

Pakistan's Foreign Policy Towards Afghanistan: Challenges and Prospects

Joint Connectivity as Medium of Economic Stability

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Abstract:

The present paper is an attempt to explore Pakistan's foreign policy towards Afghanistan. Historically, the invasion of Soviet in Afghanistan and the interference of Pakistan in Afghanistan has caused unfriendliness between these two nations. However, the key principles between these countries lie in harmony, strengthening people to people contact, undertaking joint projects for economic stability and avoiding interference in the internal affairs. Besides, both the nations need not to make territorial basis to be used against each other. For a harmonious neighborhood, both the nations need to keep their relation stable in their first priority. Hence, the present paper explores

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some challenges and prospects of this relationship by investigating some of the dynamics that form the core of the concerned issue.

Keywords: Pakistan, Afghanistan, Foreign policy, Challenges, Prospects, Etc.

Introduction:

Pakistan – Afghanistan relations are always complex and though, since the creation of Pakistan in 1947. The very big and the main issue between them is Durand line. In 1948 Afghanistan had given vote against Pakistan in joining the United Nations. This complicated Pak-Afghan relation. The attack of Soviet Union on Kabul in 1979 and the involvement of Pakistan in its relations complicated. Sometimes it seems that Pak-Afghan relation became cool and better, but again something creates problems and makes relations unpleasant. It looks like that Pak-Afghan relations will never become friendly and pleasant.

Neorealism:

Neorealism or structural realism is a theory of international politics. “It is a theory of international relations that explains the relationship between countries”. It attempts to describe the causes of various events that occur in international politics.

Literature Review:

Many researchers on both national and international levels have done a lot of work on Pakistan-Afghanistan relations. Khan, Z.M. (2017). Invasion of Soviet Union on Afghanistan and the interference, involvement of Pakistan in it cause serious problems for Pakistan’s own security. Afghanistan is important for Pakistan foreign policy as a “strategic depth”. The stability and peace of Afghanistan is important for Pakistan. Pakistan and Afghanistan have a common border of 2240km known as Durand line. Though Pakistan and Afghanistan shared geography, faith and ethnicity instead of this their relations have smooth. (Durain, U.m., Khan, A).

Because of the Afghanistan's non-recognition of Durand line as international border, the relations between Pakistan and Afghanistan always remained unfriendly. (Hussain, k,2015) khan, M, R. (2015). Since 21st century the evolution of international relations, globalization and communication technology has changed the world, this brought many changes and opportunities for Pakistan, he states that Pakistan should review its goals, national interests, priorities and the overall adjustment and readjustments of its foreign policy in order to cover-up with the challenges and opportunities that is anticipate.

Biswas (2013) stated that in 1893 the Durand line agreement was signed between Amir of Afghanistan Abdul Rahman and the foreign secretary of British India Sir Mortimer Durand. It was a reason of great tension between British India and Afghanistan, and much more between Pakistan and Afghanistan after 1947.

Mahmood, I (2005) explains that since the creation of Pakistan United Nations has recognized Durand line as international border between Afghanistan and Pakistan, but the later Afghan rulers did not recognize it as an international border, which leads unfriendly relations between the two countries. He stated that the border is remains porous because of the nature of tribal cultures and the socio – economic compulsions of the people residing on both sides of the border. Cheema, I. P (1994) stated that large number of Afghan refugees in Pakistan is the reason of security problem in Pakistan.

Shah (2013) describes that the incident of 9/11/2001 had crushed the earth shaking lamella of world politics and strongly effected the foreign policies of many states.it had also affect the foreign policies of Pakistan especially towards Afghanistan and Kashmir. In views of Usman (2017), the Taliban governments in Afghanistan created mistrust in the relation of Pakistan and Afghanistan the present study also discusses that PM Imran khan announced on 17 September 2018 that Pakistan will give nationality to those Afghan muhajreen who were born in Pakistan and lived, passed more than 30 years here.

Discussion:**A Brief Review of Foreign Policy:**

Foreign policy according to George Moore is “the system of activities evolved by communities for changing the behavior of other states and for adjusting their own activities to the international environment”. Hugh Gibson defines it as “a well-rounded, comprehensive plan, based on knowledge and experience, for conducting the business of government with the rest of the world. It is aimed at promoting and protecting the interests of the nation, this calls for a clear understanding of what, whose interests are and how far we can help to go with the means at our disposal. Anything less than this falls short of being a national foreign policy”. Joseph Frankel defines it as it is “consists of decisions and actions which involve to some appreciable extent Relations between one state and others”. C.C.Rode, states “Foreign policy involves the formulation and implementation of a group of principles which shapes the behavior pattern of a state while negotiating (contacting) with Other states to protect or further its vital interests”, Foreign policy is also known as foreign relations or foreign affairs policy. It is part of national policy, it consists of self/national interests. The purpose of it is to gain a nation’s goals with in its international relations and to safe to safe its national interests, through it operates the process of international politics.

Purpose of Foreign Policy:

The purpose of foreign policy the to maintain the national security of a state for the promotion of world peace, solving international issues, to elevate democratic worth or values and human rights for cooperation with other countries for foreign trades. The main goal of foreign policy is to use diplomacy or to maintain good relations between government of other different countries including meetings, and agreements to solve international challenges and issues.

Who Makes Foreign Policy?

Mostly it is the responsibility of president to make foreign policy, but along with them their representatives the senate, the secretary of state

and many other officials of the state department also participate and play major role in making and shaping foreign policy.

Foreign Policy of Pakistan:

After the independence Quaid-I-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah has described the basic principles of Pakistan's foreign policy. He states that:

“Our foreign policy is one of the friendliness and good will towards all the nations of the world we do not cherish the aggressive design against any country or nation. We believe in the principle of honesty and fair play in national and international dealings and are prepared to make our contribution to the promotion of peace and prosperity among the nations of the world. Pakistan will never be found lacking in extending its material and moral support to the oppressed and suppressed people of the world, and in upholding the principles of the United Nations charter”.

The objectives of the Pakistan foreign policy are:

- The main objective of Pakistan's foreign policy is to defense the national security to protect territory and to defense political autonomy of the country.
- To secure Pakistan's economic interests.
- It is to design the outline of Pakistan as a new-fangled, developed and democratic Islamic country.
- To meliorate concord, firmness and friendly relations with Afghanistan
- To make polite and amicable relations with all the neighbors, Muslim countries and the larger international community.
- To satisfy its liability as a liable member of the international community
- To find the Solution of all the controversies with India encompass the Kashmir issue, to boost Kashmir issue on international panel.

- To prevent and react, answer to menace and endow on chance.

History of Pak – Afghan Relation:

Pak Afghan relations has always been very complicated and subtle. The very serious and substantial issue between them was the Durand Line. This border line was made since at the time when there was rule of British on India, at that time there were no any disagreement between Afghanistan and British India on this Durand line in 1896 Amir Abdul Rahman of Afghanistan has signed agreement with British India, in which he has handover the authority of territory to the British India. This territory includes some parts of the present western Baluchistan, Quetta and large territory of FATA. But at the doorstep of Pakistan's sovereignty, the separatist has made the demand of those territory areas on the base of ethno-nationalism that is the people abide on both sides of the border have same culture, same race. After the independence of Pakistan, Afghanistan denied the independency of Pakistan and was against the membership of Pakistan in United Nations. These things cause clashes between Afghanistan and Pakistan.

During the time of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's president ship it was presumed that the Durand Line issue would be solved, but unfortunately at that time the president of Afghanistan Daud Kamal was assassinated also a military triumph by Zia Ul Haq in Pakistan had delayed the movement for some time. After the assassination of president Daud the military General of Pakistan Zia Ul Haq wanted to continue the process but the new president of Afghanistan Taraki did not display any sign of fascination. But very soon when the attack of Soviet in Afghanistan take place, this process was restarted by Taraki. This process was again break because of the assassination of Taraki and the Soviet invasion had changed the political situation of that area.

The attack of Soviet in 1979 on Kabul support the communist administration in Afghanistan. It initiated belligerency and violence and the international agencies had given funds, they supported and trained the Mujahidin an Islamist resistant group. When the Soviet leave Afghanistan after that the US and other western countries did not support

and guide the Afghan Jihad, which caused civil war in Afghanistan, because the Mujahidin were in struggle for power. But some Arab countries and Pakistan had not left the country, they want to support an everlasting peace in Afghanistan. A peace full and stable Afghanistan is the need for a peace full and stable Pakistan for its territory and for development of its people. It is also considered that Afghanistan is valuable as a “strategic depth” for Pakistan against any violence from the western borders.

In the mid-90s Taliban government arose which eventually succeeded and gained control over 90% of Afghanistan land, supporting them was dangerous for Pakistan’s own Islamic political system and Pashtunwali (an old system of norms and tradition of Pashtuns). Due to the adherence and esteem of Pashtunwali, they did not relinquish Osama Bin Laden to America and provide shelter to Al-Qaida leadership which led to a dangerous animosity in the US government for Taliban administration. When the incidents of 9/11 happened after that Taliban government again refused to hand over Osama to US, due to which US government decided to launch a revengeful war against Afghan’s Taliban government.

In October 2001, the US and NATO forces attacked Afghanistan. And the war spread to the entire world. Due to unavoidable historical factors including geo-political which have been determining magnitude, proportion of Pakistan-Afghanistan mutual relations, due to which US and its sympathizers could not neglect, ignore the role of Pakistan in Afghanistan. And when General Pervez Musharraf of Pakistan became agree to join the war on terror, it caused extreme, severe and serious reaction in both Afghanistan as well as in Pakistan. This war was continued almost for more than thirteen years and was formally controlled in December 2014. It was not ended abruptly. Actually, it was conducted through a channelized way. The NATO/ISAF forces were gradually recalled by US from Afghanistan. Their task was to take a final strong step against Al-Qaida and Taliban and to make Afghan security forces enable to take over their responsibilities.

Durand Line Issue:

In 1888 Amir Abdul Rahman of Afghanistan wanted to ask a British mission to make boundaries between British India and Afghanistan but the mission

had not come. And in 1893 he again invited a mission from government of India which was leading by Sir Mortimer Durand a foreign secretary. Amir Abdul Rahman and Sir Henry Mortimer Durand signed an agreement on 12 November 1893, which is now known as “Durand Line Agreement”. In 1890 the viceroy of India, Lord Lansdowne he appointed Lord Roberts to be the head of the mission. But the Lord Roberts had fought in Afghanistan against Afghans in the second Afghan war, due to which Abdul Rahman thought that it is not suitable and wise to assemble the mission. He was delaying this process which the English did not like, and they give him ultimatum that “The Indian government cannot wait for your indefinite promises of uncertain date, and therefore after such –and- such a time, will draw its own conclusion”.

This ultimatum of viceroy made him apprehensive and discerning. Amir Abdul Rahman requested the viceroy to send him a map in which the boundary lines are marked which they have planned. He wants to see which parts they have planned to be under their control. Due to the pressure and threats of viceroy Amir Abdul Rahman became agree and give permission for Durand Line. In 1893 Amir Abdul Rahman became agree for the delimitation of his eastern boundary. The Imperial Gazetteer of India, North-West Frontier Province, also says that “In 1893 the Amir consented to a precise fixing of boundaries, and a mission, under Sir Mortimer Durand, proceeded to Kabul to discuss the question”. And Vartan Gregorian states that “In 1893, caught between Russian pressure, British intransigence, and his own un willingness and un preparedness to start a war with the government in India, Abdul Rahman signed the Durand Line agreement’.

On the request of Amir, the map was send to him but Amir Abdul Rahman was not happy from the map which was send to him. Because “All the countries of the Waziri, new Chaman, and the rail way station there, Chageh, Buland Khel, the whole of Muhmand, Asmar and Chitral, and other countries lying in between, were marked as belonging to India’. The Amir informed the viceroy of his fore bodings and the conclusions about the areas which are taking away from him as in the map shown to be belonging to India. And he wrote to the viceroy of the India that:

“...But if you should cut them out of my dominions, they will be neither of any use to you nor of me: you always be engaged in fighting or other troubles with them, and they will always go on plundering. As long as your government is strong and in peace, you will be able to keep them quite by a strong hand, but if at any time a foreign enemy appears on the borders of India, the frontier tribes will be your worst enemies.... In your cutting away from me these frontier tribes, who are people of my nationality and of my religion, you will injure my prestige in the eyes of my Instead of Amir’s advice British government expelled “officials from Bulund Kheil and Wana Zhob by force and threat of arms.

At the time of Pakistan, India independence the licit status of these areas were changed. All the agreements that Afghanistan had made were with British India not with the government of India, now at the time of independence they were legally speaking all these agreements now no more effective or valid and these tribal areas became independent. The independent territories became under the control of Pakistan. To this independence Afghanistan had a bad reaction. Before independence in 1947 Afghans wants and tried to bring back these Pashtun areas under the control of the Afghanistan government.

Afghanistan voted against Pakistan joining of UN (United Nations) in 1948. And on border Pakistan had delayed import, export to Afghanistan. Afghanistan’s radio announced for Pashtunistan’s independence. And Pakistan in 1949 attacked Afghanistan territory incidentally by air, a Skirmish (unplanned flight during a war) followed. Soon after that a loya Jirga (great council) was conducted in Kabul, which refuse the acceptance of all boundaries of the treaties made with British India. They were in the favor of independent Pashtunistan. And they argued that all the residents of these territories should be given a referendum and the wright to vote to join Afghanistan.

In 1950 Afghan forces attacked on tribal areas. Pakistan hold back the import of Goods from Afghanistan for three months. In 1961 a second and larger Skirmish made the border close for months due to which Afghanistan cannot export some of its fruits through the traditional route of Pakistan.

The migrants were unable to cross the border to their normal station. In 2001 Taliban occupied some of these areas. Due to these areas Pakistan drawn into longer conflicts as the Britishers were before. The illicit movement of the natives, criminals, smugglers through the border is a serious challenge for the foreign policy of Pakistan. These challenges can only be controlled if the border management will be improved on both sides. But the Afghan government and the tribal people are against the idea of strictness on the border. In spite of all these opposition, Pakistan have taken some essential steps that is installation of gates on entry and exit points, making check posts, biometric identification, attestation of the people, moving through the border, made a data collection system to stop terrorists, militants, and other law breakers. Instead off all this strictness, arrangements, the smugglers, terrorists, culprits find ways to infiltrate into each other's countries and challenge the state law and make law and orders more fragile. This is a long and porous border, the only solution to control such illegal movement is to accept it as international border and make a wall, a barrier to stop the filtrate of such people.

Afghan Refugees:

After World War II, the interference, attack of Soviet Union and US on Afghanistan, caused number of Afghan dispersed in neighbor countries. Proxy war, Soviet invasion in Afghanistan and 9/11 events US and NATO forces invaded Afghanistan. For more than thirty-seven years' Pakistani government and people provided them home. In 2017 Pakistan's Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif extended the immigration of Afghan refugees till 31 December 2017, after that the immigration laws should be strictly apply.

The burden of these Afghan refugees is threat for Pakistan's economy and security. Majority of these refugees are poor, and they get easily involved in crimes because they are easy prey for criminals, terrorists. This is dangerous for Pakistan's security, to handle them is a difficult task. The only solution is that they should return to their homeland, which is only possible if there is peace in their homeland means Afghanistan.

Transit Trade Agreement:

Before the independence of Pakistan, the trade between British India and Afghanistan were take place through Torkham, Jalal Abad, Chaman-Spin Boldak routes. On 22 November 1921 there were some agreements between British government and Afghan government, in which they have not talked about transit trade, but they have emphasized on freedom of transit. After the creation of Pakistan in the beginning Pak-Afghan relations were complicated. But in March 1965 both countries have signed an agreement i-e Bilateral Pak-Afghan transit trade (ATTA) agreement. In which there were specified three exit points for Afghan transit trade, these are Torkham, Ghulam Khan, and Chaman. These trade movements were through Rail and NLC (national logistics corporation) by roads.

In 2010 Pakistan and Afghanistan have signed a revived agreement i-e Afghanistan-Pakistan transit trade agreement (APTTA), and in June 2001 it was operated. In 1965 agreement Afghanistan was not permitted to access India through Pakistan's land routes. In 1965 agreement there was not given the right to Pakistan to import and export their goods to central Asian republics. While Afghanistan has given the right of free transit trade through Pakistani sea ports.

In 1965 the goods that are imported to Afghanistan from Pakistan through Karachi sea port immediately re-enter back to Pakistan through porous border. These illegal, smuggled items were declared as of Afghanistan. In 2003 Pakistan introduces strict rules to prevent smuggling. In 2001 in APTTA agreement both countries were permitted to use each other's roads, airports, railways and ports for transit trade but the transport by road was not allowed for any third country, neither India nor any other central Asia country. This agreement also permits Afghanistan to export its goods to India at Wagah border through the way of Pakistan, but the Indian goods were not allowed to be loaded in the trucks for transit back to Afghanistan on Wagah border, the Indian goods were not permitted to import to Afghanistan across Pakistani territory. In this agreement Pakistan is permitted to access to every country that is sharing its border with

Afghanistan these countries are Iran, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan.

Post 9/11 Situation:

After the defeat of Taliban's ruling, Pakistani government guaranteed, cleared this that they will be cooperate in Afghanistan's reconstruction and re instate of its people. In February 2002 Hamid Karzai the president of Afghanistan visited Islamabad to discuss matters of interests. And Pakistani government assured its cooperation and assistance to the new Afghanistan's government every time and everywhere. In April 2002 president Pervaiz Musarraf announced \$100 million fund to be used the construction of Afghanistan. Pakistan has also provided its reinforcement during the 2004 presidential elections and 2005 parliamentary election. Pakistan had sealed its borders to avoid the flow of terrorist towards Afghanistan. Pakistan never wants an unstable Afghanistan, but to the Indian involvement Pakistan has always been claimed for Afghanistan's instability. On 22 June 2006 in a press conference Hamid Karzai claimed that Pakistan is supporting Taliban for fighting inside Afghanistan. So, to defeat terrorism for international community it is necessary to cut off the source. These words made the situation further harsh.

In March 2006 in a meeting in Kabul, Pakistan's interior minister Mr. Sherpao said to Afghan president Karzai that Pakistan wants to seal the border to stop the infiltration of the terrorists but Afghan president was not agreeing to seal the border. Because of its too much length of 2250km, for Pakistan it is very difficult to seal every corner of it. Pakistan had appointed almost 80,000 militaries on its western border. Pakistan always Wants a stable Afghanistan. On February 17, 2006 Afghan president Karzai came to Pakistan in the funeral of Abdul Wali Khan. In a press conference he said:

“If they don't stop, the whole region will suffer with us equally. In the past we had suffered alone; this time everybody will suffer with us. Any effort to divide Afghanistan ethnically or weaken it, it will create the same thing in neighboring countries. All the countries in the neighborhood have the same ethnic groups that we have, so they should know that it is a different ball game this time [3]. Pakistan Afghanistan Skirmishes continued

throughout the year during which many times Afghan forces had opened fire and violated the border”.

Nationality to Afghan Refugees:

The prime minister of Pakistan Imran Khan has announced on 17 September 2018, that Pakistan government will issue passport and identity cards to those who born in Pakistan. Pakistan has provided shelter, home to more than 1.39 million registered Afghan refugees, according to UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees), many of whom have been living in Pakistan for more than thirty years. First of all, Afghan refugees enter to Pakistan in 1970s at the time of the invasion of Soviet in Afghanistan, and after that the civil war. Since 2001 large number of refugees enter Pakistan because of US attack and Taliban war on Afghanistan. In Pakistan there are also some 200,000 Bangladeshis since 1971 war, at the time of Bangladesh's independence. They are there for more than forty years. So, their children are grown now, Imran Khan said that we will give citizenship to those Bangladeshis and Afghans who born in Pakistan. He said that every country in the world do this than why we are doing such injustice with these people.

“Pakistani law allows citizenship for all those born in the country, except for children of foreign diplomats, “enemy aliens” and those who migrated away from territories that became Pakistan after the partition of the subcontinent in 1947”. Imran Khan said “why are they treated without dignity? They are humans, how have we deprived them for 30-40 years?”

Imran Khan said that “an underclass is increasing which is responsible for the hike in street crimes”. He said “more than 0.25 million Bengalis and a large number of Afghans are living here, but since they have been denied national identity cards of Pakistan, despite having been born here, they are unable to find jobs or work on meagre wages”. He said that this thing rises the deprived, underclass.

Theoretical Considerations:

Neorealism:

Neorealism or structural realism is a theory of international politics. This theory was introduced by Kenneth Waltz (1924-2013). In his book "Theory of international politics explains Neorealism as a theory of international relations that explains the relationship between countries and attempts to describe the causes of various events that occur in international politics".

According to neorealist:

- The difference in politics of different countries is according to the difference in their powers.
- The principles of international system are lawless, so states must have their own rules, principles, and disciplines for their security in this lawless international system to protect their national interests.
- Countries think about other countries as they are their enemies, and they have threats from them for their national security, this fear and mistrust motivates states to make their policies.
- All the countries of the world live in an anarchic (lawless) environment, there is no central authority who apply rules, regulations, to control security and protect states national interests.
- The policies of states are organized by the ordering principles/structures of international system. States are distinguished according to their powers; it is the power that gives state/country a particular position in the international system.
- If a state failed to get a proper place in international system it will cause increased instability and uncertainty.
- According to Waltz, in order to systematize the international system, the main point is to balance the power.
- Interdependency produces good relations as well as mutual vulnerability. (Devetak).

Pakistan-Afghanistan relations through the lens of neorealism; both countries must have their own rules, regulations, they must protect their national interests, security by self-defense, no one else will protect them in this anarchic international system. And if both Pakistan and Afghanistan create mutual unity with each other, it will give them strength and create good relations between them.

Conclusion:

Pakistan's foreign policy towards Afghanistan is still in motion and still changes are continuously going on. Since 9/11 Pakistan adopted various strategies related to Pakistan-Afghanistan regional security complex, that is the out stretch of anti-terrorist training s and mission through Pakistan, the cooperative attitude of military regarding unfavorable, unsympathetic terrorism in the country. The improvements in supervision of border between Pakistan and Afghanistan. The positive struggle in gaining and maintaining peace both at national and regional level as well as helps Afghanistan for peace. The war in Afghanistan was continued for almost thirteen years and ended finally in 2014. Apparently, it was because of the interference of Taliban in Afghanistan politics and they were very powerful. The only solution of Taliban was to draw out opportunities from Taliban and to merge lawful politicians in Afghanistan's politics.

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