

## Pakistan's Foreign Policy towards Afghanistan: A Case Study of Zia's Regime

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### Abstract

*To secure national interest in abroad, states formulate foreign policy. The main purpose of the research study is to analyse the Pakistan's foreign policy towards Afghanistan during Zia Ul Haq regime. Being close neighbours sharing 2252 km long border both Pakistan and Afghanistan failed to make sound and mutually beneficial relationship. Since independence, Pakistan has changed again and again her foreign policy towards Afghanistan to secure its national interest; such was the case of Zia when USSR invaded Afghanistan. When USSR attacked Afghanistan it posed direct threat to the domestic security and territorial integrity of Pakistan. It compelled the policy makers of Pakistan to make an abrupt change in their Afghan policy. Islamabad had opted to support Afghan freedom fighters in order to pull out USSR threat. Zia's foreign policy had posted worst challenges and implications for Pakistan along with some opportunities. This paper is also analysing these developments. It had strategic, political and socio-economic implications for Pakistan. Above all due to Zia's policy, the government of Afghanistan and its general masses started to consider Pakistan as its enemy at all. As it was U.S interest to dismantle and disrupt USSR and in some instant U.S persuaded Zia Ul Haq to adopt this anti USSR policy and pro-Mujahedeen policy so it provided some opportunities to Pakistan like silence on Pakistan's nuclear development program, economic aid, technological assistance and getting of weapons from United States. Zia's policy towards Afghanistan had failed as it had created more challenges for Pakistan instead of securing the preconceived national interests.*

**Keywords:** Pakistan, Afghanistan, U.S, USSR, Foreign policy, Zia Ul Haq, Soviet Invasion.

## Introduction

Foreign policy has its origin in the period when the most primitive human societies started interactions among them (Frankel, 1992:22). Definitely like human being, states also need neighbours and friends in order to fulfil their economic, social and political requirements. Foreign policy of a state is very essential and complex activity for the reason that States have to achieve their national interests and objectives through foreign policy. Huge Gibson defines it as “foreign policy is smooth, widespread arrangement, based on experience and knowledge for doing the dealings of government with external countries” (Chander, 1996:5). Since the Treaty of Westphalia (1648), which institutionalized sovereignty and the nation-state system, the countries have very covetously guarded their sovereignty and it is even more pronounced in the post-colonial era of today (Zuberi, 2009:12). Despite the development done in International Law, it is apparent that the guiding law of diplomacy and foreign policy remains the “National Interest” (Zuberi, 2009:34). While the national interests are the pouring forces in foreign policy making, shaped by both history and geography (Amin, 1988:11). In other words it is “a strategy elected by the respective government for the purpose to get its aims in keeping relations with other countries” (Hudson, 2008:6).

General Zia Afghan policy is an important development in the history of Pakistan foreign policy. This study explores his Afghan’s policy, why he has joined hands with US? What policy options Pak had at that time when USSR attacked Afghanistan 1979? How it affected Pakistan? What problems were faced by the Pakistan due to Zia Afghan policy and what are still facing? What opportunities were created by his joining hands with US?

As concerned the foreign policy Pakistan towards Afghanistan, it is a fact that Afghanistan is a strategically, politically and economically very important neighbour of Pakistan, therefore, since its first day Pakistan is giving importance to its relations with Afghanistan. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, the then Foreign Minister of Pakistan declared on July 17, 1963 that Afghanistan is a Muslim neighbour state; so, this is our natural ambition to have good relationship with it (Javid & Qamar, 2013:60). The same feelings were expressed by Hamid Karzai nearly two decades later, by calling the two countries inseparable “twin brothers”. Despite the sharing of such well-meaning intentions by leaders of both the countries and sharing historical, religious, cultural, economic, ethnic and linguistic bonds, relations between Pakistan and Afghanistan have hardly enjoyed cordial relations except during the internationally pariah regime of Taliban (1996-2001) (Raman, 2012:24). Afghanistan is one of Pakistan’s most strategically important neighbours. From a geo-political standpoint, Afghanistan’s location at the crossroads of south and central Asia has always been critical. In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, the famous British India Philosopher and poet, Dr. Allama Iqbal, considered Afghanistan as “the heart of Asia,” same the view has been shared by the viceroy of India, Lord Curzon; he said it the “cockpit of Asia” (Rashid, 2001:7).

As foreign policy is a dynamic element of a state therefore it is getting change with the time. The military coup of 5<sup>th</sup> July 1977, founded the dark age of Zia Ul Haq martial law regime for the next 11 years, till August 17, 1988 his death. (Zahid, 2011:25). During Zia's period Soviet troops invaded Afghanistan on 26 December 1979 and terminated the government of Hafiz Ullah Amin. As Pakistan and Afghanistan shared a long border, therefore, with the USSR attack geopolitical and strategic concerns.

At that time Islamabad has few policy option for dealing with the Soviet Union First option was to confront directly, secondly, to accept Soviet invasion without hesitation and thirdly, to urge the international community against the USSR interference in the affairs of other, because it was against the norms of international community. Pakistan decided upon the third option. According to Pakistan's policy maker the only hope through which Soviet Union was compelled on withdrawal, was to push up the global public opinion and concerted diplomatic and political efforts (Hussain, 2005:34). However, from the invasion to withdrawal, Pakistan concerted with third alternative and closed with a new track, i.e. a secret support to Afghan Mujahedin. It accounted the confrontation of Soviet in Afghanistan by choosing the confrontation groups and their leaders. However, the Soviet troops completed the withdrawal by 15th February 1989, so, the tragic era of war was terminated, and international observers estimated that over one million Afghans died as direct consequences (Javid, & Qamar, 2013:74). The USSR attack totally changed the scenario of the whole region. Soviet Army had launched a serious threat to Pakistan; it was also a direct threat for the Persian Gulf countries. After completion of possession, Red Armies used Afghanistan to reach warm water, a possible accomplishment of their settled goal of gating a warm water port.

At that time due to the mention reasons the then president of Pakistan General Zai asked General Akhtar Abdul Rehman for the judgment of circumstances. He flawlessly offered his opinion upon the situation, in which he suggested support of the Afghan resistance with the evidence that it would be an action not only protection of Islam but also defending Pakistan. General Zia-Ul-Haq, launched a proxy war along with America by supporting the Taliban. There were seven recognized resistance groups supported by Pakistan including three moderate Islamists and four religious fundamentalists (Javid & Qamar, 2013:69).

The Soviet move simultaneously created both challenges and implications for Pakistan at national and international level. At internal level, the prevailing political situation at that time appeared pertinent. General Zia enforced martial law, terminated an elected primer of Pakistan and overcame an obvious purpose to extend his regime, so he was in serious struggle to legitimize his rule. His policy of Islamisation led to unparalleled Mullah-military alliance. On external front, during that period Pakistan relations with US were on the bottommost ebb. There were many factors such as, Pakistan's rigorous struggles for attainment of uranium affluent technology, west hating of the Zia's policy of Islamisation and defilement of human rights. But the Soviet invasion pulled out the entire predications and anxieties against Islamabad

and Carter Doctrine dynamically selected Pakistan as the Forefront state, for harbouring sanctuary of Afghan Mujahedeen's leader and receiving the emigrants (Hilali, 2002:4). However, this development created many opportunities for Pakistan such as at the cost of supporting of the resistance groups in Afghanistan, U.S provided a lot of military aid and Pakistan also became able to run Pakistan's nuclear program (Matinuddin, 1991:120).

#### **Pakistan's Foreign Policy towards Afghanistan during Zia's Regime**

The history of Afghanistan is full of wars, interventions and political instability. The region in which Afghanistan is situated is very important in the regional as well as international politics which has made it the bone of contention among the regional and super powers. It has always attracted the superpowers due to its neighborhood with oil and gas rich central Asian republics and Iran. The cold war between US and USSR made Afghanistan the battle field of proxy war. After Soviet invasion the Zia's military government of Pakistan, CIA and other western powers provided full support to those Afghan groups who were anti-USSR (Talal, 2009:39).

At the time of USSR invasion of Afghanistan in December 1979, the Zia Ul Haq martial law government of Pakistan had only specific opportunities to treat with the Afghan's matter. First, it might comply and accepted the USSR attack as a fait accompli, next option was it should offer military backing to the resistance groups, and last one option was, with the assist of United States, Europe and Islamic countries, it may possibly bring political pressure on the USSR to compel on withdrawal, along with secretly helping Afghan Mujahiden (Hussain, 2005:33).

According to the first option was concerned, Islamabad would never have been calm with USSR army deployed with the Pakistan-Afghanistan border, even if it was guaranteed that they would not assault Pakistan. (Hussain, 2005:34). The only feasible choice for Zia-ul-Haq was to utilize all feasible political and diplomatic pressure to found global consensus against the USSR for violated the principle of the United Nation charter, thus forced to leave Kabul. At the same time, Islamabad had offered humanitarian aid to refugees and the Mujahiden. Other factors of Pakistan, this strategy were the Islamic brotherhood, Islamabad's desires to suppress Pashtoon nationalism and to switch the public opinion from Pakistan indigenous issues to international issues and to extend Zia's illegal martial law regime (Hussain, 2005:34). This policy of opposing USSR had created risks for Pakistan. It seemed to be a gamble and USSR repeatedly warned Islamabad of the dire consequences of continuing its policy. To attain its aims, Pakistan first priority was to arrange and prepared the ill- equipped Afghan's fighters to fight efficiently. To achieve this, armies were arranged along many frontages under the order of various chief in a secret technique. The figure of main clusters corresponding with the armed struggle from the external border at the same time stood at over one hundred and fifty (Durani, 30 Dec 1997). Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) of U.S along with Pakistani counterpart provided weapons and aid to those groups fighting against USSR (Goodson, 2001:61).

**Pakistan's Diplomatic Efforts:**

Concurrently, Islamabad worked energetically at getting a political solution of the problem. A declaration condemning the USSR attack was adopted by United Nation General Assembly in the month of January of 1980. Since 1980s, to keep the quantity of votes increasing at each United Nation meeting became a matter of Pakistan's international reliability. The resolution approved, being retained for the seven years following the 1980 date, got ever larger support, increased from 111 votes in 1980, to 123 in 1987 (Sattar, 2001:385). After hectic diplomatic efforts over the ensuing eight years, on April 14, 1988, the historical document of USSR withdrawal from Afghanistan was finally signed at Geneva (Sattar, 2001:394).

**Objectives of Zia's Policy:**

USSR adopted the policy of expansionism in the Cold War, which led to a potential threat for Pakistan. To reach the Arabian Sea and Persian Gulf, meant to control over the regional as well as global trade in this area, also compelled Pakistan to resist Soviet Union in Afghanistan and adopt such a foreign policy towards Afghanistan which serve the above mentioned interests (Burke, 1990:26). Apart from this, India was the closed ally of Soviet Union. Therefore Pakistani authorities argued that if USSR fully occupy Afghanistan, it would be created security threats for the sovereignty and integrity of Pakistan, because with the help of USSR India would have enhanced strategic relations with Afghanistan and would be used its territory against Pakistan. So, the USSR conquest was a direct threat to the security and integrity of Pakistan (Hussain, 2005:2). So it was the main aims of Islamabad to halt USSR in Afghanistan.

Islamabad relationship with Kabul was not good due to the issues of Durand Line and Pakhtunistan, so, it was another objective of the then Pakistan's foreign policy to have friendly government in Kabul to put an end to the issue of Pakhtunistan and Durand Line. Therefore, Pakistan supported resistance groups to get a friendly government in Kabul.

**Pakistan's Afghan Policy during USSR Invasion:**

Soviet forces entered to Afghanistan in March 1979 on call of the Communist government of Afghanistan (Kalinovsky, 2009:49). This attack paved for turning point in the foreign policy of many countries including Pakistan. This attack was seriously matter for Pakistan due to above mentioned reasons. Therefore, the policy makers of Pakistan had formulated an anti-Soviet and pro-Mujahedeen policy. Though on the spot it served Zia targeted interests but later on it had diverse implications on states and society of Pakistan. It had also provided some minor opportunities for Pakistan, but its implications were deadly and dominated the opportunities at all.

**Challenges for Pakistan:**

Foreign policy has its interior as well as exterior impacts. Pak-Afghan policy had long term impacts for Pakistan's internal situation as well as external. The impact on the economy and politics of Pakistan as

a result of Afghan war started after the Soviet intervention in 1979; even today the consequences can be felt. The negative impacts of this war left a very deep and negative implication over the social, traditional, political and economic position of Pakistan. All of them were affected alike (Hussain, 2005:60). It is a universal fact that at any time a serious arm dispute happens in any nation it affects badly on immediate neighbors. So, the similar situation was of Afghanistan, its outcome was felt in regional countries.

### Security Challenges for Pakistan

Soviet Invasion created direct threat to Pakistan's stability and integrity. Soviet army violated the air space of Pakistan again and again. Total 200 violations of Pakistani territory were occurred in only in 1985 and more than 700 in 1986. In 1987, about 574 air attacks and 517 armed attacks had been took place (Hilali, 2002:10). After USSR withdrawal from Afghanistan civil war, Talibanisation and terrorism started in Afghanistan which badly affected Pakistan even the present episode of terrorism in Pakistan is also the chain of USSR attack.

**Table 1: Casualties due to USSR Air violations and Terrorist Blasts 1980 to 1988.**

Year	Air attacks			Artillery Attacks			Territorial Explosions			Total		
	Violations	Persons		Violations	Persons		Violations	Persons		Violations	Persons	
		Injured	Killed		Injured	Killed		Injured	Killed		Injured	Killed
1980	174	4	2	25						119	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	1761	885	411
1987	684	437	305	619	180	36	540	953	428	1843	1520	2339
1988	867	2412	1234	1583	1172	1041	1465	1247	1186	1150	3784	2695
Total										6019	6804	5775

**Source:** Hilali, Z. A. (2002). Costs and Benefits of Afghan War for Pakistan. *Contemporary South Asia*, Vol. 11, no. 3 p 11.

### Burden of the Afghan's Refugees

Consequences of the war were very crucial for Pakistan. Due to Soviet air strikes, ground battles and bombing about four million Afghan refugees had migrated to Pakistan. The government of Pakistan installed 386 camps for the Afghan refugees in Pakhtunkhwa and Baluchistan (Dostani, 2011:3). These refugees had created a lot of political, social and economic difficulties for Pakistan. Increased cross border trafficking, security snags ethno-linguistic issues etc. These refugees had brought 2.5 million of animals i.e. camels, buffalos, goats, sheeps, donkeys and yaks etc. which had badly affected the green fields of Pakhtunkhwa and Baluchistan because of grazing. The grazing of these animals did not only lead to resentment with the Pakistani farmers but also eliminated the ecology and beauty of the green lands of Pakistan. These Immigrants also generated the glitches of deforestation in Pakistan, as in Chitral, Dir and Hazara areas refugees started the cutting of woods in jungle to use it as a fuel at their homes. It caused soil erosion and land sliding, which continuously affected the communication system. These millions of people entered into the Pakistani job market which increased the level of unemployment. These refugees also created many internal and external security threats to the peace and stability of Pakistan. They brought with themselves the issues of terrorism, extremism, militancy and Talibanization to Pakistan's society.

### Rise of Sectarianism

Sectarianism emerged after the Afghan war is one of the most serious challenges to Pakistan security and stability. More than forty thousand citizens of Pakistan have lost their lives in sectarian and terrorists' violence. The sectarian groups did not only target government officials but also target civilian and state institutions. The issue of extremism and sectarianism has its roots in Zia's regime. It was the outcome of Zia's policy to fulfill United States ambitions to encourage the religious factions to defeat the USSR. During Afghan war, Zia Ul Haq and United States used Islam as a weapon against USSR in Afghanistan and consumed billions of moneys.

For the fulfilling of United States interests Zia's government encouraged the Madrassa culture. Mujahedeen were mostly the students of Madrassas. In 1957-58 there were only 119 Madrassas in West Pakistan had total 4790 students enrolled but in 1980 the numbers of Madrassas were reached to 2891, had 470,409 enrolled students (Tariq, 2013:34).

**Table 2: The number of Madrassahas of different sects and enrolled students.**

States	Sum of Pupils	Deoband ee	Barelvee	Ahl-e-Hadith	Shia	Others	Aggregat e of States
Punjab	206778	590	548	118	21	43	1320
NWFP	88147	6631	32	5	2	8	678
Sindh	71639	208	61	6	10	6	291

Balochistan	40390	278	34	3	1	31	347
Azad Kashmir	43447	51	20	2	-	3	76
Islamabad	7858	51	20	-	2	3	76
Northern Areas	12150	60	2	27	11	3	103
Aggregate of Sects	470409	1869	717	1616	47	97	2891

Sources: Tariq Malik Mohammad, "The Rise and Impact of Islamic Fundamentalism in Pakistan after the Soviet Invasion in Afghanistan with Special Reference to KPK and Baluchistan", *Baluchistan Review*, XXIV(1), 2011.

As the time passing, the learners of these *Madrassahas* established militants groups like *Lashkar-i-Jhangvee* and *Lashkir-i-Tayyiba* in 1987. Almost all Mujahidin who fought against Soviet Union were of *Sunni* sect. Therefore, the *Shias* sect felt fear and opted to open their own *Madrassas* and militants groups called *Sipah-e-Mohammad Pakistan* in 1991 (Afzal, 2012:22).

### Legitimization of Military Rule

On 5<sup>th</sup> July 1977, General Zia controlled political powers and overthrew Bhutto government (Rizvi, 2013:16). Zia-ul-Haq martial law government was not acceptable to United States and other Western countries but after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan he provided his full support to United States therefore U.S recognized Zia's government as de-facto and de-jure (Dostani, 2011:3). So USSR invasion enabled Zia-ul-Haq to legitimate his rule. As his regime was an illegal therefore for legitimization it domestically, Zia-ul-Haq encouraged and provided material support to ethnic groups so *Sunni* and *Shia* fictions emerged in Pakistan which gave birth to sectarianism in Pakistan. He used religion as a weapon against opponent and suppressed the political parties demanding elimination of his illegal martial law.

### Rise of Gun Culture in Pakistan

The supply of arms by U.S and Pakistan to Mujahideen gave birth to Gun culture in Pakistan. Local people started the illegal business of arms and promoted the Kalashnikov culture in Pakistan (Karthi, 1997:80). Afghan Mujahideen started smuggling of the American weapons which they are getting to fight against USSR. They sold weapons in Pakistan's markets (Dostani, 2011:4). When the war was folded and the USSR withdrew her troops, Pakistan's streets were full of criminals having modern weapons in their hands. U.S. also left Pakistan to tackle the issues. Ak-47, hand grenades, missiles, anti-tank ammunitions, ant-aircraft guns, fire guns, rocket launchers etc. were easily available in Pakistan and reached to each and every corner of the country. As a result, the society of Pakistan became full of criminalities and robbed by the offences and violations. Abduction, political assassinations, street crimes and snatching of vehicles etc. reached to its peak (Dostani, 2011:5).

### Drug Trafficking



Drug culture and drug trafficking is also the result of this war. It has been reported by Dostani that ninety percent of the world opium grew in Afghanistan and seventy percent of world's heroin is produced from that opium. Farming of the opium was reached to its peak during USSR occupation of Afghanistan. These drugs are supplied to every corner of the world including Pakistan. Before the war Pakistani society did not know about these drugs (Dostani, 2011:4). In 1982, the statistics of drug addictions were increased from 124000 to 450000 with the accumulation of 5000 heroines' fanatic. Currently, it is counted that, there are 3.5 million drug devotees in Pakistan (Hilali, 2002:13). The sum of heroin fanatics in Pakistan increased from zero to 1.5 million between 1979 and 1985. The use of drug, and the addictions of drug started to gain a strong grip on Pakistani people (Hussain, 2005:62).

### **Rise of Glaemjum Culture in Pakistan**

To subvert Pakistani society morally, USSR with the help of Afghanistan started psychosomatic combat against Pakistan. On behalf of that purpose, the intelligence agencies of USSR, KGB and Afghanistan's KHAD arranged thousands of beautiful and young girls belongs to Afghanistan, Russia and Central Asia and send to Pakistan. All of the prostitute girls typically directed Pakistan's military officers, political leaders and other government officers. They had worked under the supervision of KHAD and KGB. More than 8,000 of prostitute girls were pushed to Pakistan (Hassan, 2009:38).

### **Economic Losses**

The continuous insurgency in Afghanistan badly affected Pakistan. It decreased the trade with Afghanistan as well as with Central Asia. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and Pakistan's support of Taliban had not only the strategic, political and social implication but also affected very badly the economy of Pakistan. The burden of millions Afghan refugees directly affected the economy of Pakistan. Smuggling reached to its peak and the tourism industry caused huge losses. Attractive places like Marri, Kaghan, Chitral, Swat Valley, Nauran, Hazara, had seen empty from tourists (Hassan, 2009:37). So, all of these factors directly cause economic losses. Up to the end of Zia regime the country debit reached to sixteen billions of dollar which was an equivalent to one half of the GDP of Pakistan and two and one half times of her entire export values (Hilali, 2002:17).

### **Opportunities for Pakistan**

The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan also provided some opportunities for Pakistan. A positive side of the USSR attack was the renewed interest of the U.S. in Pakistan. General Zia-ul-Had made uses of this new development to get military add from U.S. and strengthen armed forces.

### **Improvement in Pak-US Relations**

Before the USSR attack, there were irritants in Pak-US relations on the nuclear proliferation and some other matters. The Soviet attack on Afghanistan changed the whole scenario of Pak-US relations. Washington abruptly altered their policy towards Islamabad. U.S President Jimmy Carter's administrations

offered military and economic assistance and as well as openly supported Pakistan against Soviet Union. Only in 1980, Carter administration offered \$ 400 million military and economic aid to Pakistan (Cohen, 1987:56). The United States put non-proliferation treatise on one side, taking their arms restriction. A due of 5.1 billion of dollars was also rearranged. As a matter of fact, the previous tilt towards India by the United States was now counter-balanced by it giving equal position to Pakistan. Pakistan gained the full support of China, Saudi Arabia, Egypt and other Muslims (Matinuddin, 1991: 120-21). In 1982, President Reagan gave 3.2 billion of dollars of assistance to Pakistan (Kux, 2001:252).

### **Continued Nuclear Program**

It was the primary goal of Pakistan to get nuclear weapons and to counter its traditional opponent India. The then Prime Minister of Pakistan Mr. Bhutto contracted with France to buy nuclear processing plant in 1976. Unluckily, after passing a treaty, both the countries faced the confrontations of US, to terminate the deal. In 1976, Kissinger Henry the Sectary of State of U.S. warned Bhutto that, “We can destabilize your government and make a horrible example of you” (Hilali, 2002:3). In 1977, General Zia-ul-Haq took over the government and imposed martial law in the country. Although the government of United States always pressurized Islamabad to stop the nuclear processing plant. After making alliance against USSR with Pakistan, US ignored in some extinct the nuclear program of Pakistan. Thus, Soviet invasion over Afghanistan had assisted Pakistan’s nuclear program (Pakistan Times, 28<sup>th</sup> July 1979:1) as US had lifted bans imposed over Pakistan due to nuclear program and as a result, Pakistan became enable to gain nuclear weapons.

### **Military Aid to Pakistan**

It was the desire of the Pakistan to modernize their army. This chance was provided by the Afghan War, in which US openly supported Pakistan’s military and provided modern weapons. United States provided communication equipment, ground attack aircraft, anti-tank missiles, tanks and armored personnel carriers. Pakistan was also able to buy F16 fighter aircraft and missiles (International Herald Tribune, 1988).

**Table 3: US arm supply to Pakistan during 1980-87**

Number of order	Weapon Designation	Weapon Description	Year of Order	Year of Delivery
5	E.2C.Hawkeye	Airborne early warning aircraft	1986	1987
3	Model 204 U11.413	Helicopter	1986	1987
88	M.109 A.2 155m	Self-propelled Howitzer	1985	1986-87
110	M.113. A.2	Armoured personnel carrier	1985	1986-87
60	155mm	Tracked Howitzer	1986	1987

1	AN.IPO	Tracking radar	1987	1987
500	AIM.7	Air-to-air missiles	1985	1986-87
400	BGM.71C 1.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	1987	1987
40	F16	Fighting Falcon	1984	1986
3	P3s	Maritime reconnaissance	1985	1985
2	Naval Ship	Carrier class destroyer	1985	1985
21	Cobra	Combat helicopter	1985	1986
10	Radar	Ground-based air defence radar	1985	1986
2	Naval Ship	Gearing class destroyer	1985	1986
80	Naval Missile	Harpoon	1985	1986
2	M.198	Howitzers	1985	1986
100	M1A1 Abram's & M 48 A.5	Battle tank	1984	1986
50	M113 Military Vehicles	Armed personnel carrier	1984	1985
9000	SMAW anti-armour vehicles	Shoulder-in air rocket	1985	1986
50	Self-propelled	Self-propelled artillery	1985	1986
100	AIM 9L Sidewinder	Advance air-to-air missiles	1985	1986
2	Mohawk	Observation aircraft	1986	1987
560	AIM.7 Sparrow	Air-to-air missiles	1986	1987
200	AIM 9L Sidewinder	Anti-tank missiles	1986	1987
150	TOW	Anti-tank missiles	1986	1987
124	TOW	Air-to-air missiles	1987	1988

**Source:** Hilali, Z. A. (2002). Costs and Benefits of Afghan War for Pakistan. *Contemporary South Asia*, Vol. 11, no. 3.

### **Economic aid to Pakistan**

After the Soviet Union invasion of Kabul, Pakistan became the fourth largest recipient of US aid after Israel, Egypt and Turkey (Choudhury, 1988:44) received an average of more than \$ 600 million per year, which improved economic system in Pakistan. USAID provided \$ 954.2 million in development

projects to Islamabad during 1980-88 and \$ 205 million for the improvement of irrigation, energy and water management projects (Choudhury, 1986:327-31).

### **Eradication of Pakhtunistan and Durand line Issues**

The main objective of Pakistan's policy makers in supporting of the Kabul War was to eradicate the issue of Pakhtunistan and Durand Line. So, in December 1979 Hafiz Ullah Amin recognized Durand Line as an international border on a condition that Pakistan would support for the regime enemies (Malik, 1994:264).

### **Conclusion**

After USSR attack on Afghanistan, Pakistan became a frontline state against Soviet invasion. Although Islamabad was victorious in this war against Soviet Union as it compelled Soviet Union to withdraw, but it had many political, strategic and socio-economic quagmires for Pakistan. Millions people fled from Afghanistan to Pakistan, which culminated the threat of external and internal security. Due to that Afghan policy of Zia-ul-Haq Pakistani society is still suffering from drug and narcotics trafficking, Kalashnikov Culture, lawlessness and anarchism, while the spread of extremism, sectarianism, terrorism in Pakistan is the result of Afghan war. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan also provided an opportunity to Pakistan to get its strategic depth and counter the Indian interference in Afghanistan, but unfortunately, struggle among different groups to get Kabul lead to civil war in Afghanistan, which created worst implications for Pakistan.

### **Recommendations:**

- ✓ It was a wrong decision of Zia Ul Haq to join a proxy war against USSR in Afghanistan. Now to avoid its implications, it is necessary for Pakistan to put off completely the policy of Zia.
- ✓ Afghan refugees settled in Pakistan should immediately return to Afghanistan.
- ✓ Pakistan should maintain a balance in national interests with public sentiments regarding Pak-Afghan relations.
- ✓ Pakistan needs to give a fresh look to managing the Durand Line and the status of FATA, which are inextricably linked to the Afghan policy.

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