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CHANGES IN PAKISTAN'S FOREIGN POLICY IN THE CONTEXT OF THE ENTRY OF US TROOPS INTO AFGHANISTAN

Ikram Khudayberdiyev

Researcher, "History and Anthropology of Eastern Countries", Tashkent State University of Oriental Studies, Uzbekistan

Abstract

In this article, the entry of US troops into Afghanistan and as a result the change of Pakistan's foreign policy towards Afghanistan, the change of Pakistan's position on the international scale, the beneficial and harmful aspects for Pakistan are shown. Also, the increasing role of the US government between the governments of Afghanistan and Pakistan and its consequences are mentioned.

Keywords September 11, Al-Qaeda, ISAF, Zalmay Khalilzad, "Northern Alliance", Abu Zubayda, Haqqani group.

INTRODUCTION

The events of September 11, 2001 are considered by the world community as a political turning point and change point. This tragedy created the ground for major changes in the relations between Afghanistan and Pakistan. During this period, Pakistan's policy towards Afghanistan changed for the better. But the volatility of the relations between the two countries has remained until now. The terrorist attack on the territory of the United States, as a result of the Al-Qaeda organization operating in Afghanistan, took responsibility for the terrorist attack, which led to the emergence of new participants in the relations between Afghanistan and Pakistan. At this point, special attention should be paid to the participation of the United States in the relations between the two countries. Because the US aimed to enter Afghanistan through the military in order to implement its strategic goals, reduce the influence of Russia in the region and control the political situation related to Iran.

The successive actions of the Al-Qaeda terrorist

organization made the political situation in Afghanistan even more tense. In response to the committed acts, the US government called on the world community to form an anti-terrorist coalition and fight against existing terrorist groups in Afghanistan. Many countries responded positively to this initiative. According to the White House, about 90 countries have supported the coalition against terrorism. This anti-terrorist coalition is recognized as the largest and most powerful coalition in the history of the United States.[1;138] The United States and its allies, first of all, on the basis of the UN Security Council Resolution No. 1386, reached a mutual agreement on the issue of the introduction of NATO troops to Afghanistan and the creation of the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF). In 2001, ISAF troops carried out operations in Kabul and the surrounding areas to ensure security in Afghanistan. This meant that the main focus of the Kabul government was on security. The results of scientific research show that by this time, Afghanistan's internal security systems were in an

unsatisfactory state, and the government felt a great need to develop political institutions. In 2002, a special group was formed by the UN to control the internal order in Afghanistan, and this group (Afghan National Army) played a major role in the formation of the Afghan National Army.[2] As a continuation of the process, since 2003, under the supervision of the UN Security Council, ISAF troops have begun to gradually cover the entire country. US Ambassador to Afghanistan Zalmay Khalilzad, on the eve of the entry of coalition troops, puts forward the following opinion: We will face difficulties in fighting against terrorist groups without forming political institutions in Afghanistan.[3;109] The US government has paid serious attention to the formation of political institutions. But it was much easier for the US government to install them than to shape them. Nevertheless, after 2001, democratic processes in Afghanistan gained momentum.

METHOD

During this period, there were three main groups in the territory of Pakistan and Afghanistan: "Taliban" movement (Mullah Umar died in Karachi hospital in 2013), Haqqani group (Jalaluddin Haqqani died in September 2018), Al-Qaeda group (Usama Bin Laden was killed in his residence in Abbottabad, Pakistan in May 2011). The presence of the above-mentioned groups points to the long-term instability in the relations between Afghanistan and Pakistan.

Before the events of September 11, there was a power struggle in Afghanistan between the Taliban movement (1994-2001) and representatives of the Northern Alliance. On September 9, 2001, one of the main leaders of the Northern Alliance, Ahmad Shah Masoud, was killed by two Arab journalists.[5] This caused the morale of the Northern Alliance forces to weaken. At this point, it is necessary to pay attention to why the representatives of the Northern Alliance could not have a great influence on the movement of "Taliban" before the entry of ISAF troops. Researches and the analysis of political processes show that the movement of representatives of the "Northern Alliance" in terms of ethnic origin and different groups is one of the main factors that

caused difficulties in the fight against the "Taliban" movement. Although they resisted the Taliban together, they had their own political interests.[6; 25] This can be assessed as a result of the failure of field commanders in Afghanistan to agree with each other and the frequent occurrence of military conflicts. After the entry of the ISAF troops, the "Taliban" movement was defeated in Afghanistan as a result of the cooperation of the forces of the Northern Alliance and the international anti-terrorist coalition. But this did not mean that the "Taliban" movement would disappear completely. According to American expert Bruce Riedel: "Americans note that they have not been able to correctly assess the influence and power of radical groups.[7;28] We will discuss this idea in detail in the third chapter.

The government of Pakistan is of particular importance in the organization of terrorist groups and in delivering the main part of the material supply base. Based on the above reasoning, Pakistan's political actions can be evaluated as an export of terrorism. But the Pakistani government strongly opposes this position, and shows these processes as the result of the shortcomings of the Afghan government's management system. The US government aimed to use the territory of Pakistan to establish its influence in the South Asian region. But the goals of the anti-terrorist coalition led by the US government and the government of Pakistan were at odds. Acting with the anti-terrorist coalition remained the only choice in Pakistan's foreign policy. Of course, the instability of domestic politics in Pakistan may have served as an important factor in supporting the coalition. For example, Pervez Musharraf's decision to join the coalition was strongly opposed by the country's political parties, Islamic groups, and the Central Intelligence Agency.

It should be noted that Pakistan's joint action with the coalition also depended on its relations with India. Because Pakistan relied on the power of radical groups in territorial issues related to Kashmir. Also, according to the data written by researchers such as Hameed Hakimi and Zalmay Nishat, the closeness of US-India relations may have motivated the government of Pakistan led by Pervez Musharraf to join the coalition. This opinion

was also put forward by the Pakistani researcher Marium Kamal. [8; 110] The government of Pakistan believed that in order to get the support of the United States, it is possible to avoid conflicts with India and solve the problems related to the Kashmir region with the help of the US government. Pakistani officials, who were able to assess the situation correctly, cited the military conflicts with India as an excuse and stated that they could not send a large army to fight against the Taliban movement.[9;5] In such a situation, it is difficult for Pakistan to have a clear position, and it was natural for it to pursue a changing policy. The strengthening of US-India relations has caused imbalance in the South Asian region.[10; 4] For Pakistan, the warming of Afghanistan-India relations during the government of Hamid Karzai was the first step in the disruption of the political balance.

RESULTS

Suspicious of Pakistan's changing foreign policy, US Secretary of State Colin Powell presented seven-point demands to General Pervez Musharraf in his appeal:

1. Prevent al-Qaeda militants from crossing the border into Pakistan and restrict any weapons transfers through Pakistan;
2. Giving the US government the right to fly and land in the territory of Pakistan;
3. Access to naval and air bases;
4. Information exchange using intelligence;
5. Stop supporting terrorism;
6. To stop the supply of fuel to Afghanistan and limit the movement of "Taliban" supporters to the territory of Afghanistan;
7. Severing diplomatic relations with the Taliban if it is proven that the Taliban has established relations with Al-Qaeda.

By fulfilling the above requirements, the Pakistani government could convince the anti-terrorist coalition that it is supporting it. By this time, the political situation had reached such a level that the mass media and various statistics clearly showed that Pakistan was the main supporter of the

Taliban movement. Stanley McChrystal, the commander of the US in Afghanistan, also reported that the Taliban movement was in the city of Quetta. In response, the official Islamabad tried to explain that the search for members of the "Taliban" movement among the large number of Afghan immigrants arriving and arriving in the territory of Pakistan is a complicated issue. Speaking about Pakistan's influence on Afghanistan, Nessar Mohammad Umar in his researches assesses the difficult internal political processes in Afghanistan as a result of the relationship between the Taliban movement and the Afghan government. This opinion means to blame the Pakistani government for some of the internal political processes that are taking place as a result of the weakness of the Afghan government.

Pakistan has developed various scenarios to maintain its influence in Afghanistan. In particular, Pakistan sent a delegation to Afghanistan to keep the Taliban forces within its sphere of influence. The main goal of the delegation was to separate the leadership of the Taliban from the Al-Qaeda group. Pakistan made an offer to the Taliban government to extradite Osama bin Laden, and through this it was planned that the Western countries would not fight against the Taliban movement. However, the negotiations did not give the expected result. "Taliban" refused to expel Osama bin Laden and Al-Qaeda group from the territory of Afghanistan. This situation meant that Pakistan partially lost its control over Afghanistan. The US has used the support of the Pakistani government in its counter-terrorist operations. It is noteworthy that the initial military operations were aimed only at capturing the leaders of the Al-Qaeda group. This was in full accordance with Pakistan's interests to create an opportunity to maintain relations with the Taliban movement.

On October 7, the US and British air forces attacked the main bases of terrorist groups in Afghanistan. At the same time, the influence of the Northern Alliance was growing in Afghanistan. This is against the interests of Pakistan, and it was more beneficial for Islamabad to have the Taliban under orders from the Kabul government. Pakistan has become the object of extremist movements "prepared" for Afghanistan and Kashmir. This could cause

conflicts in Pakistan's political relations with neighboring countries. Official Islamabad tried to improve relations with the Northern Alliance, Iran, India. Nevertheless, problems began to arise in diplomatic relations. There were interruptions in the work of the embassies of Pakistan and Afghanistan. However, the "Taliban" embassy was working unofficially in Islamabad for some time, and the main reason for this was that some necessary contacts for the "Taliban" were established through the embassy, and later the embassy was closed.

DISCUSSION

The support of the government of Pakistan to the coalition efforts in Afghanistan has been implemented step by step in various areas. First, the supply of oil and oil products to the Taliban government has been suspended for an indefinite period. Secondly, in order to cut off the financial supply, the accounts of Afghanistan in Pakistani banks were frozen. Thirdly, the border area between Pakistan and Afghanistan was strictly controlled. Fourth, in 2002, the second most important representative of Al-Qaeda in Pakistan, Abu Zubaydah, was arrested. Pakistani intelligence played an important role in this process. Fifth, in the border areas, about 8,000 US Marines used Pakistani airspace and harbors as bases. This indicates that the Pakistani government is actively participating in the anti-terrorist coalition processes. The results of the study show that Pakistan's foreign policy changes were at odds with Islamabad's ambitions in Afghanistan. Despite this, Pakistan tried to pursue a dual policy.

It should also be noted that the participation of the Pakistani government in the anti-terrorist coalition created several opportunities for Pakistan. First, Pakistan's actions within the coalition helped to improve its political relations with Western countries. Secondly, the sanctions imposed on Pakistan after the nuclear tests were canceled. Thirdly, the International Monetary Fund recalculated Pakistan's external debt and extended the repayment period of the debt to be paid by the government of Pakistan. Fourthly, the export volume has been increased by the European Union reducing the fees for imported goods from

Pakistan. The above-mentioned benefits are of great importance in the development of Pakistan's economy and are considered among the factors that motivated Pakistan to join the coalition. These processes were thoroughly analyzed by the Islamabad authorities and a decision was made.

The connection between security issues in Pakistan and Afghanistan is an understandable process. Here, we pay attention to how Afghanistan, whose economic indicators are very low, depends on the economy of Pakistan. Since 2001, Afghanistan has received a large amount of financial aid from international organizations and donor countries. The Afghan government brings a large part of the financial aid to the Pakistani market or enters into economic relations with other countries through this country. In this case, it should be noted that Pakistan is the leading country in the Afghan market. Afghanistan's access to the sea is also through Pakistan. Afghanistan's options are limited, and as a result, Pakistan remains its closest economic partner. This represents its partial economic dependence on Pakistan.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the following should be noted:

First, in 2001-2004, the relations between the two countries were relatively stabilized, and measures aimed at the formation of political institutions and security of the United States were implemented in Afghanistan.

Secondly, the importance of the US government in the implementation of democratic reforms in Afghanistan is great, and the role of the representative of the US in Afghanistan, Zalmay Khalilzad, in the election process for the interim government was revealed on the basis of scientific literature.

Thirdly, as a result of joining the anti-terrorist coalition, Pakistan's policy towards Afghanistan has changed dramatically. This is explained by the changes in Pakistan's domestic and foreign policy in 2001 and the loss of control over the Taliban movement.

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