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If any one place has been in "strategic news" in last one and half decade, it is Afghanistan and if any one issue which has been debated most in the same period than it has been terrorism. In fact, if one talks of one, the other would come in the picture automatically. In fact these two are very closely inter-related, both fundamentally and conceptually.

The focus of my study is on the Af-Pak crises and the subsequent developments, particularly after the events of 9/11. The crises has emerged as a complex phenomenon because of the vaccum created by the Soviet withdrawal. The western powers tried to solve the problem. Hence one saw the involvement of NATO\textsuperscript{1} forces to defence the situation. But the activities in Afghanistan has aggravated to such a level that it was reported that the US might withdrawal from region in 2014. These developments have ruptured social fabric of Afghanistan

\textsuperscript{1} NATO, the North Atlantic Treaty organization (established on April 4, 1949) is an intergovernmental military alliance based on the North Atlantic Treaty. The organization constitutes a system of collective defence whereby its member states agree to mutual defence in response to an attack by any external party. NATO has 28 members and HQ is in Brussels, Belgium. (The "SIPRI Military Expenditure Database" Milexdata. Sipri, org. Retrieved 22, August 2010).
and has gradually helped in converting it in to a play-field of terrorists ideology. This strategic environment of terrorism has far-reaching consequences not only for Afghanistan but also for the entire international community and hence the contemporary Af-Pak crises including FATA\(^2\) is a cause of worry for global peace & security.

Af-Pak is a concept or phenomenon used in foreign policy circles to designate Afghanistan and Pakistan as one theatre not only for operations but also for their inseparability in any effort of resolution. This phenomenon is at centre stage of many countries with number of associated challenges, in terms of their varied perceptions, their vulnerabilities, their contradictions and their strategic sensitivities. These challenges are there because there is paradigm shift in “security analysis” incorporating responsibilities of the international community from 'right to intervene' to "responsibility to protect", including, "responsibility to react", "and responsibility to build" through "responsibility to prevent."

The concept of "crisis", on the other hand, is used as a synonym for every problem irrespective of its nature. Scholars and analysts have

\(^{2}\) FATA, the Federally Administered Tribal Areas is a semi autonomous tribal region in the northwest of present day Pakistan, lying between Afghanistan to the West and North and the provinces of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa to the East and Balochistan to the South. The FATA comprises seven agencies (tribal districts) and six frontier regions. The territory is almost exclusively inhabited by Pashtun tribes, who also live in neighboring Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Afghanistan and are Muslims by faith. The territory is governed through the Frontier Crimes Regulations. (S.V. Salahuddin, *Militancy in Pakistan and Afghanistan*, Pentagon Press, 2012, P.115).
offered two approaches to define this concept. The first one is of **systemic perspective** in which crisis represents a significant change in the quantity, quality and intensity of interactions between the parties. This approach at nation-state level, looks at the whole configuration of participating parties involved in the problem and possible changes in the patterns of their interactions in resolving the crisis.

The other approach is of the **decision-making perspective** in which policymakers rather than international system is responsible for a situation which is a crisis.

The present work analyses Af-Pak crisis from the systemic perspective, with particular reference to Pakistan's role.

Af-Pak relations culminating into crisis has passed through many stages of ups and down. Pakistan's relations with Afghanistan have been characterised by mutual suspicion because of (a) ethnic issues, (b) borders dispute and (c) use of Pakistani soil for terrorist activities and hence Pakistan as a neighbour has not succeeded in building trustworthy relationship with Afghanistan. The two contradictory objectives of Pakistan and Afghanistan has been the cause of contemporary crisis. Pakistan wishes to have friendly government in Kabul to have strategic depth⁴ for its security. Afghanistan, on the

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³ According to Palmer, the Nation-State system is "The pattern at political life in which people are separately organised into sovereign states that interact with one another in varying degrees in varying ways."

⁴ Strategic depth, in Military terms has some meaning if it refers to a region that provides safety and resources to an army or a country. A Buffer state could be a
other hand, wishes to became a viable free and prosperous nation with the equal assistance of international community in all aspects of nation building.

Afghanistan was once a part of the Mauryan empire and was later ruled by the Hindu Shahi dynasty just prior to the advent of Islam. The Bamiyan Buddhas were amongst the most prominent archaeological features testifying to this shared heritage. Even after the advent of Islam in Afghanistan and South Asia, these links continued. The most significant empire of Mughals that ruled India was established by its first emperor, Babur. The fact that he was buried in Kabul bears testimony to the strong link between the two nations.


South Asia: Till the early 20th Century Asia was referred to as the Orient, till it was subdivided into near east (The Indian Sub Continent) and the Far east. In the second world war the term South East Asia came into existence with the establishment of South East Asia command by the Allies, after the break up of Soviet Union and then Central Asian Republics came into being and Asia was divided into West Asia, Central Asia, South Asia, east Asia (or the Pacific Rim), North East Asia and South East Asia. According to UN Reports South Asia consists of nine nation-states; Iran Afghanistan, Pakistan, India, Nepal, Bhutan, Bangladesh, Srilanka and Maldives.
Partition created a new state between these two countries but the social cultural and emotional bonds continue to exist, even today.

During the 16th to 18th Century, Afghanistan had no political identity of its own and it was divided between the Mughal and the Persian empires. The kingdom of Afghanistan for the first time came into existence in 1747 by Ahmed Shah Durrani. However its present boundaries were formed by the Russian and British Imperial powers who, while failing to conquer, it, compressed the Durrani Kingdom in the late 19th century to make it a buffer state\(^7\) between them.

In fact, Afghanistan has always been a frontline state.\(^8\) Alexander came in 327 BC, Babur in 1504 and the British in 1836. In 1843 it became the first country in the sub continent to get independence from Great Britain, more than 100 years before India. In 1979, the Soviet Union came to Afghanistan and since 2001 NATO forces have been there. It has always been a coveted area in the world for strategic influence. Afghanistan is an amazing and absorbing country which over the years has transformed from a monarchy to dictatorship,

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thereafter from a client state to a chaotic revolutionary regime, it later became a medieval theocracy\(^9\) and now a fledgling democracy.\(^{10}\)

When one thinks of Afghanistan, then different images comes to one's mind ranging from friendly Kabuliwala to famed Khyber Pass\(^{11}\) to Silk-Route\(^{12}\) to handsome and passionate Afghans\(^{13}\) with swords to

\(^9\) Theocracy, Government by divine guidance or by officials who regarded as divinely guided. In Theocracy government leaders are members of the clergy and the state's legal system is based on religious law. ("Britannica Encyclopedia", London 2013, Pp. 716).

\(^{10}\) Democracy, an open pluralistic governmental system, allowing for the free expression and flow of ideas and for rival political groupings, ("Britannica Encyclopedia", London 2013, Pp. 193).

\(^{11}\) Silk Route, is a series of trade and cultural-transmission routes that were central to cultural interaction through regions of the Asian Continent connecting the West and east by linking traders, merchants, pilgrims, monks, soldiers, nomads, and urban dwellers from China to the Mediterranean Sea during various period of time. (Vadime Elisseefd "The Silk Route: Highways of Commerce and Culture" UNESCO Publishing, Berghann, 2001).

\(^{12}\) Khyber Pass, a Pass in the Spin Ghar (Safid Kuh) Range on the border between Afghanistan and Pakistan. About 33 mi long, it has historically been the gateway far invasions of the Indian Subcontinent from the North West. ("Britannica Encyclopedia", London 2013, Pp. 391).

\(^{13}\) Afghans, a generic term used to denote the many hill tribe who inhabit not only Afghanistan but also the North-West frontiers of a Pakistan. They are very virile peoples who maintained peaceful as well as war like contact with India and others since the beginning of history. The Wealth of India had always tempted them and they came to India both as traders and raiders. ("A Dictionary of Indian History" by Sachchidananda Bhattacharya, George Braziller, New York Press, 1967, Pp. 9).
protect their honour. But, today the ground reality has completely changed and hence the international perception has also been changed about this region.

The Afghanistan is suffering from the problems of governance, security, unemployment, opium cultivation and drug trafficking, lack of law and order and reconstruction. These problems are because of its ethnic composition, geographical layout and conflicting internal and external interests. The people of Afghanistan are ethnically, religiously and linguistically mixed. The dominant ethnic group, the Pushtuns, inhabit the southern part of the country in an arc circling the Hazara area of central Afghanistan. There are as many Pushtuns on the Pakistan side of the border, in North - West Frontier Province (NWFP)\textsuperscript{14} as on the Afghan side. The Pushtuns have a distinct language, Pastho, which is significantly different from Dari, a dialect of Persian which is spoken in other parts of the country. In the north of the country there are three main ethnic groups which are linked with

\textsuperscript{14} NWFP or Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, (KPK) formerly called North - West Frontier Province, is one of the four provinces of Pakistan, located in the north - west of the country. It borders the Federally Administrated Tribal Areas to the West and South, Gilgit Baltistan to the north - east, Azad Kashmir to the east, Punjab and the Islamabad Capital Territory to the south - east and Afghanistan to the north - west. The provincial capital and largest city is Peshawar. Afghanistan claims Pashtuns dominated western areas of the territory as its own. (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (Province, Pakistan): Geography - Britannica Online Encyclopedia."Britannica.com).
others of the same ethnic affiliation of Central Asia. The Pushtuns had once ruled much of this region for centuries. Alexander, the great (for whom Kandahar is named), Persians, Arabs, Mongols, Mughals, Britishers and Soviets, all came through, but Peshawar and Kandahar remained Pushtun. In 1949, a Pushtun loya Jirga (a tribal

15 Central Asian Republics, the Idea of Central Asia as a distinct region of the World was introduced in 1843 by the geographer Alexander von Humboldt. The most limited definition is the official one of the Soviet union that includes these five states: Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan (Paper presented at the First Indo-French Strategic Symposium on "Security in the New World Order" Organised by IDSA and CERI, 17-19 January, 1994 at FICCI, New Delhi).

16 The concept of Loya Jirga in Afghanistan, and for the Pashtuns living across the border in Pakistan, goes back a long time in history. It is traditionally a gathering of tribal chiefs and elders of the society. It has a law dispensing authority and enjoys the same respect and authority as a Supreme Court in the Anglo-Saxon cultures. In the October 1964 constitution, the Parliament consisted of an upper and a lower house and the Loya Jirga included members from both houses, as well as the Governors of provinces. The Loya Jirga is a permanent institution and its role is not affected, even if the Parliament is dissolved. It can however be convened, only under a 'firman' (order) of the King or the President. The members of the Loya Jirga enjoy the same privileges as the members of the Parliament. They are immune from prosecution by any civil court in the country and can be tried and punished only by the Jirga, and that too by two-third majority vote.

Until the abdication of Zahir Shah, the Loya Jirga acted under the rules of the 1964 Constitution. However, the rules changed when Sardar Daud became President. The members of the dismissed Parliament were no longer considered members of the Jirga. However, since approval by the Jirga of all major decisions
council) denounced the Durand Line, because in some areas, the border is porous to non existent and hence Afghanistan and Pakistan seems to be one entity, at least near the border.

Geographically, Afghanistan can be characterised as a mountainous desert interspersed with isolated fertile valleys, river basins and cases. It extends eastward from the Iranian plateau and incorporates the foothills of the Himalayan ranges, that divides Tajikistan from Pakistan and touches on western China. To the north of this range, known as the Hindu Kush, begin the plains that cross the Afghan frontier at the Amu Darya river and stretch for thousands of miles across Central Asia and the Russian steppes to the Arctic. To the south of the Hindu Kush is a bleak and windswept desert that passes through Pakistan to the Indian Ocean.

by the government was mandatory, which included Sardar Daud's own appointment as President, he modified the Jirga by limiting the membership to a few pliable governors of provinces and supportive elite. (S.V. Salahuddin, "Militancy in Pakistan and Afghanistan", Pentagon Press, New Delhi, 2012 Pp, 48).

17 Durand line, refers to the 2,640 Kilometers long porous border between Afghanistan and Pakistan. It was established after 1893 agreement between British India and Afghan Amir Abdur Rahman Khan for fixing the limit of their respective spheres of influence as well as improving diplomatic relations and trade. It is named after Mortimer Durand, a British diplomat and Civil servant of Colonial British India, Afghanistan was considered by the British as an independent princely state at the time, although the British controlled its foreign affairs and diplomatic relations. Now it is border between Afghanistan and Pakistan after August 14, 1947. (G.N. Molesworth, "Afghanistan 1919 (an account of operation to the third Afghan War)", Asia Publishing House, London 1962).
The economy of Afghanistan is based on subsistence agriculture, with wheat as the major crop. Rainfed wheat and barley are grown on the more marginal land. The conflict with the Soviet Union led to the neglect or destruction of many of the irrigation structures on which the agricultural economy has depended for years. The departure of Soviet troops have witnessed an effective restoration of the agricultural base, as people have returned to their villages after external or internal exile. The process of reconstruction has been assisted by the resources and engineering skills provided by humanitarian agencies.

It was in the 19th Century that rivalry between Russia and Britain, who regarded Afghanistan as the key to India, led to instability. Britain attempted to assert control in two disastrous wars (1839-42 and 1878-81). Independence was only achieved in 1919 (Treaty of Rawalpindi).

Anglo Afghan Wars - were three in number. The First Anglo Afghan War (1838-42) was fought by the East India Company during the administration of Lord Auckland and it continued on to that of his successor Lord Ellenborough. The Second Anglo-Afghan War (1878-80) began during the Viceroyalty of lord Lyttoon I (1876-80) and was concluded during the administration of his successor, Lord Ripon (1880-84).

The Third Anglo-Afghan War (April-May, 1919) was short and sharp. Amir Abdur Rahman whom Lord Ripon acknowledged as the Amir of Afghanistan, ruled till his death in 1901. His successor Amir Habibullah (1901-19) who assumed the title of King of Afghanistan, remained on friendly terms with the British Indian Government. But his son and successor, King Amanullah (1919-29), partly under the pressure of internal troubles and partly under the influence of the anti-British party which had always existed in Afghanistan, declared a war against the British Indian Government soon after his accession.
August 1919) (Appendix-) after a third war with the British. A period of unrest followed until a more stable monarchy was established in 1933. A coup in 1973 overthrew the monarchy. A close relationship with the USSR resulted from the 1978 Saur Revolution\(^\text{19}\), but the Soviet Invasion (1979) led to Civil War. In 1989 the Soviets withdrew, leaving the cities in the hands of Government and Muslim fundamentalist guerrillas controlling the countryside.

The Soviet intervention made Afghanistan an arena of a proxy war between the two main blocs of cold war. The major fall out of the

\[ \text{In this Third Anglo-Afghan War which lasted barely two months (April - May, 1919) the Afghans were defeated severely by the British Indian army armed with bombs, aeroplanes, wireless and other arms of modern warfare which the Afghans completely lacked. The Afghans were, therefore, compelled to sue for peace which was granted by the Treaty of Rawalpindi (August, 1919). According to this treaty Afghanistan was to import no arms or munitions of war through India and the King of Afghanistan was not to receive any subsidy from the Government of India. But Afghanistan would have complete freedom in her foreign relations and India and Afghanistan should respect each other's independence. Lastly Afghanistan would be represented in London by her own ambassador and an English Ambassador would reside in Kabul. ("A Dictionary of Indian History" by Sachchidanand Bhattacharya, George Braziller, Inc, New York, 1967, Pp. 47-51).} \]

\(^{19}\) Saur Revolution, is the name given to the communist People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) takeover of political power from the government of Afghanistan on 28 April, 1978. The word "Saur", i.e. Taurus, refers to the Dari name of the second month of the Persian Calendar, the month in which the uprising took place (Barnett R. Rubbin, ("The Fragmentation of Afghanistan", Yale University Press, 2002, Pp. 105).
Soviet action was the **flow of refugees from Afghanistan to Pakistan and Iran and the direct role that these two countries acquired** in the affairs of Afghanistan. Apart from giving legitimacy to the military regime of Zia-ul-Haq which was then under considerable pressure at home and abroad and making Pakistan a beneficiary of Super power confrontation, the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan helped train a number of West Asians in arms in the name of Islam who were involved in destabilising activities in their own countries. After the withdrawal of Soviet troops, Afghanistan had a chance to settle in the fashion of the Central Asian Republics under the “National Reconciliation Programme” of Najibullah but in January 1992, Army and Militia generals in the North - revolted against Najibullah. Jamiat leader Burhanuddin Rabbani is installed as head of state which led to widespread clashes between Hezb and Jamiat. In 1994 the previously unknown Pushtun Taliban militia\(^{20}\) seized Kandhar and began a successful sweep northwards. By March 1995, gained control of several Southern provinces, the Taliban militia reached the outskirts of Kabul and seized Kabul from the retreating Jamiat forces in September 1996. The power struggle between the various fighting factions in post-communist Afghanistan has resulted in intense Jockeying for influence by external forces for their own national interests. **Pakistan's attempt to determine the course of events have been the most**

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persistent. After the communist collapse, the Inter Service Intelligence (ISI)\textsuperscript{21} of Pakistan, continued its aggressive sponsorship of Hekmatyar, while deliberately under rival faction especially Jamiat. When the Pakistani patrons realised Hekmatyar was incapable of uniting the Pushtun majority they detached him and created the Taliban.

This forms the backdrop which motivated the researcher to examine Af-Pak crises from global perspective.

**Review of Literature:** The study has divided this review in four parts; one related to crisis, another related to terrorism, yet another related to Af-Pak crisis and fourth related to outside interests in the crisis.

Arpita Basu Roy in his work *Afghanistan: India's Strategic and Security Concerns* (2013) - discusses India's engagement in a politically trail Afghanistan and analyses this relationship after underscoring the strategic and security concerns of India. The study argues that given the complications of the situation, a regional approach to peace - building and a human security - centric international approach could be an effective approach and India as a non - aggressive regional power could play a leading role in such a cooperative endeavour.

\textsuperscript{21} ISI, Inter - Services Intelligence (established in 1948) is the premier intelligence service of Pakistan, operationally responsible for providing critical national security and intelligence Bureau and Military intelligence. (Matt Waldman *The Sun in the sky: The Relationship between Pak’s ISI and Afghan Insurgents*, CSRC, London, 2010).
Dhananjay Tripathi in his work "From Strategic Ties or Trilateral Cooperation: Analysing the EU - India Role in Post - 2014 Afghanistan" (2013) - discusses, the likely situation which may arise after the exit of NATO forces in 2014. The study concentrates on the contemporary engagement of the EU and India in Afghanistan. The study gives tabular information about EU aid to Afghanistan 2005-2011. The study concludes development is perceived as a guarantee that peace will prevail. The people of Afghanistan who suffered during the past will support the development for peace and stability. In this, India and the EU can play their role in collaboration with Afghan government. It is a suitable condition for entering into a trilateral cooperation for peace and progress of Afghanistan. At the same time, it will also be a partnership with an objective to avert Afghanistan from getting again into a chronic cycle of violence.

Rohan Gunaratna and Khuram Iqbal's book "Pakistan: Terrorism Ground Zero" (2011) - is the first detailed analysis of the myriad insurgent groups working in Pakistan. The authors examine the nature, structure and agendas of the groups, their links to activists in Iran, Afghanistan and India and the awesome difficulties to be overcome if terrorism there is to be crushed. The author’s view that if the international community is to win the battle against ideological extremism and operational terrorism around the world, then Pakistan must be in the forefront of the battle.

The seminar on peace and stability in Afghanistan. The emphasis is on four themes: security, governance, development and examination of likely future scenarios. The books offers recommendations for policy and strategic decision makers to work towards a better and brighter future for Afghanistan and in effect for rest of the international community.

K. Dagar in his article "Afghanistan Conundrum: An Analysis and the Way Forward" (2009) gives the background and strategic significance of Af - Pak crises. The author explains Pakistan's miscalculations in Afghanistan to establish its influence vis-a-vis India. The author also suggests "The way forward" after the likely withdrawn of NATO forces in 2014.

Shanthie Moriet D'Souza in his study "Talking to the Taliban: Will it Ensure 'Peace' in Afghanistan?" (2009) raises certain possible consequences of interaction with Taliban leadership for comparative stability in the unstable Afghanistan. According to the author Taliban-led insurgency in Afghanistan underlines the limits of the use of military force. The lack of visible progress on the reconstruction activity has alienated the Afghan population in the remote villages of south and east Afghanistan. In light of the present deteriorating security situation, it would be useful to examine whether exercising the option of negotiations and political reconciliation with the Taliban is a viable COIN strategy of Afghanistan. Will such measures help to erode the support base for the Taliban leadership or would such steps lead to durable 'peace' in Afghanistan?
In her book "Packaging Terrorism," Susan D. Moeller presents a very different situation of post 9/11 event. While dealing with the term terrorism she underlies the psychological aspect of terrorism. In one of chapters, Role of Media is discussed which she calls "War on Terror." In her view, it is not acts of terrorism that most matter in the post 9/11 world, it is what we are told to think about the acts of terrorism. Politicians tells us what to think, the media tells us what to think, even terrorists tells us what to think. They all want to attract our attention. They all have reasons for wanting us to think in a certain may. They all want to tell us "why of an act" for our consumption.

Ahmad Rashid in his book "Descent into Chaos (Pakistan, Afghanistan threats to Global Security)" (2008) gives a personal account of Af and his relation with Pak culminating in to Af - Pak crisis. The book highlights the events in two phases that is before 9/11 and after 9/11. The book also concentrates on the various failures of the nation building process in the Af.

Bob Harris's book "Who Hates Whom" (2007) gives very interesting accounts of ethnic groups of Middle East, Central Asia, South Asia, East and Southeast Asia, North and South America and Europe. The book also brings out differences between these ethnic groups culminating into emotions of hatredness. Emotional conflicts between ethnic groups of Pakistan and Afghanistan are the main features of this book.

Craig Baxter in his edited work "Diaries of Field Marshal Mohammad Ayub Khan 1966-1972" emphasises the role played by Ayub Khan as a C-in-C and as the President. The period covered by
the diaries includes such events as division of Pakistan, its impact on Pakistan's foreign policy towards Afghanistan and Western World. The Army was deeply involved in the policy making process: - both foreign and defence. In his Diary, Ayub accepts that Pakistan's India policy or specifically Kashmir policy dragged Pakistan towards Afghanistan, and they started playing an active role in Afghanistan's internal matters, which has become a cause of major concern.

Deepali Gaur Singh in her book, "Drugs Production and Trafficking in Afghanistan", (2007) gives a vivid account of drugs related activities in a country where the global system of exchange (the currency) - had devalued to such an extent that it has been more lucrative to use opium as a form of barter. Afghanistan, one of the poorest countries in the world, have stupendous growth of the narcotics. The irony of situation is that it was during the United Nation's decade against drug abuse (between 1999 and 2001) that the Afghanisan earned the mantle of being at the center of global narcotics trade. The book unravels the close connection between the arms trade and drug money from the time of the Afghan Jihad and gives an insight into the impact of arms for trade economy in Afghanistan.

Mathew Joseph C & A.D. Behera in his edited book "Pakistan in a Changing Strategic Context" (2004) gives a vast picture of Pakistan. This book is divided into four sections. The first section is on the evolving strategic environment and Pakistan’s response. The second section is on Pakistan’s internal political system and dynamics. The third section deals with Pakistan - Afghanistan and India, and changes in new scenario. The fourth section is on the Pakistan - India context.
The section does not present a holistic perspective of India - Pakistan relations, but basically focuseses of view about the problems in India - Pakistan relation and how to deal with Pakistan.

Shamas-Ud-din and Bhaswati Sarkar in their book entitled "Afghanistan and Central Asia in the New Great Game" (2003) traces the continuing importance of Afghanistan since the days of cold war politics. After the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the emergency of five independent Central Asian states with reasonably large reserves of oil and natural gas, Afghanistan once again finds itself drawn in juggernaut of the great game. The urgent requirement for giant oil companies and their patron states in place in Afghanistan. This led to America's open and subtle filtration with the Taliban in mid 90s. Taliban's inability to establish its presence throughout Afghanistan but later on their growing intimacy with Osama bin Laden estranged them from the Americans. The current U.S. Policies in the region are viewed with increasing concern.

A Josh (Retd. Major General) in his work "Afghanistan : History, Taliban, Operation Enduring Freedom and New Challenges", (2002) traces the origin of "Operation Enduring Freedom" taking in to account the strategic Environment of Post World War-II era where two super powers exercised their powers particularly in Central and South Asian Region. The study also concentrated on the consequences of the fall of Taliban and the then existing challenges of the ground realities.

All authors fearlessly bemoan the fate of Pakistan due to its rulers and rise of Islamic fundamentalism. This book shows cases to the world that an erudite and politically conscious and vibrant society exists in Pakistan which is aware of the pitfalls ahead of their new nation, which to them seems to be ready to self destruct if it does not change course. This, they say, can only be if true democracy takes root in the society, the "mullahs" remain in their mosques and the Pakistan Army returns to the barracks - for ever. The consensus seems to be that India has little to be afraid of Pakistan and should show "the compassion of the strong" which they feel will lead to what De Gaulle called the 'peace of the strong.'


S.D.Muni in his edited work "Responding to Terrorism in South Asia", (2000) presents a vast canvas of security problems of terrorism. He examines various channel of terrorism for their agenda. The work concentrates on the changed situation after the incident of 9/11; culminating into NATO intervention in Afghanistan.

G.D. Bakshi, in his work "Afghanistan - The First Faultline War" (1999) gives a detailed information about the consequences of pre & post 1979 events. The study depicts Afghanistan as a bridge to Central Asia and anlayses dynamics of regional and extra -regional powers and concentrates on various events in a systematic manner in which
role of Pakistan is also analysed. The study also concentrates on various dimensions of the Af-Pak crises.

P. Stobdon in his study "The Afghan Conflict and Regional Security" (1999) establishes the relationship between the nature of Afghan conflict and the degree of South and Central Asian region. The study attempts to summarize the Afghan conflict in the international, regional and domestic contexts, particularly in the backdrop of the post-Soviet developments. It is a brief analysis of the Afghan situation impacting the regional security environment in its immediate South and Central Asian region, specially in terms of security policy relations among the regional actors involved in the conflict.

William Maley in his edited book "Fundamentalism Reborn? Afghanistan and the Taliban" (1999) - concentrates on the relationship of "Taliban" with "terrorism". The work believes that, Afghanistan is a conundrum which has ensnared the world’s greatest powers over the past two centuries. Great Britain in the nineteenth and Soviet Union in the twentieth Century were humbled at the gates of Kabul and Kandahar. The fractured feudal polity of the Afghans saw the dawn of new era of fundamentalism in 1996 under the Taliban. Who and what are the Taliban? The author has attempted to unravel the mystic surrounding of Taliban, against the backdrop of socio-political fabric of Afghanistan.

Sreedhar & Ved in his work. "The Afghan Turmoil changing Equations", (1998), analysis Afghanistan - Taliban relationship. In terms of time, if not ferocity and destruction, the on going conflict in
Afghanistan has outstripped Vietman. Both nations suffered super power interactions. Vietnam made progress towards stability once the US forces withdraw but Afghanistan made progress towards instability once the Soviet forces withdrew. The study seeks to define India's security interests in Afghanistan which has been distanced by Pakistan. It also examines certain variables that have affected the nature of conflict, including pipeline policies.

S.K.Singh in his book "Terrorism a Global Phenomenon", (1998) paints global picture of terrorism in its all shades. The growth of Islamic terrorism in Afghanistan, as a result of interaction of outside forces, the major variable of Af - Pak crisis is clash of interests.

"The Handbook of Interethnic Co-existence (1998) " edited by Eugene Weiner is a work consolidated from multiple perspectives and resources addressing the question of how interethnic co-existence might best be facilitated. The focus is on the ethnic - situation in Israel and in Afghanistan. However, the handbook is meant to advance the field of co-existence in order that its ideas, techniques and methods can be utilized throughout the world before interethnic problems turn in to interethnic conflict. The sources of interethnic conflict are not covered in detail.

B.P. Sinha in his work "Pakistan - The Chief Patron- promoter of Islamic Militancy and Terrorism" (1997) examines the role of Islamic ideology in creating environment of terrorism particularly with reference to Pakistan's role in Afghan affairs. He advocates the Islamic militancy and extremism have emerged as potentially the most
threatening form of international terrorism since the closing years of 1980s. The form of terrorism has little to do with Islam as such. Islam provides a convenient religious cover for its perpetrators to achieve political objectives through the means of violence and coercion. A violent and terrorist movement, launched in the name of Islam, touches the sentiments of the followers of Islam, which makes it destabilising phenomenon for Muslim as well as non-Muslim countries. From the available evidence, Pakistan emerges as the chief patron and promotor of Islamic militancy and terrorism with the aim of utilising it to serve its policy interests.

No study of an international conflict with religious overtones would be complete without referring to the much acclaimed and equally reviled. "The Clash of Civilizations and The Remaking of World Order" by Samuel P. Huntington (1996). More so after the September Eleventh terrorist attacks in America and in the rest of the world as in Bali, Yemen, Pakistan, Moscow and Mombassa, amongst others, are attributed to Al-Qaeda headed by Osama Bin Laden - the mastermind behind the evil concept of worldwide 'Islamic Jehad' against the non-believers. In this book Huntington postulates that conflicts between civilization will dominate the future of world politics, the solution to which lies in an international order based on civilization as the best safeguard against war.

"The Structure of International Conflict" by C.R. Mitchell (1989) is a textbook on conflict research and its approach to the analysis of disputes between humans and between human groups or organizations. Nature of international conflict illuminating structures
and processes are analyzed. The objective of the book is to contain and end conflicts. However, real case studies have not been illustrated.

"Ethnic Groups in Conflict" by Donald Horowitz (1985) tries to answer such questions as: why are ethnic affiliations so conducive to severe conflict; what are the sources of ethnic conflicts, what determines the course of ethnic politics and what could be done to foster interethnic cooperation. The author focuses on the central task of explanation examining, contending theories, patterns of conflict and Governmental policies. He evaluates techniques of conflict reduction and identifies promising ways to sustain democratic, multi ethnic politics in conflict prone societies. International conflicts are not addressed.

Sadhan Mukherjee in his book "Afghanistan From Tragedy to Triumph" (1984) traces the contours of April Revolution of Afghanistan and provides the real perspective of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan for the emancipation of the Afghan people from their feudal and pre-feudal oppressive state. In this effort the author has highlighted the role played by three personalities Tarik - Amin - Karmal. Af-Pak and Indo-Afghanistan relations are also given prominence to explore the possibilities of Afghanistan reconstruction.

D.D.Khanna - In his edited book "South - West Asian crises" (1981) bring out viewpoints of prominent scholars on various dimensions of West Asian Crisis. In particular, Indo - Afghan relations by O.P. Bhatnagar brings out that how close were these two countries
right from the dawn of human civilizations? The article gives authentic data and information till the end of World War II and the Russian intervention in Afghanistan in 1979.

"The Round Table, The Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs" (January 1980 and July 1980) gives four viewpoints on Afghanistan. Sir Olaf Caroe's Afghanistan: The After Effects of Partitions, Sir Cyril Pickard's Afghanistan: Difficult Decisions for the West and Norman Gelb's A Conundrum. Neither side is in a hurry to solve the problem. Milon Hauner's The Significance of Afghanistan: Lessons From the Past. All these four viewpoints traces the history of Af-Pak and Af-India relations in contemporary strategic environment which includes the interests of Russia, Iran, China, Britain and America. These viewpoints have also brought out certain weaknesses of these multi facet relationship, culminating into so-called Af-Pak crises.

"The Handbook of Political Conflict" edited by Ted Gurr (1980) contains articles of researchers who assess the state of knowledge about the sources of civil and international conflict. The authors survey over thirty years' research findings about: the grievances and beliefs that motivate people to join mass political movements; the consequences for societies caught up in violent conflict and the practical knowledge we have about avoiding or managing open conflict. The internal Afghan crisis has been given a super level.

In the 17th (1970-71) and 25th (1978-79) editions of the "Survey the Middle East and North Africa" published by Europa Publications limited, London, offers exhaustive survey of Afghanistan which covers
(a) physical and social geography, (Physical Features, Climate, Economic Life, Race and Culture, (b) History, Early History of Khushans, Tuchueh, Chinese, (c) The coming of Islam, (d) Modern History, (e) Economic Survey of Agriculture and Mining and Energy (d) The Constitution and many other aspects of the nation which forms main features of the country like as religion, education, transportation, and judicial system.

Lieut Vincent Eyre in his War Diary entitled "Journal of An Afghanistan Prisoner", first published in 1846 and then in 1976, gives a vivid account of the consequences of British invasion of Afghanistan of 1839. The Diary gives the account of internal state of Afghanistan of 1841 and its hindsight gives the strategic importance of this country with the respect to clashing interest of Britishers and the Russians.


Although the above review is not exhaustive, but it clearly indicates that there is a requirement of further study in Af - Pak crisis.

Hence the research question is "How to resolve Af - Pak Crisis?"
"What is the way forward to bring stability (peace and security) in the region"?

To examine the above research question, following hypotheses have been developed.

**H₁** Contemporary Af - Pak crisis illustrates its transnational and regional character.

**H₂** Internal strife and manipulation of outside forces have contributed in generating the philosophy of terrorism.

**H₃** Expansion of infrastructure and the revitalization of economy is the key of reconstruction.

**H₄** Regional cooperation and not competition is the need of the hour.

To test these hypotheses, there part Research Methodology has been followed.

(a) The Plan - is of non experimental diagnostic design. (b) The Structure consist of researcher question relevant were hypotheses, with their origin and explanation, and finally (c) the Strategy which consists of method and sources of data collection (different libraries, personal interviews and different tools of electronics media) and its analysing with appropriate techniques of analysis including select bibliography, glossary and acronyms and related charts, graphs and diagrams.

The next phase of study has been develop a ‘Theoretical Framework’ as a fundamental