

**POLITICAL ECONOMY OF THE BORDER WALLS:  
A CASE STUDY OF THE PAKISTAN AFGHANISTAN BORDER**



Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment for the award of the degree of

**BACHELORS OF SCIENCE**

**In**

**POLITICAL SCIENCE**

**By**

**HAFSAH JANJUA**

**Reg. No. 04201613054**

**SCHOOL OF POLITICS AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

**QUAID-I-AZAM UNIVERSITY, ISLAMABAD**

**SEPTEMBER 2020**

**POLITICAL ECONOMY OF THE BORDER WALLS:  
A CASE STUDY OF THE PAKISTAN AFGHANISTAN BORDER**

Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment for the award of the degree of

**BACHELORS OF SCIENCE**

**In**

**POLITICAL SCIENCE**

**By**

**HAFSAH JANJUA**

**Reg. No. 04201613054**

**SUPERVISED BY**

**PROF. DR. SUMMAR IQBAL BABAR**

**SCHOOL OF POLITICS AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

**QUAID-I-AZAM UNIVERSITY, ISLAMABAD**

**SEPTEMBER 2020**

**QUAID-I-AZAM UNIVERSITY**  
**SCHOOL OF POLITICS AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

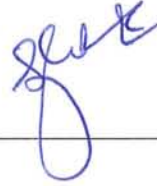
November 9, 2020

**FINAL APPROVAL LETTER**

This is to certify that we have read the graduate essay submitted by **Ms. Hafsah Janjua**, Registration No. **04201613054** and in our judgment it is up to the standard of acceptance by the Quaid-I-Azam University for the grant of the degree of BS in Political Science

**1. Supervisor**

Dr. Summar Iqbal Babar



**2. External Examiner**

Dr. Zulfiqar Ali Chughtai



**3. Director**

Dr. Farhan Hanif Siddiqi



DEDICATION

*To my  
Grandfather  
Saqlain Janjua*

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

I would like to begin by thanking my supervisor, **Dr. Summar Iqbal Babar** who has been a guide for everyone at the department and has been my source of support in the academic years of my graduation.

I would also like to extend my appreciation for my Father, Muhammad Izzah Saqlain Janjua, who has been my inspiration since forever and my friends Misha Asif, Daniyal Habib, Rijja Wasim, Taimour Haider and Umair Farooq who were always there to encourage me and help me when so ever needed.

**HAFSAH JANJUA**

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

DEDICATION .....	1
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS .....	2
ABSTRACT.....	5
INTRODUCTION .....	6
LITERATURE REVIEW .....	6
THESIS STATEMENT: .....	9
INDICATOR OF VARIABLES.....	10
SIGNIFICANCE OF RESEARCH .....	10
LIMITS OF RESEARCH .....	10
SCHEME OF STUDY .....	11
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY.....	12
CHAPTER ONE .....	13
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.....	13
1.1 IMPORTANCE .....	13
1.2 PRIMORDIALISM.....	14
1.3 SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIVISM .....	15
1.4 ETHNIC NATIONALISM AND SYMBOLISM .....	16
1.5 GLOBALIZATION.....	17
1.6 CAPITALISM.....	18
CHAPTER 02 .....	20
PAKISTAN AFGHANISTAN RELATIONS.....	20
2.1 HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE .....	20
2.1.1 Pre 911.....	20
2.1.2 Post 911 .....	23
2.2 CURRENT OVERVIEW OF THE PAKISTAN AFGHANISTAN TIES .....	25
2.2.1 Political and Economic Status of the two states .....	25
2.2.2 Econ Political Exchange between Kabul and Islamabad .....	27
2.3 ROLE OF GLOBAL ACTORS .....	29
2.3.1 Durand line and The Great Game .....	29
2.3.2 The New Great Game.....	30
2.3.3 Future Implications.....	31
CHAPTER 03 .....	34
BORDER WALLS AND THE ECONOMY .....	34
3.1 WALLS OF THE PAST AND THE FUTURE THROUGH ECONOMIC RETROSPECT .....	34
3.2 INFORMAL AND PETTY ECONOMY .....	39
3.3 OPIUM ECONOMY .....	42
3.4 MILITARY EQUIPMENT AND THE PAKISTAN AFGHANISTAN ECONOMIC DETAILS .....	46
CHAPTER 04 .....	50
CHALLENGES.....	50

4.1 THE DIFFICULT TERRAIN OF AFGHANISTAN.....	50
4.2 IRREGULAR WARFARE AND PAKISTAN AFGHANISTAN DYNAMICS .....	53
4.3 TERRORISM, TENSIONS AND THE BORDER WALL.....	58
CONCLUSION .....	61
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	64

## ABSTRACT

The global world order can be seen as a dynamic process which is constantly evolving. The actors involved in this whole arrangement are adapting new forms and ways every day. At first the world was characterized in substance to actors and their muscle power but however in today's frame of time we cannot ignore the vivid impact of economy on the overall hierarchy of states and their governance policies. Border walls are an important feature which has made a highlighting effect in this regard whether we discuss about its influence on the macro or the micro level. This issue under consideration rose to attention once again when Trump's government came into play and brought public's major focus upon constructing new walls and limiting communication across the state's boundaries. The Durand line issue in contrast to the existing walls across the world marks as an interesting example of discussing how things have unfolded ever since the formation of the sub continental states. To generate a detailed understanding of the targeted problem a direct relationship is drawn between the state actors, Pakistan and Afghanistan, with the non-state actors such as that of terrorist organizations who gained much popularity after the fall of the twin towers in Washington. The densely populated region of Pakistan Afghanistan across the longitudinal cross sectioning of the two planes is also investigated in detail by the source of secondary knowledge to determine the possible benefits of the construction of the border wall.



## INTRODUCTION

The world today is facing a dilemma, on one side globalization is the mantra and on the other side massive restrictions on human movement is seen by creating border walls or fences. The concept of building border walls for security is not novel and the Great Wall of China is a testament to this effect. Borders are human constructs and the walls bring about a concept of security to the nation state. Constructing them notwithstanding the significance of security argument border walls has an economic impact both at the macro and the micro level. If border walls have security impact and security is a determinant of the defense policy, then by extension it is a means of thwarting an adversary's proxies to achieve gorilla operations and designs to support insurgencies. Gorilla and insurgent operations take effect in unruly distant regions that are known for being difficult terrain and thus hard for law enforcement to reach out, or through clandestine means in thickly populated urban areas where it is too difficult to keep an eye on everyone because of sheer number of people. In vast under developed extents of poorly governed regions the anti-state elements compete with the government for influence and sometimes the population of such areas are subjected to triple taxation first by the government, second by the insurgents and third by the public officials (bribery). Informal economy has the legitimacy because mostly it is subsistence based and some of it involves cross border trade circumventing tariffs. The later form of trade gets hurt once specially for the petty smugglers who cannot afford to take long detours that exist in the legal entry points.

### **Literature Review**

The means I have used to acquire the data needed to support my argumentation over the analysis report that constructs a fine description of the backlashes between Pakistan and Afghanistan are

mainly secondary because of the limitation in transport due to the global Pandemic. However, following pieces of literature have helped me endure the basis of my Research paper.

The following pieces of literature have helped me endure the basis of my Research paper.

The work of John Pilger in his investigative journalistic report of how the capitalist world order and the liberal actors of market have deprived the people of the general populous to attain certain commodities is explained in his book “Freedom Next Time” which was published in 2006. This book marks as a capstone for understanding the global world order and its influence in the Pakistan Afghanistan region. The interviews of him with the people of character like Nelson Mandela who played a diverse role in history raises many question of how things trickled down for the people on the lower end of the graph by the people of comfort and protocol. <sup>1</sup>

The statement by Barnett R. Rubin in his article “The Political Economy of War and Peace in Afghanistan” which was published in the journal, World development, states that the economy of Kabul after the invasion has completely shifted to war and drugs. He takes an analytical approach in defining the issue of the doomed state of Afghanistan with respect to the events of terrorism and insurgency.<sup>2</sup>

Faridullah Bezhan’s historical overview of the Durand line after the independence of Pakistan from the British Raj gives a detailed substance on the Pakistan Afghanistan dynamics. The relationship between the two states started off from a disturbing platform in the international arena because of Kabul’s primordial approach in essence of the Pashtun culture and tribal bondage. His time frame of the first few years sets a tone for the initial fall out of the two states.

---

<sup>1</sup> John Pilger, “Freedom Next Time”, *Black Swan*, 2007.

<sup>2</sup> Rubin, Barnett R, Sadiq Ahmed, William Byrd, F Anders, Bernard Frahi, M Jamal Hani, R Scott Horton, “The Political Economy of War and Peace in Afghanistan”, *World Development*, 2000.

The book by Dr. Farhan Siddique, “The Politics of Ethnicity in Pakistan” published in 2012 at Routledge also creates a seeming link of ethnic issues with the office and how they can be tackled. The grievances people have with each other are resource bound and they date back in history over petty issues. The book provides a good ground for reviewing the nationalistic happenings in Islamabad post military rule.<sup>3</sup>

Moreover, the explorative work done by Carter and Poast to describe the essence and narratives of states behind fencing the borders to their vantage in the article, “Why do states build walls? Political Economy, Security, and Border Stability” also contributes to explain the strategies of nations and their need to improvise the overall system of balancing the power moguls. The economic aspects of fencing the gaps have also been discussed in detail creating a contrasting relationship of the past with the contemporary world.<sup>4</sup>

In addition to this, the article by Rizwan Zeb upon the Pakistan Afghanistan conflict under the name, “Cross Border Terrorism Issues Plaguing Pakistan–Afghanistan Relations” suggests the ground for both states to cooperate overlooking the events of counter terroristic activities that were being deployed by Islamabad coupled with Kabul’s response to the complete situation under consideration. The information of Taliban safe havens to Afghanistan provided by Pakistan and vice versa at a time when the emotions of the two states towards each other were tense and hostile than ever before also contributed to the examination of the role of communicative terrorism around the Durand line area in the writing.<sup>5</sup>

---

<sup>3</sup> Farhan Hanif Siddiqi, “The Politics of Ethnicity in Pakistan”, Routledge, 2012.

<sup>4</sup>David B. Carter, Paul Poast, “Why Do States Build Walls? Political Economy, Security, and Border Stability”, *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 2015.

<sup>5</sup> Rizwan Zeb, “Cross Border Terrorism Issues Plaguing Pakistan–Afghanistan Relations”, *China and Eurasia Forum Quarterly*, 2006.

In the book, "Walls and Mirrors" writer, David G. Gutierrez images the problem of immigration upon the state's system and its devised policies. He takes in consideration the political entity of Mexico as a case study to thoroughly exemplify the issues and traits of people moving across the US Mexico border into the land of America. The construction of borders due to the illegal immigrations who seek to venture their chances in the land of opportunities is also pin pointed in brief language by the author. The comparison drawn by him is very applicable considering Trump's pro governmental policies for fencing the border with a big thick wall.<sup>6</sup>

Counterinsurgency or a war on terror? The war in Afghanistan and the debate on Western strategy is the compilation by Rich who notes down the impact of international forces which adjoined their forces in overtaking the governmental outbreak in Afghanistan post-Taliban attack. He also sheds light on the events triggered by coalition forces plus the influence of Afghanistan on the regional and international level whilst keeping in account the economic stability.<sup>7</sup>

### **Thesis Statement:**

Pakistan and Afghanistan have been in constant argument over the Durand line issue ever since the independence but the rise in hostility seen in the recent times due to the talks of Islamabad to construct a border wall has triggered a conflict. This will bring about a change in the political and economic arena of the region and also a shift in the general arrangement of the global politics considering the diversity and length of the problem in contrast to what is happening in the world today.

---

<sup>6</sup> David G. Gutierrez, "Walls and Mirrors", *University of California Press*, 1995.

<sup>7</sup> Paul B. Rich, "Counterinsurgency or a war on terror? The war in Afghanistan and the debate on Western strategy", *Routledge*, 2010.

### **Indicator of Variables**

The research question holds two types of variables, an independent variable and a dependent variable. The relationship between Islamabad and Kabul is the dependent variable which is discussed in accordance with the independent variable, Terrorism. The intervening variables or spoilers in this analysis would be the ideological edifice upon Primordialism for Afghanistan government overtime upon the Durand line issue, domestic politics, leadership strategy and the regional influence, international power struggle, role of global actors and their constructed beliefs, Pakistan's policy towards Kabul's idea and the capability of the two states also comes under this feature. The relationship of the on goings and shortcomings of the independent and dependent variables upon the status of the states is the counter piece of this research.

### **Significance of Research**

The objective of this research is to highlight the role border walls play in defining the political economy of the states. The primordial idea of Afghanistan to the modernist approach of liberating economies under the retrospect of evolving relationship status of Pakistan and Afghanistan are discussed in detail which will give a clear idea of the existing hostility between the two neighbors. The determining causes of the Pakistan Afghanistan conflict are also brought into limelight to devise a plan which will look beyond the deficient frameworks of strategy and will help the two states cater the problem at hand considering the global work of action as well.

### **Limits of Research**

[The research is limited as the sources used to build the answers to the questions are mainly secondary. Moreover, the relationship drawn between the historical walls and the one being built today have a set of varying features making it hard to predict the future unraveling of the

### **Indicator of Variables**

The research question holds two types of variables, an independent variable and a dependent variable. The relationship between Islamabad and Kabul is the dependent variable which is discussed in accordance with the independent variable, Terrorism. The intervening variables or spoilers in this analysis would be the ideological edifice upon Primordialism for Afghanistan government overtime upon the Durand line issue, domestic politics, leadership strategy and the regional influence, international power struggle, role of global actors and their constructed beliefs, Pakistan's policy towards Kabul's idea and the capability of the two states also comes under this feature. The relationship of the on goings and shortcomings of the independent and dependent variables upon the status of the states is the counter piece of this research.

### **Significance of Research**

The objective of this research is to highlight the role border walls play in defining the political economy of the states. The primordial idea of Afghanistan to the modernist approach of liberating economies under the retrospect of evolving relationship status of Pakistan and Afghanistan are discussed in detail which will give a clear idea of the existing hostility between the two neighbors. The determining causes of the Pakistan Afghanistan conflict are also brought into limelight to devise a plan which will look beyond the deficient frameworks of strategy and will help the two states cater the problem at hand considering the global work of action as well.

### **Limits of Research**

[The research is limited as the sources used to build the answers to the questions are mainly secondary. Moreover, the relationship drawn between the historical walls and the one being built today have a set of varying features making it hard to predict the future unraveling of the

conflict. The political and economic theories used within the research also have their own limitations and exceptions. A lack of research studies regarding the topic was also vividly felt.

### **Scheme of Study**

This Research paper attempts to examine the Pakistan Afghan border fence with its special focus on its security reasons, macro and micro political economic impacts. It aims at developing an understanding of the Pakistan Afghanistan border fence on the informal economy of the region which is by and large the only means of earning for the people of the locality. The first chapter includes the theoretical framework implied upon the study which gives a fair idea of the whole thought process. The second chapter then talks about the historical and the current relationship status of the two states considering 9/11 as a benchmark in time for the analysis. The role of border walls on the macro and micro level will be discussed further in the proceeding chapter keeping in mind the impact it has on the whole operational dynamics of the region. A comparison is also drawn between the global perspective of border walls and the one which is being considered by Islamabad. State Narratives and the motives of the two states, Pakistan and Afghanistan, behind building the wall are also thoroughly investigated. The fourth chapter leads to the discussion of the challenges faced due to the increase in terrorism on the overall standing of the states overlooking the cross border involvement of certain groups and parties. A conclusion is drawn for all the questions in essence to the political and economic sphere in chapter five.

1. How will the economy be affected at the macro and the micro level by the border wall on the Durand line?
2. What influence does the informal economy have on both of the state's political and economic standing?

3. How does irregular war in terms of guerrillas, insurgents and terrorism shape the political objectives of the states?

### **Research Methodology**

The research methodology is primarily interpretative and is relying upon qualitative methods. Major crunch of the data is collected from credible scholarly articles and journals. It also involves semi structured interviews of people from the Pakistan Afghanistan border area living in the province of Baluchistan.



# CHAPTER 1

## THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

### 1.1 Importance

A theoretical framework gives a clear overview of the overlapping ideas that are used to define the problem. The key notes of understanding the problem in essence to solve the issue at hand becomes more flexible when a regulated and systematic approach is taken.<sup>8</sup> The purpose of theories in International Relations is to come up with a conceptual framework based on which the International Relations can be evaluated. These theories do not aim on finding the truth, but to interpret the world as it is, and to modify it through analysis. The most basic function of theories in International Relations is that they make ordering of data possible. It provides an outline for imaginative and systematic hypothesizing. The ordering of data can help the observer differentiate between the similarities and distinctiveness. Theory holds out the tools whereby the observer can discover in the clutter of events that which is repeated and ordinary. Theory necessitates that the basis of selection of problems for thorough analysis be made definite. Theory can serve to make more obvious the implied presumptions underlying a research design and thus un-wrap the elements and repercussions that might otherwise be left unnoticed. Theory can be an implement for not only appreciating the similarities and uniformities but uncertainties and irrationalities as well. A Theoretical framework also formats the whole agenda under consideration and gives out a more disciplined display of the complete apparatus. In order to understand the correspondence between the econ political impact and the construction of the wall over the Durand line, a fine explanatory description is very cardinal to the theory and also at the practical substance of the matter. The insight into the theoretical domain I have penned down in

---

<sup>8</sup> Marlene, "A guide to understanding theoretical and conceptual frameworks", *Evidence-Based Midwifery*, 2007.

detail above plays a highlighting impact in shaping the research questions and also their effect over the general discourse. The approach I have taken is a poly-heuristic one which borrows the ideas of different theories and merges them into a singular model of contemplation when it comes to acknowledging the intersecting spheres of impact of one on another. The concept of experimentation to vendor solutions comes after a concrete building of blocks with a strong base. Theory in this shed provides the required platform to adapt and visualize it's off coming on the positioning of resources and also narrates a general idea of how to deal with what and at what expense in a society which is going under a continuous motion of versatility.<sup>9</sup>

## 1.2 Primordialism

The primordialistic idea is the school of thought that revolves around the agenda of actors dwelling upon epistemological beliefs of origin and traditions through history which have flavored their way in the existing status today. The concept of nations under this spectrum is considered to be primitive. It is suggested that people have strong roots which connects them to the zealot of the land and its attachments. This theory justifies the development of nations because of destined links of bondages that are to play an important role in the manufacturing of the state systems. The common identities hailing from similar backgrounds such as that of language, race, origin, culture, kinship, saints, events, etc. all come under the domain of Primordialism and its definite attributes of sharing the historic heritage.<sup>10</sup>

The phenomenon of occurring because of beliefs takes advantage of this theoretical explanation. Many works have been done in this regard by Edward Shills, Clifford Geertz and Pierre L. van

---

<sup>9</sup> Green H, "Use of theoretical and conceptual frameworks in qualitative research", *Nurse Researcher*. 2014.

<sup>10</sup> Frank P. Harvey, "Primordialism, Evolutionary Theory and Ethnic Violence in the Balkans: Opportunities and Constraints for Theory and Policy", *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, 2000.

den Berghe. These philosophers talk about how this concept is actually a biologically perceived social engagement which has everything to do with a person's birth. <sup>11</sup>The sentiments described in this process are overpowering and insistent. The lack of interest would not mean that an individual or a group of people from the same spoon will be able to hide past this fact in stone which has been drawn upon them through speculations of interior entanglements.

In the Pakistan Afghanistan conflict the theory of Primordialism is applied to understand the correlation the Afghanistan people have with the cross border tribes of Pashtuns and also the land which is linked to them in history. The Pakistan Afghanistan people living over the border have strong alignments of traditional values with the tribal population living across the border. The engagements are tightening and very dominantly persuasive for them in their conflict against Pakistan to take back the land that they have lost because of an unsolidified agreement with the British raj. <sup>12</sup>

### **1.3 Social Constructivism**

The Constructivists talk about the ontological building and shaping of ideas into existence. Everything in matter and in space has been defined by the people in accordance to their perceiving of information. <sup>13</sup> Constructivism therefore explains the way in which a certain thing comes into metaphysical existence. The molding of believes into a fully informed idea is also studied in detail under the theory of constructivism and its course of action.

The concept of social constructivism notes the adaptations of the society in reference to the culture and traditions as the focal point which then mend and mold the system of beliefs and

---

<sup>11</sup> Michelle Williams, "The Multicultural Dilemma: Migration, Ethnic Politics, and State Intermediation", Routledge, 2012.

<sup>12</sup> Murat Bayar, "Reconsidering Primordialism: an alternative approach to the study of ethnicity",

<sup>13</sup> Catherine Twomey Fosnot, "Constructivism: Theory, Perspectives, and Practice", *Teachers College Press*, 2013.

ideas for individuals as well as groups. This whole process is maintained and realigned with people's perspective and their intragroup connectivity and communications.<sup>14</sup>

The hostility between Pakistan Afghanistan people is measured under the stretch of social constructivism and its vested ideas in the minds of the public which refrains from merging into new ideas because of the construction made by the general accountable authorities of elites with economic and military muscle.

#### **1.4 Ethnic Nationalism and Symbolism**

Ethno nationalism as explained by Anthony D. Smith is a multilayered theory which talks about unity and solidarity by the people due to their shared heritage.<sup>15</sup> The identity of the people is accessed through their detrimental features such as that of values built upon the edifice of the historical ancestry. Ethnic symbolism under this umbrella also caters the ideas linked to certain motivation of ethnic groups which place them all on the same boat towards life.

The rise in this motivation of ethnic segmentation and growth can also be studied over the time after the world underwent industrialized revolution which completely changed the dynamics of the global politics in economic and political aspects. The ethnic groups discarded other potential groups with fostering over their involvement in the market sidelining other actors. Disputes and conflicts over this entity has also been the talk of the town since the economic aspect gained more popularity in the world.

The emergence of this trail has also lead to great demarcations of distribution but at the same time it has created new geographical perimeters for the followers. The borders of the states are

---

<sup>14</sup> Roya Jafari Amineh, Hanieh Davatgari, "Review of Constructivism and Social Constructivism", *Journal of Social Sciences, Literature and Languages*, 2015.

<sup>15</sup> Anthony Smith, "Nationalism and Modernism", *Routledge*, 2013.

considered to be vague with ethnic nationalistic believers perceiving it to be an idea beyond scope of imaginative lines separating the population. <sup>16</sup>

The Pakistan Afghanistan culture, especially in the tribal groups of rural and distant locality across the Durand line can be analyzed through this measure of traditional deployment of the general population's idea. The ethnic national approach of the public has had a great influence over the graphs of trade and market when the Islamabad Kabul chart is seen.

### **1.5 Globalization**

This perspective of political and economic theory deals with the global integration of evolution and markets. Globalization basically jots down the web of connectivity amongst actors whether state, non-state, political, economic, technological, traditional, and individual or groups. <sup>17</sup> In today's time with massive progression and development people have become far more interconnected than ever making it more convenient for them to communicate and prosper in their selective fields and otherwise. The gaps are being filled and new opportunities and ideas are being deployed every passing minute which may or may not be in everyone's best interest. Noam Chomsky, an American professor also talks about the implications of globalization and how it molds the overall arrangement of the world balance now. He critiques it with saying that as the world is becoming more global, it is still lacking in its ability to engage people. The person can be as far as a text message because of the massive advancement in the strategies but this has made people far off on personal terms and relations. Reservations on travel and the flow of

---

<sup>16</sup> Anthony H. Richmond, "Ethnic and Racial Studies", *Routledge*, 2010.

<sup>17</sup> Jonathan Michie, "The Handbook of Globalization", *Edward Elgar Publishing*, 2019.

economy in one direction can be seen where only the elites gain profit whereas the lower class is sent on a deprivation stroll.<sup>18</sup>

In the dynamic affair of Islamabad and Kabul, it is fair to say that globalization has had a huge impact on the whole issue. States have had enjoyed their gaining of proceedings but at the same time Taliban have had a toil in the direction forward with major outbreaks in globalization. They have used the resources of the evident formation from the modern world to overcome the shortcomings they had.

## **1.6 Capitalism**

This school of thought is the byproduct of the Second World War when the world was divided into two blocs with America on one end and Soviets on the other. The two powers then motivated the states to follow in their steps to have a firm hold over the global politics. America the sponsor of liberal, free markets introduced the ideology of capitalism where non stake actors got the autonomy to practice trade and flow of economy. This initiated many intervals of change in the existing status of the nations. Capitalism evoked the economic leaves of a new book. It serves as a critique for socialism and surrounds itself with the basic idea of ownership and right to enjoy the liberal freedom of capital flow and competitive markets.<sup>19</sup>

The independence of Pakistan was also the result of the Second World War and its decision to join hands with America against the invasion of Soviets in Afghanistan marks as the stepping

---

<sup>18</sup> Cliff DuRand, "Neoliberal Globalization and the Crisis of Liberal Democracy", *Socialism and Democracy*, 2020.

<sup>19</sup> Adam Smith, "The Wealth of Nations", *W. Strahan and T. Cadell, London, 1776.*

one for the Islamabad office where they jumped into the world of modern trade and capitalist economy.<sup>20</sup>

---

<sup>20</sup> Dr. Akhtar Shabnum, "The Social, Political and Economic Effects of Afghan War on Pakistanistan", *Humanities and Social Sciences*, 2019.

## CHAPTER 02

### PAKISTAN AFGHANISTAN RELATIONS

#### 2.1 Historical Perspective

##### 2.1.1 Pre 911

Pakistan and Afghanistan both have always had a complicated relationship from the very start of time. When Pakistan got its independence from the British rule at the subcontinent, Afghanistan refused to acknowledge it as an independent state in front of the whole world at the United Nations conference of 30th September 1947.<sup>21</sup> The people at Kabul not only did not recognize the newly born state of Pakistan, they also rose against their status as an independent state and demanded a part that was annexed to Pakistan as their own under the theory of the greater Pashtunistan which in accordance to their view stated that a major part of Khyber Pukhtoon Khwa and Baluchistan were supposed to be a part of Afghanistan rather than Pakistan. At this time the state of Kabul also famously hailed the flag representing Pashtunistan alongside the national flag of Afghanistan. This basically was happening due to an agreement signed between the Crown government of Britian and the Emir Abd al-Rahman of Afghanistan who carved a line to distinguish the raj reign from his own land of control in 1839. This new fall out after the British had left the subcontinent triggered a nuisance in the people alongside both the borders which were separated at the time of the agreement. Kabul also declared the signed agreement of the Durand line to be as bogus now claiming that Duran line was never meant to be an official border on the globe.<sup>22</sup> The people pro Pashtunistan movement were hyped and they mostly were caught being in trouble with the Pakistani army for the sake of their mantra to get what was lost

---

<sup>21</sup> Razvi, Mujtaba. "PAKISTAN-AFGHAN RELATIONS SINCE 1947: AN ANALYSIS." *Pakistan Horizon*, 1979.

<sup>22</sup> Ahmad Shayeq Qassem and H. M. Durand, "Pakistan-Afghan Relations: The Durand Line Issue, *Policy Perspectives*, 2008.



by them when they were under pressure by the royal crown of Britain. The Afghanistan government took the land declared by them as Pashtunistan as a testament to their passion for the Afghani ruling forefathers of the region who were kicked out by the Raj rule in Peshawar and surrounding areas. The separation of the land into two parts in history had now developed three groups of people according to the United States undertaking of the 1947 memorandum in the Afghanistan's set of land which involved the ones which were against their role in the tribal areas of the Durand line because they thought of it as a region which was uncanny and that cannot be toned down. Second group of people were those who were in a strong economic dilemma that would benefit their cause of action depending upon their measure of exports if the Indian region stays united to their gaining of a seaport which will help them harvest their imports more efficiently. Third was the group which dominantly was of the young hot blood which was driven by the ideology of getting everything back just for the sake of it. This summary of analysis by the US was more and less controversial and was highly questioned by the future behavioral unfolding of the Afghani actors under consideration.<sup>23</sup> The Pashtunistan movement was however generally being supported by the Soviet Union and India to open new gateways for their own selves in the region but in essence their knowledge about this arrangement was minimal and the political tides could not have been in their favor considering the relationship they held with Pathans overlooking the prominent role of Tajiks and Turkics in Afghanistan.<sup>24</sup> Pakistan being the newly independent state throughout this time was majorly invested in keeping thing intact but Afghanistan had constantly ignored the efforts made by Islamabad which then lead to it siding with America which had offered Pakistan to be a part of the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO). Afghanistan on the contrary disagreed to be a part of it if it meant solving the Durand line issue with Pakistan so they on the other end joined hands with the

---

<sup>23</sup> Foreign Relations, 1961-1963, South Asia, US Department of State, Information Released online from 2001-2009. <https://2001-2009.state.gov/r/pa/ho/frus/kennedyjf/46453.html>. Accessed on 16 May, 2020.

<sup>24</sup> Ganguly, Sumit, Nicholas Howenstein, "India-Pakistan Rivalry in Afghanistan", *Journal of International Affairs*, 2009.

Soviets which resulted in turning the region into a place for a proxy war lead by the then major powers of the world, United States and the Soviet Union.<sup>25</sup> The climate in the region due to this newly attained status of both states because of their alliance with other states in their war created a deteriorating impact on the relationship between Kabul and Islamabad which was already on the verge of breaking into pieces by their actions and hostility towards each other. After this arrangement, the two states were constantly in the limelight for being at the stage of conflict that could easily be turned into war any day by the international actors involved in the equation to benefit their own selves. This also meant skirmishes on border and covert operations which will lead to other problems but will somehow divert the attention required by the Duran line issue to other possible variant features causing disturbance in the region.<sup>26</sup> All this was happening but then the Soviets invaded Afghanistan in 1979 changing the dynamics of the Pakistan-Afghanistan relationship making Pakistan a significant part of their domestic and international policies. The Cyclone operation started soon after and Pakistan under Zia ul haq's government contributed to Afghanistan's war against the soviets with the help of the United States so that they as in Afghanistan could take over the status they had before the war broke out. At this time Zia's government had adapted the concept of Islamisation in Pakistan to make and mend already existing policies. This situation then resulted in the making of the militant jihadist groups which were inclusive of the Pashtuns and other people across the Durand line. The militant jihadist groups were given aid by the CIA to operate in Afghanistan alongside Pakistan army's eminent support.<sup>27</sup>

War went on for a couple of years until Soviets finally decided to redeem their soldiers back from Afghanistan in 1989. This was a big step which was achieved in Afghanistan by the help of Pakistani forces but the state of Afghanistan never revived the original status it had before the involvement of the Soviets, the Americans and the Pakistanis in the domestic or the international forum. The funding of the militant groups and other parties fighting war in Afghanistan also

---

<sup>25</sup> Mohammed Ayub Khan, "The Pakistanian-American Alliance: Stresses and Strains", *Foreign Affairs*, 1964.

<sup>26</sup> Panagiotis Dimitrakis, "British Diplomacy and the Decline of CENTO", *Comparative Strategy*, 2009.

<sup>27</sup> Charles H. Kennedy, "Islamization and Legal Reform in Pakistan, 1979-1989", *Pacific Affairs*, 1990.

drastically dropped leaving a lot of loose ends for the states to create conflicts over in the future.<sup>28</sup>

### 2.1.2 Post 911

The Pakistan Afghanistan relationship has always been on a roller coaster ride but ever since Pakistan's involvement in Afghanistan's war we can see a vibrant impact the policies of the two states bring about on each other. The Pakistani government had to face a backlash not only by India at the time of partition but it was also Afghanistan which has always made Pakistan insecure about its sovereignty on the western front. Considering all this, the Afghani land went into a pit of demise when after all that had happened, the Taliban attacked the twin towers in United States setting the world multiple years back. This event of September 11, 2001 shook the world but especially America and along with it Afghanistan and Pakistan.

Pakistan being Afghanistan's neighbor and also being a Muslim state with nuclear capability had helped the people at Kabul very noticeably but since the fall out of the Afghanistan's role in the 9/11 attack, the world order had dramatically shifted from pitying Afghanistan for having to deal with Soviet's invasion to them being accused as the terrorist state. This was a big blow for Afghanistan who had turned the world's super power against it.<sup>29</sup> America then launched a war of terror against Afghanistan declaring it as a corrupted, terrorist state which was alarmingly threatening for the world. Washington also dominantly asked Pakistan to refrain from providing Afghanistan help and to join their plan in eradicating terrorism from the world at large which has put everyone at a great risk at the hands of socially unaccepted goons.<sup>30</sup>

---

<sup>28</sup> Lawrence E. Grinter, "The Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan: Its Inevitability and Its Consequences", 1982.

<sup>29</sup> David L. Altheide, "Terror Post 9/11 and the Media", *Peter Lang*, 2009.

<sup>30</sup> Vishal Chandra, "Politics in Post-Taliban Afghanistan: An Assessment, Strategic Analysis", *Strategic Analysis*, 2019.

This later led to Pakistan building 14 new checkpoints adding to the ones previously deployed on the border of Pakistan with Afghanistan to keep a keen check and balance over the communicating passengers and other local travellers for their connection with Al-Qaeda or other Taliban groups on 25<sup>th</sup> August, 2002.

Islamabad being Kabul's neighbor was at a high chance of getting affected by the happenings and proceedings of the Taliban in Afghanistan but overlooking all these factors, Pakistan still decided to intervene and help Afghanistan stabilize itself by trying to remove the aggressive forces working in there on the opposite side of their government. Even this, did not aid Pakistan to achieve a friendly exchange of relationship with Afghanistan. The Afghanistan ambassador to Saudi Arabia amidst this all did not hesitate and conveniently blamed Pakistan claiming that the Al-Qaeda leader, Osama Bin Laden, was actually present in Pakistan than being at the tribal skirts of Afghanistan. This accusation was brushed away by the Islamabad office but the hostility between the two states at war together against the same cause on the ground of Kabul could be witnessed to that day as well.<sup>31</sup>

9/11 marked as a stepping stone for many things all around the globe but for Pakistan and Afghanistan it was a journey for them which they had to take despite their choices and their own will. However with the tides turning in and suffocating the two states with terrorism on the rise, Pakistan declared to fence the border over the Durand line. In 2003 the two states also got into a clash over it when Afghanistan came up front with the idea that Pakistan had fenced the area which came under Afghanistan's rule. Later Islamabad again tried to contain the cross border movement by fencing the border very near Afghanistan but it also was immediately put down and highly condemned by the Afghanistan's government. Leaders in Pakistan have mentioned

---

<sup>31</sup> Amin Saikal, "Securing Afghanistan's border", *Survival*, 2006.

and justified the making of a fence or wall over the Durand line border because of the rise in militant activity but the Kabul office believes that it is Islamabad's dirty methods to permanently gash the Durand line separating their Pashtun tribes and families forever. This note of disbelief from the Ashraf Ghani's office leaves Pakistan startled because ever since the start Pakistan has supported Afghanistan in the potential it could but Afghanistan has always responded the good gesture of the Islamic neighboring state of theirs with bitterness.

## **2.2 Current Overview of the Pakistan Afghanistan Ties**

### **2.2.1 Political and Economic Status of the two states**

Politics and economy of the modern state go hand in hand. One factor cannot be neglected in discussing the varying impacts of the other on the state or even on individuals in a society. Peace and war both require a certain ownership of means and resources which then ensure the stability one seeks in a societal binding.<sup>32</sup>

Every actor involved in a concept is looking for their own personal growth. According to the realist school of thought, states are also selfish and greedy like individuals who are willing to attain autonomy and growth for their own selves on the expense of others. It just all depends upon how you use your resources to multiply your benefit.

Afghanistan's economy has had a paradigm shift from more of a traditional way of economic policies and structures that evolved through a centrally planned one to now more of a war concentrated economy which also has to tackle down the Taliban's way of progression. Kabul's position in the world order because of 20 years of war and suffering has been allocated at the lowest level for human welfare and wellbeing. This adds up to the contributing factors due to

---

<sup>32</sup> WP Zingel, "The Economics of Pakistan-Afghanistan Relations: Implications for the Region", *SAGE*, 2014.

which the economy of the Afghanistan land has built itself in the market mainly upon the absurd demands of narcotics and weaponry. Kabul's economic model can be understood under the prism of Karl Marx's idea of an economic scale society which is deemed to produce in order to maximize its market and outreach.<sup>33</sup> This society is forever in an existential dilemma for if the excessive production will generate them a heavy market flow or if it would end them in a crises resulted by overproduction. Applying this to Afghanistan's economic condition we can very well imagine how the excessive production of opium, other drugs and military weapons have made the country majorly dependent upon the production flow of drugs and weapons that brings them in constant limelight to the international bodies which are very repulsive of this idea and have also taken strong steps to contain this activity.

Pakistan in comparison to Afghanistan is better in many aspects but it has also had its share of fall outs because of its own geological positioning and political instabilities regardless of it having a rich pursuit of resources. Islamabad has been a part of a deep textured play of politics and economy if the history of the state is concerned. The Islamic Republic of Pakistan has always been a question for the political parties and authorities as looking upon the difference of government's discourse having experienced a rapid exchange between military and civil rule of command over the nation across the small span of time from independence.<sup>34</sup> This reason has explicitly played its character in molding the economic policies of the state. The military involvement has now become essential for the security centric state of Pakistan which has had troublesome relationship with India since 1947 because of the Kashmir issue to Afghanistan which in itself is a country under pressure because of the terroristic activities and war threatening

---

<sup>33</sup> Phillip A. O'Hara, "Marx, Veblen, and Contemporary Institutional Political Economy", *Edward Elgar Publishing*, 2000.

<sup>34</sup>Shahrukh Rafi Khan, "Fifty Years of Pakistan's Economy: Traditional Topics and New Concerns", *Oxford University Press*, 2000.

environment by the Taliban to Iran which has been black listed by the Financial Action Task Force (FATF) because of its fall out with United States to having originally only good ties with China which is a regional power and has a dominant pull over the economic disparities of the nations.<sup>35</sup> The countless changes in the political order made it difficult to pin the blame of the economic back set of Islamabad's office. The policies made were more promising for the set of leading elites than for the general public. This notion operated and harvested by the governing elites have had exposure to outbursts by the public but this then again meant for a lapse in the political system of civil to military or vice versa. Troublesome situations in Pakistan like these did not facilitate efficient and independent institutions and raised questions for the state's operations in the international and national arena.

### **2.2.2 Econ Political Exchange between Kabul and Islamabad**

Relating the situational out comings of the two states over time, political and economic contributors, we can draw a fine link of impact Pakistan and Afghanistan have had on each other or still do have on the policies being made. The Pakistan Afghanistan relationship has been edgy consulting the political bickering from the two sides but the two states mark as the largest trading partners for each other amongst all. Kabul being the land lock country depends drastically upon Pakistan's sea route to provide it with the trade transit, whereas, Afghanistan can be seen as a notable state which gives out a route for Pakistan to Central Asia making Kabul more viable and feasible for the trade market of Islamabad. They have not only been supportive of each other in respect to trade but we can also see a number of examples when Pakistan has come to lay out its resources for Afghanistan's disposal in the desperate time of needs. Pakistan's motto to not

---

<sup>35</sup> Akbar Zaidi, "Issues in Pakistan's Economy: A Political Economy Perspective", *Oxford University Press*, 2015.

interfere in Afghanistan's internal affairs but by supporting it against its war and by building energy and cooperative connectivity projects together has lately been a good futuristic step to strengthen the brotherly relationship. The states have also agreed to not use the respective territories against one another respecting the sovereign right of their neighbors.<sup>36</sup>

A good bond with Afghanistan is Pakistan's priority to further ensure a nice healthy surrounding in the region. Islamabad has also incorporated its helping hand in Kabul by enabling them to groom their education, health and agriculture departments with training programs for capacity building and productive growth for their professionals. The budget allocated for Afghanistan from Pakistan's assistance has also been calculated as 1 billion dollars just over the last set year. Pakistan has also set up a couple of hospitals in Afghanistan's region of Kabul, Jalalabad and other areas. The operations have been handed over to the Kabul office also under the supervision of the Islamabad staff.<sup>37</sup>

Another great extension by Pakistan to Afghanistan has been in regard to the infrastructural development of Afghanistan in terms of framework and construction by building of the bridges, roads and also lending of machinery and equipment required for the execution of this process to work. Telecom and electrical system have also been donated by Islamabad to Kabul which has put them on a more socially progressive train of development.

Thousands of scholarships have also been offered to Afghan students in Pakistani academic institution with proper accommodation and care by the Islamabad office. It is also believed that the number will increase with how the future opportunities will unfold.

---

<sup>36</sup> Marvin G. Weinbaum, "Pakistanistan and Afghanistan: The Strategic Relationship", *Asian Survey*, 1991.

<sup>37</sup> "PAKISTANISTAN-AFGHANISTAN RELATIONS – Ministry of Foreign Affairs." *Mofa.Gov.Pk*, <http://mofa.gov.pk/testing-language/>. Accessed on 20 May, 2020.



## 2.3 Role of Global Actors

### 2.3.1 Durand line and The Great Game

Asia will always be a subject of interest for the world, especially Britain and Russia. The great game is basically the name which has been used multiple times by the people to explain the politics and working behind the powers of the world and their plan to get a hold of the Indian region. In most part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, there was a rivalry between Moscow and UK which was expressed freely all across the globe and was very popular amongst the newly formed nations of Europe, America and also Asia. This made Britain more insecure of Soviet's and their plan of increasing interest in expanding their already vast existing empire. The British crown planned to take control over the empire of Afghanistan and to use the Ottoman Empire along, the Persian Empire and the royal support of Uzbek's government to play the role of a buffer zone which would contain Russian expansion from the Indian rich resource region under British control and would also prevent them from attaining a seaport on the Persian Gulf or the Indian show.<sup>38</sup>

This great plan of dominance shows a vibrant impact of how Afghanistan has always been used as a place for others to fight their own wars. The Anglo Afghan and the Anglo Sikh wars can also not be ignored in shaping of Afghanistan's history in the region which always provided as the route beyond borders for market and surplus. The British tried to acquire the land of Afghanistan twice but at both times they failed making it difficult for them to cope with the tribesmen of Afghan land. First time they invaded Afghanistan was when the British crown was involved but at the second time around they decided to go in from their occupancy at the subcontinent famously called the British Raj. Russia had mentioned multiple times in the past

---

<sup>38</sup> Fromkin, David, "The Great Game in Asia", *Foreign Affairs*, 2019.

about it having no interest in taking over Afghanistan but the Royal crown of England thought of it as otherwise and tried to convert the Afghanistan's land into a proxy war lead nation.<sup>39</sup>

Durand line and the issue of the great powers with it have deep roots and has been a flavor of manifestation for the diplomatic elites in their engagements.

### **2.3.2 The New Great Game**

This term coined by Rudyard Kipling again came to attention when Russia invaded Afghanistan to reassure its ranking in the political and economic translation of the world order. Afghan territory was yet again made a battle ground by the world powers to fuel a war which was theirs to fight in the first place. Second World War had left the world unsettled on many fronts. It also carved deep borders and the running empires shifted into the existence of modern states. These newly attained and practiced concept of states was then to be run over the two school of thoughts with a difference of opinion that lied upon the concept of democracy as the governmental system or not. The democratic way was described by the Europeans and United States to the world as an influence which gives every single person the legitimacy and right to contribute to the policy making. This idea crippled down to the states as fire catching the woods. States were intrigues and they joined hands with the American bloc just to experience this leisure concept of practicing their due rights. Russia on the other hand refrained from going below this ideology and promoted its own concept of socialism for state governmental policies and offices that dealt with state operations. Moscow also used its influence to gather a monopoly over the democratic

---

<sup>39</sup> Morgan, Gerald, "Myth and Reality in the Great Game", *Asian Affairs*, 2007.

states but it failed to subdue the charge America had over the world with its fancy democratic jewel of an idea.<sup>40</sup>

After World War the period of Cold war emerged in which both blocs were busy gaining support. At this time Afghanistan used Russia's support against Pakistan to get back what they had lost to the British. This all was going alright until Russia decided to invade Afghanistan and to mark it under them. This invasion of the Soviets into Kabul completely evolved the dynamics of the region. Afghanistan was back on being the land for the proxy war. America alongside Pakistan against Russia lead to a whole uprising in Kabul which greatly devised a new great plan which revolved around the planning of the world powers to dominate their flow in the region whether political or economic. Chabahar and Gawadar being the potential for trade market came in vision of the actors and this whole Durand line issue was made econ political than ideological for the two states, Pakistan and Afghanistan.<sup>41</sup>

This dramatic explains how the role of not only Pakistan and Afghanistan has been important in the Durand line issue but it has been a contrasting agenda of the global actors and their involvement which has shaped used it in accordance to their benefit and relation. Global actors hence play an important role in the conflict under analysis.

### **2.3.3 Future Implications**

The future of the Durand line conflict with Islamabad's idea of fencing the border with its prospects in the political and economic domain lie in the hands of many actors, regional and global.

---

<sup>40</sup> Ahrari, Mohammed E., and James Beal, "The New Great Game in Muslim Central Asia", *DIANE Publishing*, 1996.

<sup>41</sup> Ahrari, Mohammed E., and James Beal, "The New Great Game in Muslim Central Asia ", *DIANE Publishing*, 1996.

China's rise as a prominent power in the region as an economic state with its view of creating new gateways through land and sea for efficient trade and market has involved Pakistan, India and Afghanistan along with its formal ties with Asia plus Europe has raised new question for how things will unfold for the parties involved in this cooperation and ordinance. Either China's promise of investment in the region will result in Islamabad success or it will slide it back to the time when the sub continental people let the British in their land for support and trade resulting them taking over the land. China's vision of the market if it's solely trade binding can be very obliging for Islamabad and Kabul. <sup>42</sup>

Reviewing the role of China in the region, one needs to understand the relationship of Islamabad and Mumbai also to determine the cause of conflict if any in this aspect raised by the two states which can then affect the trade agreements between the states at major. The hostility between India and Pakistan is in the state of a latent conflict which rises into a full blown conflict throughout the timeline before it settles again into being a latent conflict over disagreements such as that of the Kashmir issue, religion, terrorism, etc. This uproar and settling between the two states has the potential to drive the econ political relationship of China and Pakistan coupled with India to new extremes which can have a negative or a positive aftermath. <sup>43</sup>

Another highlighting cameo in the situation is of Saudi Arabia with its diplomatic issue on religious fronts with Iran that is neighboring Pakistan. Islamabad enjoys good terms with Tehran and Riyadh if seen politically or economically. Pakistan's neighboring Iran has a solid offering to Pakistan's formal and informal economy. Riyadh at the same time is a trade partner for Pakistan which exports it an essential that is oil and petroleum. Pakistan highly depends upon

---

<sup>42</sup> Michael Clarke, "'One Belt, One Road' and China's Emerging Afghanistan Dilemma", *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, 19 June 2016.

<sup>43</sup> William Dalrymple, "A Deadly Triangle: Afghanistan, Pakistan, and India", *Brookings Institution Press*, 18 Dec. 2013.

this relationship with Saudi Arabia but has also witnessed certain backlashes because of its problem with Tehran. This cause of difference in the relationship between the three Muslim nations can also be the determining reason for clash the political and economic status of the region entangling Beijing and also Kabul. <sup>44</sup>

United States of America, the now super power of the world and also Pakistan's ally in war and aid also plays a promising role of dominance in the regional politics of Asia. China is rising to power at the economic front and this comes out as a warning for the Washington office to contain Beijing so that their position in the global hierarchy remains maintained. This has also impacted the Durand line issue considering the whole Pakistan Afghan war against terrorism aspect with America's help to Pakistan Afghanistan and China's bonding over econ friendly fronts. <sup>45</sup>

As the famous English poet and writer said, "All the world's a stage, and all the men and women merely players: they have their exits and their entrances; and one man in his time plays many parts" we can very well imagine and comprehend how this saying about individuals is more and likely the same to the personality of states. They all have their entrances of their formation points and stories with future unfolding of their adaptive systems

---

<sup>44</sup> Pandya, Abhinav, "The Future of Indo-Pakistan Relations after the Pulwama Attack", *Perspectives on Terrorism*, 2019.

<sup>45</sup> Ishtiaq Ahmed, "The U.S. Af-Pakistan Strategy: Challenges and Opportunities for Pakistanistan", *Asian Affairs: An American Review*, 2010.

## CHAPTER 03

### BORDER WALLS AND THE ECONOMY

#### 3.1 Walls of the Past and the Future through Economic Retrospect

The Pakistan Afghan wall is not the only wall to surface the globe. The world politics have had a fair share of border walls and the evolution they brought along in economic and political details with them. In today's time we cannot discuss the impacts a political decision can have on states without clearly justifying their linkage with the economic status of the nations under consideration and also beyond because of the entangled web of influences from around the world.

Important examples and models to discuss the flexibility of the Pakistan Afghanistan wall would be the ones which already exist in concrete or are under contemplation. A nice fit to the Kabul and Islamabad's wall would be the US Mexican wall which came to idea at almost the same time as that of the border wall upon the Durand line. The United States of America's current presidency under Trump's office is very pro the concept of constructing a long thick wall upon its border separating America from Mexico.<sup>46</sup> Washington's Secure Fence Act of 2006 allowed it to build the fence over its border with Mexico and ever since this agreement of United States amongst its policy makers we can witness a nominal change in the illegal migration numbers from across border areas. Some target points get more population of the migrated than the others so if the wall were to be made on those specific lands, demoting travel plans across the fences, the migration numbers will decrease more. The economic impact of the making of the wall has also been very important. The high end workers of America had to face a certain fall out in regards of payment for their capacity, whereas, a certain increase can be seen in the charts for the

---

<sup>46</sup> Wright, Melissa W. "Border Thinking, Borderland Diversity, and Trump's Wall." *Annals of the American Association of Geographers*, 2019

low end workers. This dynamics will shift more with the progression of the wall but however it is imagined that the changes would not be as different to the situational standing of Washington today. <sup>47</sup>The fencing against the Mexican border was in ideological construction since the Bush government but however the bill did not pass the senate approval. Mandatory demarcations were made then. Later Obama's presidential tenure also had its effect on the construction of the barriers. Homeland security was called into action. This act of restriction caused the human rights violations on the border by the American states which had killed over 5000 people who were trying to migrate from the backlands of Mexico to the new liberal world of opportunities aka America. The Mexican drug cartel and their roots digging deep into America's structure also forms as a salient feature for Washington office to create obstruction for the illegal migrants to flow in the lands of America freely. <sup>48</sup> Mexico is known to be the highest visited foreign destination for Americans and also it has an undeniable role in the economic political sphere of American policies. Both countries have high trade values with each other and almost hundreds of thousands of legal trade is encompassed by the two states on a daily basis. The countries bind to each other upon bilateral economic and political ties. Similar to the Pakistan Afghanistan territorial issue of cross border movement we can measure out that the grievances between states are not at the macro level of sharing but they lie in the small restricted areas such as that of Mexico and USA's bordering areas. The migration issue and to accommodate the people in to one's own land is difficult. If the super power of the world with all its resources is unable to balance the equation with foreign settlers then it can be very deservingly hard for a developing

---

<sup>47</sup> David G. Gutierrez, "Walls and Mirrors", *University of California Press*, 1995.

<sup>48</sup> Grayson, "La Familia Drug Cartel: Implications for U.S.-Mexican Security", *Lulu.com*, 2011.

country as that of Pakistan to cope up with the inhabitants coupled with trade routes powdered with Taliban's corrupt effect in the region.<sup>49</sup>

The demarcation of a border is a state's right under its definition to have a population and land. Pakistan's will to fence the border at its end solely comes under its own please because according to the international office, it sure is a marked territory under Islamabad's disposal. The fencing of the border on the Durand line is a domestic issue and concern of Islamabad as it is for America when it comes to their construction of the border wall.

US Mexico wall is a contemporary example of the making of a border wall where as there are many historic justifications to the building of fences. The Great Wall of China is also a testament to this impact of walls which bring about a concept of security to the nation. The Beijing wall was made to honor the land's sovereignty at a time when a number of different nomadic groups were trying to take over the land of Chinese people through invasions being lead at the northern areas. Protection purposes made the leader of China to think about how the situation should be tackled. This resulted in the making of the great stretch of wall which has been made and maintained over time but the emperors and rulers of the Ming Dynasty had a huge contribution in its making. Another important factor multiplying the wealth of a wall's role for a state was that it gave the office control over the regulations through the borders. Chinese were always dominantly important in trade and market. Silk route was adapted through the great wall which gave them the right to oversee the flow of money and also other resources across borders. The defensive technique of the ancient wall was also used to benefit the unrealized economic aspect.

<sup>50</sup>The Pakistan Afghanistan border wall is also mainly promoted on the idea of safety and

---

<sup>49</sup> Reich, Gary. "Hitting a Wall? The Trump Administration Meets Immigration Federalism." *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, 2018

<sup>50</sup> Nathan, Andrew J., Andrew Scobell, "China's Search for Security", *Columbia University Press*, 2015.



security which is on the incline in the charts because of the Taliban insurgency and occupancy across the border in Kabul's land. The military of Islamabad has deployed its personnel at the border wall but the identification of the terrorists in highly dense populations becomes very difficult. The Taliban groups merge into the general public, maintaining a low profile in the area risking it for the armed forces of the state to counter them. The civilian casualties can never be afforded by a country whether at war or not thus creating a security dilemma for the state's military that has been suffocated to operate wisely.

The Iron curtain and the Berlin wall have stained the history of the border walls with being a symbol of prisoner-ship and locking down of freedoms. After the Second World War, Europe was divided into being under the rule of the Soviets on the east while the Western Europe was considered as liberal and free. The iron curtain was the term used by the Great Britain's commander in order to explain the comparative situations of the countries under Soviet's control and the ones that were not.<sup>51</sup> Winston Churchill declared this to a petty move which had isolated the people to be decisive in light of their own personal will of behaving. This was not a concrete border which was built between the separating territories. It was however an imaginary line drawn to differentiate between the control heads and narratives. This generated an impulse of exclusion for the public when it came to matters of policy shaping. The countries or satellite states influenced by the Soviet Union were symbolized by the involvement of Soviets in their policy whereas the states on the other side were given the opportunity to navigate and form their own international econ political and military associations. Stalin was of the idea that he would get a fair share in German control but when this did not end up in his favor the Iron curtain which was an idea earlier existing in imagination was adapted in building an actual wall. The

---

<sup>51</sup> Wright, Patrick, "Iron Curtain: From Stage to Cold War", *Oxford University Press*, 2009.

iron curtain had changed its course of definition to the real time fencing of Berlin on three coasts while cutting it from between making it completely impossible for the people across the walls to communicate and share. The inner German border had cut all ties with people on the other side separating families. It was said that people went out to work that day and then were never able to come back to their homes. This agenda of the Soviets to lock down the people was invasive of their fundamental rights.<sup>52</sup> Pakistan Afghanistan border have contrasting bases when this situation is studied. The Afghanistan claimed lander under Pakistan is the one which they allegedly signed off to British Raj making it then the Royal crown of Britain's responsibility. Kabul's control over the land was long gone and the Islamabad's notion of constructing a fence over the Durand line was never to limit families but to keep a strong check and balance over the illegal migrants coming into Pakistan bringing terroristic options for Taliban with them.

India has shown great interest in the Afghanistan motto of being averse to Islamabad's idea of border wall while Mumbai has kept Kashmir under fenced lockdown violating the basic human rights ordinance of life. The conditions presented by Kashmir are more remorse and serious with legitimate claim of Pakistan but when it comes to their own consideration the situation is easily discarded. Major outbreaks at the borders have also come in to our notice with India and Pakistan always on the verge of a conflicting which can lead to a major war between the two nuclear states. The peddling of Mumbai in this whole dynamics is thus volatile to the relationship status of Islamabad and Kabul upon the wall issue and other wise.<sup>53</sup>

Similar to the issue of Kashmir in India is the sad state of Gaza and Israel where Jerusalem started off these air and ground strikes against Palestine forcing them to pits of despair. Then

---

<sup>52</sup>Hans-Hermann Hertle, "Berlin Wall: Monument of the Cold War", *Ch. Links Verlag*, 2007.

<sup>53</sup>Avinash Paliwal, "My Enemy's Enemy: India in Afghanistan from the Soviet Invasion to the US Withdrawal", *Oxford University Press*, 2017.

they sheltered the Gaza strip blocking the trade and resources for the Muslim land. Chaos erupted and hysteria floated with bomb shillings becoming the new normal for the Palestinian people. Thousands of individuals including women and children are now dead but still the global powers have not taken notice of the falling apart of Palestine. The land is a war lead state with no forces coming to contain the situation other than condemning it vocally at international events and meetings.<sup>54</sup> The concepts of border walls lie in the caves of conceptual ideologies of states and their respective policies. They can either be in favor of state's negative gestures towards other communities or it can be a sign of security, protection and sovereign control over its autonomy. The control the states have over their jurisdiction gives them legitimacy over the shifting in the order at their end whether local or international. The border walls thus give them a sense of ownership and attachment to the land with an identity that assures them security and justice in the display of state's strategy to conclude governmental proceedings.

### **3.2 Informal and Petty Economy**

The economic up built is the product of the Capitalist world which has revolutionized the game plan from military to economy completely transforming the societal works of policy formation. The ever changing processes of the world first predicted the change of traditional economies of limited options for trade and commerce to adapt into the new forms of formal economy.<sup>55</sup>

The state of Afghanistan and Pakistan enjoy bilateral ties with each other. The formal economy of the two states stands out with high trade out values and market regulations between them. The informal economy on the contrary revolves around the concept of unemployment or wage workers who do not have job security. This can also be because of day to day earning for the

---

<sup>54</sup> Shlaim, Avi. "How Israel Brought Gaza to the Brink of Humanitarian Catastrophe", *The Guardian*, 2009.

<sup>55</sup> Martha Alter Chen, "Rethinking the Informal Economy: Linkages with the Formal Economy and the Formal Regulatory Environment." 2005.

people who do not tend to have constant jobs to support their household. Pakistan and Afghanistan have a large number of exchange workers who are working in Islamabad over this concept of daily wages. The illegal migrants who have crossed into the state of Pakistan from across the Durand line have shaped the economic structures. The under the belt trade rituals between the states which bring about products and resources which is not enlisted in the state's formal economy graph is a major blow in the international and national econ spectrum. Kabul traders tend to bring products from Afghanistan which includes toiletries to gadgets to automobile parts to oil also. These goods coming from Afghanistan to Pakistan in this process of petty trade between the locals is then sold off at high markets. The Durand line is guarded by the military forces of Islamabad but however the whole border line cannot be under surveillance all the time which gives these traders the loop hole to dive in with their market goods for future cost bargaining and selling.<sup>56</sup>

A huge crunch of immigrants or inhabitants from the Afghan region has illegally slipped into Pakistan in search of a better lifestyle. Much like United States, viewing the repute of Afghanistan one can imagine their idea of availing the opportunity to come to Islamabad. These immigrants tend to find mostly low scale jobs which would not require for their formal registration in the office. This money that they then generate out of the economic process of informal economy keeps them afloat until they find another way out for themselves or they are caught. Pakistan has accommodated many such cases but the vast number has set them in a crises situation with unemployment on the rise and with having an increase in the wagers. The Lewis Turning point for Islamabad can be suggested as of today when the people unemployed are too

---

<sup>56</sup> Rubin, Barnett R, Sadiq Ahmed, William Byrd, F Anders, Bernard Frahi, M Jamal Hani, R Scott Horton, "The Political Economy of War and Peace in Afghanistan", *World Development*, 2000.

many but the wage is so high that the government is cutting out the workers in the first place to save face in economic retrospect.

Smuggling of products has become a norm for the mostly Pathan traders of the Pakistan Afghanistan border. The sector against the borders from the two states, Pakistan and Afghanistan also comes under the jurisdiction of the informal land or area with little or no compulsion of the law by the states. This derogative then implies an exchange which is free of taxes and other border customs necessary for the trade being utilized. The informal economy chart of the Pakistan Afghan relationship can be seen as intersecting with the formal economic graph line in which the petty economy is on the rise and is being favored whereas the legitimate and official process rarely breaks even. The development of Pakistan and Afghanistan can be aligned with a control over this flow of cash through market and trade which is under action without it being public knowledge.<sup>57</sup>

The tribal relationship comes to advantage for the traders across borders because they then tend to work for their extended families who keep their secret of living illegitimately in the lands of Pakistan. The language and culture of historical bondage comes in handy as well because it gives them shelter and a source of protection. The developing state of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan has a huge population with mostly rural people still not in the system. This can be understood because of many reasons. Unawareness and poverty of the conservative set being the main issue in this regard none the less. As the undocumented people of Pakistan merge with the undocumented illegal migrators from the Kabul region, the disorientation of the whole economic political data base becomes uncanny and troublesome for analysis and policy making. This indeed molds the direction of the view the people have to be perpendicular to the ideas the

---

<sup>57</sup> Farhan Hanif Siddiqi, "The Politics of Ethnicity in Pakistanistan", *Routledge*, 2012.

government has. Economic shaping of the Durand line region can therefore not be understood by easily taking in account the formal trade and market flow from Islamabad to Kabul and vice versa. The setting hence formulated by this description of terms dependent upon illegal smuggling of goods can be sorted by the reduction of transfer along the border lines by immediate control through wall building.<sup>58</sup>

### 3.3 Opium Economy

The opium trade links back to its roots coming from the British Empire to the subcontinent when they promoted its cultivation in the region especially after the trickledown effect it had upon India which then shifted to Afghanistan by the later part of the century. It is stated that the substance of opium production is unmatched to any other in the world when it comes to Kabul's produce. Opium and poppy are two basic ingredients in making morphine which is a famously used drug all over the world. This drug is widely used as a pain killer but the opium production and economy has its flaws which shadow the concerned offices under corrupt and immoral ways of procedure.<sup>59</sup>

Afghanistan's opium production has been a concern for the Washington office as well as the personnel at Islamabad. Pakistan and Kabul are both Islam practicing countries where drugs are frowned upon. The growth of opium and its usage hence portrays a false image of a terrorist driven state of Kabul out to the world especially in front of Pakistan, its nuclear capable adjoining nation. For Afghanistan, opium has been debated to be the source of gaining economic stability with a firm rural support than any other requisites which have been tried and tested. The

---

<sup>58</sup> Majidi, Nassim. "Community Dimensions of Smuggling: The Case of Afghanistan and Somalia", *the ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 2018.

<sup>59</sup> Opium Economy in Afghanistan : An International Problem." Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. 20540 USA, 2003.

lift in the cultivation charts for opium can be seen in the early 2000s in the Afghanistan territory with its notably furious speed of spreading across the land. Opium turns out to be a crop which apparently has a low risk factor but can multiply its outcome like fire catching upon wood. It has been used in Afghanistan to boost its economic dependence in desperate times of poverty and hunger. The product out of opium cultivation was settled in welfare projects for the society linking it to the pillars of economy that had uplifted the left status of Kabul.<sup>60</sup> Another usage of opium has been in the black market which generated dollars in considerable amounts of profit. The overall package of opium and poppy dealing has mostly been in the black market where consumer proportions have always been a trusted client for the drug lords. Opium has also invested shares in the war economy where it is taken as a promising commodity for the state's circuit of power and execution under the idea of the political rhetoric.<sup>61</sup>

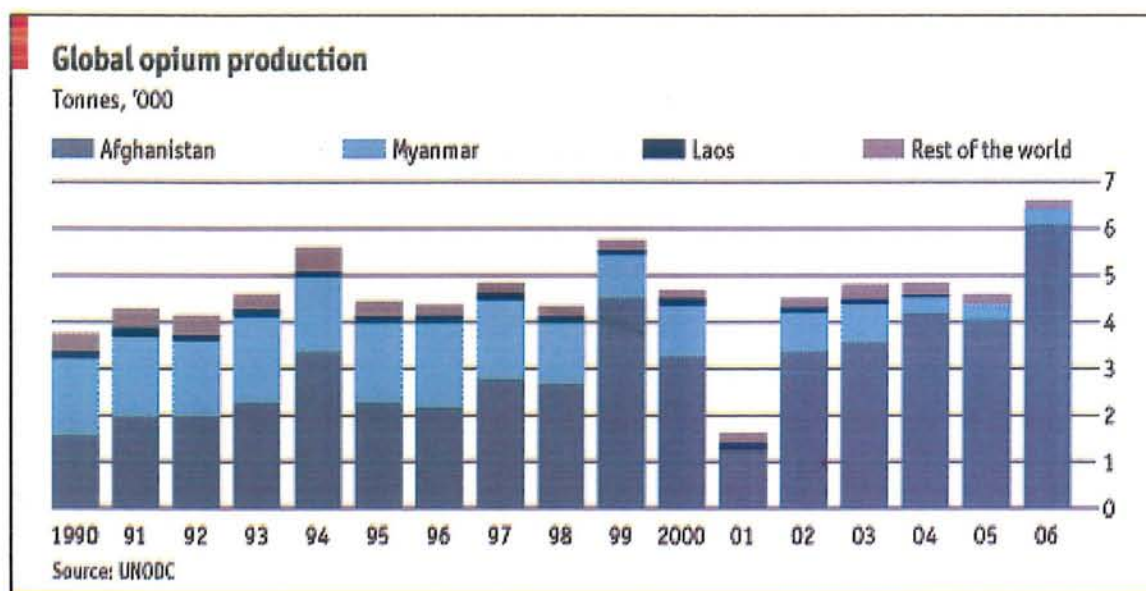


Figure 1: Graph of High Opium Producers in the World.

<sup>60</sup>Hermann Kreutzmann, "Afghanistan and the Opium World Market: Poppy Production and Trade." *Iranian Studies*, 2007.

<sup>61</sup> James A. Piazza, "The Opium Trade and Patterns of Terrorism in the Provinces of Afghanistan: An Empirical Analysis", *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 2012.

The Opium fields have also provided the resources for the Taliban funding over the Durand line region. It is not necessary that opium drove the economy of the Taliban hence pushing them to terroristic attributes but in fact it means that opium has been a source of income and progress for the Afghanistan inhabitants which they have cashed properly.<sup>62</sup> The revenue received by the opium market has been tremendous. The antinarcotic forces have tried to imprint a negative image of the drug economy but the charts and graphs show a different answer putting opium and poppy upon the lead. Opium growth has also somehow turned out to be a source of ethnic harmony in the region which has brought people not only sales values but has also provided them with opportunities to work. The rural batch has been profitable in this business than any other money actors involved in the complete process

The land of Afghanistan has been under constant pressure by the internal and external forces to redeem the lost sovereignty of the nation. Apart from pressure, Kabul has also always undergone extreme controls and is known for the land which have had the history of roving bandits. The locality of the region in many terms also has a directly proportional relationship with the situation of the region. The Afghani land can be characterized and further discussed in detail over 3 major views of the land; The Durand line area, the region parallel to the borderline area and then the far of lands and skirmishes of mountain and barrens with very little population. The far off areas where the minimal population breeds and grows is the place known as non-state areas which do not directly abide by the law and principles of the state office but rather they introduce themselves as the people of the land who are answerable to the elderly ways than the modernized liberated ideas of the new world of borders and barriers. The opium culture and its

---

<sup>62</sup> Gretchen Peters, *How Opium Profits the Taliban*, 2009.



cultivation has shaped the social and distant relationships of the people in Kabul diverting their attention towards long lived economic prospects over short lived disputes amongst them.

Pakistan and Afghanistan's agreement to trade products, duty free under Afghan Transit Trade Agreement (ATTA) fostered smuggling. In this exchange of products under illegal perimeters had an overlapping influential role of opium which was tactically placed and manipulated to benefit by the Afghans. Economies like these which create a shadow place for the mutual aid to intersect with personal benefit are where it all diverges into an amalgamation of dirty politics and economy coupled with collective will.<sup>63</sup> The profit margin is huge but on the compromise of domestic and international stake holders to let go of their value systems and framework which have been in constant play to control and maintain the narcotic wave spreading not only in the specified dots of marginalized territory. The black market is not contained to the regional politics and dynamics; it rather is the talk of every town and city bonding over corrupt biddings.<sup>64</sup> The black opium economy which linked the Taliban to the drug lords and warlords who in their reply basically entangled their motives in a way which would give them all a piece of what they were wanting to reassess their assets with a granting profit obtained by strategic alignment. The pulse when people tend to play with fire is that they then tend to get themselves in trouble too making it all too very complicated for them. Options are also shortened and the economic balance is henceforth questioned because of the whole changing dynamics of the econ political struggle of the nation under the influence of the shadow states.

---

<sup>63</sup> Stefanie Nijssen, "The Taliban's Shadow Government in Afghanistan". *Civil- Military Fusion Centre*, 2011.

<sup>64</sup> Vanda Felbab-Brown, "Peacekeepers among Poppies: Afghanistan, Illicit Economies and Intervention", *International Peacekeeping*, 2009.

### 3.4 Military Equipment and the Pakistan Afghanistan Economic Details

The form of war in Afghanistan has been the transnational one which involves several actors, from different parts of the world. Such wars result in settings for economic commotion that most prominently is of a predatory nature, which serves as a vital element in the nourishment of such wars. In such a situation a few actors benefit, while the majority is deprived of its say in the progress of their society. For peace to prevail the war economy must transfer into peace economy along with establishment of institutions for guaranteeing accountability of economic and political spheres of the society.<sup>65</sup>

The conflict in Afghanistan has resulted in establishment of war economy, affecting the country in particular and the world in general. Afghanistan has become not only the world's largest opium producer and an arms dealing hub, but it also ropes a multibillion dollar trade of goods smuggled from countries like Dubai to its neighbors. This outlawed economy generates funds for the insurgents that is entrenching the culture of violence more and more in the society. Moreover, it has transformed the social mosaic and has weakened states and discouraged legal economic activities throughout the region. Establishment of sustainable peace and for the wars to end, it will require an economic transformation that provides alternative forms of livelihood and promotes accountability as not all the bands fighting against the Afghanistan government have religious motivations but this war has substantial economic element to it as for many, it is a source of livelihood. Most Afghans have jobs that somehow linked to the war who will suffer with the end to the war as evident from economic growth that drooped from 9 percent a year to 3-4 percent since the troops has started pulling out from the country thus we can expect that the

---

<sup>65</sup> Maxwell J. Fry, *"The Afghan Economy: Money, Finance, and the Critical Constraints to Economic Development"*, BRILL, 1974.

Afghans in rural areas may simply transfer their allegiance to groups like IS-K in order to help the war continue and earn a living through promoting war economy. Not only the commoners but strong mafias and multinational co-operations and defense industries would never want it to end as they benefit from it the most.<sup>66</sup>

This economy developed in response to the demands of warlords for resources and of the Afghanistan people for whom illicit activities have become key elements of survival strategies. Most elements of this war economy had developed during the Soviet-Afghanistan war when such predatory economic illicit activities were essential to fight against the Red Army and this criminalized economy under a stigmatized leadership became further entrenched in the years of civil war and war on terror.<sup>67</sup>

Today's war economy in Afghanistan entails transit trade, drugs trade, gem stones trade and service sector dependent on the progress of these three trades. These exports funds Afghanistan's imports of arms and basic necessities of life. According to World Bank estimates the value of this trade was \$2.5 billion in 1997 and estimates show that insurgents derived at least \$75 million in wake of tax on transit trade through the country.

This illicit economy is not confined to Afghanistan only. Through the Afghan diaspora, the opening of borders with no or limited customs duties and smuggling, Afghan war economy has created a pattern of regional economic activity that undermine legal economies activates in the region and is linked through the drug and arms trade to global crime.<sup>68</sup>

---

<sup>66</sup> Verkaik, M. "The Afghan Threat: A Legal Trade for Afghanistan, Devastating for the World", *Localhost*, 2019.

<sup>67</sup> Peter S. Jenkins, "The Yom Kippur War and the Soviet-Afghan War", *War and Happiness*, 2019.

<sup>68</sup> David Mansfield, "On the Frontiers of Development: Illicit Poppy and the Transformation of the Deserts of Southwest Afghanistan", *Journal of Illicit Economies and Development*, 2019.

Afghans, including the insurgents, earn little from opium as super profits in are derived from marketing it in wealthy societies while Afghan traders sell it to the border mostly, so does its processing is not carried out domestically.

The opium trade in the country is peaceful and competitive but it is difficult to estimate how much this trade adds to the revenue.

A very rough estimate shows that *ushr* (which seems to be used for local expenses, not the war effort) amounted up to \$15 million in 1999, while *zakat* of 20% amounted about \$30 million. These calculations show that less revenue is generated from opium trade than the transit trade and smuggling.

The transit and drug trades are accompanied by services industries, such as fuel stations and shops. Where fuel is smuggled from Iran while weapons are smuggled from different countries like Pakistan and Saudi Arabia in nutshell foreign aid, drugs trade, smuggling of commodities as well as the services sector provides armed groups the opportunity to muster resources and exercise power creating chaos in the region.

The Afghanistan war economy has spread internationally through several social networks. Line the Taliban's and other insurgent groups that are part of transnational movement across the globe. These insurgents include people from different parts of the world like Pakistan, Egypt, Uzbekistan, Algeria, and many other countries. Moreover, numerous groups engaged in Afghanistan are sponsored by the intelligence agencies of different countries that further their strategic interests through carrying out "covert" operations indifferent areas. This war economy is affecting others states directly as activities related to it are not only associated to Afghanistan but others as well like Pakistan which is experiencing terrorism imported from the neighbor

along with drugs, weapons and other commodities smuggling and the toleration of such a large black market contributes significantly to Pakistan's financial crisis.<sup>69</sup>

The money involved in the drug and arms trades is undermining state institutions in all the neighboring states of Afghanistan.

---

<sup>69</sup> A.Z. HILALI, "The Costs and Benefits of the Afghan War for Pakistanistan", *Contemporary South Asia*, 2002.

## CHAPTER 04

### CHALLENGES

#### 4.1 The Difficult Terrain of Afghanistan

The Kabul land has been an exemplary state to define how international insurgency and counterinsurgency programs under the name of coalition governments have failed to provide the basic measurements of a state to function properly. Afghanistan has now become more of a lost cause with too many actors trying to resolve the issue of the state at the domestic and global level. This all tipped off first with America's involvement in the region to back stab the Terrorist group of Al-Qaeda and their counterparts to later shifting their view point to make Afghanistan strong enough so that the Taliban group does not come back and regains its strength in the territory of Kabul. North Atlantic Treaty Organization's (NATO) task force's association in the area of Afghanistan which was basically a two-step configuration of the global states and world powers to contemplate the happenings of Kabul in order to fixate them in their accordance was also a part of the insurgent-counterinsurgent policy for Afghanistan's territorial land.<sup>70</sup> NATO alliances however always had a distributive view of their plan of action in the region which lead to many discords between them and also had a false effect on their mission. Over 9 years of plans with no such achievements and the situation constantly deteriorating with Taliban's growing impulse in Kabul's in lands and off lands, the external forces again shifted to the transitioning phase of development from the counterinsurgency course. Barak Obama also had a

---

<sup>70</sup> Nathaniel L. Moir, "In the Warlords' Shadow: Special Operations Forces, the Afghans, and Their Fight against the Taliban", *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 2019.

change in its policies with the popular slogan of the public that went like, “bring back our boys.”<sup>71</sup>

This withdrawal of military forces from the land meant an independence from foreign involvement in the state’s decorum but on the other hand it seemed as a work in progress for the Taliban’s to escalate their operating in the region by spreading their reach on the in lands creating a fuss at the civil order. This dilemma of the Afghani state has never let it attain the status of an independent state ever since the involvement of the UN, NATO, United States and also most importantly the Russian invasion in history. This can be the result of incompetent insurgent policies of the government made with the help of coalition actors. The deployment of states narratives in accordance to the government to gain support by the public against the insurgent group forms as a widely practiced tactic of the counterinsurgency groups. This technique has been of no such advantage in tribal regions of Afghanistan making it more questionable for operation. The old ways of American counterinsurgency plans are still in working where they use force to move mass populations and in executions which then leaves the policy system shaken.<sup>72</sup>

The prospects of counterinsurgency techniques by the states to create a harmony amongst the public, governing office and coalition forces at the econ political , civic and psychological level is greatly challenged by the globalization process of modern times. Insurgent activities have been made trouble-free as according to John Mackinlay, who introduced the idea of *Insurgent Archipelago*.<sup>73</sup> The movement of groups across borders is much easier with their communication

---

<sup>71</sup> Sharifullah Dorani, “Bush, Obama and Trump’s Decision Making towards Afghanistan and the Region”, *Journal of Politics and Development*, 2019.

<sup>72</sup> Bruno Charbonneau, “Intervention as Counter-Insurgency Politics”, *Conflict, Security & Development*, 2019.

<sup>73</sup> Jason A. Bakas, “From Bullets to Ballots: Examining the Characteristics of Criminal Insurgency”, *Journal of Intelligence and Analysis*, 2019.

vastly being acknowledged by tribal occupants, in turn making it more and more intimidatingly horrifying for the coalition forces who have coupled with the state office. The hide outs in the vastly dense population with the general public also add up to the difficulty of locating the target groups of individuals.

Pakistan's office has submerged with the coalition forces in their affirmative actions to support the Kabul's government but this engagement of cross border tribal groups who have joined hands in response of these forces highlights the importance of the wall to restrict this vast communication of insurgent groups. This building or fencing of the border at the Durand line would not only help the Afghan people in their fight against Taliban to secure their state back in its existence over a strong edifice but it will also accommodate Islamabad to curtain Pakistan's land from the adhesive and coercive threats of target groups coming from Afghanistan to Pakistan. Islamabad has been there as a support system for the state of Kabul but lending their own land to be exploited under grievances of Taliban cannot be afforded by Pakistan.<sup>74</sup>

The claim of international parties first to counter terrorism has evolved through that process to now being in union with the Kabul government to set up new liberal ideas which will over throw the Taliban control. This has opened new dimensions of controversial episodes for the parties involved. The status of Afghanistan today is the result of the western invasion and the strategy compiled for Afghan land by the west can be in favor of Afghanistan but considering the history Kabul should be aware that this defense policy of theirs can easily direct itself into a more offensive approach. Local actors also play a compromising role at the sake of the state but they

---

<sup>74</sup> Lacin Idil Oztig, "Pakistanistan's Border Policies and Security Dynamics along the Pakistanistan-Afghanistan Border", *Journal of Borderlands Studies*, 2018.



are not recognized for their developed efforts in this regard of placement by the international and national players.<sup>75</sup>

Al-Qaeda almost has lost its impact over the region but overtime other local insurgent terrorist groups and networks have gained much popularity. The Haqqani network which is an extension of the Taliban is a guerilla insurgent group in Afghanistan which denied its sole existence in the start but now it has come up front and can be recognized under the leadership of Maulvi Jalaluddin Haqqani and his son Sirajuddin Haqqani. Islamabad's Baluchistan area and Khyber Pukhtoon khwa's area especially Waziristan and FATA come under the spell of these insurgent terrorist groups which have had a salient impact on Pakistan's domestic and international economic politics. This has set Pakistan back from its development game many years leaving Islamabad in turmoil to define its relationship with Afghanistan or to justify its binding to its own public and office. United States of America's International security assistance forces (ISAF) and their teaming up with Afghan National Security Forces plus NATO in this irregular warfare against insurgents have an implicit alteration on the diplomatic ties between the global hegemons, the regional powers and also on the structural deformation and formation of the state's economic political system.<sup>76</sup>

## **4.2 Irregular Warfare and Pakistan Afghanistan Dynamics**

The situation of Afghanistan after the invasion has constantly worsened than getting better. The insurgents have also formed close webs of properly functioning networks with better and improved systems of fighting for their mantras. The overlooking of insurgents and the

---

<sup>75</sup> Jonathan Cristol, "US/Taliban Relations and the Intervention of Domestic Politics", *The United States and the Taliban before and after 9/11*, 2018.

<sup>76</sup> Dure, Shahwar, Bano, "An Enigma of Pakistan-Afghan Border Security", *Journal of Political Sciences, Special Conference Issue*, 2019.

withdrawal for the coalition forces would mean giving Afghanistan off to the domestic stake holders where they will fight over it because of territory and population. It also means that Afghanistan will be destined to civil distress with regional powers waiting to claw in for their own favor.<sup>77</sup>

The Guerilla fighters on the Durand line belt whether east or west of the border comprise of the Mujahedeen's who formed militant groups and were given aid by the United States to counter Soviet's invasion in their land before it went downhill for Washington. These militant groups were also given shelter and training by Islamabad which followed with them getting the status of freedom fighters. This scenario overturned after the Soviets left Afghanistan to the disposal of international forces. The Mujahedeen in this process ganged up against the United States making it all very complicated for the actors involved in this chaotic setting. The insurgent's attack on American camps and NATO installations in Kabul also derived the failure for the eyes of the public in regard to counterinsurgency.<sup>78</sup>

Kabul shares a border with 6 countries but the spilling of the outrageous irregular way of war from Afghanistan to Pakistan makes Islamabad an important stake holder in the condition of the Afghan land. Afghanistan's neighbor Pakistan has to face major backlash on both fronts whether we discuss local or international repute when it comes to its stance with Kabul. Islamabad along with other contributing states have realized after these many years of war on the clock that it might not be possible to eradicate the Afghan Taliban completely from the region so it would be advisable to put an end to this deranged form of rivalry by coming to an agreement between the Taliban and the Afghan government keeping in mind the stakes of the countries involved in this

---

<sup>77</sup> Jonathan Goodhand, "Aiding Violence or Building Peace? The Role of International Aid in Afghanistan", *Third World Quarterly*, 2002.

<sup>78</sup> Mats Berdal, "NATO's Landscape of the Mind: Stabilization and State Building in Afghanistan", *Ethno-politics*, 2019.

drama. Improvement in the relationship between Taliban and the government was tried and tested but it has come to no concrete decision. This whole agenda of Taliban to present their terms in a way which threatens the sovereignty of states trickles down the impact on Pakistan's domestic situation. This also generates an up rise in the minds of Islamabad's people against the policies made by the state. Bondage and historical linkage of Pakistan with Kabul makes it more critical for the two states but the civil as well as military casualties of Islamabad's population because of heightened terrorist ventures in Kabul and now at the adjoining areas of the Pakistani territory cannot be camouflaged. This environment has also pushed locals to disruptive courses which have created an animosity in the surrounding up keep of Islamabad office and its land.<sup>79</sup>

The cross border chaos with rising attacks in Islamabad and varsity are detrimental features in the spectrum of bad governance and state leader's characters for the failing pursuit of policies compiled by them. A security centric state, Pakistan, with high resolution of submission to the will of people, the irregular warfare being fought tests the patience of the actors included in the dynamics of the situation.<sup>80</sup>

The aftermath of the uprising makes us notice that this war is not only limited to the insurgents of the terrorist networks but it has also widely become a more Pashtun war with inclusion of pathans from both sides of the border. It has vastly dilated in its reach from the inlands of Afghanistan to the farther parts of Pakistan's province, Khyber Pakistanhtoon Khwa and Baluchistan. The Taliban count also accommodates a great chunk of Pashtuns which involuntarily directs the earlier war being fought in Kabul against terrorism to be the one manifested against the Pashtuns of the locality, creating new disparate nuisance amongst the

---

<sup>79</sup> Theo Farrell, "Military Adaptation and Organisational Convergence in War: Insurgents and International Forces in Afghanistan." *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 2020.

<sup>80</sup> Farooq Yousaf, Steve Wakhu, "Security in the 'Periphery' of Post-Colonial States: Analysing Pakistanistan's 'Tribal' Pashtuns and Kenyan-Somalis", *Social Identities*, 2020

ethnic groups. This gave a push to the already existing differences and disputes between the people of separate ethno political backgrounds. The segmentation of the Pashtuns apart from the Tajiks, Uzbeks and Hazara in office holds also marginalizing the issue of Kabul to be based upon invasive behavioral acts of states to a more ethnic run domestic platform of contrasting tradition or culture. The Washington office also disregarded the rising animosity between the general populous of the Afghan land because of the racist acts against the Pashtuns who were once a part of their own plan to wipe away the Soviet's from the land Pathans have had heritable attachments to.<sup>81</sup>

The insurgent's policies went through a game changer mode of evolution when the sophisticated and more learned class of doctors, engineers and military officials from up state started joining the Taliban movements. They also aligned the varying attributes of the Taliban under unified umbrellas of disciplined framework. This civilized adaption of new techniques under technocrats reformed the plan of action for the Taliban at new peak levels making the coalition task forces, the American special unit personnel and also the Afghan army insecure. This new display of Taliban did not contain its valor to the Durand line border. They then started showing off their capabilities in farther lands of Pakistan. The province of Punjab became their focus of boasting their muscle. Hundreds of mango men were compromised on behalf of these Taliban communications which were gaining prominence not only in stats of power but at the global level to spread terror and fear. Islamabad's name was vastly used in the international forum as a state which threatened the peaceful monopoly of the world. Islamophobia became the slogan of the west and they linked it to Pakistan because of the Taliban's on going episode. Muslims were defamed to be terrorists with the women harassed and children bullied at schools and other social

---

<sup>81</sup> Nabi Sahak, "Afghanistan: The Pashtun Dimension of the War on Terror", *Handbook of Terrorism and Counter Terrorism Post 9/11*, 2019.

gatherings. Large number of Muslims had to migrate back to Muslim states to secure their and their loved ones' lives. <sup>82</sup>

This negative portrayal of Muslims not only had an influence on the general outlook and character of Muslims worldwide but it also had put Muslims at difficult times to run the economy: The terrorist of Taliban networks manipulated Islam's idea of jihad wrongly in the minds of the public creating chaos and tense situations for the people who wanted nothing but to be good Muslims in the eyes of their God. <sup>83</sup>

Jaish-i-Muhammad and Tehreek-i-Taliban are also the products of these times when the Taliban's brutal forces were on the rise in the region and beyond. The Asian Pakistan Afghan region was under major conflict and the world condemned the acts of the Muslims in general be screening them and racially profiling them. Discrimination became ordinary and regular for the followers of Islam. Irregular warfare in Kabul and Islamabad potentially fed the extremist groups which did not let the countries float.

United States role throughout the insurgency and terroristic activities at the Durand line has been visible. Their part in this war is also contradictory because at one time they have been very useful in countering and killing the Taliban heads present at the sides of Pakistan and Afghanistan border while at the same time on the other hand they have had new aggressive acts which might have contributed in the rise of the Taliban recruitments and population. During Pervaiz Musharraf's government in Pakistan, America drone stroked the Pakistan Afghan tribal terrain where they had an idea of militant presence. <sup>84</sup>This did help them kill the potential

---

<sup>82</sup> Todd H. Green, "The Fear of Islam, Second Edition: An Introduction to Islamophobia in the West", *Fortress Press*, 2019.

<sup>83</sup> Connor Nickerson, "Media Portrayal of Terrorism and Muslims: A Content Analysis of Turkey and France." *Crime, Law and Social Change*, 2019.

<sup>84</sup> Hugh Gusterson, "Drone Warfare in Waziristan and the New Military Humanism." *Current Anthropology*, 2019.

terrorists but at the same time the numbers of civil casualties rose. This conundrum made people inquisitive of America's real stand on the issue and made them question its plan for Afghanistan. It also deemed people to think for if America ever wanted to liberate Afghanistan in the first place or not. Islamabad's personal benefit was also greatly a source of debate for the population because Afghanistan's regaining of the lost political and economic stability would mean the rise of ethnic disputes over the long lost cause of Durand line to market again. Instability and dependence of Kabul on Islamabad gave Pakistan an upper hand in the entirety of the situation making it harder for Afghanistan to revive what was given under the desperate time of needs. Pakistan, however, has denied all these plotting allegations itself stating that the war Afghanistan is fighting is not only theirs to fight and Islamabad will always be there help their Muslim brother through these hardships. Pervaiz Musharraf, the ex-President of the state of Islamic Republic of Pakistan has often stated his views on the war of terrorism being their war with references to the state's zero percent roles in Taliban's movement and funding. The irksome relationship of Pakistan and Afghanistan topped with the insurgent groups and terrorist organizations working against all odds for them leave the two nations farther away from giving each other the space to mend disputes with in.<sup>85</sup>

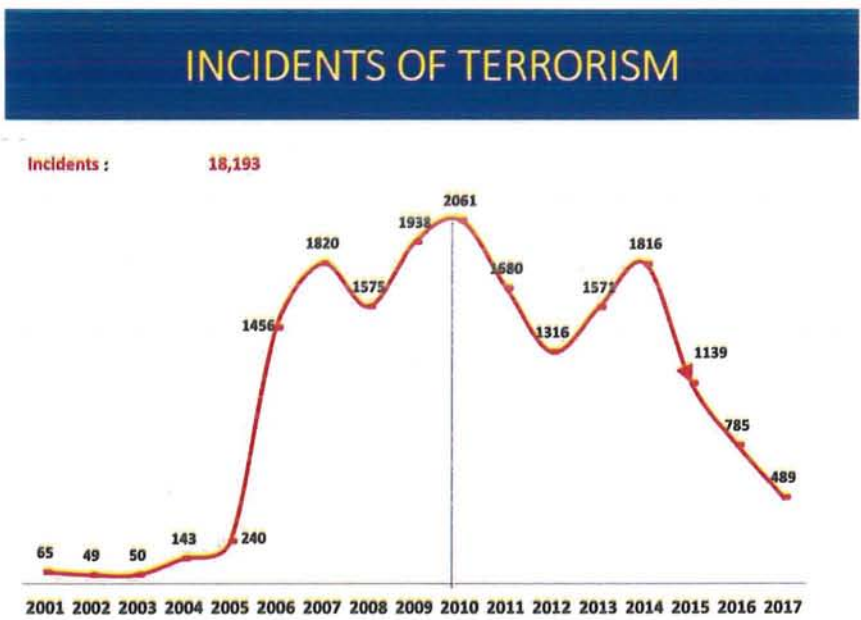
### **4.3 Terrorism, Tensions and the Border Wall**

The event of 16<sup>th</sup> December 2014 when six gunmen of Tehreek-i-Taliban Pakistan entered the Army Public School of Peshawar in Pakistan, the world was left in hysteria. More than 100 children were massacred in this brutal act of violence and a wave of filthy power execution by the Taliban was noted by the global community. Islamabad's undying will to resolve this issue

---

<sup>85</sup> ASM Ali Ashraf, "The Global War on Terrorism, Domestic Imperatives, and Paramilitary Police Units: Lessons from South Asia." *Icct.Nl*, 2019.

with Taliban was greatly under distress and this act of injustice against the children and women was a big offence for the nuclear state of Pakistan. The operations by Pakistan's military to execute Taliban's existence and eradicate their control in the Pakistani land became the main agenda of Islamabad. Zarb e Azb was a combine military operation which took authority after the attack on Karachi airport. It was organized to demolish Taliban growth in Pakistan and was promoted greatly by civil and military sectors of the state. It reduced the militancy and terrorist activities in Islamabad greatly considering the history of Taliban networks and their foothold in the region. Operation Rad ul Fassad which followed Zar e Azab in 2017 was all part of an ultimate plan of Pakistan against the horrific terrorist activities of potential activist groups.



86

*Figure 2: Graph of Rise of Incidents in terrorism in Islamabad.*

Ever since these escalated attacks of Taliban we have seen perceptible changes in the United States policy for countering terrorism activities. Islamabad has been under direct influence of this

<sup>86</sup> Shakirullah Dawar, "Violent Conflict in North Waziristan, Pakistanistan: The Distortion and Re-emergence of Social Structure", *Journal of Social Sciences*, 2019.

change in the dynamic policies of Washington for the terrorist groups present over and across the Durand line in Asia. For the first time it was observed that a state would invade another state's privacy of internal matters to stage their own plans. The drone strikes became the new normal for the Washington office to implement the counter terrorist frame of action. This in the international realms was major offence for Islamabad but the whole scenario was kept under covers with no vivid dealing over the media. The fueled hostility between Kabul and Islamabad is still detrimental because of the safe havens of terrorist actors along borders. <sup>87</sup>

The whole Afghan Pakistan tension can be restricted in abstract theory hence if the inclusion of other parties such as that of the global and local level do not intervene in the whole peace making process and also if the two states agree on making a border wall to demarcate territorial boundaries to refrain communication and interplay between organization working against stability for the two nations.

---

<sup>87</sup> Asfandyar Mir, Dylan Moore, "Drones, Surveillance, and Violence: Theory and Evidence from a US Drone Program." *International Studies Quarterly*, 2019.



## CONCLUSION

In full disclosure the Pakistan Afghan relationship has undergone many intervals of growth and disparities. The land of Kabul despite the turbulent start depends upon the state of Pakistan greatly. The econ political sharing of the two states can also be interpreted to understand the overall arrangements and rearrangements between Kabul and Islamabad to determine the proportionality of market on political status with respect to local and international levels.<sup>88</sup>

The situation at Afghanistan and bordering areas of Durand line have had an alarming pull over the Islamabad's land and the policy making process of its office. Since the invasion of the Soviet Union in Kabul, and Islamabad's involvement alongside coalition forces of NATO and America we can see a vivid and dynamic exchange of communications between the two neighbors.<sup>89</sup>

The rise in communications has however highlighted the significance of sovereign control and its importance for nation's and state's government. The hierarchy of global setting in today's modern and global state structure is regulated with the advancement in the flow of money. The power lies with those who own a good percentage of shares in the econ retrospect of affairs for the state's welfare. However, when we look upon the conditional development of Islamabad we realize the need for new strategic plans to overcome the drawbacks of the initial agenda. Heavy transport of opium, poppy and other drugs with a marginal improvement in the economic eventuality has altered the mechanism of economic balance up keeping the formal relations of the Afghan people with Pakistan and vice versa.<sup>90</sup>

---

<sup>88</sup> Faridullah Bezhani, "The Pashtunistan Issue and Politics in Afghanistan ", *The Middle East Journal*, 2014

<sup>89</sup> Paul B. Rich, "Counterinsurgency or a war on terror? The war in Afghanistan and the debate on Western strategy", *Routledge*, 2010.

<sup>90</sup> Rizwan Zeb, "Cross Border Terrorism Issues Plaguing Pakistanistan–Afghanistan Relations", *China and Eurasia Forum Quarterly*, 2006.

Pakistan is a security centric state with deep rooted investments in its muscle power to counter and cater the problems it has been facing from 1947 after its independence from the British Raj. The influence of regional power, China over Pakistan for its planning to expand into the far off regions through trade routes with Islamabad's ever increasing hysteria at the Indian border over Kashmir issue keeps on diverting Islamabad's attention from the Taliban and their potential engagement in the locality and varsity of Pakistan.<sup>91</sup> The construction of the wall in conclusion of the whole debate would benefit both, the Kabul and the Islamabad office. Afghanistan's claim over the land is largely dependent upon historic primordial narratives where as in today's concentration it is important for the Afghan leaders to realize that the land under their control has already been under a disputed pull of the government and the terrorists. Fussing over the land under Pakistan's legitimacy would just be an adding on in the false behavior of the Kabul office with the population who are in the first place unable to rightly attain the security a state seeks to provide for its people. Another aspect of growth would be for both states in the formal documented economy when the smuggling of goods between the two states will be put an end to by the regulatory forces of the border wall. The petty businesses will get recognition in the formal market and the black money would be turned into white money which will not only help the economic up lifting of Islamabad but will also aid Kabul to save face in the market as known opium and drug economic protagonist to a stable line of trade. The boosting of this phenomenon would surface the long spread of the corrupted image of the Kabul market. The fencing of the wall along the border helps demarcate the land of control with giving definite autonomy to the state. This will regulate a more disciplined line of events when it would come to cross border communications and engagements. Islamabad's formula of building a wall will not restrict any

---

<sup>91</sup> David B. Carter, Paul Poast, "Why Do States Build Walls? Political Economy, Security, and Border Stability", *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 2015.

kind of communication. The formal trade and flow of legal human traffic will be promoted where as illegal activities will be vastly minimized. The troublesome involvement of Taliban in safe havens will also be compromised, limiting the terroristic approach giving the Islamic states a more stable status they have been thriving for.<sup>92</sup>

The friendly exchange of the two states over this resolution will also serve them right in the international order. The solidarity of the Muslim nations under the similar space will give a fine impression to the world. Defense strategies will align in the same direction with no apparent causal threats of the existing bone of contention. Taliban would be dealt head on with the national and international integration. The funding of the non-state actors would also be depleted because of the customized interaction between the fiscal actors working as catalyst to trigger war.

---

<sup>92</sup> Shahram Khosravi, "What Do We See If We Look at the Border from the Other Side?", *Social Anthropology*, 2019.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Adam Smith, "The Wealth of Nations", *W. Strahan and T. Cadell, London, 1776.*
- Ahmad Shayeq Qassem and H. M. Durand, "Pak-Afghan Relations: The Durand Line Issue, *Policy Perspectives, 2008*
- Ahrari, Mohammed E., and James Beal, "The New Great Game in Muslim Central Asia",  
*DIANE Publishing, 1996.*
- Akbar Zaidi, "Issues in Pakistan's Economy: A Political Economy Perspective", *Oxford University Press, 2015.*
- Amin Saikal, "Securing Afghanistan's border", *Survival, 2006.*
- Anthony H. Richmond, "Ethnic and Racial Studies", *Routledge, 2010.*
- Anthony Smith, "Nationalism and Modernism", *Routledge, 2013.*
- Asfandyar Mir, Dylan Moore, "Drones, Surveillance, and Violence: Theory and Evidence from a US Drone Program." *International Studies Quarterly, 2019.*
- ASM Ali Ashraf, "The Global War on Terrorism, Domestic Imperatives, and Paramilitary Police Units: Lessons from South Asia." *Icct.Nl, 2019.*
- Avinash Paliwal, "My Enemy's Enemy: India in Afghanistan from the Soviet Invasion to the US Withdrawal", *Oxford University Press, 2017.*
- A.Z. HILALI, "The Costs and Benefits of the Afghan War for Pakistan", *Contemporary South Asia, 2002.*
- Bruno Charbonneau, "Intervention as Counter-Insurgency Politics", *Conflict, Security & Development, 2019.*
- Charles H. Kennedy, "Islamization and Legal Reform in Pakistan, 1979-1989", *Pacific Affairs, 1990.*

- Cliff DuRand, "Neoliberal Globalization and the Crisis of Liberal Democracy", *Socialism and Democracy*, 2020.
- Connor Nickerson, "Media Portrayal of Terrorism and Muslims: A Content Analysis of Turkey and France." *Crime, Law and Social Change*, 2019.
- David B. Carter, Paul Poast, "Why Do States Build Walls? Political Economy, Security, and Border Stability", *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 2015.
- David G. Gutierrez, "Walls and Mirrors", *University of California Press*, 1995.
- David L. Altheide, "Terror Post 9/11 and the Media", *Peter Lang*, 2009.
- David Mansfield, "On the Frontiers of Development: Illicit Poppy and the Transformation of the Deserts of Southwest Afghanistan", *Journal of Illicit Economies and Development*, 2019.
- Dr. Akhtar Shabnum, "The Social, Political and Economic Effects of Afghan War on Pakistan", *Humanities and Social Sciences*, 2019.
- Dure, Shahwar, Bano, "An Enigma of Pak-Afghan Border Security", *Journal of Political Sciences, Special Conference Issue*, 2019.
- Farhan Hanif Siddiqi, "The Politics of Ethnicity in Pakistan", *Routledge*, 2012.
- Faridullah Bezhan, "The Pashtunistan Issue and Politics in Afghanistan ", *The Middle East Journal*, 2014.
- Farooq Yousaf, Steve Wakhu, "Security in the 'Periphery' of Post-Colonial States: Analysing Pakistan's 'Tribal' Pashtuns and Kenyan-Somalis", *Social Identities*, 2020
- Foreign Relations, 1961-1963, South Asia, US Department of State, Information Released online from 2001-2009. <https://2001-2009.state.gov/r/pa/ho/frus/kennedyjf/46453.html>. Accessed on 16 May 2020.

- Frank P. Harvey, "Primordialism, Evolutionary Theory and Ethnic Violence in the Balkans: Opportunities and Constraints for Theory and Policy", *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, 2000.
- Fromkin, David, "The Great Game in Asia", *Foreign Affairs*, 2019.
- Ganguly, Sumit, Nicholas Howenstein, "India-Pakistan Rivalry in Afghanistan", *Journal of International Affairs*, 2009
- Grayson, "La Familia Drug Cartel: Implications for U.S.-Mexican Security", *Lulu.com*, 2011.
- Green H, "Use of theoretical and conceptual frameworks in qualitative research", *Nurse Researcher*. 2014.
- Gretchen Peters, "*How Opium Profits the Taliban*", 2009.
- Hans-Hermann Hertle, "Berlin Wall: Monument of the Cold War", *Ch. Links Verlag*, 2007.
- Hermann Kreutzmann, "Afghanistan and the Opium World Market: Poppy Production and Trade." *Iranian Studies*, 2007.
- Hugh Gusterson, "Drone Warfare in Waziristan and the New Military Humanism." *Current Anthropology*, 2019.
- Ishtiaq Ahmed, "The U.S. Af-Pak Strategy: Challenges and Opportunities for Pakistan", *Asian Affairs: An American Review*, 2010.
- James A. Piazza, "The Opium Trade and Patterns of Terrorism in the Provinces of Afghanistan: An Empirical Analysis", *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 2012.
- Jason A. Bakas, "From Bullets to Ballots: Examining the Characteristics of Criminal Insurgency", *Journal of Intelligence and Analysis*, 2019.
- John Pilger, "Freedom Next Time", *Black Swan*, 2007.

- Jonathan Cristol, "US/Taliban Relations and the Intervention of Domestic Politics", *The United States and the Taliban before and after 9/11*, 2018.
- Jonathan Goodhand, "Aiding Violence or Building Peace? The Role of International Aid in Afghanistan", *Third World Quarterly*, 2002.
- Jonathan Michie, "The Handbook of Globalization", *Edward Elgar Publishing*, 2019.
- Lacin Idil Oztig, "Pakistan's Border Policies and Security Dynamics along the Pakistan–Afghanistan Border", *Journal of Borderlands Studies*, 2018.
- Lawrence E. Grinter, "The Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan: Its Inevitability and Its Consequences", 1982.
- Majidi, Nassim. "Community Dimensions of Smuggling: The Case of Afghanistan and Somalia", *the ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 2018.
- Martha Alter Chen, "Rethinking the Informal Economy: Linkages with the Formal Economy and the Formal Regulatory Environment." 2005.
- Marvin G. Weinbaum, "Pakistan and Afghanistan: The Strategic Relationship", *Asian Survey*, 1991.
- Mats Berdal, "NATO's Landscape of the Mind: Stabilization and State Building in Afghanistan", *Ethno-politics*, 2019.
- Maxwell J. Fry, "*The Afghan Economy: Money, Finance, and the Critical Constraints to Economic Development*", *BRILL*, 1974.
- Michael Clarke, "'One Belt, One Road' and China's Emerging Afghanistan Dilemma", *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, 19 June 2016.

- Michelle Williams, "The Multicultural Dilemma: Migration, Ethnic Politics, and State Intermediation", *Routledge*, 2012.
- Mohammed Ayub Khan, "The Pakistan-American Alliance: Stresses and Strains", *Foreign Affairs*, 1964.
- Morgan, Gerald, "Myth and Reality in the Great Game", *Asian Affairs*, 2007.
- Murat Bayar, "Reconsidering Primordialism: an alternative approach to the study of ethnicity", Catherine Twomey Fosnot, "Constructivism: Theory, Perspectives, and Practice", Teachers College Press, 2013
- Nabi Sahak, "Afghanistan: The Pashtun Dimension of the War on Terror", *Handbook of Terrorism and Counter Terrorism Post 9/11*, 2019.
- Nathan, Andrew J., Andrew Scobell, "China's Search for Security", *Columbia University Press*, 2015.
- Nathaniel L. Moir, "In the Warlords' Shadow: Special Operations Forces, the Afghans, and Their Fight against the Taliban", *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 2019.
- Opium Economy in Afghanistan: An International Problem." Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. 20540 USA, 2003.
- "PAKISTAN-AFGHANISTAN RELATIONS – Ministry of Foreign Affairs." *Mofa.Gov.Pk*, <http://mofa.gov.pk/testing-language/> . Accessed on 20 May 2020.
- Panagiotis Dimitrakis, "British Diplomacy and the Decline of CENTO", *Comparative Strategy*, 2009.
- Pandya, Abhinav, "The Future of Indo-Pak Relations after the Pulwama Attack", *Perspectives on Terrorism*, 2019.



- Paul B. Rich, "Counterinsurgency or a war on terror? The war in Afghanistan and the debate on Western strategy", *Routledge*, 2010.
- Peter S. Jenkins, "The Yom Kippur War and the Soviet-Afghan War", *War and Happiness*, 2019.
- Phillip A. O'Hara, "Marx, Veblen, and Contemporary Institutional Political Economy", *Edward Elgar Publishing*, 2000.
- Razvi, Mujtaba. "PAK-AFGHAN RELATIONS SINCE 1947: AN ANALYSIS." *Pakistan Horizon*, 1979.
- Reich, Gary. "Hitting a Wall? The Trump Administration Meets Immigration Federalism." *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, 2018
- Rizwan Zeb, "Cross Border Terrorism Issues Plaguing Pakistan–Afghanistan Relations", *China and Eurasia Forum Quarterly*, 2006.
- Roya Jafari Amineh, Hanieh Davatgari, "Review of Constructivism and Social Constructivism", *Journal of Social Sciences, Literature and Languages*, 2015.
- Rubin, Barnett R, Sadiq Ahmed, William Byrd, F Anders, Bernard Frahi, M Jamal Hani, R Scott Horton, "The Political Economy of War and Peace in Afghanistan", *World Development*, 2000.
- Shahrukh Rafi Khan, "Fifty Years of Pakistan's Economy: Traditional Topics and New Concerns", *Oxford University Press*, 2000.
- Shakirullah Dawar, "Violent Conflict in North Waziristan, Pakistan: The Distortion and Re-emergence of Social Structure", *Journal of Social Sciences*, 2019.
- Sharifullah Dorani, "Bush, Obama and Trump's Decision Making towards Afghanistan and the Region", *Journal of Politics and Development*, 2019.

- Shlaim, Avi. "How Israel Brought Gaza to the Brink of Humanitarian Catastrophe", *The Guardian*, 2009.
- Sinclair, Marlene. "A guide to understanding theoretical and conceptual frameworks." *Evidence-Based Midwifery*, vol. 5, no. 2, 2007, p. 39. Accessed 31 Aug. 2020.
- Stefanie Nijssen, "The Taliban's Shadow Government in Afghanistan", *Civil- Military Fusion Centre*, 2011.
- Theo Farrell, "Military Adaptation and Organisational Convergence in War: Insurgents and International Forces in Afghanistan." *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 2020.
- Todd H. Green, "The Fear of Islam, Second Edition: An Introduction to Islamophobia in the West", *Fortress Press*, 2019.
- Vanda Felbab-Brown, "Peacekeepers among Poppies: Afghanistan, Illicit Economies and Intervention", *International Peacekeeping*, 2009.
- Verkaik, M. "The Afghan Threat: A Legal Trade for Afghanistan, Devastating for the World", *Localhost*, 2019.
- Vishal Chandra, "Politics in Post-Taliban Afghanistan: An Assessment, Strategic Analysis", *Strategic Analysis*, 2019.
- William Dalrymple, "A Deadly Triangle: Afghanistan, Pakistan, and India", *Brookings Institution Press*, 18 Dec. 2013.
- WP Zingel, "The Economics of Pakistan–Afghanistan Relations: Implications for the Region", *SAGE*, 2014.
- Wright, Melissa W. "Border Thinking, Borderland Diversity, and Trump's Wall." *Annals of the American Association of Geographers*, 2019
- Wright, Patrick, "Iron Curtain: From Stage to Cold War", *Oxford University Press*, 2009.