

Pakistan's Aid to Afghanistan Since 2001 and Its Prospects for State Building in Afghanistan

Hashmat Ullah Khan
Jilin University, China

Gohar Rahman
University of Peshawar, Pakistan

State building is the process of establishing and strengthening the institutions essential for smooth functioning of government and necessary for economic, social, and political development. The process of state building in Afghanistan has been severely affected by wars, terrorism, ethnic and religious conflicts, tyrannies, and dictatorships. After the US occupation in 2001, a serious need of state building was deemed necessary for the durable solution of the issue. Many foreign countries, including Pakistan, contributed into the process of state building. This research aims to analyse the role of Pakistan's aid in state building process in Afghanistan since 2001 and its prospects for peace, stability, and development. Pakistan helped Afghanistan in the fields of education, infrastructure, agriculture, health, and capacity building of Afghanistan's govt personals and officials. She has provided a total aid of 1 billion dollars aid. Since 2001 Pakistan has established many hospitals, educational institutions, rail links, roads, scholarships to Afghan students, capacity building projects in different fields, and training to armed forces and diplomatic professionals of Afghanistan. This type of help is playing very positive role in the process of state building in Afghanistan.

Keywords: Pakistan, Afghanistan, aid, state building, institutions.

The main functions of state are security of citizens, justice, public service, mobilization of resources and infrastructure development, which need strong state institutions, but Afghanistan lacks such institutions. It is a war effected and landlocked country, constantly dependent upon the foreign aid and help of different donor countries including Pakistan. Even it is dependent on Pakistani seaports for foreign trade with the rest of world. Its institutions were destroyed therefore there was a serious need of state building process in Afghanistan which was started soon after the fall of Taliban regime. The Bonn Agreement signed on December 5, 2001, was the foundation stone of state-building initiative in this war-torn country. It paved way for rehabilitation of refuges, establishment of

Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Mr. Hashmat Ullah Khan, Ph.D Scholar, School of International and Public Affairs, Jilin University, China, Email: hashmat.kpk@gmail.com

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democracy, formation of *Loya Jirga*, constitutional development, presidential and parliamentary elections, establishment and restructuring of civil services, armed forces, police, courts, hospitals, educational institutes, drugs eradication and rehabilitation agencies, women rights, economic stability, new currency and social welfare programs etc. There was serious need of foreign aid and help in this regard. Like many other countries Pakistan has also provided economic aid and technical assistance to Kabul for its development, reconstruction and rehabilitation (Hanif, 2018). Foreign aid provided by Pakistan channelized to domestic priorities, helped institutional development and accelerated economic development thus playing very important role in state building process in Afghanistan. Being a donor, Pakistan has a long-term vision, motivated to concentrate on improving the state capability in order to construct efficient institutions and place Afghanistan on a path to long-lasting peace, prosperity, stability and development.

State building or institutions building is the process of establishing new and strengthening the existing institutions, requiring long-term stability, economic, political and social, progress and development in the targeted fragile country. State institutions including legislature, executive, judiciary, armed forces, police, education, treasury, transport, telecommunication, health, and many others, to control and administer the state (Global Development, 2013). Foreign aid serves as a tool of state building to advance the developmental and non-developmental goals, included policies implementations, counter terrorism, stability, establishing institutions, development of natural resources and democratization. Its size and structure depend on economic and political condition of the donor state. In other words, this process is an initiated international involvement to refine a fragile or deteriorating country by strengthening its existing institution as well as creation of new institutions. It means establishing such institutions in the country through which state can be strengthen and could function effectively. Power should be allocated to the state institutions as per the constitution and ensuring less chances of functional overlapping. It would form good governance to promote social order by rule of law, physical and financial security for the citizen of the state. Moreover, state building is intended to reduce poverty, security threats and fragileness to regional and global security created by terrorism, proxy wars, organized crimes, mass migration, illegal trade, extremism, sectarianism, and other types of violent conflicts. However, state building initiative is not constantly effective to combat the above-mentioned coercions and may lead to more destruction by aggravating the issues of the fragile country in quest for democratic legitimization (Karimi, 2012). Concerning Afghanistan state building efforts since 2001, the process was initiated and many state institutions have been installed through foreign aids that includes, *Loia Jirga* (Parliament), drafting of the constitution, presidency, judiciary, central bank, civil service, armed forces, police, educational institutions, humanitarian aid agencies, hospitals, Central Poppy Eradication Force (CPEF), Counter Narcotics Directorate (CND), Provincial Councils (PC), Provincial Governor's Offices, District governments, Afghanistan Independent Human Rights Commission (AIHRC), Communication and Agriculture Department etc. The post-conflict improvement course is a complex range of peace building milestone in Afghanistan. States move through these milestones at various pace, and with different degrees of risk of backslide into conflict (Ndikumana, 2015). Key milestones are easing of conflicts and violence, conclusion of peace agreement, disarmament, demobilization, national integration, return of refugees and IDPs, creation of foundation for a smoot running state, reconciliation, integration and initiation of economic recovery in Afghanistan. Moreover, donors are also facing the challenges of fair disbursement and appropriate uses of the aid.

There are many other works that highlighted several aspects of state building in Afghanistan providing good reference materials on aid to Afghanistan and Islamabad's policy towards Kabul since 2001, but no one directly addressed the questions of Pakistan's aid and its prospective benefits comprehensively. Therefore, there is a need to highlight Pakistan's role in Afghanistan since 2001 and address the question; what is the role of Pakistan's aid in the state building of Afghanistan? This study attempts to explore the aid politics and aid of Pakistan since 2001 and its prospects for state building. Still state building in Afghanistan is not succeeded despite of a very huge amount of foreign aid and its benefits are not transferred at grassroot level. On the subject matter this study highlights many important sectors got improved by foreign aid and explored many others which require more attention of foreign countries. This study added a new dimension to the work already done by developing an understanding of the role of Pakistan's aid in the state building of Afghanistan. It highlights the weaknesses of aid politics in Afghanistan which can facilitate policy makers to tackle the matters and concerns more effectively. As far as the contribution of this research study to the existing body of knowledge, it is very important study because limited attention has been paid in the existing literature to Pakistan's aid to Afghanistan and its role in state building of Afghanistan.

The study has been conducted on the recognized design for social sciences i.e. analytical and descriptive approaches. Inductive method and content analysis techniques were used in analysis and conclusion. To conduct this research study, data collected from secondary sources including, research articles, books, reports, official documents and media contacts. The timeframe of this study is from 2001-2019 because many changes in the foreign policy of Pakistan towards Afghanistan were observed during this period. Pakistan started to contribute to state building process in Afghanistan because peaceful and stabile Afghanistan is in favor of Pakistan.

Literature Review

State building is a serious need in Afghanistan, but this is not an easy task rather a very complex phenomenon. Many states played and are still playing their role in it. Rubin (2006) explains that sustainable peace, stability and democratization, need international aid and coordinated efforts of international actors involved in Afghanistan to strengthen the organisations working for the reconstruction of the state, but the study of Witter (2016) says that state building in Afghanistan as it formerly conceptualised, appears like a farce, mainly because the American backed Afghan government is neither capable to govern the country nor yet proficient enough to push back the militants. Likewise, Bizhan (2018) argues that state building is a major challenge in failed state like Afghanistan as it is a neo-patrimonial state, domestic politics characterized by elite fragmentation and most of the aid used through NGOs had dire consequences for state building. Like other countries, Pakistan has also played role in the state building of Afghanistan since 2001. According to the study of Khan and Hanif (2019), Pakistan's contributions in the fields of social reconstruction, education, health, communication, economic aid, and humanitarian assistance have been playing significant role in restoration of peace and socio-economic development of Afghanistan.

Prospects of Pakistan's Aids for the State Building in Afghanistan

In war effected and fragile states like Afghanistan, usually peace, stability and development are not taking place because of weak or failed state institutions, and such is the case of Afghanistan. When institutions become weak then it leads to the failure of the state and its citizens become vulnerable to insecurity, poverty, humanitarian crises, terrorism, diseases, political instability and economic upheaval. Development and restoration of peace and stability are not taking place mainly because of poor state institutions. The state building process was weakened by many factors

including terrorism, corruption, immobilization of important segments of society like women, middle and lower middle classes, mobilization of elite class, weak economy, local political culture, informal governance model, complex tribal society, warlordism, social evils like sexual exploitation of children, religious fundamentalism and some conservative cultural values. These were the main causes weaken state building in Afghanistan. Insurgency also posed threats and hampered the state-building process in Afghanistan. Foreign Aid is sufficiently capable to achieve excellent result in fragile and war affected states like Afghanistan (Chandy, 2011). State institutions in Afghanistan were weak, therefore state building process was very slow, but it has been improved significantly for last few years.

According to Gisselquist, state-building commonly involves strengthening the capacity, authority and legitimacy of the state concerned (Gisselquist, 2014). Economic stability of any state is the pre-requisite for state building including Afghanistan. Without economic development no state can fulfil the dream of state building. The economic structure of Afghanistan was totally collapsed. Economy was mostly illegal and informal, and many important segments like women role in economic development and social status were totally excluded. Role of woman cannot be neglected in any society including Afghanistan. The polarized nature of Afghan society due to tribal tradition, conservative culture values and religious extremism deprived them from taking part in the socio-economic development of the country. Their position was worst in the world and was considered the most deprived segment of the society during the era of Taliban regime, but since 2001 role of woman has been acknowledged and improved. Depriving woman of working and restricting their social mobility also cripple poor economy of Afghanistan. After the occupation, US paid appropriate attention to economy of Afghanistan. At present this country is getting only 50 dollars per person per year aid of which 20 dollars are contributed by the United States (Dobbins, 2008). Afghanistan is a war torn and fragile country, needs a number of reforms and development initiatives to help the country move towards self-reliance and become a peaceful, stable and progressive country. Gradually developing from years of wars and annihilation, the country needs extraordinary attention of key donors as well as the neighbours to recover and build what it has lost in continuous wars. In the Bon conference, which was the first consultation about the future planning of Afghanistan, governmental setup, peace restoration and reconstruction of the state, a joint statement on regional stability and peace was issued, expressing the necessity of stable, peaceful and secure Afghanistan for creating a safe region (Khan & Hanif, 2019). It was expressed that foreign aid is crucial for reconstruction of Afghanistan to end the cycle of bloodshed, terrorism and to convert the extremely brutal and underdeveloped state into a stable and prosperous state. International community was called upon to contribute into this regard. Being a neighbour, Pakistan is well-aware of her job and thus, had extended aid and all other possible assistances for the reconstruction of Afghanistan. Foreign aid is an important source of state building in Afghanistan. Since 2001 Islamabad is also giving economic, and technical aid and support to Kabul for rehabilitation, reconstruction, development and improving the capacity of state institutions. Under the Planning Commission of Pakistan, Afghanistan's planning cell was established to assist and evaluate projects designed for Afghanistan (Planning Commission Report, 2007).

The developmental assistance of Pakistan to Afghanistan has reached to 1 billion dollars till now, invested in infrastructure development, health, education, agriculture sectors and capacity building of professionals of Afghanistan (The Nation, June 15, 2018). The govt of Pakistan announced

\$100 million developmental aid for the reconstruction and rehabilitation of Afghanistan in the Tokyo International conference in 2002 showing commitment to help the state confronting violence and destruction since long (Daily Dawn, February 2, 2002). Pakistan financed many projects in Afghanistan including the Railway Line from Chaman to Kandahar at the cost of 12 million dollars, reconstruction of Turkham to Jalalabad road, road from Ghulam Khan to Khost city of Afghanistan, electricity transmission line to Khost, provided 200 trucks, 100 buses, 38 ambulances, aid to Kabul University, reconstruction of many schools destroyed in war, constructed a block for faculty in Balkh University and constructed a Kidney Centre in Jalalabad city (Dawn, July 26, 2005). All such programs aimed to encourage and promote durable development and develop infrastructure in Afghanistan.

Different development projects worth 9.528 million dollars had been completed during 2002-03 including; donation of 50,000 metric ton wheat worth 8.12 million dollars, 0.516 million dollars paid to Pakistan International Airline (PIA) for Afghan pilgrims from Kabul-Jeddah-Kabul, 0.075 million dollars paid to Kabul Radio station and 5 million text books worth 0.817 million dollar were also delivered to Afghanistan (Ministry of Foreign Affairs Pakistan, 2007). In 2003 and 2004, many schemes worth 13.898 million dollars were finalised that includes; payment of 4.808 million dollars to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Afghanistan for purchasing essential equipment, 0.17 million dollars to Afghan Ministry of Communication, 0.30 million dollars to the feasibility study of Chaman-Kandahar railway link, 8.33 million dollars for the construction of road from Torkham to Jalalabad, 0.09 million dollars to Ministry of Interior for the training of its officials and 0.2 million dollars to the Ministry of Water and Power for the construction of its office in Kabul (Hanif, 2018). Also, different projects worth 15.828 million dollars were completed during 2004-05 including; 0.044 million dollars were paid to Ministry of Interior for training of officers, 4.833 million dollars for supply of 100 buses, 0.139 million dollars to rail link of Chaman-Spinboldak and 8.6 million dollars to Torkham-Jalalabad Road (Hanif, 2018). In the years of 2005-2006, 35 million dollars were provided for different projects including; 34.42 million dollars to road from Torkham to Jalalabad and 0.81 million dollars for the construction of local roads of Jalalabad (Ministry of Foreign Affairs Pakistan, 2007). During the visit of ex-Prime Minister of Pakistan Mr. Shaukat Aziz to Afghanistan in 2007, he announced increase in the rehabilitation aid to Afghanistan from 250 to 300 million dollars. Since 2001 Islamabad is also helping manufacture development aimed that the citizens of country may enter an era of industrial development.

It is a universal fact the education plays a key function in the stability and progress of a war torn country. The role of Pakistan in construction of educational institutes in the country and sponsorship of its students was of immense importance in order to prepare the citizens of Afghanistan to play its due role in the durable development and stability of their country as the ultimate responsibly in this regards has to be performed by the Afghans themselves. It is the main factor behind every change in the country. Educating its people can pull Afghanistan out from many underlying issues. The higher level of literacy guarantees better level of socio-economic development and values. Pakistan has constructed different educational institutions including Rahman Baba High School in Kabul at the cost of 4 billion dollars and the Rahman Baba hostel having the capacity of 1,500 students accommodations at the cost 15.86 million dollars at Kabul University, the Allama Iqbal Faculty of Humanities at the cost of ten million dollars at Balkh University, the Liqat Ali Khan Engineering Faculty at the cost of ten million dollars at Nangarhar University and the Sir Syad Post Graduate Faculty of Science of at the cost of five million dollars (Khan & Hanif, 2019). Apart from these, many primary schools are also constructed by Pakistan in Wardak, Herat, Baghlan and Kandahar provinces. Alongside, in last 30 years 2800 Afghans graduated from Pakistan-based

educational institutions. Islamabad has an open-door policy for all levels of Afghan students. Pakistan is providing 6,000 fully funded scholarships to the students of Afghanistan in which 100 seats have been reserved for female students annually. Only in 2018, 750 Afghani students had been enrolled in different universities of Pakistan to pursue their education (The Nation, June 15, 2018). In the field of education, other aids provided are contribution of 300,000 student kits, delivery of 2,800 computers to different institutions (Daily Pakistan, August 28, 2010). Pakistan also helped Afghanistan to strengthen its political institutions. During the 2005 presidential elections, Pakistan provided the facility of vote to the Afghan refugees living in Pakistan. Like other sectors, Pakistan has also helped Afghanistan in development of the telecommunications and power sectors through provision of many kinds of equipment including electric wire, poles and transformers worth 3 million dollars (The News, March 21, 2016).

The communication system in Afghanistan has been destroyed by continuous war mostly due to air strikes and car bomb blasts. Since 2001, Pakistan is taking deep interests in both the reconstruction of the demolished and construction of the new means of communication in the country. Being a land-locked state, Afghanistan is mainly dependent on neighbours to connect with international markets. Islamabad has delivered different types of construction machinery for building of highways to improve bilateral trade with Kabul and ensure its connectivity with CARs. Besides these Islamabad has also built numerous internal roads in many big cities including in Jalalabad city at the cost of four million dollars. It has helped the smooth movement of transportation and helped in enhancing the connectivity among different cities. Furthermore, the feasibility report of Sarabi-Jabol-e-Saraj road is accomplished by the NESPAK and Islamabad is committed for the timely completion. It would be the backbone in the development of the entire area after successful completion. Islamabad has also provided different kinds of construction machines pneumatic tire rollers, motor-graders, loaders, and vibratory rollers etc. worth 1 million dollars to Kandahar, Nangarhar, and some other provinces to facilitate the works of construction. Moreover, Islamabad also provided 15 weighbridges to Afghan government worth 10 million dollars and 30 mobile mixers worth of 1.5 million dollars provided to the Afghan Public Works Ministry (Khan & Hanif, 2019). In 2016, Islamabad has also approved seventy-six (76) million rupees for the feasibility studies rail link from Peshawar to Jalalabad and many other significant feasibility studies are under consideration including rail link from Bannu to Khost and from Gwadar to Helmand (The Daily Dawn, January 17, 2016). It will be the shortest rail link and will greatly improve transit trade between Pakistan and Afghanistan. Recently, during the Pakistani PM visit to Kabul, Pakistan and Afghanistan signed an MOU for Quetta-Kandahar-Herat Railway link and Peshawar-Kabul Motorway (The Nation, June 15, 2018). All these rail links and roads will play a vital role in the progress of Afghanistan and will definitely improve the communication infrastructure which is badly affected due to continuous war.

Another key aspect with respect to state-building is the financial stability of Afghanistan in order to make stable state and protect it from failing again. Foreign trade is key source of economic development for any country, but it is not permanent. Afghanistan needs to build its own economic sources. As Afghanistan is a landlocked state dependent on neighbours for its foreign trade with the rest of the world. The trade route through the Khyber Pass to Pakistani ports is the most economical and natural trade route of Afghanistan through which it can hugely improve its imports and exports. Though, this route is yet not fully utilized by Afghanistan because of worst law and order situation and its political differences with Islamabad (Hasan, 1964). If this route is fully utilized then it can

provide a significant boost to the foreign trade of Afghanistan which could play key role in economic development, a prerequisite for state building of a country because state institutions can only be built and developed when the country is economically stable and self-reliant. As far as the trade of Afghanistan is concerned, her main exports are fur, agricultural goods and fruits, which are the leading sources of income of the country. The largest export partners of Afghanistan is Pakistan having 25.9% share, followed by India having 25.5%, United States of America 14.9%, Tajikistan 9.6%, Germany 5%, and the main import partners is US having 29.1% share, followed by Pakistan having 23.3% share, India 7.6%, Russia 4.5% and Germany 4.2% (Hasan, 1964). The Pak-Afghan trade relations have great potential. It needs to be strengthened in order to advance the function of markets and improve production and export. The economic relations of Pakistan with Kabul passed through different phases since the independence. From 1947 to 1965 their trade and economic ties faced several ups and downs due to political differences but once it signed Transit Trade Agreement of 1965, the trade and economic relations between the two countries significantly improved. By signing the Transit Trade Agreement of 2010 Pak-Afghan trade and economic relations further improved as they became formal international trade partners. Moreover, Afghanistan has been gifted with a huge amount of natural resources, including copper, gas, oil, sulphur, coal, iron, lead, zinc, chromite, salt and other precious stones, but unfortunately due to continuous terrorism and conflict, Afghanistan could not explore the natural resources to make economy strong. In 1970, USSR estimated that Afghanistan has 400 Million tons of coal (Jalalzai, 2003). Likewise, the US geological survey says that Afghanistan is blessed with 1 trillion dollars of natural reservoirs, which includes 1.6 billion barrels oil, sixteen 16 trillion cubic feet natural gas and 240 million tons copper, lithium and iron (Ross, Trombly & Barr, 2014). All these natural resources can be supplied to international markets through Pakistan, which will definitely give a huge amount of foreign exchange to Afghanistan. Being a neighbour, Pakistan is also a huge market of Afghan goods and most of its mineral resources are exported to Pakistan. Afghanistan is situated at crossroad of the Asia, therefore it can serve as a main trade route between Central and South Asia, but unfortunately law and order situation deprives it from taking benefits from its geo-strategic location.

The provision of healthcare facilities is also a serious challenge in Afghanistan. The main objective behind the provision of quality healthcare services is to enhance the health of common people so that they are mainstreamed and they can use their potentials and energies for the reconstruction of their country. Islamabad had also provided valuable aid and assistance in the field of healthcare to Afghanistan by constructing many hospitals, i.e. Naib Aminullah Khan Hospital in Loghar at the cost of 20 million dollars, Jinnah Hospital in Kabul at the cost of 20 million dollars, Nishtar Kidney Center in Jalalabad at the cost of 7 million dollars, Zia ul Haq Artificial Limb Centre in Badakshah, fifty (50) beds Al-Shefa Eye Hospital in Gardaz, fifty 50 beds Al-Shefa eye hospital in Kunduz and Syed Ahmad Shaheed Hospital. Pakistan has also started many capacity building programs for healthcare professionals of Afghanistan under which only in 2017, fifty-nine (59) doctors, nurses, and technicians successfully completed their training. In addition, forty-two (42) more healthcare professionals started their training at the Institute of Kidney Diseases Peshawar in 2018 (The Nation, June 15, 2018). Islamabad has also provided forty-five ambulances and fourteen fully equipped medical units to Afghanistan worth 6 million dollars. Moreover, Pakistan has allocated 45 million rupees for building of dispensaries in various backward areas to offer healthcare services at doorstep to the people. Apart from these, the Edhi Foundation has also provided fifty ambulances to various hospitals (Khan & Hanif, 2019). By improving the system of social security and investing in healthcare, the country is expected to come out from the effects of wars and terrorism. Life expectancy rate in Afghanistan is only 45 years and the mortality rate of children is 115 per 1000

(Khan & Hanif, 2019). Therefore, Pakistan's help in health sector of Afghanistan is very important as it is leading to enable the common people to have all types of health services inside Afghanistan. Consequently, it will save their money and time as travelling abroad for healthcare is very expensive and time consuming. It is estimated that more than 90 percent patients of Afghanistan are visiting Pakistan, mostly Peshawar and Quetta for medical treatment. After having healthcare facilities at home, they will use all these resources for the development of other facilities. Moreover, Pakistan is also helping Afghanistan in polio eradication.

Islamabad has also helped Kabul in capacity building in the fields of banking, agriculture, military, railways and diplomacy. Many agricultural professionals completed their training in the field of "Quarantine and Plant Protection" in Pakistan, and apart from this twenty (20) fully-funded scholarships were granted only in 2018 to the officers of the Ministry of Irrigation, Agriculture and Livestock to do their specialized studies at the Agricultural University, Faisalabad, Pakistan. Railway professionals were also trained at Pakistan's Railway academy, Lahore. Moreover, Pakistan and China also asked Afghanistan to identify such areas in which both the countries could offer training and capacity building to Afghan professionals in order to make them capable to contribute into the betterment of their country.

Peace is very necessary for state building in Afghanistan. To restore peace and stability the sign of Pakistan's pledge to facilitate, help and support the course of reconciliation showed by the release of high profile Taliban captives included Mullah Ghani Baradar on the request of the government of Afghanistan to ensure peace talks, as well as the public pledges of both military and civilian officials to help the government of Afghanistan. Islamabad is supporting peace and reconciliation process that is owed and led by Afghans. Without peace and security, it is extremely challenging for Afghanistan to provide basic services, social justice, institutions building and strengthening of existing institutions, attract foreign investment, increase exports and develop effective governance. Without peace and the rule of law, it is impossible to deal with other aspects of state building. Pakistan is wholeheartedly striving to bring peace and stability in Afghanistan and has been facilitating peace talks between Afghan govt and Taliban. A series of peace talks were facilitated by Pakistan in Murree and recently a grand meeting of Afghan elders was also conducted in Lahore. Now after US and Taliban agreement of 29th February 2020 if intra-Afghan talks succeed and the Afghan government and Taliban reach to a conclusion and peace restore, then it will be a great contribution for the state building in Afghanistan. Peace will be very much beneficial for modernization programs as regulation of economic system, reforms in social sectors welfare, healthcare, education, regularization of exports and imports and improvement in industrial sector require peace. Most importantly, peace in Afghanistan will stop brain drain a key for the state building. A lot of educated people and skilled workers fled to neighbouring countries including Pakistan, Iran, and Russia. For the development of state building and the war torn country like Afghanistan, three things are very essential: resources, manpower and proper planning. Afghanistan has the first two things, but seriously lacks the third-one. Pakistan helped educational sector to provide competent manpower who would also help the country in proper planning. It is very helpful in reducing Afghanistan's dependence on foreign countries and their aid.

Due to militancy, terrorism and war, the situation of Afghanistan is very alarming for neighbouring countries, especially for Pakistan because it is negatively affecting the peace and

security of neighbouring countries including Pakistan. Knowing and understanding this fact, Islamabad is fully supporting every helpful initiative to eradicate the threat of terrorism, Al-Qaeda, ISIS, regional militancy, Taliban and other militant groups. To restore peace and security, Pakistan also facilitated peace process in its level best, which is appreciated by international community. Apart from these, Islamabad has also utilized soft-power. "Soft-power" means to solve skirmishes peacefully and through financial assistance and cooperation. In this age of globalisation, the practice of soft-power is taking preference over usage of force. This soft-power strategy of Islamabad wins the sympathies of local people in many areas of the country and could be very helpful to establish a vibrant civil society in the country (Usman, 2013). These policies are paving the way for eliminating terrorism, extremism, poverty, civil war, militancy, and surely would end the mistrust and blame game in Pak-Afghanistan relations.

Pakistan's contribution in socio-economic development, bilateral trade facilitation as Pakistan is the largest trade partner of Afghanistan, scholarships to Afghan students and massive contribution in the field of education, health and communication sectors and active engagement in peace process are very productive in resolving the Afghan imbroglio. In its contacts with Kabul, Islamabad is showing its neutral and nonaligned foreign policy of directly working with the legitimate government of Afghanistan while upholding a clear-cut distance from non-state actors since 2001.

Stability of the state of Afghanistan is primarily dependent on the potential of the Afghan armed forces, police and other security and law enforcement agencies. Though in June 2013, NATO handed-over the security of whole country to the Afghan security forces, but still its capacity and capability need improvement. Command and control problems need modernization. Pakistan can provide significant help in this regard to strengthen ANSF in order to bring peace and stability in the country (Khan, 2014). At present, Pakistan is providing limited training facilities. Recently six Afghan Army cadets had also joined the Military Academy (PMA) of Abbottabad for eighteen months training course (Khan, 2015). Establishing these security agencies, reforming and training are equally political. Establishing effective armed forces needs the creation of a national mandate which can hold loyalty not only practical and technical trainings. The creation of efficient army specially depends on establishing its spirit and consistency in devotion to the mission. High wages can bring huge recruitment of personals but cannot motivate them to sacrifice for the country. The Afghan National Army and Police are still incompetent to offer even the essential security. Another underlying challenge is that even Afghanistan is yet not capable to maintain its army and police in an appropriate way. The level of current salaries, future staffing plans and maintenance of the armed forces require a recurring expense estimated around 1 billion dollars per-year. In order to fulfil the expenditures of the armed forces 4% of GDP of Afghanistan is needed and without aid it would have to more than quintuple its legal economy (Rubin, 2006). The government of Afghanistan cannot secure foreign funding for long time for its armed forces. Afghanistan must in due course advance its financial position to pay for its forces. Development of economy, revenue collection and the elimination of illegal and parallel economies like drugs trafficking and other type of smuggling need to be countered by competent and capable security forces.

Another very serious hurdle in way of state building is the drugs production and trafficking. The world's leading producer of opium is Afghanistan, producing 90 percent of the world's opium (World Drug Report, 2013). The terrorist groups, warlords and other anti-state elements grab most of the profit of drugs. As Pakistan is sharing long mountainous border with Afghanistan, therefore, Pakistan is the most vulnerable state to the Afghan drugs trafficking (World Drug Report, 2013).

According to the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 27-30 billion dollars worth of drugs per year are smuggled from Afghanistan to other countries of in which worth 1.5 billion dollars worth of drugs are smuggled to Pakistan. This drugs supply is a very serious issue because the number of drugs addicts has increased enormously in Pakistan. According to the statistics of 2012, there were 6.7 million drug users in Pakistan (World Drug Report, 2012). Now since counter terrorism operations in tribal areas and the wire fencing of Pak-Afghan border at the cost of \$550 million (The Express Tribune Pakistan, December 15, 2018) this drugs trafficking would be controlled significantly. It is not only good for Pakistan but also for Afghanistan because the decrease of its demand in Pakistan would slowly and gradually eliminate drugs production in Afghanistan.

Though Afghanistan is improving in many fields such as education, women and minorities rights (Vyas, 2013) democratization and implementation of a new constitution, but it is still facing many major threats to its future. Despite the presence of United States and its allied for nineteen years in the country, unfortunately it is still very far from being stabilized. Terrorism, violence, extremism, turmoil, ineffective governance, civilian casualties, drugs production and insurgency continue. To address these worst challenges, a consolidated and collective national approach is required. Afghanistan is still in conflict, and both in conflict and post-conflict countries face high risks of fragility. It urgently requires state building, economic development, reconstruction and development of domestic resources. Afghanistan is unable to explore and utilize its own resources, post-conflict states like Afghanistan is, therefore, compelled to depend on foreign aid to finance its state building. The question is that what role foreign aid can play to assist fragile states like Afghanistan to address the issues of its state building and to avoid or at least decrease the risk of new conflicts, and put it on a path of durable development? This question is mainly significant because failure of post-conflict state building initiatives increases the risk of new conflicts and fragility. The matter is not only about the quantity of the foreign aid channelized to post-conflict arena, but also about how the foreign aid is properly utilized and its contribution to state building, reforms and development.

State building efforts in Afghanistan is very complicated phenomenon and is facing many challenges. Despite the continuous efforts of international community since 2001, situation is still very bad. Still it needs much more coordinated efforts of international community, but it seems that the current efforts of state building by international community will decline as US finally decided to withdraw from Afghanistan. Since the signing of peace agreement on 29th February 2020 till 25th July 2020 in the five months Taliban lunched six thousand attacks in Afghanistan (Mashriq, July 15, 2020). Sustainable peace, stability and democratization, need international aid and coordinated efforts of international actors involved in Afghanistan to strengthen the organisations working for the reconstruction of the country (Rubin, 2006). The past as well as the present state of affairs in country shows that there is a crucial and urgent necessity for peace because the lack of peace deteriorates each and everything. Without restoration of peace, it is extremely difficult for the country to deliver fundamental services for which it is created, attract foreign investment, uphold local economy or build efficient institutions. The security problems faced by Afghanistan, from warlords, Taliban, Al Qaeda, drug smugglers, militant groups and injustice require disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration. Security issue in Afghanistan is the main challenge to the state building efforts in the country. Militants have jeopardised the whole phenomena. The Bonn Agreement partially denoted that the country would undergo democratisation in which militant groups and other factions would

demobilise in order to settle the issue of security dilemma, determined to sort out their differences via election rather than force (Walter & Snyder, 1999). But such process needs transparency and confidence building measures (CBMs) implemented by peace-keepers (Wantchekon, 2004), but unfortunately it is absent in the current process. For successful and durable state building, the co-opting of political groups is also very important that ensures the exclusion and complete elimination of terrorists and militant groups are also very necessary.

Strong central government, stable governance, rule of law, secure environment, sustainable economy and social welfare are crucial for state building process. In Afghanistan, strong central government never existed mainly because of the poor governance, tribal nature of Afghan society, interference of foreign countries, insecurity, proxy wars, irregular and informal economy and lack of education and poor public health facilities etc. Afghanistan cannot be stabilized from outside. International aid and assistance are necessary, but not enough to create sustainable institutions. Mobilization of indigenous potentials, resources and engagement of all segments of society including women are necessary for state building process and establishment of strong central government.

The disarmament, demobilization and reintegration ventures, as well as the fruitful reconstruction requires coordinated domestic and international actions to offer alternatives to ex-warriors through measures of mainstreaming like career opportunities and vocational training. Counselling is also necessary for them to protect them from indulging into militancy again. The processes of disarmament, mobilization, and reintegration are also very much important for restoration of peace, stability and establishment of rule of law in Afghanistan. Local level clashes over lands, routes, water, other resources, ethnicity and family matters especially over women, cause insecurity and social unrest. As Afghanistan is a tribal society, therefore such disputes also lead to clashes among tribes. The challenges to reconstruction and state building in Afghanistan, with special consideration to security threats created by warlords and rivalry among racial factions for gaining political influence also require the help of the international community for the restoration of peace and democracy because the Afghan government and its institutions are still weak to deal with such issues. Overcoming the challenges facing by the judicial system and provision of justice are also very importance. The tribal councils have significant influence in the Afghan society as it is the part of Afghan culture aimed to ensure "rule of law", but it is a parallel system to Kabul administration, which is weakening the authority of Afghan government. Its method of working is also exploiting the society. Local political culture and tradition are playing enormous roles in the relations of both countries and their policies towards each other. In Afghanistan, the extremist religious doctrines and exclusive practices negatively influence society. It is creating hurdles for state building process and strengthening the hands of terrorists and anti-state elements.

Likewise, human welfare is also necessary. It is among the main function of the modern state. The establishment of the health system, education, access to basic needs etc. are in its early phases in Afghanistan. These things are necessary for quality and healthy life. All donors including Pakistan especially the neighbours of Afghanistan are required to help more in this regard. Even no matter both for-profit and not-for-profit bases but its provision are too much necessary. Such projects can be implemented by the public-private partnership also. Due to continuous war, a lot of people need humanitarian aid and assistance to return to their homes and start new life. "Housing is also a serious issue as more than five million returnees in the country are suffering from this problem (Khan & Hanif, 2019). There are many other serious and widespread social evils like sexual exploitation of male in Afghan society. Children are the future of any society, but the sexual

exploitation is digging the whole society deeper. There is no proper arrangement for child protection, both the Afghan government and international community failed to protect children. UN, Afghan government and many other donor agencies and NGOs are struggling but failed to protect children from sexual exploitation.

Founding efficient financial institutions and economy which are dynamic and capable are crucial for the long-term sustainability in a war torn and post-conflict country. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) helped the government of Afghanistan to build a sound and comprehensive base for macroeconomic stability and economic management in order to make possible the restoration and sustained financial recovery. But it still needs more coordinated and well organized efforts to overcome the weaknesses of the financial system of Afghanistan. Economic development in Afghanistan will be key to the prevention of bloodshed, violence and exploitation. There are a lot of issues to state building in Afghanistan among which the funding issue is very important. Financial resources to the country for public services are mostly coming from foreign aid, not from national resources. Foreign donor countries have mainly provided aid through their own executing organizations and Non-Governmental Organizations. According to the statistics of Ministry of Finance of Afghanistan, the huge portion of expenditures are coming from foreign aid and a small amount from the government budget (Rubin, 2006). It is also an issue that aid is beyond control of Afghan government. Afghanistan is a state where indigenous financial system, the state's capability to provide public services are fully damaged due to decades of war and violence. Most of the state economy is informal and even much illegal, delivering to mafias and also composed of such networks involved in drug trafficking and other types of illegal smuggling. Consequently, it weakens the economy of the state and state-building process.

The satisfactory and adequate use of aid and accountability are also lacking in Afghanistan. Therefore, despite receiving huge aid, it is failed to establish stable government. The government is unable to exercise its due tasks and responsibilities. In Afghanistan international organisations have established several mechanisms to facilitate the government to develop capability and capacity like Afghanistan Reconstruction Trust Fund, Afghan Donor Assistance Database and Law and Order Trust Fund for Afghanistan, but all such efforts failed to bring concrete result. For any state building, including Afghanistan, to be successful it must be built on political settlement. In so far as there is any capable armed group excluded from that political settlement, there will be the risk of instability and uncertainty.

This country also needs huge growth of human capital through socialization, education, social mobility, training, proper health care and provision of other basic facilities. Though since 2001 Afghanistan has received a lot of aids, but its benefits to state and society were rarely transferred. Unfortunately, it could not bring any notable change in society or helped state building. Since 2001, most of the aid was channelized to big cities of Afghanistan. Even 70% of maintenance budget was routed to only the city of Kabul (Ahmed, 2019). This phenomenon lead to an ever-growing socio-economic disparity in the country. Another thing in this regard is that aid forced the Afghan people, government and its economy aid dependent. It has established an artificial economy that is like a susceptible bulge that could ruin anytime. As US is going to completely withdraw from Afghanistan, which will also results in decrease in the aid inflow to Afghanistan, and even if US starts decrease of aid while she is the leading donor of foreign aid, the lack of foreign aid will definitely hurt the

economy and the functioning of government in the country. Another very serious issues in aid politics are, many donors are giving aid to exploit the state for their interests at the cost of others and there is also very serious corruptions in aids, which is pointed out on many occasions by reports of international organizations and agencies. Corruption is a serious issue affecting state building in Afghanistan. A huge portion of foreign aid was utilized by private channels mainly due to inefficiency of Kabul administration, which gave birth to huge corruption. Corruption in Afghanistan is also caused by huge influx of aids without check and balance, parallel structure of spending i.e. government and NGOs, weak political institutions, centralized bureaucracy and inefficient public administration. One of the main mechanisms of state building was the Provincial Reconstruction Teams (PRTs). It also gave birth to corruption.

Afghanistan needs self-reliance. For self-reliance and getting rid from aid dependency, Afghanistan need to focus on Agriculture as 80% of its population is working in this this sector. Secondly, more attention is required to be paid to education sector. Most notably, the people of Afghanistan must come out of the mindset of war economy. Through this way, it is possible to establish a society that is self-sustaining having resilient economy not dependent on foreign aid.

Aid Politics in Afghanistan

The state of Afghanistan has been conditioned to foreign aid for the last century. First the British East India company paid-off the Afghanistan's Emirs to sustain good relationship in the region to enable trade roots and to preserve its hegemony and then the Soviet Union (Ahmed, 2019). Then the United States and her allies after attack in 2001. Hence aids remained the essential characteristic of Afghanistan in spite of being artificial. In Afghanistan, economy, infrastructure and institutions were completely destroyed by wars, therefore, it is highly dependent on foreign aid for reconstruction. Aid dependency is described as when aid consist of about 10 percent of Gross Domestic Product of the country and in case of its non-availability the country fails to perform its main functions. According to the 2018 estimates of the World Bank, present foreign aid to Afghanistan is consist of 40% of GDP of Afghanistan (Cooper, 2018). The state is highly dependent on foreign aid to continue its functions. Many countries including Pakistan is giving aid to Afghanistan since 2001 aimed to stabalise the country, bring peace and stability, develop the state and enable the government to function properly. Pakistan has provided one billion dollars aid to Afghanistan since 2001. Good relations and smooth partnership of Pakistan with Afghanistan are of great significance for Pakistan both short and long term political, economic and security concerns. Pakistan is providing aid and all other possible help and support to Afghanistan to make it a stable, peaceful and progressive country as it is in the best interest of Pakistan. Islamabad objective is to have friendly government in Kabul aimed to stop conspiracies of enemy countries and the usage of Afghan soil against Pakistan, protect itself from regional militancy active in Afghanistan against Pakistan, advance bilateral trade and make possible its access to Central Asian countries. Pakistan's aid politics in Afghanistan is also aimed to improve friendly relations with Kabul and create soft corner in the hearts and minds of general masses of Afghanistan. Islamabad's role in the field of education and health sector is truly remarkable. As well as its role in the reconstruction of infrastructure and communication in the country is not only helping to connect various cities, but also contributing into stability, trade facilitation and peace because facilities and economic activities bring peace and stability in a war torn country. It is making people to people contacts easy and increasing economic activities and trade relations in the whole region. It is key to improve the overall lives of the people of both regions. This communication development is also leading to improve access of South Asia to the Central Asia. Trade of Pakistan and Afghanistan with Central Asian countries will surely boost

development of economies of both nations and would be used to take benefits from the resources of Central Asia and meet the energy necessities of both Afghanistan and Pakistan. It is also leading to ensure the access of both countries' exports to Central Asian market.

But Pakistan's aid politics in Afghanistan is somehow failed to attain its policy goals. Its failure has many reasons and causes, but the dominant cases are, strong Indian lobby in Afghanistan and the general perception of majority of Afghans about Pakistan's role. Every positive step of Pakistan is manipulating as exploitation by strong Indian lobby and her influence in Afghan state and society. India has established strong roots in Afghanistan particularly after 2001. Majority of Afghans consider Pakistan as responsible for their troubles and problems. They have perception that they are suffering due to Talibanization created and still supported by Pakistan. This perception is partly shaped by Indian lobby, new great game and power politics in Afghanistan. Islamabad does not want the soil of Afghanistan to turn into a satellite of New Delhi. In order to stop encirclement by New Delhi, Islamabad needs a friendly regime in Kabul. Since 2001, India has also been providing huge amount of aid to different projects in Afghanistan and offering training to Afghan army primarily aimed to decrease the influence of Islamabad and create strong lobby in Kabul against Islamabad. Therefore, rising New Delhi influence and role in Afghanistan has serious repercussions for Pakistan. The increased number of India's consulates in the cities near to Pakistani boundary are aimed to destabilize ex-FATA region and Balochistan province and provide support to insurgent groups and other anti-Pakistan elements. It is also working to intensify Paktoon nationalism. Therefore, Pakistan also decided installation of fence on the Pak-Afghan border. Some Afghan scholars and decision makers also have objections on the border fencing as they consider Durand line disputed. They say that Pakistan is trying to formalize the disputed border. There is a wide range mistrust in Afghanistan about the role of Pakistan based on their perception that Pakistan is still supporting Taliban, interfering in internal affairs of Afghanistan and keeping away Afghanistan to construct dams on different rives etc.

Afghan scholars, policy makers and general masses are divided into two groups about the Pakistan's aid politics and its role in Afghanistan. The unbiased liberal scholars and policy makers are appreciating Pakistan aid politics, its role in the building of Afghanistan and role in peace process. They say that Pakistan has played vital role in the field of education, communication development and health in Afghanistan and recognising Pakistan's positive role in recent peace process. Though Pakistan did a lot for Afghanistan since 2001, but the common people of Afghanistan are unaware about Pakistan's aid, help and support. It needs to widely propagate and keep the general masses informed about the contributions of Pakistan. The second group has totally different opinion. They are mostly influenced by Indian lobby and conspiracy theories against Pakistan. They consider Pakistan's aid as the continuation of Strategic Depth Policy. They are of the opinion that Pakistan is playing negative role in peace and security of Afghanistan by supporting Taliban. It has created wide range of mistrust in Afghanistan about Pakistan. They believe that Pakistan is trying to weaken Afghanistan through dominance by its proxies and support Taliban in order to maintain "Strategic Depth" against India, make sure safe-haven for Jihadist proxies to prevent India from dominating South Asia, and prevent New Delhi to support Baloch separatists and other anti-state elements. They say that in Pakistan's Afghanistan calculus, safeguarding herself against New Delhi encroachment is taking preference over the interests of Afghanistan. Though Pakistan did some mistakes in past particularly in the eras of dictators, but since long that policy towards Afghanistan has been changed

and particularly since 2001 Pakistan is working wholeheartedly and enthusiastically to bring peace, stability, prosperity and development in Afghanistan. In fact, Kabul allied itself with Islamabad arch-rival New Delhi to ensure its interests, therefore Islamabad relied upon non-state elements to protect its interests. Though Pakistani army supported Taliban in past, but now it has changed its policy and is striving for stable national government in Afghanistan. Pakistan's positive role in this regard was acknowledged by Afghan government, US and other stakeholders on many occasions and fronts. Pakistan's sincere efforts and positive role in restoration of peace that held on February 29, 2020 peace accord between US and Taliban in Doha were also appreciated by international community.

Islamabad's performance and role in this respect can be developed and made more efficient if its concerns about the engagement of its enemies and their activities on Afghan soil against Pakistan are appropriately tackled by the international community. But if Islamabad's concerns about the growing Indian involvement are not appropriately addressed then it would not only disturb Pakistan-Afghanistan relations, but will also create hurdles in the way of reconstruction and stability.

Conclusion

In Afghanistan, economy, infrastructure and institutions were completely destroyed by wars, therefore is highly dependent on foreign aid for reconstruction and rehabilitation. Development and restoration of peace and stability are not taking place mainly because of poor state institutions. Therefore, state building is necessary in Afghanistan. The state building process was weakened due to many factors including terrorism, corruption, immobilization of important segments of society like woman, middle and lower middle classes, mobilization of elite class, weak economy, local political culture, informal governance model, complex tribal society, warlordism, social evils, religious fundamentalism and some conservative cultural values. After the Bon agreement many foreign countries including Pakistan started to play role in state building process and provided aid to Afghanistan. As far as the role Pakistan's aid is concerned, it has played important role in reconstruction process. Till now Pakistan has completed many significant projects in different sectors to rise standard of living of general masses, improve economy and restore peace and stability in this war-torn state. Pakistan's aid is too much beneficial for Afghanistan as it has targeted the key institutions like education, health, infrastructure development, capacity building and economic development which are key for state building process. Most important is the economic stabilization of Afghanistan through increasing its foreign trade with Pakistan and with other countries of the world via sea ports of Pakistan is playing important role in the economic stabilization of Afghanistan to make it stable and protect it from failing again. Strong economy is key for state building while Pak-Afghan trade relations is very helpful in this regard.

Pakistan played a very important role in the state building and restoration of peace and stability in Afghanistan since 2011. However, many Afghan scholars and common people have different opinion about the aid of Pakistan and its role in Afghanistan. The new debates on the other side of border need to study. Despite of its huge volume why they have doubts about it and how militancy affecting aid politics and its role in the state building? Why still the state building process is failed and how it can be more affective?

Recommendations

1. Inefficient institutions in Afghanistan is the main reason of lack of fulfilling the objective of state building, therefore Pakistan should increase the capacity building trainings for Afghan

professionals, increase scholarships and training facilities for Afghan students and professions.

2. Need institutional links for sustainable partnership in all fields.
3. Afghanistan needs rapid response from Pakistan in training of judges, lawyers, doctors, policy makers, military personals, anti-narcotics forces, police and teachers in specialized knowledge to improve governance and government's capability, strengthen democracy, rule of law and reform its economy. Afghanistan is seriously lacking good governance, which is considered a prerequisite for state building. The Afghan government should take concrete steps for the training of officials by Pakistani trainers.
4. Mistrust on both sides need to be overcome immediately.
5. Both countries need confidence building measures to overcome irritants, move on and focus on needed areas to build strong and stable Afghanistan.
6. Revenue collection system, which is one of the main task of a state and very important for state building process, is very weak in Afghanistan. Pakistan should help Afghanistan in this field on emergency bases as Pakistan has a well-organized revenue collection system.

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