakistan. In fact, this was a great social cost to the US from the ideological battle that eventually evicted the Soviets from Afghanistan.

The Afghan official media accused Hekmatyar and other anti-Communist Afghan leaders of procuring money from the drug trade.[174] On 13 May 1990, the *Washington Post* indicated that "Hekmatyar commanders close to ISI run laboratories in southwest Pakistan and the United States had failed to take action against Pakistan's heroin dealers because of its desire not to offend a strategic ally, Pakistan's military establishment."[175] During this time, Dera Adam Khel (a small town between Peshawar and Kohat) emerged as a centre for heroin processing as well as gun manufacturing.[176] The Hekmatyar lieutenants operated some of the heroin laboratories at Rabat, a small town at the meeting point of Pakistan, Iran and Afghanistan. A large number of *mujahideen* camps and heroin

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[169] William O. Walker III, "The Foreign Narcotics Policy of the United States Since 1980: An End of to the War on Drugs?," International Journal (Canadian Institute of International Affairs) Vol. 49, No. 1 (Winter 1993), pp. 4-45.

[170] US Department of State, Bureau of International Narcotics Matters, International Narcotics Control Strategy Report, Executive Summary, March 1988, pp. 15-16; "Afghanistan Withdrawal Symptoms," India Today (15 March 1988), p. 71; and Mahnaz Ispahani, "Pakistan Dimensions of Insecurity," p. 26.

[171] Mahnaz Ispahani, "Pakistan Dimensions of Insecurity," Adelhi Papers - 246 (London: IISS, Winter 1989/90), p. 26.

[172] Narcotics Control Digest Vol. 15, No. 14 (10 July 1985), p. 5.

[173] See report Melvyn Levitsky, US Assistant Secretary of State for International Narcotics, on Drug Trafficking to House Committee (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 8 January 1989).

[174] Kabul Radio (28 January 1986); and SWB: Summary of World Broadcasts, Part 3, Monitoring Service of the British Broadcasting Corporation (30 January 1986).

[175] See detail in The Washington Post (13 May 1990), p. 1.

[176] Dawn (11 July 1996), p. 7.

laboratories were located in the Koh-i-Sultan region, an area under ISI control. After the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan in 1990, the ISI helped Hekmatyar to control Kabul's "multi-billion dollar opium trade," which had emerged as "a key factor" in the Afghan power struggle.[177]

7-4. Kalashnikov[178] Culture

The "Kalashnikov culture" flourished when the United States sent huge supplies of weapons through Pakistan to arm the Afghan *mujahideen*. The Afghan war provided enormous opportunities for business in illegal arms in the NWFP and the culture of the AK-47 Kalashnikov took firm roots in Pakistan. Darra Adam Khel, a tribal village deep in one of the steep valleys of Pakistan's federally administered areas within NWFP, has thrived as one of the world's largest unofficial arms markets.[179] There are more than 3,000 technicians and skilled labourers working in 2,600 arms shops and five gun factories that jointly have the capacity to make about 100 AK-47s per day.[180] This area is dominated by Afridi tribes and has developed into a big centre for the manufacture of indigenous weapons.[181] On sale are Chinese and Soviet style Kalashnikov automatic rifles hand grenades and antiaircraft guns.[182] This weapons market is full of a variety of arms, from Japanese pen pistols to rapid fire guns and communications equipment, missiles, anti-aircraft weapons, hand grenades, rocket launchers and anti-tank ammunition.[183] As the Afghan war wound down in the early 1990s, Pakistan was mired in what one *Wall Street Journal* article described as "the worst outbreak of lawlessness in its history," and "the US, it turns out, inadvertently helped supply the firepower." The article went on to describe gangs of criminals and terrorists roaming the streets of major Pakistani towns virtually unchecked, fending off police with machine guns, grenade launchers, and other

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[177] Emded-ul Haq, Drugs in South Asia, p. 189.

[178] Mikhail Timofeyvich Kalashnikov design (Kalashnikov) AK-47. This gun is a status symbol in Pakistan. During the Afghan war many Russian soldiers and *mujahideen* sold them to people. Dara Adamkhel (NWFP) produces Russian and Chinese model Kalashnikovs within twenty days. The Soviet Kalashnikov costs Rs. 30,000 and the Dara Adamkhel made Pakistani version costs only Rs. 10,000. See details in P. L. Bhola, Benazir Bhutto: Opportunities and Challenges (Jaipur: Yuvraj Publishers, 1989), pp. 90-99.

[179] The Guardian (15 December 2000), p. 17.

[180] This calculation does not include the production capacity of units based in other parts of the NWFP. See more details in Ayesha Siddiqa Agha, "De-Weaponising South Asian Socities," Dawn (13 July 2000); and Newsweek (27 March 2000), p. 16; and see The Guardian (15 December 2000), p. 17.

[181] Sankar Sen, "Heroin Trafficking in the Golden Crescent," The Police Journal (July 1992), p. 254.

[182] Newsweek (27 March 2000), p. 16.

[183] These weapons are cheaper than in the international market and the trend of sales within Pakistan seems to have tilted towards smaller weapons like pistols and multi-barrel guns, for which there is

sophisticated armaments procured in the nation's scores of weapons markets. Most of this weaponary was siphoned off from US aid supplies to the Afghan *mujahideen*, rerouted into what many Pakistanis have come to call a "Kalashnikov culture" of armed street violence.[184]

Moreover, it offered a slightly more down-to-earth echo of the rationales offered by US government bureaucrats and corporate officials involved in the arms trade; a Pakistani arms dealer proudly displayed his wares saying: "this is a market, we buy and sell. We do not care who comes as long as he has money....We are experts in weapons."[185] William Hartung also indicated that the outbreak of violence and corruption in Pakistan was an unintended byproduct of the Reagan doctrine because the US used the country more than a decade as a conduit for an estimated $8.7 billion (1986-90) of weapon aid for Afghan *mujahideen*—weapons which have now diffused across the border, into the hands of militants, criminals, ethnic and sectarian groups, challenging state forces and encouraging secessionist forces within the country.[186]

7-5. Law and Order Problems

The Afghan war left the area awash with arms - both sophisticated and heavy, which undermined the security of Pakistan's citizens, deprived the state of its control over the means of violence, and promoted the criminalisation of politics.[187] Disruptive internal forces became more acute and the state appeared less and less capable of protecting its citizens against threats posed by political, religious and criminal elements in all major parts of the country.[188] Sunni and Shi'ite Muslim sects were always at each other's throats, as were various mafia gangs and tribal warlords, who killed one another over property or revenge. Political disputes often ended in bloodshed. Ordinary citizens, who might have settled a grievance in the past with a punch or insult, now pulled out guns. Thousands of people died violently in Karachi alone in the late 1980s–and Pakistan's

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rising demand from rich people and politicians. See Tara Kartha, "The Diffusion of Light Weapons in Pakistan," Small Wars and Insurgencies, Vol. 8, No. 1 (Spring 1997), p. 80.

[184] John Bussey, "To the Feuds, Malaise and Guns of Pakistan Comes the Free Market," Wall Street Journal (31 July 19991).

[185] Ibid.

[186] William D. Hartung, And Weapons For All (New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 1994), p. 123.

[187] See Shahzada Zulfikar, "Contentious Count," Newsline (October 1994), p. 62; and Rahimullah Yusufzai, "The Frontier Connection," Newsline (October 1989), pp. 25-26.

[188] Maleeha Lodhi, Pakistan's Encounter with Democracy (Lahore: Vanguard Book Publishers, 1994), pp. 310-302; Mohammad Hanif, "The Anatomy of Violence," Newsline (October 1989), pp. 15-16; The Economist (17 October 1998), p. 89; and Time (3 October 1994).

overall crime rate continued to rise. The largest city (population 10 million) in Pakistan and principal sea port fell into wretched turmoil. Drugs, racketeering and outright political warfare ruled in the place of civil authority. The country's Human Rights Commission said crime increased since the 1980s in many categories–murder, kidnapping, robberies, sniper victims, bomb blasts.[189] It will not be easy to wipe out Pakistan's deeply entrenched gun culture. Feudal landowners and tribal chiefs have their own private armies. Sectarian groups possess sophisticated arsenals. In rural Sindh, bandits with light machine guns rob and kill people randomly.[190] The Tribal Areas, a quasi-autonomous strip of territory straddling the NWFP and Baluchistan, cannnot be disarmed. According to one 1990 report, NWFP and the Tribal Areas had roughly 2.1 million Kalashnikovs–one for every grown person.[191] Analysts were of the view that Punjab alone had 700,000 AK-47s and Karachi alone contains 15,000 AK-47s.[192] In the same vein, millions of unlicensed automatic weapons, including Kalashnikovs, are being used throughout the country in a rising tide of lawlessness. Many political, social and religious elements are free from law and have illegal weapons, while law-abiding citizens are unarmed.[193]

7-6. Galemjam Culture[194]

During 1984-1986 the KHAD used socio-cultural means to destabilise Pakistan. Hundreds of prostitutes from Central Asia and Russia entered Peshawar (NWFP) and Quetta (Baluchistan) to morally corrupt society.[195] The BBC Urdu programme "*Sarbeen*" reported the influx of more than 8,000 prostitutes of various ethnic origins (Afghani, Uzbek, Tajik, Turkomani, Russian and Ukrainian).[196] These prostitutes extended their business to affluent areas in the major urban centres (Islamabad, Peshawar, Lahore,

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[189] Zahid Hussain and Ismail Khan, "Pakistan: We All Fear for our Lives," Newsweek (27 March 2000), p. 16; and Time (17 April 1995), pp. 12-16.

[190] Ibid.

[191] Salamat Ali, "Kalashnikov Culture," Far Eastern Economic Review (22 February 1990), pp. 29-30.

[192] Ayesha Siddiqa Agha, "De-Weaponising South Asian Socities," Dawn (13 July 2000), p. 8.

[193] Salamat Ali, "Kalashnikov Culture," Far Eastern Economic Review (22 February 1990), pp. 29-30.

[194] Galemjam is a Persian word meaning "Carpetfolding," but in the frontier region people normally use this word for prostitutes. General Abdul Rashid Dostom's forces during the Afghan war, whenever they captured towns, looted and seized valuable material (jewellery, money, food and antiques) and ran away and people called them Galemjam (to fold or steal things and run).

[195] Zaheer Ahmad, "Social Corruption in Pashtun Society," Asian Society No. 2, Vol. 5 (1986), pp. 8-11; "Golden Gift for Pakistani Muslims," Gulf News (1987); and Newsline No. 1, Vol. 10 (1987), pp. 13-14.

[196] BBC-Montoring. Summary of World Broadcasts Part. 3 Asia-Pacific. Third Series FE/2005 23 November 1986; MAG (Weekely 5 September 1987), p. 24; and Asif Rasul, "The Social Dimension of Afghanistan Crisis," Dawn, Friday Magazine (May 1989), p. 6.

Karachi, Faisalabad, Multan and Quetta) of the country and they were accessible to people from all walks of life at cheap prices and working under a well-planned organisation.[197] In NWFP prostitutes were mostly Persian or Dari speaking and people called them "*galemjum*." These prostitutes established a sophisticated communication network throughout the country's hotel industry, for providing entertainment to customers. According to *Asia Week*, "most of the prostitutes were connected to the Khad agents and their targets were high government officials and Pakistan army officers."[198] The flood of prostitutes was seen as a means of psychological warfare against Pakistan because the girls worked secretly and voluntarily to gain popularity in Pakistani society and later they captured the professional red light areas of Lahore, Karachi and Islamabad.[199] They attracted the local commercial class, frustrated youth and the elites of society. In 1986-87 the federal and provincial governments started major operations against the prostitute' business and they succeeded to some extent in controlling this virus in society, but the dream of elimination has not been realised.

7-7. Sectarianism

Sectarianism is one of the biggest challenges and gravest threats to Pakistan's domestic security horizon. It is an inevitable outcome of Zia's "Islamisation" programme and the United States encouragement of religion to stop the flood of Communism. During the Afghan war the US deliberately promoted religion as a weapon against the Soviet Union and spent million of dollars for the establishment of religious institutions and Islamic literature.[200] Zia also took advantage of the situation to introduce selective Shariah laws which divided society and also negated the cardinal Islamic principles of democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance and social justice. Thus, the net-work of religious institutions (mosques and *madressaha*) were out of state control and held considerable autonomy and street power pushing Pakistan into total anarchy and disorder. The Iranian revolution (1979) had already injected the even more insidious poisons of religious sectarianism,

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[197] Herald (September 1992), pp. 23-25; and The Nation (30 November 1987).
[198] Asia Week (13 July 1985), pp. 9-11; Dawn (9 June 1986); and Newsline (18 June 1986), p. 29.
[199] In Islamabad the G-9 & G-10 sectors are full of Afghan refugees and most of the illicit business of Galemjam (prostitution) is run in these areas. Asif Rasul, The Social Dimension of Afghanistan Crisis, p. 53; and The Muslim (13 August 1989).
[200] The Afghan war became a big ideological battle between the United States and the Soviet Union. The US spent approximately $250 million to establish religious institutions inside Afghanistan and Pakistan to counter Communist propaganda. In the same way, Saudi Arabia contributed $140 million to publish Islamic literature and the holy book, the Quran. Kuwait and UEA also provided $80 million to support religious scholars and students. See "Islam and Afghan War," The New York Times (28 February

fanaticism and bigotry, pitting sect against sect and region against region.[201] In this regard, the rivalry between Iran and Saudi Arabia also fuelled sectarian conflict in Pakistan. Many Sunni organisations had long been receiving funds from Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Libya and Kuwait in order to counter Iranian influence and to set up *madressahas* in Baluchistan, Punjab and NWFP. These institutions were converted into well-established political pressure groups by the support of petro-dollar countries and they have an effective organisation structure. The religious elements used the Afghan war as a training centre and they began to fight gun battles to achieve dominance. Bloody sectarian clashes between Shi'a and Sunni organisations became a regular feature in various areas of Pakistan.[202] This situation created a new security threat because such clashes made Pakistan more vulnerable to external intervention.

The increased sectarianism in Pakistan can easily be understood by the number of religious institutions established. In the 1950s, besides a few Shi'a *madressaha* there were 137 traditional Sunni *madressahas* in Pakistan. By 1971 there were close to 900 *madressahas* with about 3000 teachers and more than 30,000 regular students. In 1980s, the number of *madressahas* boomed to 45,000 to 50,000 instead of the 4,000 officially registered[203] (Tables-10 & 11). In Punjab, the number of *madressahas* were around 26,000, with somewhat less than that number in the rest of the country. Southern Punjab has the highest number of *madressahas* (Table-12), around 8,000 and this region has the lowest level of literacy, a significant percentage of the population living on or below the poverty line and the feudal arrangement still to a considerable degree intact. In Punjab alone, 7050 *madressahas* were imparting military training to their students. The NWFP has around 10,000 religious institutions. Peshawar alone has more than 50 *madressahas* and this city was reported to be a hub of sectarian activities. The number of students and teachers increased from a few hundred to thousands within one decade. In this regard, foreign students from Egypt, Sudan, Algeria, the Philippines, China and Saudi Arabia were given training by a bewildering number of factions in the name of 'jihad'.[204] In the 1990s, the worst hit was Punjab, where an estimated more than 2000 persons were killed

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1983); Gordievsky, "War of Ideology," **International Security**, Vol. 5, No. 1 (1984), pp. 18-34; and **Pravda** (28 October 1982).

201 Eqbal Ahmad, "The Conflict Within," **Dawn** (15 February 1998).

202 Samina Ahmad, "Pakistan: The Crisis Within," in Muthiah Alagappa (ed.)., **Asian Security Practice: Material and Ideational Influence** (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), p. 341.

203 Jessica Stern, "Pakistan's Jihad Culture," **Foreign Affairs** (November/December 2000), p. 119; and **The Times** (21 June 2000), p. 21; and **Dawn** (30 January 1995).

204 Tara Kartha, "The Diffusion of Light Weapons in Pakistan," p. 81.

Table -10

Religious Teachers and Students 1980-1988

Province & Other Areas	Teachers	Students			
		Nazeerah	Hifz	Tajweed-o-Qirat	Daura-e-Hadith
Punjab	1.5 million	769,868	237,904	223,000	212,525
NWFP	45,000	186,295	11,299	19,150	47,996
Sindh	34,000	85,236	7,755	25,380	5,850
Baluchistan	23,000	45,000	12,350	6,360	4,840
Northern Area	8,000	18,000	300	370	130
Azad Kashmir	11,000	25,670	2,530	2,800	450
Islamabad	1,300	5,780	345	567	80

Sources: Aamer Ahmad Khan, "The Rise of Sectarian Mafias," Monthly Herald (Karachi, July 1994), pp. 27-28; Herald (August 1991), p. 95; Nwesline (August 1990), pp. 49-52; and see Andreas Rieck, "Sectarianism as a Political Problem in Pakistan: The Case of the Northern Areas," Orient, Vol. 36, No. 3 (1995), pp. 429-449; Herald (Karachi: October 1996), p. 56.

Table - 11

Religious Institutions in Pakistan 1980-88

	Deobandi		Barelvi		Ahle Hadith		Shi'a (Jafari)		Agha Khan: Bohri, Zakri, Ahmadi & Others	
	1980	1988	1980	1988	1980	1988	1980	1988	1980	1988
Punjab	590	2560	548	1440	118	350	21	1600	43	200
NWFP	631	1150	32	180	05	65	02	175	08	55
Sindh	208	525	61	145	06	42	10	46	06	75
Baluchistan	278	560	34	170	03	53	01	28	31	140
Northern Area	60	172	02	25	27	50	11	45	03	50
Azad Kashmir	51	160	20	60	02	13	02	10	03	10
Islamabad	51	85	20	36	-	05	02	18	03	10
Total	1869	5212	717	2056	161	578	49	1922	97	540

Sources: **Dini Madaris: Pakistan's Comprehensive Report 1988** (Islamabad: Islamic Education Research Cell, Ministry of Education, Government of Pakistan, 1989), pp. 8-56; Hafeez Malik, "Taliban's Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan: Its Impact on Eurasia," **Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies**, Vol. XXIII, No. 1 (Fall 1999), p. 67; **Dawn** (30, January 1995); Abbas Rashid, "Role of the Madrassahs," **Dawn** (25 December 1997); and see Zahid Hussain, "Pakistan: Hostage to the Mullahs," **Newsline** (May 1992), pp. 28-32.

Table - 12

Growth of (Sunni & Shi'a) Madrasas in the Punjab 1979-94

Division	1979	1980	1985	1990	1994
Bahawalpur	278	417	598	1795	2883
D.G.Khan	153	217	297	1363	2411
Multan	045	102	179	812	1325
Rahim Yar Khan	126	187	756	1562	1756
Lahore	075	120	170	932	1323
Rawalpindi	058	085	219	571	869
Sargodha	075	098	310	841	941
Gujranwala	052	066	996	1440	1540
Faisalabad	047	098	378	410	530
Jang	026	065	280	320	586
Mianwali	018	034	365	425	530
Total	953	1489	4548	10471	14694

Sources: Zindagi (Lahore: 17 February 1995), p. 39; The News (Islamabad: 7 March 1995), p. 11;The Herald (Karachi: July 1994), pp. 34-36; The Nwesline (Karachi: November 1996), pp. 18-24.

and 561 injured in 234 sectarian incidents.[205] The sectarian wave extended to the Northern Areas, Karachi and the NWFP, where 529 people were killed and hundreds injured in 864 separate incidents. Bomb attacks on each other's mosques and *imambargahs* (Shi'a community gathering places) became common. The tragic reality was that all extremist elements had no will of tolerance and turned religion into a source of conflict. They were determined to settle their differences through the barrel of a gun.

8. Rejection of Soviet Economic and Technical offers

The Soviet government, in an effort to show good will towards Pakistan, continued to offer trade and development assistance. While trade between the two countries was curtailed at the beginning of 1980, the Soviets, for their part, proposed building several industrial and energy-generating facilities as well as expanding commercial, economic and scientific cooperation.[206] In addition, they suggested that economic assistance and cooperation would open the way to linking into a larger South Asian economic and trade network. In 1984, the Soviet Union had proposed to Zia that if Pakistan put an end to Afghan rebel bases in Pakistan, Moscow-Kabul would recognise the Durand Line as a international boundary. The Soviet also promised to denounce the Pakhtunistan issue and the Baluch nationalists movement from Pakistan's internal politics.[207] In the same vein, the Soviets offered a nuclear power plant and peaceful nuclear cooperation to Pakistan[208] but Islamabad was not willing to offend China, its principal nuclear benefactor, and the United States, its main supplier of economic and military assistance.

9. Economic Deficiencies

The Zia regime received sufficient foreign economic assistance but they spent it on imports of consumer goods rather than on education, health and rural development. From 1973 to 1980 gross national savings in Pakistan averaged only 6.4 percent of the gross

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[205] Dawn (1 January 1998); and Zahid Hussain, "Pakistan: Hostage to the Mullahs," Newsline (May 1992), pp. 28-32.
[206] The Muslim (13 May 1985).
[207] W. Howard Wriggins, "Pakistan's Foreign Policy After Afghanistan," in Stephen P. Cohen (ed.,) The Security of South Asia: American and Asian Perspectives (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1987), p. 74.
[208] Paul L. Leventhal, "Plugging the Leaks in Nuclear Export Controls: Why Bother?," ORBIS (Spring 1992), p. 170.

national product.[209] The average for 1980-86 declined by 18 percent to 4.6 percent. Moreover, gross domestic investment remained only 17.5 percent of the gross national income. The shortfall had to be met by capital flows from the outside. Pakistan ended the Zia period with publicly guaranteed long-term debt of over $16 billion, equivalent to nearly one-half of its gross domestic product and two and one-half times the total value of exports. Reliance on short-term debt increased; in 1987, there were $2.3 billion in outstanding short-term obligations. In the same vain, debt servicing was more than one-sixth the value of exports of goods and services. Average interest carried by outstanding debt increased nearly two-fold, from 2.3 to 5.8 percent a year.[210] Similarly, there was no significant improvement in social, education and health development. According to Omar Noman, between 1982-88 the share of expenditure on education and health fell from 2.1 per cent of GNP to 1.5 per cent.[211] Defence continued to take the lion's share (due to the severe security problem with India) in successive budgets, at the expense of expenditure on development. For instance, in June 1988 the government provided Rs. 48.31 billion for defence, whereas the total money provided for all development projects was Rs. 47.14 billion.[212] However, with the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, Pakistan had lost its importance in the superpower battle and was receiving severely declining funds for future development. Remittances from the Gulf standing at $1.88 billion were on the decline. Servicing of the foreign debt of $14.4 billion and the internal debt of $15.5 billion, along with defence and non-development expenditure, were eating up 80 per cent of current expenditure, leaving the government with little room for manoeuvre.

10. Economic Corruption

In the Zia era, the scale of financial corruption exacerbated Pakistan's economic shortcomings, which forced its dependence on external sources of economic assistance and funds, and endangered efforts at democratisation. During its long period of martial law, many high ranking army officers were involved in drug peddling, weapon sales and irregular housing and land sales. In 1986, the *Newsweek* magazine mentioned that "five Pakistani generals (General Fazal-e-Haq, General Akhter Abdur Rehman, General Ghulam Galiani, General Abdur Rahim and Air Marshal Anwar Shmeem) had become the

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[209] V. A. Jaffarey, "Pakistan Economy Under Zia Era," The Muslim (18 April 1989).
[210] The World Bank - World Debt Tables: External Debt of Developing Countries, Vol. II: Country Tables, 1989 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), pp. 290-293.
[211] Omar Noman, Political Economy of Pakistan (London: Oxford University Press, 1994), pp. 35-56.
[212] See The Military Balance (London: International Institute for Strategic Studies, 1987-88), pp. 78-175.

richest men in the world due to drug business and weapon sales in the local or international market."[213] Moreover, in 1987 according to Dr. Mahbub-ul Haq, the Minister of Planning and Commerce, bureaucratic corruption alone was estimated to amount to about $1 billion a year (Rs. 20 billion).[214] The same year, the National Taxation Reform Commission estimated that black money (unaccounted for tax purposes) was $9 billion (Rs. 180 billion), that corruption absorbed $2.4 billion in development funds, and that public sector employees were implicated in $3.5 billion of black money. Another $1.2 billion (about Rs. 24 billion) worth of smuggled goods were thought to enter Pakistan each year and economists estimated that unaccounted moneys could comprise up to 50 percent of GNP.[215] Zia used the Afghanistan crisis to increase national solvency and received billions of dollars from the US and from migrants to the Middle East. But the billion of dollars were not used appropriately for developmental projects. Instead, the military-civil bureaucracy and influential people readily accommodated their interests and compromised social and economic welfare to achieve their own ambitions.

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[213] Newsweek (13 June 1986), pp. 8-11.
[214] The Muslim (22 April 1987); Mahnas Ispahani, "Pakistan: Dimensions of Insecurity," p. 28.
[215] Clarence Maloney, "Pakistan: Social Basis of the Economy," Universities Field Staff International (UFSI) Reports, Asia Series, No. 8 (Indianapolis IN: UFSI, 1987), pp. 2-3.

Conclusion

The preceding pages have examined the transformation of the partnership between the United States and Pakistan from 1979 to 1988. From its inception in 1979 it was beset by considerable strains, increasing in intensity throughout the remainder of the 1980s; from 1988, first the United States and then Pakistan began gradually to disengage themselves from the alignment with the result of the Geneva accord (1988) and the Afghan war ended, foreshadowing the collapse of the Soviet Union. The Soviet presence in Afghanistan could be interpreted as the first step in a sweep toward the warm-water ports and a threat to the oil flows of the Persian Gulf. The invasion was also viewed as a menacing strategic manoeuvre against the West and proof of ideological expansion. Moreover, it has been shown that geopolitical realities and strategic compulsions tended to bring the two countries together primarily for the containment of communism, but that divergences of perceptions and policies disrupted the partnership, since neither party fully understood the implications and consequences of an alliance between unequal partners.

The strains in the partnership stemmed basically from the two allies' conflicting demands and policies, emanating from their divergent reasons for entering the partnership. The United States, perceiving an imminent Communist threat to the whole international system, made Pakistan one of its allies in Asia in order to have access to Pakistani bases so as to expand the scope of its policy of containment. But Pakistan, regarding the Communist threat as extremely dangerous, was interested in achieving three objectives: first, to receive American arms and protection against Soviet backed Afghanistan and India; second, to deal with the Soviet Union from a position of strength in the Afghan war; third to attract large-scale American economic assistance.

Thus, both Pakistan and the United States had entered into partnership largely for self-serving reasons rather than mutually congruent objectives. The US looked at the relationship from the global perspective of the East-West conflict and as one of many other peripheral vital interests, whereas Pakistan looked at it from the regional perspective of its disputes with Afghanistan and India and as the anchor of its security, stability and economic development. Thus, this was a unique partnership between the

US and Pakistan because the United States as a superpower with global responsibilities and commitments, took advantage of Pakistan to expand the scope of its policy of containment of communism and Pakistan aligned itself with the United States in order to achieve military and economic assistance for protection against the perceived threat from Afghanistan and its non-Communist neighbour, India. Pakistan also hoped that the United States, in return for Pakistan's cooperation with the American Cold War effort, would bestow upon Pakistan preferential treatment over non-aligned India and would compensate Pakistan in terms of economic and military assistance. The Reagan administration seems to have been more sympathetically disposed toward Pakistan's security than previous US administrations and Pakistan enjoyed favourable treatment as long as US strategic and political interests were involved in the Persian Gulf region.

Pakistan and the United States both were united for a common cause to counter the Soviet military expansionism. The US provided arms and economic aid to Pakistan with the objective of bolstering Pakistan's operational capabilities for its northern or western and eastern fronts. During this time, moreover, the Pakistani leadership, showed greater diplomatic skill than in the 1950s. Pakistan successfully used the Afghanistan developments to warm its relations with the West and make the United States reassess its position and review their mutual relationship, although the issues of nuclear technology and human rights the problematic areas of the Pakistan-US relationship, such that the two countries virtually became antagonists. The United States also reaffirmed the validity of the 1959 bilateral agreement and it became the basis of a new relationship. In this sense, the new partnership was a revival or reinvigoration of their past ties. The new relationship was an "aid-cum-sales relationship." Although the 1959 bilateral agreement between Pakistan and the United States was still in force, it was not an alliance relationship as this agreement was not binding on American Congress and was hostage to public mood in the United States. Moreover, the new relationship was more informal and flexible because it was based on a greater commonality of perceptions and interests. Pakistan was also able to consolidate relations with the Islamic world and, being assured of American assistance, to strengthen further its friendship with China, without offending or provoking the Soviet Union.

Pakistan had thus far followed an adroit and multifaceted policy. As a front-line state, it had faced unavoidable risks, but it had minimised these risks by broadening its

international support and diplomatic dealing with both the Soviet Union and India (which had a more sophisticated arsenal on the eastern border) with subtlety and minimum provocation. It had received substantial commitments of economic assistance and military equipment from the United States. By calling on its Saudi Arabian and other Gulf friends, it had been able to obtain these armaments on terms that minimised both the reality and the appearance of the US leverage on its freedom of action.

Thus, the United States and Pakistan both were aware of each other's true reasons for establishing a partnership because the Soviet expansionism created a challenge to regional security and also a direct threat to the security of Pakistan, which emerged as a "front-line" state and found herself uncomfortably placed in a two front threat scenario such as no other South Asian state had ever experienced. In the circumstance, the US played a very active role and also restored relations with Pakistan to direct its attention to the anti-Communist crusade. Pakistan was the major player in the game and was the principal channel through which assistance was provided to Afghan freedom fighters. It provided support for the partisans and allowed the Afghan resistance's military capabilities to grow. It followed this policy cautiously in the hope of avoiding increased Soviet pressures across the Pakistan-Afghan border. The Soviets, in return, increased their pressures on Pakistan to bring about its abandonment of the resistance. Soviet commentaries on Pakistan became more hostile, and the war was brought closer to the Pakistan border. Thus, the US-Pakistan combined strategies limited Soviet military options and increased their costs.

As we have seen, the United States and Pakistan were actively involved to counter the Soviet military adventurism. Both countries were more and more preoccupied in combined planning and actions against the common enemy of the Soviet Union. In fact, the fall of Iran and the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan raised the political stakes and the United States returned to its policy of strong support for Pakistan. This was a time when the United States developed serious strategic relations with Pakistan for the containment of communism. For this purpose, the United States did indeed provide a substantial amount of economic and military assistance to Pakistan, and provided unequivocal support and a guarantee of its security against a possible attack by the Soviet Union and Afghanistan. Furthermore, the United States administration found a way of rewarding Pakistan and mobilised public opinion to support a policy of assertive

competition with the Soviet Union; coercive diplomacy against Pakistan temporarily gave way to empathy and Pakistan appeared as an essential anchor of the entire Southwest Asian region.

In spite of some setbacks and disappointments, Pakistan committed itself to the United States policy of containment, resisting overtures by the Soviet Union with its enticing offers of economic and military assistance. After 1988, the situation changed and Pakistan began to suffer a profound disillusionment with the United States policies. For its part, Pakistan closed down American bases within its territory and banned CIA activities. By 1990, after one decade, the partnership reached a state of total disruption. One of the key factors in the disengagement between the United States and Pakistan was the end of the Afghan war and the collapse of the Soviet Union.

Thus, the long US-Pakistan partnership ended under the American presidency of George Bush (1989-1993). In October 1990 the nuclear issue resurfaced and the Bush administration reestablished the linkage between arms aid and nuclear nonproliferation in South Asia. All US aid, training and transfer of weapons and technology were suspended. The president's unwillingness to certify, as per the Pressler Amendment to the Foreign Assistance Act, that Pakistan did not possess nuclear weapons resulted in the suspension of arms and economic aid worth $600 million for fiscal year 1991-92. However, Pakistan shrewdly maintained an ambivalent stance on the nuclear issue and gradually achieved uranium enrichment capability which destroyed, for all practical purposes, the last fabric of the US-Pakistan partnership. In fact, Pakistan lost its strategic importance in the region and the United States normalised its relations with India and Russia. This was a critical time for Pakistan because the US chose to disregard Pakistan's deepest apprehensions, extending large scale economic assistance to India, which transformed India into a virtual American ally against China. This act alienated and enraged Pakistan, leaving it with little choice but total dependence on China and the Middle Eastern countries.

The stoppage of weapons and arms spare parts was certainly unfair to Pakistan. The US Congress banned outflow of all development assistance for Pakistan because of the country's refusal to halt its nuclear programme. The Reagan administration had, in fact, modernised Pakistan's defence system and provided advanced sophisticated weapons,

not only to increase its defence capability and confidence but to prevent it from pursuing its nuclear programme. For Pakistan, the US economic and military aid was a drop in the ocean and not enough to reduce the perceived threat from India. Eventually, Pakistan saw the acquisition of nuclear weapons not as a choice but as a necessity for its survival. In fact, Pakistan's decision to go nuclear reflected a lack of confidence in America's support; it viewed the US as an unreliable friend who always turned out to be a paper tiger in times of crisis.

As one surveys the vista of the US-Pakistan partnership, various demands and policies on the part of both allies emerge as having played key roles in the gradual disintegration of their relationship. The United States-Pakistan partnership, from the American point of view, was meant to be a limited purpose association, designed to provide bases for the United States in return for military hardware and large-scale economic assistance. Although Pakistan must have been aware of the legitimate boundaries of its opportunistic partnership, it nevertheless strove to have a more comprehensive relationship. This oriental concept of friendship, which was radically different from the United States' more business-like attitude, led Pakistan to demand total American support (like Israel, South Korea, Taiwan and Japan) against the Moscow-New Delhi and Kabul axis. Pakistan also suggested that the US should extend its security assistance to settle the Kashmir dispute but for the United States, this Pakistani demand was unreasonable and it was, moreover, detrimental to the United States' global interests.

I have been concerned mainly to discuss the major factors causing the disruption of the partnership. Three main questions remain: (1). What were the important gains and liabilities of the two nations in the partnership? (2). What will be the possible course of the future US-Pakistan relations? (3). What generalisations can be drawn from the study of the United States-Pakistan partnership?

After the Afghan war, America left Pakistan alone. This action was regarded in Pakistan as unfriendly but in the United States' estimation, Pakistan was more a liability than a gain. As a great power, the United States found itself in an increasingly grave dilemma in trying to keep the friendship with Pakistan. Indeed, the partnership was severely strained when after the end of the Cold War the United States changed its strategic interests and the US aid policy was being increasingly refocused on countries of global

strategic importance to the United States, a shift that benefited India and almost excluded Pakistan. The US partnership with the Afghan *mujahideen* also became complicated because the policy makers perceived that the *mujahideen* activities were no longer in the interests of the United States.

However, Pakistan, too, suffered heavy liabilities from the partnership. Pakistan incurred the animosity of the Soviet Union when it aligned with the United States to support the *mujahideen* against the Soviet Union. On the other hand, the Soviet Union encouraged separatist elements in the North West Frontier Province and Baluchistan and supported their right of self-determination. The Soviets not only abandoned their neutral position on the Durand Line and Pakhtunistan, they also gave full support to PDPA government in Afghanistan in its border dispute with Pakistan. They also adopted a stricter position on Kashmir in favour of India and gave full support to its stand inside and outside the United Nations. At the time, Moscow's preference for New Delhi and threats of retaliation against Pakistan raised the level of tension in the area. One should also take into account that Pakistan, by granting bases to the United States, took upon itself the dangerous role of being a prime target for Soviet attack. Domestically, the consequences of the Afghan war were grave for Pakistan because the influx of refugees created political, economic, social and environmental problems but they also posed an alarming threat to Pakistan's security. More specifically, the Afghan refugees also introduced a drug and gun culture, which created a serious law and order situation in the country.

An important gain for the United States from the partnership was its utilisation of Pakistani bases and other specific privileges from Pakistan, such as facilities for launching high altitude reconnaissance aircraft over Afghanistan and Soviet Central Asia. The US also used Pakistan as a platform for electronic intelligence gathering to watch Soviet military activities in the region. For many years, these facilities enabled the United States to monitor strategic activities inside Afghanistan and the Soviet Union. Thus, Pakistan rendered a valuable service to the United States in its policy of containment. In return, of course, Pakistan gained a number of benefits from its association with the United States. The association not only yielded much desired economic and military assistance but also infused confidence and psychological security against the perceived Soviet and Indian threat. More significantly, Pakistan also

received modern sophisticated US weapons including F-16 aircraft, which greatly strengthened Pakistan's defence. The partnership enabled Pakistan to modernise its defence system and improve the economic situation. With the support of the United States, Pakistan dealt with Afghanistan and India from a position of strength. The partnership provided Pakistan with a guarantee of protection against an attack by India. Then, too, Pakistan gained some sort of parity with India in military strength. The most important benefit which Pakistan gained from the Afghan war was the death of its ethno-nationalist movements.

But did the United States and Pakistan achieve their objectives in contracting the partnership? One can see from the foregoing account that the United States achieved its objectives; that is, to punish the Soviets by their defeat at the hands of the Afghan *mujahideen* and to take revenge for the Vietnam humiliation. The US used Pakistan as a pipeline for arms supplies to the *mujahideen*, even at the risk of possible Soviet retaliation. Its refusal to agree to initial Soviet proposals on a timetable for a troop withdrawal may be attributed to the US structural influence arising from substantial economic and military assistance. Moreover, the Soviet defeat in Afghanistan yielded great benefits to the United States and its Western allies.

But the gains cannot be so easily estimated for the smaller ally. Pakistan achieved its objective of attracting large-scale American economic and military aid as a quid pro quo for supporting the *mujahideen* against the Soviet and Kabul forces. Pakistan also gained benefits from reducing the potential political and military threat from its north-western border. The Afghan war left a weak and unstable Afghanistan that could better serve the interests of Pakistan. However, General Zia used the Soviet invasion and Afghan refugees to rule Pakistan under martial law and to justify the declaration of emergency laws. In this way, he managed to perpetuate the imposition of a military dictatorship on Pakistan for more than a decade. Zia established close association with the Reagan administration and the CIA and during the Afghan crisis the ISI had a free hand in the distribution of the billions of dollars in weapons, food, and military installations that Washington had shipped to Pakistan to use against the Soviet Union. The US allowed Pakistan to control strictly the structure, organisation, movements, activities and supplies of the Afghan resistance. They also supported Pakistan's idea to appoint itself the spokesman for the Afghan people and the Afghan resistance. However, the

partnership did not enable Pakistan to deal with India from a position of strength on the Kashmir dispute. The partnership commitment was only for a limited time and ended with the demise of the Soviet Union. Then too, Pakistan slipped more and more behind its traditional enemy in military strength.

Assessment

The Afghan crisis was the finest hour of US-Pakistan cooperation and understanding because the strength of the US-Pakistan partnership weakened Soviet power and Afghanistan became a "bleeding wound" for the Soviet Union. The Soviet presence in Afghanistan dramatically transformed Pakistan's geostrategic situation. Instead of being buffered by the mountains, deserts, and ravines of Afghanistan—which for so long had separated Russia from the South Asia—Pakistan faced the spectre of Soviet troops virtually everywhere along the Durand Line. However, concerns about Pakistani security were well grounded and the United States agreed to protect Pakistan's territorial boundaries in case of the Soviet direct attack. The US gave unequivocal support to Pakistan and the country devoted its full attention to the anti-Communist crusade. Thus, the United States and Pakistan both successfully stopped the flood of communism.

Despite many reservations in intellectual circles, Pakistan acted courageously and pragmatically. It was pragmatic in seeking assistance from the United States and working in coordination with the west on the Afghan issue, at a time when it was facing tremendous internal and external impulses to relieve itself of its past political and economic penetration by the west. Pakistan also acted rationally in reversing its stance toward India by adopting a more friendly position. Moreover, Pakistan through its partnership with the United States achieved its objective of safeguarding its security against the threat of Soviet-Afghan aggression. The US provided a substantial amount of economic and military assistance to Pakistan as assurance for a guarantee of protection against a possible attack by the Soviet Union and Afghanistan. The substantial US foreign aid to Pakistan proceeded from the view of American policy-makers that economic and military assistance was a convenient and desirable instrument for erecting an anti-Communist partnership and for winning friends to support US long-term interests and views in international controversies.

The Reagan administration established a formal partnership with Pakistan to oppose the Soviet invasion in Afghanistan. Pakistan was also exclusively committed to the West, resisting the Soviet pressure and refusing its enticing offers of economic assistance. Pakistan was the major channel of supply arms to the *mujahideen* and the Reagan administration was committed to arming them until Moscow stopped arming Kabul. There were strains in the partnership, stemming basically from the two allies' conflicting demands and policies, emanating from their divergent reasons for entering in the partnership. The United States showed its commitment to contain Soviet expansionism and engaged with Pakistan as one of its close allies in the region in order to have access to its strategic locations to use for the containment of communism. The Soviet intervention had occurred in the vicinity of the Persian Gulf, a region whose vital importance to the Western allies was beyond dispute. Pakistan used this partnership to prevent Communist advancement which was a potential threat to its state ideology, system and state structure.

However, the geostrategic dimensions of the Cold War, which enormously helped Pakistan in Washington, no longer prevail. There was no longer need for a pipeline of weapon supplies to the Afghan resistance groups. The collapse of the Soviet Union brought into existence fundamental geostrategic changes at the global and regional level. Pakistan, in the eyes of the United States, has lost its geostrategic significance as the Soviet "threat" has disappeared. The special relationship between the United States and Pakistan which started in the early 1980s ended with the new global realities. The US reduced its support for Pakistan in the region and in the international arena. This marked the beginning of a major shift from the strategic partnership to isolation and the two countries could no longer take each other for granted. The special relationship between the US and Pakistan once a cornerstone of the US foreign policy, was shattered and India emerge as a counterweight to China. The United States also changed its policy about Kashmir and argued that the Kashmir issue could be resolved if both parties engaged with a willingness to address their concerns in mutually acceptable ways. This US policy is unfavourable to Pakistan. It supports India's stand against foreign powers' presence and their intervention in the domestic affairs of South Asian nations. However, the US needs India's support to contain any possible future challenge from China and for this reason, the United States has initiated the policy of strengthening India.

Moreover, the end of the Cold War changed the strategic environment of South Asia. Pakistan's significance for the US as a strategic partner declined considerably. In the changing international climate, the nuclear issue once again arose to trouble Pakistan's relations with the United States. The Bush administration offered a deal to cap Pakistan's nuclear programme in return for which the US would release 38 F-16A fighter planes to Pakistan. Islamabad rejected the linkage and the US refused to release the F-16s for which Pakistan had already paid $368 million. Moreover, the US's future agenda of interests in the region seems increasingly destined to focus on India as the centerpiece on which policy-makers will have to devote their prime attention in all realms—political, security, economic, technological and strategic. The logic of the direction in which US policy-makers had been moving continues to be over-taken by the nostalgia of the old friendship with Pakistan in the aftermath of the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan. This situation also makes it possible, in principle, for the United States gradually to reduce its vastly inflated military and economic assistance programme to Pakistan.

However, Pakistan remained a country in which the United States has residual interests. After 11 September 2001, Pakistan became once more a key regional player and vital strategic ally of the US led war against terrorism. Once again Islamabad emerged as a frontline state for US and offered its military bases, airfields, logistic support and intelligence information to America in the planned counter terrorist campaign against Osama bin Laden's al-Qaida network and the Taliban.

Pakistan was facing isolation and financial doldrums but the timely decision of its leadership bounced back into the centre of the international stream. The military leadership offered its country's "unstinted cooperation" to the United States in its efforts to curb terrorism, its supporters and their network. Pakistan's alignment with the US was rewarded and President George W. Bush waived military and economic sanctions on Pakistan which were imposed when Pakistan conducted its nuclear tests (May-June 1998) and the coup that brought General Pervaz Musharraf to power in 1999. By enlisting Islamabad as its ally in the war on terror, the US has raised hopes among Pakistanis that their sick economy will receive transfusions of aid and investment. In this regard, Pakistan expected that the US would forgive old loans, provide debt relief

(similar to that which it offered Egypt of around $7 billion during the Gulf War in 1991), give fresh aid and boost its import allotment for Pakistani textiles and garments. Other major concerns for Pakistani policy makers are exports and tax revenues because Pakistan has incurred losses of $1.1 billion and $1.4 billion from the US and the European Union, due to suspended or cancelled orders. About 66 percent of total Pakistani exports consist of cotton and textiles, of which readymade garments account for almost 45 percent. Moreover, Pakistan competes in 14 categories available under the textile quota regime. The removal of sanctions will allow Pakistan access to the US markets for exports of cotton products. However, the United States and Western countries have the responsibility of stabilising Pakistan, lest it fall apart. Regional separatism in North Western Frontier Province (NWFP) and Baluchistan might gain momentum, which could challenge the viability of the state. Regional separatism and the post-Taliban situation can be managed only through economic development and secular education. Pakistan's allies have to provide significant economic aid, investment and technical assistance. This is the only way to protect Pakistan from further instability and to curb continued Islamic radicalism in the region.

Nevertheless, the United States-Pakistan alliance in the past and present is by no means a unique case of a partnership besieged by conflict and ending in disappointment. All associations are subject to corrosion. As the present study has tried to demonstrate, partnerships that are based on incongruent objectives are vulnerable to heavy friction and eventual disruption. Moreover, the examination of the US-Pakistan partnership suggests that in a partnership involving unequal powers, the stronger actor will probably determine the partnership strategy. This means that the stronger ally's policies and interests will prevail, even to the extent that the vital interests of the smaller will be sacrificed. Such an event is not new in world history. History has witnessed nations acting, not out of a moral imperative, but out of expediency and a desire for self-aggrandisement. Thus, a great power has a good chance to have its way with a weak ally as concerns benefits and policies, and it is for this reason that Machiavelli spoke wisely when he warned weak princes against alliances with strong ones.

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