

# The Revenge Game: U.S Foreign Policy During Afghan-Soviet War and Afghan-Pakistan Falling Into Hell

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## Abstract

The U.S Foreign policy during the Soviets encroachment of Afghanistan at the height of Cold War has been evaluated, as well as its negative effects in Afghanistan-Pakistan (Af-Pak). During 1979, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (U.S.S.R) landed on Afghanistan in order to secure Warm Water Ports and Persian Gulf Oil. (This was called as the “Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan”). By having this situation, The U.S government established a mission in Afghanistan which consisted on two main purposes. One of them was to stand against the invasion of Afghanistan provoked by U.S.S.R. and the second one was to provide Afghan Mujahedeen Movements with some help and be prepared for the coming situation. So, the provision of the most dangerous weapons and the need of billions of dollars were made to these fundamentalist Afghan mujahedeen. Thus, they could protect themselves and fight against the U.S.S.R invasion. As a matter of fact, the Taliban groups were founded due to U.S policy. Nevertheless, the establishment of them has become the biggest general threat to global peace, particularly for Afghanistan and Pakistan. This research consists of three parts which are going to be developed in the order as follows: The internal milieu of Afghanistan and the intervention by U.S.S.R, The U.S policy interests and the outcomes of these policies, The Afghan and Pakistan consequences which were gotten by these policies. This Research is going to be a new source of knowledge for understanding the U.S foreign policy during this War and their negative effects on Afghanistan and Pakistan such as refugee’s settlement and number of other problems. Although Americans just revenge from Soviets but this game also destroyed the Pakistan. Also as an explanation on the nowadays coming international terrorism and how the Afghan insurgents have become strong enough.

**Keywords:** Afghanistan, Soviet Invasion, Rebellions, U.S Policy, Hell

## 1. Afghanistan’s Internal Milieu and U.S.S.R Intervention

After going through a Sour Revolution, People’s Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA, pro-Moscow) led by Taraki successfully mobilized a coup d’état in 1978. However, Taraki’s reforms and advancements were not supported by Afghan people such as, components of the government, tribal leaders, intellectuals, and Islam itself according to study (Grau & Gress, 2002).

Although, from centuries, the Afghan history had seen the number of invaders from Persians to Greeks; Buddhism to Muslim kingdom; the Steppes to Afghan empires; Britain to experiment of modernism; and finally, Afghan Communists to Soviets invaders (Afghanistan, 2014). These all invaders established different cultures in Afghanistan, hence, the Afghan society divided into different groups such as ethnic, tribal, language and more.

As the Afghan society was divided in different groups, therefore, the social, political and economical transformation upon the Afghan society was not ready to be held due to internal issues. The Afghan government as an institution was not able to carry an agreement between them. That is the reason why many of them opted for neglected national, utter violence; and morals, Islamic traditions and customs (Kornienko, 1994). So the Afghan regime failed in its efforts.

Furthermore, The PDPA nationalities policy made by Amin and Taraki regime was especially focused on Pashtuns (Ghilzais). This situation did not please the minorities which were the non-Pashtuns. Soon after, a hidden war was able to take place in this conflict had been flanked by two factions of PDPA. “The opposition of

Parcham and the government itself' 'both in bureaucracy and administration' rejected this policy as well as the Pashtun identity.

Therefore, the foremost opposition's outbreak to the government came from the Hazaras, Noorstani and Tajik which were minorities of non-Pashtuns (Roy, 1990). Internally, the PDPA had been unsuccessful to run the country. Thus, they requested to U.S.S.R. for their support during 1979. Saikal Amin mentioned in his study that as the Afghan situation was going most terrible day by day so within nine months Afghan Government sends the twenty time request to Soviets for their help (Saikal, 2012).

During 1979, as the Afghanistan's political environment was beginning to deteriorate, initially, the U.S.S.R did not agree on direct intervention of their forces in Afghanistan. Leonid Brezhnev, leader of Soviet Union knew that the use of forces in Afghanistan would be a propaganda defeat and also it would will a perilous step for U.S.S.R due to moderate economy of Afghanistan. But the situation of the region became worst during last quarter of 1979 and Taraki (backed by Soviet) lost his power and the control of the country was going over in the hands of Islamic fundamentalism which was a big threat for U.S.S.R and they did not want to see Afghanistan as a fundamentalist country thus the U.S.S.R changed their minds (Woodrow, 2001). And U.S.S.R administration found the intervention as the only single way to see Afghanistan as buffer state (Garthoff, 1994). Finally, in the last week of December 1979 Soviets decided to invade the Afghanistan and thousands of their military troops entered into Afghanistan and flew into Bagram, Shindand and Kabul air basis and get the control (Galster, 2001).

## **2. U.S Objectives, Initiating Policy and Pakistan's Beginning Role**

For the survival of capitalism the growth of economy plays a key role and the U.S. required the Third World resources to continue their dominance. Kennan as head of State Department affirmed in 1948, 'We have only 6.3 % of population but 50% of the world's wealth, so United States cannot fail to fulfill their objectives. The U.S actually needed in the near future to plan the relations that will allow the United States to keep its position of discrepancy (Kennan, 1948). But the Soviet Union communist regime was a big threat to U.S objectives and its capitalism regime. The support of PDPA in Afghanistan (national liberation movements, socialism) had from U.S.S.R was also a big challenge for U.S. policy makers. The never-tackled situation between U.S and U.S.S.R was another critical situation after the end of the WW-II (Gray, 1990).

Once the invasion of Afghanistan occurred, a new and more ominous threat to American interests in the region became clear. So initially, American policies think tankers Brzezinski and Vance agreed on the outcome of the U.S.S.R incursion and the both policy makers founded themselves at strange with each other on thinking over the involvement with Afghan government backed by U.S.S.R (Brzezinski, 1983; Hammond, 1984). The consequence to the opinion's differences on the course of America's foreign policies towards Afghanistan between Vance and Brzezinski following Tarraki's gaining to control are better understood when thinking that the two official's of U.S were in common agreement of a been taking action in state before the leader of U.S.S.R backed took over the control. Brzezinski during his interview with Hammond (a writer) stated that what events happen in Afghanistan, we see and it will be better for us to 'Wait and See'. Hammond (1984) stated that Vance and Brzezinski both agreed on "Wait and See" policy.

Galster (1991) mentioned in his study that when U.S.S.R forces began the incursion on Afghanistan, policy makers of U.S understood that U.S.S.R forces were near the Persian Gulf. According to a commentary in U.S intelligence cited in 'Afghanistan: The Making of U.S Policy, 1973-1990' which displays this inception: 'The prime motivation that drive the U.S.S.R's move was to get its basic objectives within reach. Afghan's control would be a prime step to assess the dominations over the Asian Sub-Continent and Indian Ocean (Galster, 1991). In response, South West Asia and Persian Gulf were declared as the 3<sup>rd</sup> security zone area of West by the Carter administration (Brzezinski, 1980).

Brzezinski agitates that the U.S.S.R should take the benefits on its existence in the South Asian region in order to impact Iran or Pakistan to contemplate a prime warning for the U.S oil objectives. In 80's Brzezinski's memos had been sent to Carter's administration in which he outlined U.S objectives towards Afghanistan. Also Brzezinski's documents indicated the approaches to attain a secure structure to defend the prime objectives in the region. Even though the memos did not delineate explicitly those interests, they by themselves, however, indirectly indicated that the oil was the major economical matter and stability and solidity in the global oil market and he also indicated to maintain and continue of the security. More military support should be given to Persian Gulf region by both Allies and U.S (Brzezinski, 1980).

On January 4, 1980, during a address to the U.S nation on the Soviets invasion of Afghanistan, the President Carter stated that "*This is a callous violation of international law and the United Nations Charter. It is a deliberate effort of a powerful atheistic government to subjugate an independent Islamic people,*" and further

focused on region importance and added that “*We must recognize the strategic importance of Afghanistan to stability and peace. A Soviet-occupied Afghanistan threatens both Iran and Pakistan and is a steppingstone to possible control over much of the world's oil supplies*” (Carter, 1980).

President announced a U.S policy to protect the Middle East oil from other nations which later called the “Carter Doctrine”, in which the President affirmed to use every kind of sources ‘even their own military power’ to protect the regional oil (FRUS, 1977a). Finally, a cold war was start.

Hence, any threat to eastern oil should be prime effects on the business area of U.S. Any explanation in foreign policies of U.S that did not comprise economically objectives as the basic motive in eastern region is a fragile case as an indicator by America’s help of unscrupulous and shady governments around the eastern region. Besides, U.S-Soviet Union cold war was not a new conflict but had already been looped with Vietnam War therefore the conflict of Soviet-Afghanistan was a gigantic chance for U.S to revenge the Soviet Union so that U.S reformed their policies as ‘Hurt Them’ and did not miss the chance. Also Gulf Oil and revenge to Soviets were the prime objectives for the U.S foreign policies towards cold war.

Without missing the big chance, Pakistani President Zia-Ul-Haq had certainly recognized the U.S foreign policy context. Right after his briefings to U.S officials during 1979, Zia’s special focus was on U.S.S.R military invasion in Afghanistan, the warm water ports and the oil rich Persian Gulf. Furthermore, he tried to convince the U.S.A for financially support of the Afghanistan rebels. It was the beginning for Pakistan’s role to get the U.S attention towards the third world countries. Besides, The U.S. policy makers and specially the CIA Director Casey had already decided to do anything for reaching their objectives. For instance, The CIA Director Casey stated that a war should be spread in order to generate a Vietnam War against the U.S.S.R (Kux, 2001).

These all interferences of U.S were not concealed from the Soviet Union. As per shown in Soviet documents that Kremlin was completely aware of America’s internal interests and geopolitical objectives in Afghanistan and were increasing their attention towards region. A top secret memorandum in October the 29<sup>th</sup>, 1979 was an evidence for this contention in which circumstances and events pertaining to fall of Taraki’s regime had been discussed. Amidst its appraisal, the reports showed how, ‘Currently signs have been observed such as Afghanistan’s new leadership intends to formulate a new balanced policy towards Western countries’ (George Washington University, 2011).

The war of Afghanistan was different for the U.S as previously fought by them under the umbrella of anti-communism and this war was not the part of U.S security system before seventy eight (Garthoff, 1994). The U.S.S.R has used his own military team to intervene in Afghanistan. The U.S role in Afghan region enjoyed domestic support rare during the conflicts of Cold War. The executive and legislative departments were combined to resist the incursion of Soviet Union; it was propaganda to defeat for U.S.S.R that U.S politicians could ignore. The U.S.A was also internally united against U.S.S.R invasion because of the exclusive opportunity to inflict serve vandalism on U.S.S.R, gaining various measure of Vietnam’s revenge. Charles Wilson (Texas Congressman) wanted to revenge the U.S.S.R for Vietnam. In an interview with CBS (T.V network), Wilson stated that he wanted to “hurt them” (Lohbeck, 1993).

U.S administrations not only opposing the Soviets through media statements but they also takes the hard decisions and provide the billions of dollars and worlds dangerous arms to Afghan insurgents movements againsts the Soviets.

### **3. U.S Hard Decisions – Backing to Afghan Mujahedeen**

It is credible, given America’s initial response to U.S.S.R and as an outcome of U.S political unity in backing of opposing it, that the reaction should be alike. The contemporary epoch of anti-communism attempt to find the roll back the U.S.S.R domination and denouncing any conception that may spur and prompt further efforts to make sure that Afghan’s rebellions should be financially backed, well armed and technologically advanced in Soviet-Afghan War.

Hence President Carter and his administration prepare their foreign policies against the Soviets actions in Afghanistan and had commenced meetings with Afghan Mujahedeen and immediately supported them financially (Galster, 1991). Further, on priority basis U.S administration ordered for medical support of Afghan freedom fighters and propaganda operation against the Soviets (Cogan, 1993). Also on December 25<sup>th</sup>, 1979 Carter promptly approved an extensive plan which guided Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) for provision of military supplies in addition to humanitarian support to Afghan rebellions (Kux, 2001).

Afghan Mujahedeen were provided delayed timing devices by CIA with intelligence of satellite mapping and demolition experts trained the Afghan resistances (Coll, 1992). U.S official Shultz called the Afghan’s resistance

as “freedom fighter” and further added that you are not alone “we are also with you” (Emadi, 1999). The U.S also provided mortar’s targeting devices which were linked to Navy Satellite of U.S. and anti tank missiles. The U.S. helped the Pakistan establishing of the guerrilla warfare schools for Afghan rebellions (Coll, 1992). Snipers were also provided to Mujahedeen to assassinate the PDPA members and Soviet forces; various members of PDPA were assassinated by them (Galster, 1991). Vincent Cannistraro, CIA official gave a controversial statement regarding assassination in war that assassination is not actually a relevant question during war (Galster, 1991).

Gates affirmed that during 1979, CIA informed to Special Coordination Committee (SCC) that the Afghan Mujahedeen had spread their activities against PDPA and had got surprising success against Afghan government and afghan administration was very serious about his opposition and prime threat (Gates, 2006). In relating to covert aid to Afghan rebellions, Brzezinski also informed to his government that their covert aid is going to induce the U.S.S.R military intervention. During his interview to French reporter he stated that “we don’t push Soviet Union to withdrawal from Afghanistan but U.S intentionally increased the possibilities for doing this” (Brzezinski, 1998).

Vance (The Secretary of State) suggested to his administration to continue the non-lethal support to Mujahedeen in Afghanistan for best impact on Afghan government and Soviet Union (Vance, 1983).

Carter takes further hard decisions with embargoing grain sales to Soviets, prohibiting of Americans teams in Olympic Games in Moscow and banning the exporting of technology to Soviet Union. The President takes one step forward to warn the Soviets in his State of Union address and stated that U.S can use his own military power in case of any outside interference in Persian Gulf region (FRUS, 1977b). President withdrew the SALT II treaty from Congressional consideration, leading Brzezinski to claim that “*SALT lies buried in the sands of the Ogaden*” (FRUS, 1977c).

Same as President Carter, during the first half of the Reagan presidency, Cold War tensions between the America and U.S.S.R intensified. President Reagan takes the charge of presidency with deeply suspicious of the Soviets and called the Soviets as "an evil empire" (Digital History, 2012).

Soon after his presidency, President Reagan also takes tough decisions. During 1985 era, Reagan approved the National Security Decision Directive (NSDD)-166, titled “Expanded U.S Aid to Afghan Guerrillas,” which was the big covert policy for the financial support of Afghan insurgents movements against the Soviets (Coll, 2004). Under the NSDD-166 directive CIA was authorize to play a massive role in Afghanistan and provided the legal way to support the Afghan freedom fighters. Additionally, the President authorized to expand the defense budget from almost 170 billion to 230 billion dollars (Patterson, 2005). As the President Reagan was much involve in Afghan-Soviets war and their belief had grown that the Afghan freedom fighters could not only fight and die but they fight and should be win this war. Therefore, under the NSDD-166, they authorized extra 300 million U.S dollars for the fiscal year 1985 for hidden support of Afghan insurgent’s movements and this secret amount was drown from secret Defense Depart account. Even this secret amount was hidden from Congress (Washington Post, 1985, October 10).

Reagan ‘along with other things, also introduced the more dangerous weapons and ordered to provide the U.S.S.R military targets to Afghan insurgents within Afghanistan including more sensitive intelligence sharing, which changed the whole war scenario within days. According to Gates that during 1985, along with funneling of billions of dollars to CIA for Afghans, in addition, U.S administration provided the dangerous weapons –SA-7s, anti-aircraft cannons, and machine guns to destroy the Soviets air power. Gates added that during 1986-87, U.S administration improved the logistics base and U.S ability to bring clothes, foodstuff and more advanced weaponry for the Afghan freedom fighters (Gates, 2006).

Same as the other dangerous weapons, during 1985 an issue was discussed in Reagan administration for provision of Stinger Missiles to Afghan insurgents but CIA administration had opposed this point because these weapons obviously belongs to U.S. But dramatically CIA point was opposed and on December 6, 1985 during a breakfast meeting between U.S high ranking official and they again raised the point for provision of Stinger Missile. A couple of weeks later in January 1986, during Casey’s visit to Pakistan, he indicated to Pakistani President Zia-Ul-Haq likely U.S. approval of Stingers (Gates, 2006).

In the first half of 1986, the President Reagan and his administration finally gave the permission for approve and sending of Stinger Missile to Afghan freedom fighters. The pressure for sending of Stingers didn’t come only from Congress but Secretary of State George Schultz, Bill Casey and various other top ranking officials also pressed to U.S government for this step (Schultz, 1993; Galster, 2001).

The first shipments of Stingers were provided to Afghan insurgents during second half of 1986 and results seemed to be capable. An intelligence report mentioned that after the provision of Stinger, the U.S.S.R war tactics has been changed. The report further added that before the introduction of Stingers, the Soviets fly over heads of their targets but now quickly attacks and fly back immediately (Digital National Security Archive, 1988, March). U.S provided the Stranger Missiles to Mujahedeen which were also used against civilians and the U.S.S.R blamed Pakistan and U.S for these casualties and asserted that the America is the prime key to spread the international terrorism (Hartman, 2002).

In Cold War of Afghanistan, it was not only U.S. which backed the Afghan resistances but Pakistan and Saudi Arabia also played a very crucial role. Throughout Afghan war Casey had been doing the job of the Director of Central Intelligence (DCI) and was the member of Committee on the Present Danger (CPD). Casey considered himself as the chief commander of war against U.S.S.R forces in Afghanistan. In Islamabad, the Headquarter of CIA became the global external of Langley (Lohbeck, 1993).

Pakistan played a prime role during CIA's financial supporting to Afghan resistance. Due to Inter-Services Intelligence's (ISI) extensive connections with Afghan rebellions, CIA preferred to ISI for supporting and helping Afghan rebellions. CIA funneled billions of dollars, matched with Saudi Arabia as dollar for dollar for resistance of conflict chest through the Pakistan ISI; A CIA Director Cogan's colleague summed up the relationship that U.S took the means to pay the conflict and gave to peoples who could also do so for reasons which U.S agreed (Cogan, 1993).

Director of Afghan's covert operation and member of ISI, Brigadier Yousaf delineating the strategy that, "we should keep and maintain the pots boiling at assured temperature and not allow them to boil over" (Yousaf et al., 1992). This parallel was an admonition and reprimands not to exceed the aiding to resistance in shape of armament program and incites a U.S.S.R reaction. To avoid a direct conflict with Soviet forces, the Afghan guerilla forces focused on soft targets and a technique of conflict introduced by ISI officials causing severe damages (Yousaf et al., 1992).

Saudi Arabia had also played key role to aiding the Afghan rebellions under the policies of U.S. Moreover, Saudi Arabia wanted the Whabbism (a part of religion) in Afghanistan; Gates memo showed that Saudi Arabia appealed to America's officials to support the Afghan's insurgents and they should also encourage Pakistan people for doing this (Gates, 2006). Both Saudi Arabia and CIA financially supported the Afghan resistances approximately 9 billion against the Soviet forces (Faltas & Paes, 2001). Funneling of this big amount made these insurgents very strong and U.S used them easily against U.S.S.R for their own purpose.

#### **4. Foundation of Hell in Afghanistan**

After provision of financial support and arms to Afghan resistance movements against the Soviet forces in Afghanistan, the U.S deemed it essential to ally itself with Saudi and Pakistani governments. These allies made sure that the U.S arms and money program would be used to grow the Islamic movements in Afghanistan. As the same, Cogan stated that relations between U.S and Afghan mujahedeen had to be momentary as 'the long range country's aims in which mujahedeen were finally would not be entirely compatible with Westerns aims (Cogan, 1993). In 1980s, expansionism of Soviet forces was yet considered the crucial threat to warm water ports and petroleum of region, when contemplating the risks of U.S.S.R threat against the moderately new Islamic fundamentalists threat, strangely, conflict against communism was still earliest and foremost in U.S. policy makers' minds. U.S. ignored the threat of Islamic fundamentalists and used them as rampart against revolution and communism in Afghanistan.

A CIA official stated on Peshawar Seven as slack arrangement and layout of insurgents opposing U.S.S.R: 'Afghan was all fierce, brutal, and fundamentalist and blood thirsty' (Kux, 2001). Pakistani ISI official stated that there were only two groups which were considered most fundamentalists during Soviet-Afghan war (Yousaf et al., 1992). Hizb-e-Islami group was the most extreme than other and headed by Hekmatyar so that ISI funneled the most aid to them. During 1979, the leader of Hizb-e-Islami also met with the CIA (McCoy, 2003). They built his power and stature in Afghanistan thanks to U.S weapons and money program. In the initial stages of cover aid, Saudis supported with \$200 million to Hizb-e-Islami group (Hartman, 2002). The weapons and financial aid being funneled to Hizb-e-Islami group and leverage the other groups lacked; The U.S empowers Hizb-e-Islami despite the fact that the leader of Hizb-e-Islami was not a good man but was ignored by U.S and was later described by U.S official as very brutal and violent person (Burchill, 2001). Hekmatyar's group peoples threw acid on women who refused to wear the veil in 1970s era (McCoy, 2003). Also during 1980s, he attacked on school where boys and girls studying together (Fisk, 2001). U.S official Lifshultz also criticized the U.S for promoting and aiding to Hekmatyar as the Afghan leader. But everything overlooked by all stakeholders

and funneled the billions of dollars and worlds dangerous arms to them.

Hence, the ISI was permitted by CIA to produce the radicals to fight against the Soviet Union. It was steady with Pakistani intelligence objectives of change the Mujahedeen conflict to worldwide conflict by Muslim countries against the U.S.S.R. Thirty five thousand fundamentalists from forty countries joined the jihad of Afghanistan. Eventually, more than ten thousand Muslim fundamentalists were influenced by Afghan War (Rashid, 1999). Their presence in the region was non-controversial. Every fundamentalist was willing to fight to death against Soviet. According to a U.S official in Pakistan, “During Soviet–Afghan war, everyone was welcomed and participated in Afghan jihad with open armaments and also everyone can participate if they wanted to fight against anticommunist; it did not matter whether they were from Bahrain or Bosnia (Dahlburg, 1996).

When Reagan became the U.S. President; his top priority on his security policy was to establish closest relations with Pakistan. He also told to Pakistani officials: “we know there are some problem between us but there will be happened something changes” (Kux, 2001). During Reagan era, \$300 million were proposed as aid package for Pakistan to ‘get confidence and also provide support to U.S in the regional interests’ (Kux, 2001). The Pakistani security agencies allocated financial aid and weapons to extreme fundamentalists among the Afghan resistance movements (Rashid, 1999). According to Lifschultz, ‘as a foreign correspondent, ISI’s funneled system was a prime reason to spread the warlordism (Hartman, 2002). Further this money was provided the various insurgents movements and were ignored all kinds of retaliations.

Osama Bin Laden also participated in Afghanistan war against the U.S.S.R. The U.S.S.R invasion obtains the reaction from Osama, ‘I was enraged’. Bin Laden aiding to recruitment, training and transportation mostly to Arab nationals (Richelson & Evans, 2001, September 21). Bin Laden was patronized by Pakistani Intelligence Services. The experience of Bin Laden during Afghan war accentuated and emphasized his religious ideology, when U.S.S.R shell fell before him. His ties with U.S weapons and money solidify his control in Afghanistan. The threat in the person of Bin Laden were ignored and overlooked throughout the Afghan war. In the final stage, they become much strong and changed into Al-Qaida, which is now danger for globe.

Furthermore, there have been a variety of retaliatory responses to the U.S. involvement in Afghan region including the widening of radical activities outside the Afghan border. Fundamentalists with connections to numerous terrorist activities, including the Dharan truck bombing in 1996 which killed 19 U.S officials and destroyed a barracks, demolished the U.S. embassies during 1998 which killed hundreds in Tanzania and Kenya, and the historical attack of 9/11 on World Trade Centre (WTC). Three out of four terrorists of Saudi Arabia bombing admitted to gaining training and weapons from Afghan war (Dahlburg, 1996). Two of terrorists Ramzi and Abouhamila, bombing on WTC in 1993 that injured thousand and killed six, both were fought during 1980 era in Afghan war (Dahlburg, 1996). Various scholars, historians, and related officials pointed out that hell in Afghanistan have been founded under the umbrella of U.S policies, for instance, MK Narayanan, an Indian official, observed fundamentalists organizations as the illegal and illicit offspring of the war of Afghanistan during 1980 era (Dahlburg, 1996). A U.S official stated, ‘this is a psychotic example of chickens coming back to home to roost. You didn’t plug millions of dollars into the account of anticommunism, admit contribution from the entire world, and overlooked the consequences and outcomes. But we did (Rashid, 1999). Due to U.S. foreign policies and U.S involvement in Afghanistan, this region has been destroyed and also world’s biggest terrorist organization have been founded which is now the biggest threat for global peace and Afghanistan seems to be like a hell in the world map.

## **5. Hell Towards Pakistan**

As the U.S foreign policies created various sanctuary troubles and threats for Afghanistan same as the Pakistan was also fell into hell because was front line actor in this Cold War between U.S and Soviets Union. Furthermore, America’s policies affected Pakistan’s national interests, economic, security, tourism, and international image and different tribulations for Pakistan such as Refugee’s Dilemma, Armaments culture, Drug Trafficking in Pakistan.

### *5.1 Refugee’s Dilemma*

During Afghan-Soviet War, Pakistan played a primary role in emergence of Afghan mujahedeen and subsequent conflict against Soviet forces and supported the U.S. As the outcome of this conflict, Pakistan received 3 million Afghan refugees and arranged almost 386 camps for their living; approximately, everywhere from one to two million with some estimating that the exact number is even over than this. Pakistan is the largest host to 2.5 million refugees since 25 years in the world (Jeffrey, 2002). Seventy per cent of total Afghan refugees migrated to Pakistan’s other areas and basic needs were provided to them, as Pakistan’s internal situation was already not satisfied due to poverty so these refugees created many problems for Pakistan. Most of the refugees stayed in

Baluchistan region and most of them were Pakhtoons so Balochi elders were not pleased with them and expressed fear that continuous migration of Afghan refugees towards Baluchistan can disturb the balance between Pakhtoons and Balochi nations and might turned them into a minority. Therefore, a hesitation war was start. Beside, Khyber Pakhtoon Khawa (KPK), was already facing various problems, for instance, unemployment, poverty and other various problems. As a result, Peshawar (Capital of KPK) was full of Afghan refugees and most of them carried their arms, travelling aimlessly which caused different problems creating anxiety for administrations agencies. Also these migrants created the serious problems like Law and Order, economic, civic amenities, unemployment, disturbed demography and control over small business of the country particularly in Baluchistan and KPK.

### *5.2 Drug Trafficking and Pakistan's International Image*

As the Iran's Islamic revolution in 1979 closed all routes of drug trafficking towards western region, on the same time, the Soviet-Afghan war gave a free hand to Afghan's peoples for going in and out into Pakistan thus provided the opportunities to Afghanis for drug trafficking. Furthermore, they shifted poppy and heroin in Pakistan, as a result, KPK and Afghanistan cultivators' production was approximately seventy per cent of global highest heroin and biggest supplier in the world (Yusafzai, 1986, January). This drug trafficking created a drug culture in Pakistan and destroyed the image of Pakistan at international level.

### *5.3 Armaments Culture*

During the Afghan-U.S.S.R war, the "Armaments Culture" was grown in Pakistan. As the U.S funneled the billion of dollar in the form of financial aid and huge quantity of international weapons through ISI to the Afghan resistance movements but unfortunately in the same era these insurgents and other Afghan refugees migrated to Pakistan and took these different kinds of arms with them. Finally, this cold war created the opportunities for illegal arms business in Pakistan particularly in KPK, thus armaments culture took firm roots in Pakistan; in the region of KPK, near the Afghan border, there was a largest illegal arms market in the world (Hilali, 2002). Russian and Chinese AK-47, anti-aircraft weapons, anti tank weapons, and the Japanese made pistol are also available in Dara Adm Khail KPK (Katha, 1997).

### *5.4 Destruction of Tourism*

In the region of KPK and other areas of Pakistan (i.e. Chitral, Kaghan, Murree, Naran, Swat and Hazara), there are many beautiful and historic places. Every year millions of visitors come to Pakistan to visit of these areas. After the Afghan-Soviet War, as the 3 million Afghan refugees were migrated in Pakistan and these were also jobless and don't have any kind of opportunity therefore they began to loot and killing tourists. Eventually, these tourists were afraid to visit Pakistan and it was the greatest challenge for Pakistan both at the national and international level. According to "Around the World blog" the British government had advised their citizen to avoid the travel to Pakistan due to threat and sectarian violence (Around the World Blog, 2014, September 8).

### *5.5 Destabilizing of Pakistan's Culture*

In the era of 1980s, the Khadmit-e-Aetlaat-e-Dawalati (KHAD, Afghan Intelligence Agency) used the socio culture for the purpose of destabilizing the Pakistani culture. Thousands of prostitutes from Russia and central Asia were sends to Baluchistan and PKP to corrupt the society morally and ethically (Zaheer, 1986). Hilali reported "cited in 'U.S-Pakistan relationship: Soviet invasion of Afghanistan,'" that influx approximately eight thousand prostitutes of different ethnic origins i.e. Uzbek, Afghani, Russian, Turkmen, and Ukrainian were entered in Pakistan (Hilali, 2005). These prostitutes and whores established their network in Pakistan particularly in Islamabad, Lahore, Karachi and Peshawar.

### *5.6 Afghan's Anarchism and Pakistan*

U.S acquired its goals with the help of its allies and withdrew from Afghanistan without establishing a proper governance system in the region. Moreover, during Soviet-Afghan conflict, various resistance movements' leaders 'which were funneled by weapons and aided by billions of dollars from U.S, had tried to get control of different areas of Afghanistan, which created the civil war and anarchism in the region. This anarchism was a big threat for Pakistan. Furthermore, the Taliban were origins from former mujahidin movements which were supported and controlled by CIA and ISI and most of them were educated in Pakistani Madrasas during the Soviet-Afghan conflict era (Kamal, 1999).

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