

# THE TEMPEST: A POSTCOLONIAL ANALYSIS

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## **Abstract**

'The Tempest' has become the most contested and appropriated text in the postcolonial context. It offers unlimited space for the questioning of issues related to colonization, race, imperialism, language, exploitation, education, hybridity and resistance, subversion, subaltern and 'captive child'. It also provides opportunities to the post-colonial critics to question the status of Shakespeare as a playwright of universal values and human nature. The Tempest with its setting, characterization, language and themes has a broad scope of inquiry. The Tempest is an orientalist play as well, as many of its aspects are in line with Said's position in Orientalism. Prospero emerges as prototype colonizer and Caliban as prototype colonized. Miranda turns out to be Spivak's subaltern and Ariel a comprador. Psycho-existential displacement and hybridity are major aspects of the play. Shakespeare's reputation as a writer of universal human values has suffered a major setback in the wake of postcolonial criticism. The Tempest with renewed focus on issues of race, gender and colonialism in it has made Shakespeare a controversial writer. Caliban has overtaken both Prospero and its creator Shakespeare. The Tempest is so heterogeneous that the post-colonial theory is stretched to its limits to account for all that happens in it. This play would never have gained so much attention and invited such great critical interrogation, had it not described the diversity of the post-colonial experience in such an emphatic way. It is a parable of postcolonial studies.

**Key words:** Shakespeare, Prospero, Caliban, colonialism, race, subaltern, psycho-existential displacement, hybridity

## **Introduction**

Shakespeare is generally spared of any criticism for his complicity in the project of colonization on the ground that he was probably unaware of it and even if he knew it, he did not bother about it, for he was above such worldly pursuits and such and such enterprises as exploration and colonization were not his cup of tea. But the evidence is quite contrary to these assumptions. Shakespeare spent most of life in London. London was a major sea port. The tails of adventurous journeys to the New World, Africa and East were very popular. London in his days was abuzz with the tales of wealth that the adventurers were bringing with them. The people living in London at that time were aware of 'strange' people that inhabited Africa and Asia. There was great interest in 'monsters' and some of them were even displayed to the public gaze. Shakespeare certainly knew all these developments. Shakespeare's fortune as a writer has waned considerably with the advent of the post-colonial criticism.

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The play that has done the most of damage to Shakespeare is 'The Tempest'. The Tempest has been called a parable of postcolonial theory for the variety of issues that it raises relating to the postcolonial world. This play is a storehouse of colonial cultural baggage and fits well in the post-colonial projects of resistance, subversion and appropriation.

AniaLoomba has rightly pointed out that this play can no longer be studied in its traditional perspective. In the post-colonial context, the play is interpreted quite differently. Shakespeare's plays are not just being read differently; rather they are being read with some political vengeance to throw back some of the cultural burden which was thrust on the post-colonial world. The postcolonial critics indulge in subversive reading of *Tempest* to show their contempt for the colonization and taunt the western critics who still hold on to allegorical and metaphysical interpretations of *Tempest*.

Swept by the urgencies of decolonization, a host of intellectuals, novelists, playwrights, performers, and activists contested, appropriated, celebrated, and fought over the play as a parable of colonized relations. For them Prospero and Caliban became emblematic of the colonial master and colonized subject; they could not, as most literary critics of their time tended to do, read Prosper as wisdom without cruelty and, or Caliban as monstrosity without humanity. (Loomba,2002,p. 161)

Surprisingly, there has never been any controversy about the fact that this play was inspired by the stories of the contact between the Europeans and Americas .It is also abundantly clear by now that Europe was getting flattering accounts of the gold, spices, and riches of all kind in areas beyond European boundaries. The leading renaissance and humanist philosophers and prophets of reason and rational thinking and the champions of freedom and liberty were all using their intellect to justify the exploitation, loot and plunder of the wealth and people of the New Worlds.

Shakespeare was inspired by Montaigne's essay 'Of Cannibals' when he wrote the *Tempest*. Montaigne in his essay 'Of Cannibals' has used his knowledge of the Greeks , the authority of religion and nature to establish the superiority of the western civilization over the raw nature of the newly discovered New World to urge further exploration of these new lands. He laments that the Greeks like Plato did not know of

these remote areas which are so bountiful. Using the classical binary of savage/civilization he terms the inhabitants of the New World as 'savages' who are pure and raw nature. "They are savages at the same rate that we say fruits are wild, which nature produces of herself and by her own ordinary progress" (Montaigne, quoted in Loomba, 2002, p. 162).

He further says that the inhabitants of the newly discovered boundless countries are like the fruits of nature. Montaigne claimed that the newly discovered lands were inhabited by people who have not encountered the civilization yet. They know nothing of the progress. They have no government. They have no feuds. They remain idle and free with nothing to do. They don't know anything about agriculture. They wear no dress. They do eat wheat and drink wine. In Montaigne's opinion they are prototype 'savages' living in prehistory. "they still enjoy that natural abundance that provides them without toil and trouble with all things necessary in such profusion that they have no wish to enlarge their bountie" (Montaigne quoted in Loomba, 2002, p. 162).

Loomba (2002, p. 162) finds exact echo of this Montaigne saying in Gonzalo's speech; Shakespeare has turned his words into a fine poetic piece.

Letters should not be known; riches, poverty,  
And use of service, none, contract, succession,  
Bourn, bound of land, tilth, vineyard, none;  
No use of metal, corn, or wine, or oil;  
No occupation, all men idle, all.  
(*The Tempest*, 2.1.156-60)

### **The Tempest as an Orientalist Discourse**

*The Tempest* is an Orientalist text as exemplified by Edward Said in his ground breaking work 'Orientalism'. Edward Said has described Orientalism as purported specialist knowledge of the Orient possessed by Orientalists. *The Tempest* is a prime example in this case. Said contends that the Orientalists discuss the Orient as object and project their own prejudices, likings, dislikings on it. They codify the false myths and stories and present them as knowledge. The Orient is not important in itself, what is important is what is projected through the lenses of the Orientalist. The Orientalist sees the orient through his own jaundiced eyes and describes it with his cultural might. The orient gets narrated in

poems, essays, stories and dramas. The Orient that gets refracted through the oriental cultural productions is only western construction of the orient and not the real orient.

Colonial /Orientalist discourses are typical of discursive activity whenever they claim the right to speak for the mute and uncomprehending Orient and , in so doing, relentlessly represent it as the negative, underground image or impoverished 'Other' of Western rationality. (Gandhi, 1998,p 77)

Shakespeare is an ideal Orientalist in this sense. The Orientalists would generally visit the foreign lands as travelers, adventurers, and ambassadors and live among them for some time and see with their own eyes what is there. They would derive their authority from their first hand observation and knowledge. In case of Shakespeare it is all together a different scenario. Shakespeare never visited any island to personally observe and watch the island life. His depiction of the island is based on hearsay and whatever he read about such islands. He must have seen cargo ships bringing the booty from the colonized world. He must definitely have watched with interest the 'Indian' brought by Sir Walter Raleigh. Shakespeare's depiction of the Indians, slaves, natives and their climate is a very potent example of how the Orientalists construct orient. As Said says during the period from middle ages to the eighteenth century the writers developed imagery, ideas, and stereotypes to describe orient in a special way. These writers included Ariosto, Milton, Marlowe, Tasso, Shakespeare and Cervantes. These works of these authors presented orient as an object of study and exploration. Through these stereotypes these writers projected their own ideological myths and assumptions. "a great deal of what was considered learned Orientalist scholarship in Europe passed ideological myths into service, even as knowledge seemed genuinely to advance" (Said, 1978,p. 63).

The Arabs have been a favourite target of the Oriental scholars. They have created so many myths about them. The Arab lands are generally presented as lands of romantic and exotic. In *The Tempest*, Shakespeare indulges in similar kind of Orientalist practice. King Alonso, Sebastian, Antonio and Gonzalo watch puppet show. After watching puppet show, Sebastian gets excited and says,

Now I will believe

That there are unicorns; that in Arabia

There is one tree, the phoenix' throne; one phoenix  
At this hour reigning there.

(III.iii.22-24)

Antonio endorses Sebastian's story and says that he would swear about the truth of this story if somebody needed any proof.

Antonio.

And I'll be sworn 'tis true: travelers never did lie,  
Though fools at home condemn 'em.

(III.iii.25-26)

This is a great example of Orientalism in action. Shakespeare has very credibly presented Arab land as a land of unicorns. He has projected his own aspirations on the Arab land. As this projection is work of Shakespeare it must have carried with it considerable truth value. Those who would have watched *The Tempest* must have been bemused by the speculation about the unicorns in Arab lands. The west has always has seen the orient through similar myths and has therefore never understood the reality of the orient.

Shakespeare's depiction of the island as a land full of natural resources and inhabited by the savages incapable of utilizing those natural resources is a typical Orientalist fallacy. Caliban as brute, nature, sub-human, without language, without culture and civilization and subsequently as a slave is an important Orientalist construction.

The colonial narratives abound with the accounts of cordiality and warmth with which the Europeans were received in the new lands. The natives treated them well and cooperated with them willingly. They were not hostile to them. They became hostile to them only when they realized that these Europeans were not there as guests. They must have seen through the true intentions of these people very early. It is also a known fact that the Europeans treated the natives well in the beginning. The relations worsened only when the simpleton natives realized that they would have to confront these new creatures to save themselves. The European resorted to force and brutality when they found the natives a hindrance to their designs; and exterminated them systematically. Only a few of them survived the initial cordiality.

Prospero was very cordial towards Caliban when he first arrived. He definitely needed Caliban's local knowledge to secure and fortify his position. Once this was done, there was no need of dealing Caliban with

the same affection and care. The relations were bound to suffer sooner or later. This is how Caliban describes the early cordiality between the two.

When thou cam's't first  
Thou strok'st me, and made much of me; wouldst give me  
Water with berries in't; and then I lov'd thee,  
And show'd there all the qualities o'th'isle,  
The fresh springs, brine-pits, barren place and fertile:  
(I.ii.334-40)

The conflict between Prospero and Caliban which results from Caliban's failed attempt to rape Miranda is typical of the conflicts found in all the colonial narratives in which the responsibility of starting violence is blatantly put on the native people. The native people are described as having cheated and betrayed the Europeans thus providing justification to the Europeans to kill and eliminate them. Shakespeare's putting all the blame on Caliban for creating problems and starting hostilities is not innocent. It provides him with an excuse to justify the atrocities which he commits on the natives of the island. "Nearly identical tales of initial hospitality followed by 'inexplicable' violence on the part of the natives dominated the English colonial narratives of the occupation of many overseas dominions." (Seed ,2000,p.240).

It is worthwhile to recall that the Europeans first came to the subcontinent as merchants, sought acquaintance with the emperors and courtiers and then onwards set up their own commercial and political centers which eventually culminated in the colonization of the subcontinent. Once they got mastery of the subcontinent they crushed the resistant leaders and fighters, occupied the country and forced their own language and culture on the locals. The situation described in *The Tempest* is definitely different, but the basic tactics are the same.

### **Prospero as Prototype Colonizer**

Shakespeare's magical character Prospero has come to symbolize all that the colonizer stands for. He, as a matter of fact, has become a metaphor for practices, machinations and guiles of the colonizer. His high conception of his racial superiority opens up a Pandora box which embroils Shakespeare in a tangle which can be resolved only by acknowledging that Shakespeare himself believed in the superiority of his white race and inferiority of the others and considered western

civilization embodying the universal values and virtues of human nature. Prospero is master and has Art. He knows magic and has books. He has all the gifts of civilization. He is compassionate and patronizing when he chooses to be. He controls the fate and destiny of all those who are under him. Prospero has all the qualities and traits that a colonial perpetrator had. He executes all the plans and schemes that a typical colonizer performed in order to achieve his objectives. It can be safely said that Prospero is an incarnation of colonial ideology and practices. There is nothing in colonialism that is missing in him, and there is nothing in him that is not colonial. To see Prospero in any other perspective is to deny the reality of the play.

Prospero is generally criticized for his brute treatment of Caliban and Ariel but his political acumen is generally ignored. Prospero was a trained politician with all the Machiavellian art of machination and deception. He was not simply a school master and magician. He was not a mystic and certainly not a Sufi as Bloom describes him. He had the magic and art. This art and magic was that of Machiavelli's. His handling of Caliban, Ariel and even his daughter Miranda clearly shows that he was not a simple magician or benign providence as is claimed by colonial critics.

Prospero is a trained politician who plays his cards extremely well and to good effect. He plans and maneuvers everything to his advantage. His treatment of Caliban speaks for his shrewdness. He understands his importance. He knows he is indispensable for them. The way Prospero treats Ariel is also significant. He keeps promising freedom to him, reminding him at the same time of his past captivity, thus creating fear in him and at the same time taunting him for his ingratitude. Prospero is not a benign providence, he is Machiavelli's disciple.

Books are one of the important tools present in Prospero's armory. His books are source of knowledge and symbol of authority. Books are of crucial importance in the post-colonial context. The project of colonization would never have been accomplished without the books. They were deliberately enlisted in the colonization project. They were used on the pretext of civilizing the barbarians. Books were responsible for creating inferiority complex in the natives. The teaching of these books in schools created a wonder among the native school students.

They were so impressed that they generally looked at the books of the colonizer with awe.

When Prospero arrived at the island, he brought with him his books. He used these books for teaching Miranda. Prospero as a school teacher is a powerful metaphor for the powerful metaphor. Caliban knows from the start that Prospero is nothing without his books. If his books are taken away from him, he will be finished. So when the opportunity arises, he suggests that Prospero's books should be stolen from him to render him impotent. Bhabha highlights the importance of the books in his influential essay 'Signs Taken for Wonders'. He shows how the books of the colonizer signified authority. Bhabha goes on to discuss the ambivalence and hybridity created by these books in the colonized world. Bhabha says that colonial writers have always underscored the importance of the physical presence of books in the colonized world. As he says,

It is the scenario, played out in the wild and wordless wastes of colonial India, Africa, the Caribbean, of the sudden, fortuitous discovery of the English book. It is, like all myths of origin, memorable for its balance between epiphany and enunciation. The discovery of the book is, at once, a moment of originality and authority. (Bhabha ,2004,p.102)

Caliban is certain that the source of Prospero's strength is his books. He knows that Prospero cannot be defeated unless his books are destroyed. Prospero's books are symbol of his power; and authority and source of his magic. There are quite a few important references in the play which highlight the importance of books for Prospero and Caliban. Prospero says that 'my library was dukedom large enough' (I.ii.110). When he left Naples secretly one of the possessions that he carried with him were his books. Gonzalo furnished him with his books. 'Knowing I lov'd my books, furnished me from my own library. (I.ii.165-166). As soon as he reached island he assumed the role of schoolmaster for teaching his daughter Miranda. Prospero says to Miranda, 'I, thy schoolmaster, made thee more profit, than other princess' can' (I.ii.173-174). At a later stage in the play Stephano asks Caliban to 'kiss the book'. This must have stamped the authority of 'book' on Caliban's mind. (II.ii.142). When Caliban devises a plan to murder Prospero, he considers the seizure of his books first step in this regard. He believes



that Prospero will become unarmed and defenseless if his books are seized. He says 'Having first seiz'd his book' (II.ii.87), we can break Prospero's skull. Caliban's preoccupation with books is not incidental. His nervousness about the books amply shows that these books must have played a role in his maltreatment. Caliban knows that Prospero is helpless without his books and also knows the fact that the only difference between them is that of books. As he says,

First to possess his books; for without them,

He's but a sot, as I am. (II.ii.90-91).

Caliban's anxiety for destruction of Prospero's books is his anxiety for his own freedom. He believes that he has been enslaved by books. He can win his freedom if colonizer's books are burned. He urges Stephano to 'Burn but his books'. (II.ii.93).

### **Prospero as Christian Missionary**

Colonization was not a simple act of occupation and acquisition. It was a very complex and complicated project which required shrewdness, stratagem, and subtlety. The colonizers knew right from the beginning that they alone would not be in a position to control their colonies and that they would need the support of some elements of the colonized peoples. It was obviously not possible to control huge territories with large populations with police and army. They, therefore, developed an intermediary class which learnt their language, adopted their culture and worked for them against the interests of their own people. At the earliest stage, they brought only Christian missionaries. These Christian missionaries met varying success in various parts of the world. They were very successful in Africa but they did not meet such success in Asia where they encountered tough resistance to the civilizing mission. To complement their missionary project, they enlisted education as another excuse and accomplice. The civilizing mission in reality turned out to be a dehumanizing mission as is vouchsafed by Fanon and other critics of colonization.

In the context of *Tempest*, we find that Shakespeare treats the island as a heathen place without the benefit of religion, education and western culture. It is portrayed as pagan land waiting for Prospero for baptism. Caliban is treated as pure nature waiting for nurture. Prospero brought with him Christianity and preached it to Caliban, who seems to

have learnt the basic concepts of Christianity, though without openly embracing it. In the last stages of the play Caliban seems to have entered the Christian fold as a convert. Prospero enlists him as his responsibility when he says; “This thing of darkness/Acknowledge mine” (V.i.275-6). Caliban then speaks a Christian’s language when he says that he will ‘seek for grace’ (V.i.295). The critics contend that this phrase evokes Christian connection.

In this aspect, Caliban takes on the role of the missionary’s target: the heathen who has come to virtue through putting his own gods (Setebos) behind him, and recognized where grace lies. In this way Caliban is shown to step over the divide between the Pythagorean (and bewitched) realm of shapeshifters into the zone of conversion, which changes inner natures but not outer shape and this will perhaps save him. (Warner,2000,pp. 98-99)

Thus we see that Prospero can no longer hide himself under the masquerade of romance and providence; nor can he dupe anyone with magic of his benign words and civilizing mission. His teaching, preaching and ‘nurturing’ have been exposed to be dangerous and malicious. His magic has waned. His real identity has been revealed. He stands in the dock now but he cannot defend himself. The verdict is loud and clear. The execution of the verdict is pending and is in the hands of the post-colonial world which is still struggling to come to grips with the reality of their past.

### **Ariel as Comprador**

Prospero’s handling of Ariel is typical of the way the colonizers handled the colonized. Colonizer did not occupy the foreign land stating explicitly their exploitative agenda and looting and plundering whatever they could, rather they devised justifications for it, the most obvious one is of course much touted Kipling’s ‘white man’s burden, the civilization project. The colonizer also believed that by occupying the lands of the natives he has not usurped their fields and properties and enslaved them; rather he has freed them from the devils of their own societies. Had he not intervened, they would have been persecuted by their own people and this usurpation was therefore emancipatory and liberating for them. The colonizer kept reminding the colonized of what he had done for them and

if he left them they would again fall a prey to the same predators of their own. This is what Prospero does when he reminds Ariel that had he not saved him he would still have been in the clutches of the witch. In a way the local rulers were all witches and devils.

Thou, my slave,  
 As thou report's thyself, wast then her servant;  
 And, for thou wast a spirit too delicate  
 To act her earthy and abhorr'd commands,  
 Refusing her grand hests, she did confine thee,  
 By help of her more potent ministers  
 And in her most unmitigable rage,  
 Into a cloven pine; within which rift  
 Imprison'd thou didst painfully remain  
 A dozen years;  
 (I.ii.270-280)

He further reminds Ariel of the misery he was in when he was freed from the witch by him.

Thou best know'st  
 What torment I did find thee in; thy groans  
 Did make wolves howl, and penetrate the breasts  
 Of ever-angry bears: it was a torment  
 To lay upon the damn'd, which Sycorax  
 Could not again undo: it was mine art,  
 When I arriv'd and heard thee, that made gape  
 The pine, and let thee out.  
 (I.ii.285-92)

Ariel stands for those natives who sided with the colonizer and helped him in establishing and strengthen his rule over the native lands. Ariel's complicity is metaphorical. Prospero is helpless without Ariel's help. Without Ariel's help Prospero's magic is helpless and he might not have been able to achieve his mastery of the island. Ariel stands for countless natives who worked in bureaucracy, army, police and in other departments established by the colonizer and served the colonizer so efficiently and subserviently that the colonizer managed things far too easily than he might not have otherwise.

Ariel executed Prospero's designs. He personified the qualities of Air: lightness, swift and restless motion. Prospero was fond of him.

He used very endearing epithets for him--- ‘delicate’ (1.2.272, 441) ‘quaint’ (1.2.317), ‘dainty’ (v.95), ‘tricksy’ (v.226). But when Ariel demanded freedom from Prospero he was outraged. He all of a sudden became rash, unleashed a torrent of reminders how he had saved and rescued him from the clutches of the witch. He decides to keep Ariel in his place when he remorselessly says;

I must  
Once in a month recount what thou hast been,  
Which thou forgett’st.  
(I.ii.265-68)

### ***Miranda: Prospero’s Subaltern***

Shakespeare’s handling of her female characters has always been controversial. Critics have always focused on the heroines of his major plays and have little attention to the helpless and ‘captive’ child Miranda who is always on the mercy of his father, Prospero. Miranda is treated as captive child. She is a romantic figure who lives in dreams and imaginations and sees the world through his father’s eyes. She is denied independent personality and existence. She has no choice and no role to play. Except for her altercation with Caliban on the issue of language, she remains practically silent on the important issues. She is treated as an object of affection and desire. She is an object of affection for Prospero and object of desire for Caliban. Her only importance in the play is in relation to other male characters. She is Prospero’s daughter. She is Caliban’s object of desire who wants to rape her for peopling the island. The irony is that even Caliban’s desire for her is not for her. He wants to rape her only to people the island. She is described as a child who grows only to be a maid waiting to be married. She is made to see no other role in her own life. In Spivak’s terms, Miranda is a subaltern who has no voice, no role. She is dumb and silent, ready to follow the instructions of her father and carry out his plans of her marriage.

But Miranda is lucky. She does not belong to the Third World. Her self image has not been battered by the experience of colonization. She herself is colonizer. So she is not doubly colonized as the women of the third world are. However she is victim of western patriarchy and phallocentricism. She is colonized by the western discourses and she is the ‘Other’ of the western society, ‘Other’ with capital ‘O’.

Spivak derides the representational systems which misrepresent the women and construct her as subaltern.

Between patriarchy and imperialism, subject-constitution and object-formation, the figure of the woman disappears, not into a pristine nothingness, but a violent shuttling which is the displaced figuration of the 'third-world woman' caught between tradition and modernization. (Spivak, 1988 quoted in Gandhi, 1998, p. 89)

Miranda suffers from displaced figuration as an object of affection and as an object of desire between men who take her for granted.

### **The Question of Attempted Rape of Miranda**

George Lamming has questioned the authenticity of the reported attempt of Caliban to rape Miranda. He says that the attempt is only reported and not enacted. He questions Prospero's impartiality and suggests that it might have been a Miranda's dream and her accusation could be false. He further says that the way Caliban is described as half man and half animal, he might have thought of eating her instead of raping her. Hulme says in this regard "Such speculation slights the 'colonial other' only if Caliban is assumed to be an autonomous individual represented by Shakespeare rather than a literary character productively by means discursive" (Hulme, 2000, p. 46).

The critics have also raised the 'Specter of Incest' (Goldberg, 2004.) "Did Caliban really try to lay her? This is a case where the body, in its consequence, is our only guide. Only the body could establish the truth; for if Miranda were made pregnant" (cited in Goldberg, 2004, p. 20). It is suggested that as Caliban did not actually rape Miranda and it was probably Prospero's incestuous thoughts which were thrust on Caliban.

The post-colonial critics have ripped apart the structure of *The Tempest* so destructively that it will not be possible for the Shakespearean apologists to piece it together in its pre-postcolonial condition. Prospero from a benign, providence has been exposed to be a liar. He thrust his own incestuous desire on Caliban to hide his own incestuous desires. Prospero was aware of Miranda's beauty and must have discussed it with Caliban who testifies that "he himself/Calls her a nonpareil." (III.ii.97). Prospero describes Miranda's beauty in such terms

as one would not expect from a father. Even Ferdinand must have been bemused by this description because Prospero has to assure him that he is not boasting off.

O Ferdinand,  
Do not smile at me that I boast her off,  
For thou shalt find she will outstrip all praise  
And make it halt behind her. (IV.i.8-11)

If the words speak the unconscious then the word 'outstrip' can not be ignored. Prospero must have been thinking on these lines. Prospero seems to be obsessed with Miranda's virginity. He anticipates that she will lose it to Ferdinand, perhaps he is jealous of him.

As he says to Ferdinand,

Take my daughter, But if thou dost break her virgin-knot before  
All sanctimonious ceremonies may  
With full and holy rite be ministered,  
No Sweet aspersion shall the heavens let fall,  
To make this contract grow; but barren hate,  
Sour-eyed disdain, and discord, shall bestrew  
The union of your bed with weeds so loathly  
That you shall hate it both.

(IV.i)

Paul Kiernan has given the modern version of these lines as

Prospero: Take my daughter, but if you break her virginal membrane before all sacred ceremonies are carried out with full and holy ritual, no sweet-tasting showers of semen shall the heavens let fall to make this marriage grow. Barren hate, cruel-eyed disdain and discord shall be strewn on the union of your semen with weeds so abhorrent that you shall both ending up hating to have sex. (Kiernan, 2006, p. 282).

Commenting on these lines Kiernan says, "in *The Tempest* a daughter's virginity is shown to be valuable commodity; a part of a father's dream of dynasty" (Kiernan, 2006, p. 281). His very mention of Miranda's rape suggests that he was thinking of Miranda's suitability for rape at least. Caliban being animal, as described by him, could not have been a probable rapist. Only Prospero could have raped her. If Caliban was capable of raping Miranda, then he was a man and not monster as he has been repeatedly declared in the play.

Prospero has projected onto Caliban his own desire and has then painted it black, as the desire of the other. This one way “the lie” is formed, and it rhymes with that other lie: that Caliban is a deformed, languageless monster who would naturally rape his daughter.(Goldberg,2004,p.21).

Caliban’s attempted rape of Miranda is potentially very explosive. His desire to rape Miranda and have his offsprings through her is a very intriguing issue. As Caliban says; ‘Thou didst prevent me –I had peopled else/ the island with Calibans’ (I.ii.348-9). Had Caliban succeeded in raping Miranda and peopling the island with Calibans, Prospero’s purpose of colonizing the island would have been jeopardized. The colonizers wanted to exterminate the natives. An increase in population of the colonized would have been suicidal for them. The Europeans themselves wanted to people the islands. That was the reason Prospero was so anxious to prevent the rape.

Shakespeare was well aware of all the subtle politics of colonization of his time. Had he not been, he would not have told a colonial tale with such perfection.

Shakespeare therefore imputed to Caliban a motive for the attempted rape that reflects the specifically English desire for ‘peopling’. Caliban is rendered guilty of what were in reality English colonial ambitions.(Seed, 2004, p. 205).

The fear of miscegenation was also there. It would have mixed the white’s blood with the native’s, which was not acceptable to the Europeans at least at that stage. There is another aspect of this ‘rape’ which deserves equal attention. Caliban’s attempt at rape is insignificant in terms of its consequences when compared with Prospero’s rape of the whole of island. Prospero raped the whole island by usurping it, enslaving its inhabitants and exploiting all the natural resources. He, thus, molested the whole of island. History is witness to the systematic rape of the colonized women by the colonizers. The abandoned off springs of rape are everywhere in the colonized world; helpless and clueless to their identity and destiny.

### **The Tempest: A Dialectic of Hybridity and Ambivalence**

Critics contend that Caliban as hybrid is the representative of the hybrid condition of the post-colonial world. The colonization has displaced the

culture and identity of the colonized people for ever. It has become a fact of life. Nostalgia for pre-colonial culture and identity is only a romantic's dream. It is not possible because culture is not fixed and static and is always in the process of change and growth. Critics have rejected 'nativism' as untenable. The post-colonial world has to handle this problem with care and vision. Total rejection of the west's culture and language is impossible both theoretically and practically. The globalization and neocolonialism in the wake of American imperialism further strengthen the hold of the western culture. It means that the post-colonial world will have to act with greater resolve and determination to protect their cultures and languages.

Critics like Bhabha insist that Hybridity and ambivalence are characteristic of all cultures including both the colonizer and the colonized. There is always an ambivalent space available which provides opportunities for asserting the cultural difference. Bhabha calls Hybridity 'Third Space'. According to him, "It is that Third Space, though unrepresentable in itself, which constitutes the discursive conditions of enunciation that ensure that the meaning and symbols of culture have no primordial unity or fixity; that even the same signs can be appropriated, translated, rehistoricized and read anew" (Bhabha, 2004, p. 37). Bhabha further highlights the scope of hybridity when he says

It is significant that the productive capacities of this Third Space have a colonial or postcolonial provenance...the theoretical recognition of the split –space of enunciation may open the way to conceptualizing an international culture, based not on the exoticism of multiculturalism or the diversity of cultures but on the inscription and articulation of culture's hybridity. (Bhabha, 2004, p. 38)

Robert Young also contends that hybridity has a subversive potential as it can be applied for resistance. He says in the post-colonial context that 'Hybridity has been deployed against the very culture that invented it' (Young, 1995, p. 23).

The resistance on part of Caliban marks the failure of colonizer's civilizing mission. It shows that the colonizer despite its military conquest and cultural hegemony was unable to suppress the will of the colonized who always retained their own culture and never fully immersed themselves in the culture of the colonizer. The colonized



people may have been forced to behave ambivalently towards the colonizer exhibiting hate –love relation; they actually never fully surrendered to the western culture.

The postcolonial reading of *The Tempest* amply establishes Shakespeare's complicity in the colonization project. He was not the innocent exponent of human nature. It is not possible to study Shakespeare without questioning his role in the construction of the social, cultural, political and racial prejudices in his plays. Especially *The Tempest* cannot be studied ignoring post-colonial context because this is what sustains it. As Jyotsna Singh says;

Whether one considers *The Tempest* as an allegory of Caliban's liberation or of Prospero's colonial paternalism, post-colonial readings of the play's reception in the third world clearly establish that we can no longer recuperate *The Tempest* as a historically 'innocent' text, uncorrupted by later historical readings. (Singh,2003,p.503)

## **Conclusion**

*The Tempest* is the most significant text in the postcolonial context. No other text of any other author has created so much controversy. This text has become the symbol of postcolonial resistance and is emblematic of the defiance and subversive practices that have developed in the third world regarding Shakespeare's colonial politics. *The Tempest* covers the whole domain of postcoloniality. It is orientalist play with negative stereotypes about the orient. Stephano and Trinculo talk of unicorns in Arab lands. Prospero is a typical colonizer. He is a teacher, master and politician. He is Machiavelli's disciple. He uses deception and subterfuge to strengthen his rule and prolong his reign. Ariel represents comprador class which worked for the colonizer. Prospero brought with him his religion, language and culture. He teaches Caliban Christian values. He and Miranda teach Caliban their language so that he could execute their orders efficiently. They claim to have civilized and humanized the barbarian. The gift of language was the main tool of the colonizer. It was taught to the colonized people in a very systematic way. In some African countries the colonizers taught their language with force and repression. Caliban learns the language of the colonizer and appropriates it and uses it to curse and answer back to the colonizer. Caliban's curse becomes the

slogan of the postcolonial world. Caliban's reported attempt to rape Miranda is seen variously by the postcolonial world. It is seen as act of subversion and resistance. Some critics suggest that Prospero has imputed his ambition of peopling the island to Caliban. Miranda is Spivak's subaltern. She is the victim of patriarchal society. The Tempest is thus a comprehensive parable of postcolonial theory.

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# PAK-AFGHAN RELATIONS: A HISTORICAL ANALYSIS

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## Abstract

It is evident from history that Pakistan and Afghanistan have common religion, race ethnicity and geographical location. But it is irony that relations between two Islamic countries have never been the soft, rather remained at odds since the emergence of Pakistan. The relationship went through many ups and down in the past decades. The fragile and delicate relationships between the two neighbors are described as challenging. Third parties like USA and European Union have tried to bridge the gap of trust deficit between these two countries and to improve the working relationship. Both the countries are in a great turmoil in the changed regional context of past 9/11 events, which have far reaching impacts and significance in history. Pakistan had to revisit her Afghan policy and renew its diplomatic ties with Afghanistan in the post 9/11 scenario.

**Key Words:** Pakistan, Afghanistan, 9/11, terrorism, USA,

## Introduction

The history of strained relations, between Pakistan and Afghanistan began in the early nineteenth century, when Mr. McNaughton a British official was succeeded to get the Lahore agreement signed in July 1938, between the Sikh Government (Lahore Darbar) and an exiled Afghan prince, Shah Shuja. The agreement was counter signed by the British Indian ruler at that time (Wakman, 1985:33-34). According to this agreement the Sikh ruler got rights of those areas which are presently part of Pakistan and are claimed by Afghanistan after partition of India in 1947. This claim was defended by the historical fact that Afghanistan at one time in history was ruled over this area.

Actually this demand of Afghanistan was based on her desire to gain access of the Arabian Sea. Afghan leadership wished to annex this area but was not in a position to implement this desire in practice. The issue of Pakhtunistan has remained major factors of tension between the two countries since that time. The Pak-Afghan relations may be assessed and reviewed in a better way in the following four phases:-

a. History of Pak-Afghan Relations (1947-1978)

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- b. History of Pak-Afghan Relations (1978-1989)
- c. Relation between Afghanistan and Pakistan during Soviet Withdrawal
- d. Relation between Afghanistan and Pakistan post Soviet Withdrawal

### **Historical Analysis**

#### **(a) History of Pak- Afghan Relation (1947-1978)**

Pak-Afghan border remained the main issue in this period. The relation between two countries passed through different critical phases since the emergence of Pakistan in 1947.

- The closure of Pak-Afghan border in 1948.
- Pakistan Prime Minister Liaqat Ali Khan was killed by an Afghan national in 1951.
- Era of Muhammad Dawood, who became Prime Minister of Afghanistan in 1953 and remains in the office till 1963. He was a great supporter of Pakhtunistan.
- Pakistan joint American military pacts , South east Asian treaty organization (SEATO) and central treaty organization(CENTO) in 1954 and 1955 respectively
- Dawood had to resign in March 1963 in the context of promulgation of new Afghan constitution which barred immediately of members of king Zahir's family from participation in the government. (Emadi, 1997:10) and the relation between Pakistan and Afghanistan became normal up till to some extent after it. The issue of pakhtunistan went in back ground, and forces of Afghanistan on Pakistan issue have been reduced.
- Pak-Afghan relation witnessed history, when Afghanistan stood by Pakistan during the Indo Pak war of 1965.
- King Zahir Shah of Afghanistan visited Pakistan in 1965. The visit brought the two countries close to each other on diplomatic points.
- Pakistan abolished one unit on April 1970, by which the country's administration once more divided into four Provinces. In the context of these developments, the hostility between two countries was reinforced.
- So Afghanistan remained neutral in Indo Pak-war in 1971.
- The Ex-Prime Minister Muhammad Dawood came into power again in 1973, resulting in pessimistic developments regarding Pak-Afghan relations, as he had been a staunch supporter of

Pakhtunistan. The Afghan military was activated for war games in Nangarhar Province near Pakistani border in winter of 1974-75, during his regime. The armed insurgencies also started in Baluchistan and Northern Western Frontier Province (NWFP) in this time period.

- Pakistan launched a military operation in early 70's to counter the insurgency in Baluchistan. Pakistan accused Afghanistan for her connection with insurgencies during this military operation from May 1973 to October 1974. (O'Balance, 2002:81). According to some reporters, it is stated that about 5000 Afghans were provided training in secret military camps during 1973-1975. (Weinbacem, 1974:5). The communist nature of Dawood administration was responsible for the strained relations. The economic condition of Afghanistan forced Dawood administration to make efforts for reconciliation with Pakistan.
- Another important development took place, when Pakistani Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto visited Afghanistan in June 1976 which was followed by Dawood's visit to Pakistan after two months. Consequently the tension between two countries over the issue of Pakhtunistan diffused to some extent.
- The relation between two countries got better in the context of release of Abdul Ghafar Khan Pro-Afghan leader by Bhutto in 1977.

### **(b) History of Pak- Afghan Relation (1978-1979)**

The USSR's invasion in Afghanistan in December 1979 complicated the situation on Pakistan border resulting in changed geo-political situation of the region and Pakistan became a frontline state.

Pakistan had to defend its boundaries for which she was indirectly involved in fighting war with American Assistance. Pakistan graciously opened its borders in the spirits of Islamic brotherhood to help Afghan people in this complicated and critical stage of Afghanistan history. Pakistan provided shelter to 3.2 million Afghan refugees. On the other hand Pakistan had to suffer with Kalashnikov, drug and crime culture in its society when Pakistan's alliance with Taliban formed the most powerful external influence in Afghanistan. Resultantly, the Tehrik-e-Taliban (The Taliban Movement) was created in Pakistan,

USSR's invasion in Afghanistan was taken geo strategic threat not only to Pakistan but to the Persian Gulf also. America was closely watching these new developments and she increased her interest in this region. Eventually Pakistan played a key player role in this international political game. An aid worth amount \$ 400 million was offered by USA to Pakistan which was rejected by Pakistani President considering it a very trivial amount.

Bill Clinton became president of USA in 1981. He took a very tough anti communist stance after taking into confidence American congress he got approved an amount of worth \$3.2 billion for a five year military aid program for Pakistan (Kun, 1996:18).

This period of Pak Afghan relation is dominated by Afghan jihad there were strong intelligence ties between America Central Intelligence Agencies (CIA) and Pakistan" Inter Services Intelligence (ISI) to provide assistance to anti Soviet forces in Afghanistan. The assistance that provided by USA was under the umbrella of a program entitled Operation Cyclone.

A plenty of group of "Mujahedeen" from more than 70 counties of the world, volunteered to help the Afghan Mujahedeen in Afghanistan.

### **(c) Soviet Withdrawal**

In April 1988 there happened Geneva Accord, by the active involvement of the United Nations which paved the way for the withdrawal of Soviet Union from Afghanistan on May 15, 1988, when last Soviet soldier crossed Oxus River Consequently Pakistan got a great geo-political victory. Tremendous aid both economically and military were given to Mujahedeen by USA, as per American official policy. The Cold War ended with withdrawal of Soviet force from Afghanistan, it was the prime objective of USA to weaken USSR in Afghanistan for which she supported the resistance in Afghanistan through Pakistan. So Afghanistan became a blend of different factions and the Afghan society presented the scene of a warring society. Different warring groups began to fight each other. On the other side president of Pakistan, Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq died on August 17, 1988. Furthermore after the withdrawal of USSR, CIA reduced its interest in Afghanistan. After the death of president Zia-ul-Haq, the late Benazir Bhutto became the Prime Minister of Pakistan; she didn't favor free hand to ISI without USA's assistance. Contrarily Pakistan army wanted to have a control on Afghanistan.

**(d) Post Soviet Withdrawal Era**

After withdrawal from Afghanistan the Soviet Union disintegrated. Consequently newly emerged independent states of central Asia, attracted Pakistan as a greater economic market. This newly emerged market was not only beneficial for Pakistan but also for Europe and America. Pakistan devised a new strategy in the context of new developments taken place in this region. As in the cold war period, Pakistan's focus was on the issue of Pakhtunistan and transit trade. End of cold war resulted in the reduction of tension between Pakistan and Afghanistan, and made the two countries long terms ally of each other. Pakistani president politicized Islam in this specific period.

In the subsequent events, Afghanistan was caught up in a very difficult situation. Fighting army different warring factions continued as they didn't agree on stable power sharing arrangements. After the end of war, Pak Islamic doctrine in Pakistan was no more successful. While on the other side Pakistan readily recognized. The newly emerged central Asia Republics (CARS) without any delay keeping in view the economic benefits and interests at that that point of time. Pakistan sensed that it was need of the honor to have a friendly regime in Afghanistan. In the meanwhile Taliban appeared unexpectedly on the scene and gained considerable victory, Pakistan fully supported Taliban administration in Afghanistan. It has been the earnest desire of Pakistan to have friendly and peaceful relations with its western neighbor Afghanistan so they both could meet the different challenges in befitting manners. Its great example is Pakistan's role in the context of Soviet Union Invasion in 1979 in Afghanistan. Pakistan fully supported Afghanistan for its entry into (SAARC) while opposed India Recently Afghanistan's entry into SAARC is primarily indebted to Indian support behind the scene (Spotlight on Regional Affairs, 2007).

Boon Agreement proved the way for the establishment of interim government in Afghanistan. The agreement in this regard was signed in Bonn, Germany on December 5, 2001 after the fall of Taliban regime in Afghanistan. The interim government got established on December 22, 2001 under President Hamid Karzai, who had to rebuild a land destroyed by war, hatred and hunger. Since that time, Pakistan and Afghanistan are actively engaged in a very good diplomatic relations. Pakistan has provided assistance in the reconstruction and rehabilitation of

Afghanistan. Moreover, Pakistan has deployed its 80,000 troops along Pak-Afghan border to check the insurgents and in order to counter the terrorist element. Thus, Pakistan has tried to secure the border areas and to establish peace and stability in the war torn country.

**Economic Relations:**

Afghanistan being the land locked country, so it has depended on Pakistan since 1947 regarding trade to other countries of world. Pak-Afghan bilateral trade increased to billion dollars in 2006 against just three million dollar in 2002(Pakistan Horizon, 2000).

Pakistan and Afghanistan established joint commission in 2002 to explore new avenues to strengthen their trade ties and chalk out such plans which pave the way for economic cooperation and collaboration.

An effort was made to start exportation of gas and oil from Turkmenistan to Pakistan through Afghanistan in Taliban regime. There are still possibilities for the establishment of this gas pipeline. The exportation of gas from Uzbek and Turkmen gas fields to Pakistan through Afghanistan can be very helpful for mutual Pak-Afghan relations.

Railway line is another area, where the two countries are on the verge of cooperation. A railway line in this regard is being planned from Chaman to Kandahar.

Different other measures are being taken by both the countries in a bid to strengthen the matured relations. These measures include the revival of transit trade agreement and signing of an investment protection treaty. The biggest step of cooperation is the signing of Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) for the construction of highways in Afghanistan. For the enhancement of economic activities between two countries different branches of the Pakistani banks are proposed to be established in Afghanistan while the construction of railway lines from Chaman to Spin Boldak and between Chaman and Kandahar are also under consideration.

**Areas of Hostility**

Despite being the Muslim country Afghanistan's attitude towards Pakistan has remained very hostile since the early days of



Pakistan's inception. A big example in their regard is the strongest opposition from Afghanistan, regarding Pakistan's entry into United Nations.

The other area of hostility was the promulgation of hostile propaganda in the media against Pakistan. Actually these tactics were used to pressurize Pakistan to accede to the demand of Pakhtunistan. Soviet Union and India were supporting Afghanistan behind the scene in this regard. Apart from these areas there are many other avenues in which the hostility has resulted in the adverse impacts on the bilateral relations of both the countries. Following are the most important areas of hostility.

### **1. Border Issue**

Although Pak-Afghan relations are passing through a critical stage in the recent times yet these are needed to be comprehended in the context of hundred years' history. The history of hostility started even before the emergence of Pakistan. As in 1893 Afghan Ameer Abdul Rehman signed an agreement with British Government of India to determine the boundary lines, resulted in the formation of Durand line. This line is still bone of contention between the two countries. So boarder issue between these two countries is the first and foremost factor of hostility. Afghanistan has not admitted the ground reality of the 2640 km long Durand Line as the official boundary line between the two countries. It looks very dejected as there is no hope of settlement of this issue in future as the claim of both the countries is based on two different maps of Durand Line. Pakistan's stance is based on a British map while Afghanistan uses a Russian map drawn decades ago. ([www.afghan.com](http://www.afghan.com))

### **2. Joining of Different Camps**

The history of cold war era reveals that the Soviet Union and America had built the roads and trained military officers in their respective sphere of influence round the globe. Although Afghanistan was under Soviet influence, yet it received more than 1 billion of economic aid from both the super powers. It is interesting to find out that thousands of Afghan military officers' joint military colleges in Soviet Union, while a good number of Afghani military officers got training in America (Robin, 1996:71)

On the other hand, Pakistan became an ally of USA and played its active role as a member of American security alliance. Soviet Union

increased its influence on Afghanistan in 1952 and helped it in exploring oil (Ma'arroof, 1990). At the same time USA was trying to contain the expansion of communism in the world and particularly in South Asian Region. Resultantly, USA initiated the process of building good diplomatic relations with those countries which had geographical link with China and Soviet Union.

Following two developments in this scenario are needed to be understood in encompassing the Pak-Afghan relations.

- a) According to nearly devised policy in 1954, The USA decided to give substantial military assistance to Pakistan.
- b) While another importance event took place in 1955, when Pakistan declared its western part of the country into one unit. Afghanistan showed a great displeasure on this decision and as a reaction Pakistan's embassy in Kabul and its consulate in Jalalabad and Kandahar were attacked. Consequently Pakistan banned Afghan transit trade and closed its border with Afghanistan. Soviet Union sensed to cash this political scenario and it announced to fully support Afghanistan on the issue of Pakhtunistan. Soviet Union took the notice of the region seriously and tried to resist the American interests that were thriving through CENTO and Regional Cooperation for Development (RCD).

### **3. Indian Factor**

Pak-Afghan relations have greatly affected by Afghanistan's friendship with India. India being the arch rival of Pakistan has always tried to use her influence to create the trust deficit between Pakistan and Afghanistan. India is playing its negative role in this regard in the recent situation too. (Masood, 2007)

There were two major forces in Afghanistan before the incident of 9/11 namely Taliban and Northern Alliance. India favored Northern Alliance while Pakistan was favoring Taliban. After the fall of Taliban the changed political scenario gave opportunities to India to increase its influence on Afghanistan. In a bid to do so Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh officially visited Afghanistan in September, 2005 (Pakistan Horizon, 2006).

Consequently India's role has been very crucial in the post Taliban Afghanistan. In this context Pakistan's apprehensions regarding different nationalistic terrorist activities in Baluchistan are based on the reports that confirm the strong connections of these activities with newly

opened Indian consulates in Kandahar, Mazar-i-Sharif and Jalalabad. Pakistan has shown its concern on this situation and demanded the afghan Government to stop India in establishing its consulates in the neighboring province of Pakistan.

#### **4. Transit Trade Issue**

A plenty of cross border operations have been taken place up till now, under the Afghan transit trade agreement (ATTA) between Pakistan and Afghanistan. The treaty was signed in 1965, but its implementation could not be made possible, on the basis of Pakistani Government logic behind it that it was trying to control the list of items that the afghans can put through Pakistan due to wide spread smuggling from Afghanistan.

Afghanistan being a land locked country is encircled by mountains from all sides. Its Southern boundaries are joined with Pakistan and Iran and it is considered a gateway to central Asia. Once it was known as buffer state between British India and Soviet Union at the time of British rule in India. Afghanistan is highly indebted to build good relations with her neighbor to maintain its supply line. In this regard past Afghani Governments roles are debatable due to following two reasons in the content of Soviet Union influence on Afghanistan.

- a. Transit plan was given secondary importance in Pak-Afghan Relations.
- b. The transit was linked with the resolution of Pakhtunistan issue.

This is the ground reality that the most of the trade of Afghanistan is carried out through Pakistan. Both of the countries are bound to establish good relations with each other, which guarantee the better future of both countries.

#### **5. Drug Factor**

The biggest obstacle in the good relations between Pakistan and Afghanistan is the drug factor. The drug culture came into Pakistan, when a large bulk of Afghan refugees came into Pakistan during Soviet Union's invasion in Afghanistan. It is to be noted here that Afghanistan has become the largest Norco state after Colombia and South America (Nuri, 2007).

Pakistan has gone through tremendous economic pressure due to a large number of afghan refugees in Pakistan. Reports reveal that after the emergence of the Golden Crescent, Pakistan has been reported as the 2<sup>nd</sup> largest opium producing country; hence internationally drug

trafficking and crime syndicates are disturbing in both Pakistan and Afghanistan (Nojumi, 2002:185).

But after the US-led coalition strike on Afghanistan, important development in this regard has taken place, the establishment of counter Narcotics working group among USA, Pakistan and Afghanistan to facilitate the discussion among these parties on the narcotics issue.

## **6. Refugees Problem**

Pakistan has been suffering from huge economic crises after the arrival of large Afghan refugees Since the Soviet Invasion in Afghanistan. Although, the situation in Afghanistan is better now, yet still there is a burden of 2.6 million refugees on Pakistan. For repatriation of Afghan refugees an agreement was signed by United Nation High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) in 2003, but it has not been implemented so far.

## **7. Terrorism and Cross Border Infiltration**

After the 9/11 incident in America, the Whole scenario of this region changed drastically. The 9/11 terrorist attack changed the global political scenario and this change bound many countries to counter it. Consequently new alliances emerged but the changed global history put the world under a new trial. As in the post cold war era, international security system was challenged (Nojumi, 2002:221).

Being the immediate neighbor of Afghanistan and having a great influence on Taliban administration there. Pakistan had to face tremendous pressure from America. The pressure exerted on Pakistan includes a list of seven demands. Pakistan agreed to all these demands. Pakistan provided assistance of opening air space, ports and military bases for launching the possible attacks on Afghanistan. "We stood with the United States and we stand with the entire world in opposing terrorism yet we face threats from within and without" (Musharaf, 2006:222).

Pakistan was forced to standby USA, as it was made simply very clear by Washington that terrorism was really a great threat and neutrality could not be an option in this regard. The situation turned against Taliban for the first time in Taliban's history, they faced enemies wherever they looked. All these developments led to US-led coalition strike on Afghanistan on October 7, 2001. Consequently, Taliban were

defeated and so their elimination paved the way for the establishment of an interim government in Afghanistan.

Taliban had lost the control of Afghanistan and the new interim government was formed under the president-ship of Hamid Karzai. The incident of 9/11 brought a sense of insecurity in the comity of the nations of the world. This insecurity was particularly felt in those countries, suspected of associated with Terrorism but also in all other countries situated in that region. The whole situation of the global political scenario, implicated the revisit of USA's policy after 9/11 incident in her best interests, hence Pakistan was once again engaged as the US partner in the fight against terrorism. Pakistan was asked to cooperate USA in hunting down those terrorists which were held responsible for carrying out 9/11 attacks. For the implementation of new strategy, USA actively contacted Pakistan for her future international political designs.

In this regard USA secretary of state Colin Powel telephoned Pakistani President Musharraf and dictated what to do in Afghanistan. A list of seven demands was presented to Pakistan on September 13, 2001. In these critical circumstances, Pakistan had to agree all the US's demands because the 9/11 incident put Pakistan between the devil and blue sea. The USA's pressure on Pakistan resulted in its policy change towards Afghanistan. Taliban, the administrative of Afghanistan were considered as strategic liability rather than an asset. It was clearly acknowledged by Pakistan president Musharraf in an address to the nation on September 19, 2001. Musharraf said, "At this juncture, I am warred about Pakistan only" and so "I give top priority to the defense of Pakistan. Defense of another country comes later". Pakistan dissociated herself from Taliban and decided to provide all sorts of logistic and information assistance to USA for military campaign against Taliban and Al-quaeda in Afghanistan. Pakistan provided its military air bases to USA in launching aerial attacks on Afghanistan. Pakistan faced extremely grim situation domestically in this regard. Pakistan's role was of a frontline state in the American campaign Operation Enduring Freedom (OEF). Pakistan's significance in this context was not only due to geographical proximity to Afghanistan, but also because of being one of those three countries who had recognized Taliban administration along with kingdom of Saudi Arabia and United Arab Emirates.

Pakistan was criticized vigorously within Pakistan for its so readily cooperation to the United States without gaining any sufficient compensation. Although Pakistan's focus is on one point agenda of war on terrorism, yet it is the need of the hour that this situation may be used for the improved relationship with Afghanistan in the broader sense for the settlement of all outstanding issues and other measures for the better future of the two countries. Pakistan has acted swiftly in the war on terrorism resultantly many Al-Qaeda leaders have been killed by Pakistani security or law enforcement Agencies on the basis of information given by American intelligence.

On the other hand USA's role has been very dubious. Contrarily to Pakistan's cooperation, USA acted unilaterally inside Pakistani territory on some occasions. These unilateral strikes failed to achieve USA's objectives most of the times and often caused civil casualties and loss of property on Pakistan's part. An evident in this regard is the incident of January 13, 2006, in which 13 innocent people were killed in USA air strike (Dawn, 2006). While the biggest unilateral action is killing of Usama Bin Ladin after disrespecting Pakistan's geographical boundaries on May 02, 2011. This action has created a trust deficit between USA and Pakistan. Hence in these circumstances Pak-US strained relations Pak-Afghan relations have been also affected.

### **Bonn Conference**

An international conference held in Bonn, Germany on November 27, 2001 under the aegis of United Nations in a bid to the transition to democracy in the war torn Afghanistan. The outcome of the conference paved the way for the establishment of an interim government in Afghanistan. The fundamental rights of the Afghan people were acknowledged to freely determine their own future in accordance with the principles of Islam, democracy, pluralism and social justice. Consequent upon the recommendations of the Bonn Conference, the election of the delegations of the Loya Jirga held in Kabul from June 13-16, 2002. Hamid Karzai became the elected president of Afghanistan in this Jirga. All these circumstances have great implications in the future of Afghanistan.

- Explicit end of Monarch's political rule in the country.

- Ex-president Rabbani was no more on the political scene and his political demise signified the devastation of Political Islam.

Islamic fundamentalism vanished up to some extent in Afghan society after the fall of Taliban.

These developments in the both countries Pakistan and Afghanistan made them front line states. Both the countries became key players in the global coalition against terrorism. Pakistan reinforced its security arrangements on Pak-Afghan border. Furthermore Pakistan launched military operation gradually in its tribal areas and Mohammad agency in this regard was the last target (Rizvi, 2003).

The whole scenario favored following parties to achieve their objective:

- (a). Those elements of Afghanistan administration who were the part of Northern Alliance in the Taliban's administration time before 9/11.
- (b). The Tribal leaders, Tajo's and Uzbeks Pakhtuns created troublesome for Pakistan, who were randomly residing in the tribal areas of Pakistan.

All the above mentioned elements have shown their resentment time and again against Pakistan. Particularly the elements of Northern Alliance are pro-Indian and they pressurize Pakistan tactfully in these critical circumstances.

In this new situation, Pakistan was tactfully pressurized. These conflicts and the role of Afghanistan reminds pre-1979 era, regarding Pak-Afghan relations. It is an irony of the time that despite of all assistance from Pakistan, Hamid Karzai Afghan president openly blamed Pakistan for all the troublesome in the region.

Moreover, the tribal leaders of Afghanistan have played a very negative role. Hence the relations between Pakistan and Afghanistan have been deteriorated.

## **Conclusion**

It is said that the peace of the world is linked with the peace in Afghanistan. Contemporary historians are of the view that Afghanistan is the heart of Asia, when the heart is working efficiently, the whole body (i.e. region) shall be energetic and strengthened. The incident of 9/11 has proved to be turning point for the mutual relations of both Pakistan and Afghanistan. The trade between countries has been unabated and Pakistan has been providing the transit trade facilities to Afghanistan.

Pakistan has opened its seaports for trade facilities to landlocked Afghanistan

Keeping in view the changed international political challenges and the volatile situation of the region, there is a dire need for the improved Pak-Afghan relations. Some confidence building measures (CBMs) are needed to be taken by Pakistan and Afghanistan on the pattern of recent Indo-Pak relations. Their mutual co-operation in the fields of peace, science, politics, culture and economic matters can be beneficial for each other. The in-depth analysis of the present situation and scenario reflect that the conflict between the two countries is based on the Afghanistan's allegations that Pakistan supports cross-broader insurgency. Ground realities are alarming as both the countries are facing serious challenges of integrity and grim future prospects in the present situation. It is believed that Pakistan's role in Afghanistan can largely be determined by bring peace and tranquility in its troubled tribal areas and its provinces; KhybrPakhtunkhaw, and Blochistan.

Following measures may be very helpful in achieving these results.

1. Economic and political cooperation between the two countries many become the hub of economic activities in all over Asia due to their geographical locations.
2. Another area, which is crucial for better future of the two countries based on the winning of heads and hearts of the common people of the two countries. Pakistan may start some aid program for the facilities of general public in Afghanistan as started by India like IndraGhandi Hospital, Habiba College in Kabul and Afghan National Parliament.
3. Efforts by both sides are needed for the repatriation of 2.6 million Afghan refugees in Pakistan.
4. Foreign funding from few Gulf countries to Afghanistan and tribal areas of Pakistan, need to be abandoned for the establishment of peace and harmony in the religion.
5. On the other it is the need of the hour that western countries' interference in Afghanistan should be checked.
6. There is a great responsibility on the media of both the countries to play an effective role to resolve the mutual conflicts and hence be harbingers of good future of the entire region.



7. Dialogues need to be carried on continuously, between the two countries through Pak-Afghan Jirga.
8. China may play a good role as a mediator between the two countries to overcome their differences.

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