

**Corresponding Author:** Sahera Khatoon (PhD Scholar, Centre for South Asian Studies University of Punjab, Lahore, Punjab, Pakistan. Email: [roshniss786@gmail.com](mailto:roshniss786@gmail.com) )



## Between Allies and Adversaries: A Critical Appraisal of Pak-Afghan Relations During PTI Tenure (2018-2022)



Sahera Khatoon \*

Muhammad Adil Nawaz Khan †

Rahat Shabir ‡

**Abstract:** *This research focuses on analyzing the Pakistan-Afghanistan ties during the PTI government. The data is thoroughly sought and collected from reliable sources, including prior research studies and papers. During its tenure in 2018, the PTI Government encountered numerous obstacles and hurdles in its relationship with Afghanistan. The PTI government attempted to enhance bilateral relations through the augmentation of economic cooperation and diplomatic engagement. Among the numerous aims of the Imran Khan government, a key focus was to bolster economic cooperation. This encompassed the enhancement of commercial and economic activities, financial allocation, and interpersonal linkages. In addition, endeavours were undertaken to enhance the trade connectivity between Pakistan and Afghanistan. The PTI government facilitated the Peace Talk Process between Afghanistan and the United States. They also prioritized the resolution of issues through political means. Despite the extensive efforts made, the relationship between Pakistan and Afghanistan has consistently been characterized by complexity, fragility, and friction.*

**Key Words:** Afghan Refugees, Trade and Economic Cooperation, Border Issue, Security Cooperation, Security

### Introduction

For a long time, the Sahel and Horn Pakistan and Afghanistan are neighbouring countries that have developed robust and long-lasting bilateral connections since their establishment. The cultures of Pakistan and Afghanistan are largely similar. Both nations have a lengthy shared history. The citizens of both nations exhibit remarkable hospitality and generosity. Afghanistan is home to the majority of the Pashtun population, however, Pakistan also contains Pashtun people residing in the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa area. The leadership of both nations consistently provide mutual assistance and unwavering solidarity in times of adversity. However, the bilateral relations between both

countries are frequently marred or triggered by conflicts. Both countries also share a border known as the Durand Line, which is an internationally recognized border acknowledged by the United Nations. However, Afghanistan does not acknowledge this border as being internationally recognized, which has become a primary source of dispute between the two countries. The atmosphere along the Durand Line is consistently turbulent (BAZAI, 2008).

Furthermore, the relationship between the two countries deteriorated over time due to ineffective leadership, lack of foreign policies, escalating militant activities, border attacks by the military, and illegal civilian activities. These factors severely damaged the bilateral relations.

\* PhD Scholar, Centre for South Asian Studies, University of Punjab, Lahore, Punjab, Pakistan.

† PhD Scholar Department of International Relations, University of Punjab, Punjab, Pakistan.

‡ M.Phil Scholar, Centre for South Asian Studies, University of Punjab, Punjab, Pakistan.

The terrorist strike carried out by the Taliban in Pakistan not only caused physical destruction but also disrupted the harmonious environment and peace of the country. Pakistan has played a crucial role in facilitating peace both in Afghanistan and within its own borders. The Pakistan strategy toward Afghanistan problems delineates the involvement of Pashtun nationalists and Islamic political parties in the pursuit of peace in Afghanistan. The significance of these Pakistani political groups lies in their enduring connections and complex affiliations with political parties in Afghanistan. These parties have been and can continue to be essential in Pakistan's efforts to secure its western border from terrorism and other illicit activities, therefore contributing to peace in Afghanistan. (Kumar, 2019)

The foreign policies implemented by the PTI Government encompassed several objectives and components aimed at fostering peace and enhancing bilateral relations between the two nations. The objectives of Pakistan and Afghanistan's foreign policies included various areas such as Education exchange, Afghan Peace Process, Afghan Refugee issues, Trading cooperation, Economic Cooperation, Border Management, Security Concerns and cooperation, Regional Diplomacy, Repatriation of Afghan Refugees, cultural exchanges and people-to-people contacts, among others. The PTI government has appealed to the international community to support and assist the Afghan Taliban in establishing an inclusive government. This comes following the Taliban's declaration to safeguard human rights and refrain from using their language for any illicit purposes. The administration of the nation in conformity with Islamic principles was the main objective of the Taliban government. The world has been made aware by the PTI administration of their expectation that they will acknowledge the Taliban regime. The administration of the nation in conformity with Islamic principles was the principal goal of the Taliban rule. During the Doha Talks between the United States and the Taliban, the PTI government gave the world an explanation in no uncertain terms. The article "Pakistan's Foreign Policy Trends and Challenges in 2019" by Kumar examines the

trends and issues Pakistan is now facing in its diplomatic relations with other nations. One major area of friction in the relationship between Pakistan and Afghanistan has been the issue of Afghan refugees. Because 1.39 million Afghan people have lived in Pakistan for a number of decades. During the PTI government, this subject received a lot of attention. They recommended giving Pakistani citizenship to people who were born there as well as to anyone who had lived there legally for more than 30 years. One major aspect of the relationship between the governments of Pakistan and Afghanistan was the issue of repatriation.

### **Research Questions**

---

A: How did the PTI Government handle the refugee crisis and its impact on Pakistan-Afghanistan relations? Q: What were the accomplishments and deficiencies of the PTI Government's foreign policy towards Afghanistan? Q: How did the people perceive the PTI Government's policy in managing the bilateral relations between Pakistan and Afghanistan?

### **Review of Literature**

---

Analyzing Pakistan and Afghanistan under the PTI government encompasses several key areas, including border and security management, trade and economic cooperation, the issue of Afghan refugees, people-to-people and cultural contacts, military matters, Taliban-US Peace Talks, security cooperation, economic cooperation, and more. Prior research has demonstrated the significance of border and security management in the ties between Afghanistan and Pakistan. In 2020, Khan and Ahmed underscored the necessity of enhancing the Pakistan and Afghanistan border (Durand Line) to address security challenges and promote improvement. The PTI Government's efforts in implementing border barriers and camera installation have been praised for enhancing security and preventing criminal activities Batool (2021)

The primary focus of the PTI Government in Pakistan-Afghanistan bilateral ties is the Peace process in Afghanistan. In 2019, Patel and Khan asserted that Pakistan played a pivotal role in the

Afghan Peace Talk Process. It was emphasized that Pakistan played a pivotal role in facilitating negotiations between the Taliban Government and the US Government. However, they also emphasized the endorsement of the Pakistani government towards the Taliban and the resulting consequences of Pakistan's involvement in the Peace process. (Doucet, 2020)

The issue of Afghan refugees has been a longstanding and significant concern in Pakistan-Afghanistan relations. In 2020, Malik and Hussain deliberated on the difficulties encountered by the PTI Government regarding the problem of Afghan refugees. The subject was deliberated by directing their concerns to the PTI government regarding the challenges that they are likely to encounter, which includes the formulation of a comprehensive policy for the repatriation of Afghan refugees (Ahmad Z., 2023). Pakistan and Afghanistan have a commercial relationship that has been negatively impacted by their complicated diplomatic ties. Both possess the capacity for expansion, but it is constrained. In 2018, Ali and Rehman emphasized the economic difficulties that exist between Pakistan and Afghanistan. They also emphasized the potential for improving economic cooperation and relations between the two countries. Additionally, they emphasized that both nations have an opportunity to enhance their trade relations, address security problems, and tackle political challenges, all of which may be successfully solved (Source: Naazer, 2022). Both countries must engage in security cooperation in order to address and resolve security challenges. It played a vital role in tackling the security concerns faced by both countries. Amina Khan and Asadullah Khan discussed the exchange of intelligence between the military and security forces of both nations in order to address security problems. Parwiz Karokhail, 2022. In addition, efforts to enhance security cooperation have been impeded by misunderstandings and misinformation between the two countries. (Khan, 2018). The relationship between Pakistan and Afghanistan has long been characterized by several complexities and obstacles. Despite numerous obstacles in their ties, it was imperative to address them in order to

achieve regional peace. Afghanistan's leadership held Pakistan responsible for the prevailing insecurity in Afghanistan. People-to-people encounters and cultural exchanges can have a crucial and meaningful impact on enhancing the relationship between Pakistan and Afghanistan. In 2019, Nasir and Haq emphasized the need to promote and exchange cultures as a means of fostering trust and understanding between two countries. However, he emphasized that there are other obstacles that they would encounter in their efforts to promote understanding and foster increased interaction between the communities of Pakistan and Afghanistan. (Shah, Tribune, 2019). Educational exchanges can play a crucial and indispensable role in enhancing the relationship between Pakistan and Afghanistan. Educational exchange plays a crucial role in fostering and sharing knowledge in the education sector. It enables both countries to foster trust and mutual understanding among their populations.

### **Theoretical framework**

**Military Personnel Training:** During the period of the PTI, the PTI government proposed to the Afghan government to provide training for military personnel. However, it is unclear whether the proposal was accepted or rejected. During his inaugural visit to Afghanistan as the Foreign Minister, Shah Mehmood Qureshi extended this offer. The goal of this visit was to communicate to the Afghan people and the Afghan government that the Pakistani government intends to enhance the bilateral relationship between the two nations. Furthermore, the tour presented numerous prospects for the resumption of various activities between the two nations, including as commerce, security coordination, counterterrorism efforts, and addressing the matter of Afghan refugees. By re-establishing trade between Pakistan and its neighbouring country, the economy will experience growth due to the agricultural and industrial sectors. This will provide opportunities for individuals to enhance their businesses and overall improve their livelihoods. Consequently, this will foster a healthy relationship and environment between the two nations. (Yusufzai, 2018)

Afghan president extended an invitation to Imran Khan, the former Prime Minister of Pakistan, which marked a historic development. It was the primary and crucial factor in the relations between Pakistan and Afghanistan. Upon assuming office as the Prime Minister of Pakistan, Imran Khan sent an invitation to the former President of Afghanistan, Ashraf Ghani, to visit Pakistan. The purpose of this tour was to enhance bilateral relations between the two countries and to promote a message of peace to the people of both nations and the international community.

Both presidents conveyed their desire for peace and the enhancement of bilateral relations. They conducted a press conference in Kabul, the capital of Afghanistan, in 2019 to demonstrate their message of peace to the global community. He also played a crucial role in facilitating peace negotiations in Afghanistan and the establishment of the Taliban government. The year is 2024 and this document is from the

Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Bilateral trade: Under the PTI government, economic cooperation played a crucial role in shaping the relationship between Pakistan and Afghanistan. Given that Afghanistan is Pakistan's primary trading partner. They engage in both imports and exports as a trade partner. There was a possibility of enhancing the trade and economic links between the two countries.

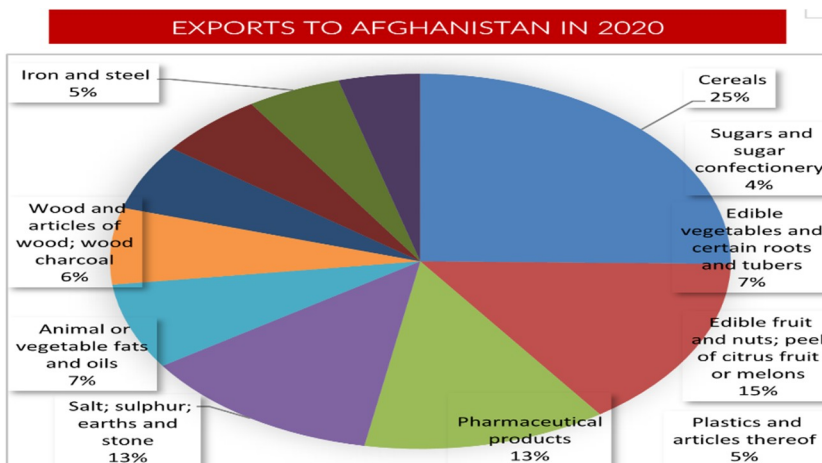
In 2018, the bilateral trade between the two countries reached a total value of \$1 billion USD, driven by their abundance of agricultural products, minerals, and other commodities. The trade has quadrupled since 2008 and continues to grow steadily over time. Pakistan's exports to Afghanistan in 2022 amounted to approximately \$975 USD. Afghanistan imported rice worth \$176 million as its primary product. Over the past 19 years, there has been a significant increase in exports from Pakistan to Afghanistan. Aasia Khatoon, 2018



Source: (Trade Development Authority of Pakistan)

Pakistani engineers were also been hired by the Afghanistan government for the building of a new parliament in Afghanistan which was funded by Japan in the amount of USD 200\$. Pakistan and Afghanistan exported and imported various things during the government of PTI they

exported things like vegetables, energy-useable substances, fruits and dry fruits like Nuts, etc, and industrial substances. They also trade in industrial substances and machinery vehicles and aircraft, railways stuff, etc. (Muhammad Aslam, 2022)



Source: (Trade Development Authority of Pakistan)

### **Khan's policy about Afghanistan**

During the tenure and government of Ex-Prime Minister Imran Khan, he proposed and talked about the "Open Border". He said that we would like to have an open border with Afghanistan "Like the European Union". And we will remove the conflict between both countries about the borderline. He also wanted to 'End' the war in Afghanistan that was massively affecting Pakistan as well as Afghanistan. The war in Afghanistan massively affected the economy of

Pakistan worth about Billions of Dollars. By ending the war in Afghanistan, Pakistan could have a peaceful environment without interfering with terrorists in the state which will create a peaceful environment in Pakistan and will also bring the positive image of Pakistan to the whole world. Then Pakistan will grow and can come on the path of development and will grow and increase its economy and can play the main part in the trade and economy of the world and by this, Pakistan can increase its exports to the world (Ayres, 2018).



### **The US-Taliban Peace Talk**

The Afghan Peace process was also a key aspect of Pakistan and Afghanistan relations during the PTI Government. Pakistan played a vital role in

facilitating the Peace Talks Process between the United States and the Taliban. When the US military left Afghanistan after the war for decades, the Taliban took over the country and



Ex-Prime Minister Imran Khan played a vital role in the acceptance of the Taliban Government and played a vital role in the Peace Talk Process between Taliban and US Government. He invited the Taliban to Doha to sit and talk peacefully with US the government which resulted in the ultimate signing of the US-Taliban agreement in February 2020. This agreement between the US and the Taliban paved the way for the withdrawal of US military and forces from Afghanistan (Staff, 2018). Hence, Pakistan played a significant role in this regard and advised the

Taliban government to sit and settle the government issues in Afghanistan peacefully. The relationship between Pakistan and Afghanistan became better and moved towards improvement through the visiting of high-level leadership across both countries. These developments between both countries bring trust, peace, bilateral settlement and betterment between the two countries. By this, they raised hopes for the settlement of political conflicts in Afghanistan (Ahmad, 2019; Allen, 2020).



### **Pak-Afghan Border Security Management and Fencing**

The long and porous border between Pakistan and Afghanistan was also been a major issue between the two countries due to the cross-border movements of militants, smugglings and other illegal activities. In 2021, the Pak government gave a briefing to the international media about the fencing of the Durand Line that the work on the border of fencing got completed about 90 percent and ensured that the rest of the 10 percent will be completed soon to avoid illegal entry across the border of both countries and as well as to stop the attacks across the border. Also, the military installed cameras and other security systems for the detection of any

illegal movements which will bring improvement in security between both countries (Syed, 2024). This step will automatically cut the network between different terrorist organizations and prevent people from crossing the border illegally (Esmatullah Noorzai, 2021). The PTI Government pursued policies for the enhancement of border management, like the construction of border fencing and increase of patrol services, to address the challenges and complexities. Through these efforts and steps, the PTI Government can reduce the militancy tensions at the border of the two countries and can improve the security issues in Pakistan as well as in Afghanistan (Altaf, 2022; Sayed Waqar Hussain, 2014)



### **Regional Diplomacy**

---

Relations between Pakistan and its neighbour, Afghanistan, resorted to assigning blame after the Taliban's effort to capture Ghazni City, the provincial seat located 120 kilometres south of Kabul, was unsuccessful. Former President Ashraf Ghani alleged that the perpetrator originated from Pakistan, leading to a significant number of casualties during the retaliatory action, all of whom were subsequently treated in hospitals situated in Pakistan. Nevertheless, Pakistan refuted and countered this accusation by saying that a significant number of Afghans frequently avail themselves of medical services in Pakistani establishments. The key concern between Pakistan and the United States was the persistent turmoil in Afghanistan. Therefore, America terminated the war, having spent billions of dollars and suffered the loss of American lives throughout the last 17 years. Imran Khan expressed his country's steadfast support and sincere dedication to attaining long-lasting peace in Afghanistan. Pakistan played a pivotal role in fostering peace negotiations between the Taliban and the United States. In July, the Taliban and the United States met for negotiations and signed a peace agreement in Doha, the capital of Qatar. Khattak, 2018

### **Support Taliban Government**

---

After the Afghan Taliban announced that they

would protect human rights and that their land would not be used unfairly or against any state, the ex-prime minister Imran Khan emphasized and urged the world to support and assist the Taliban in forming an inclusive government. The Taliban government's main goal was to rule the country in accordance with Islamic principles (N<sup>o</sup>320, 2024). During the Doha Talk, Khan explicitly affirmed to the global community that they will dedicate their efforts to improving the well-being of humanity and refrain from utilizing their territory for illicit activities or acts of terrorism. (Raza, 2021) (Shaheed, Tolo, 2024)

### **Afghan Refugees issue**

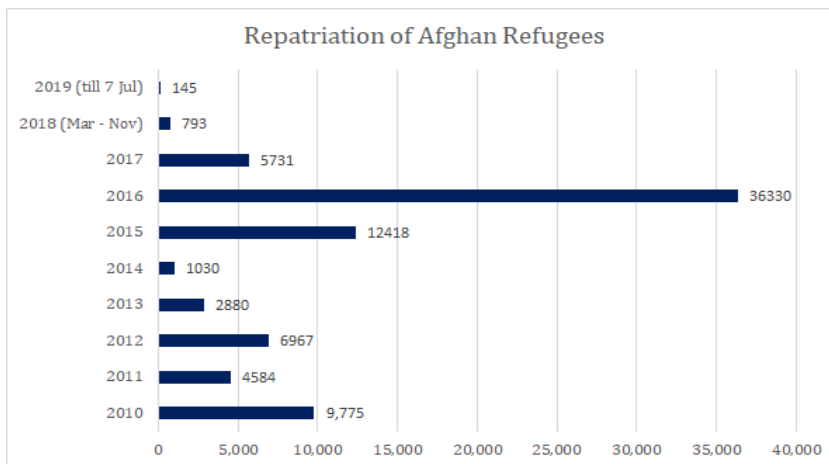
---

Among the various aspects of the Pakistan-Afghanistan relationship, the presence of Afghan refugees has been a significant factor for the PTI Government. For decades, Pakistan provided refuge to millions of Afghan citizens. Under the PTI government in Pakistan, former Prime Minister Imran Khan promised to enforce the current law of Pakistan, granting citizenship to Afghan individuals who were born in Pakistan. This decision was made due to the presence of approximately 1.39 million registered Afghan residents who had been living in Pakistan for over three decades. However, the PTI Government was also encountering difficulties regarding Afghan refugees (Sotuda, 2023).

## Repatriation of Afghan Refugees

There were thousands of Afghans who were living in Pakistan illegally but the PTI Government decided the repatriation of Afghan refugees to stop the terrorist attacks in Pakistan as there were many terrorist groups who were involved in the attack of APS Peshawar and other terrorist attacks. But the government gave them a deadline of September 30 they must leave the country before the deadline just for those who

were not registered officially to avoid the peaceful environment in Pakistan. The UNHCR also welcomed the statement of the PTI government on Afghan children born in Pakistan will have citizenship of Pakistan. In 2018, about 10,000 refugees had been repatriated to their homeland according to UNHCR data but the birth rate of Afghan refugees, however, is high and about 15,000 Afghan refugee births were also recorded in 2018 (Hashim, 2018).



## Overcoming the past and looking for a brighter future

Afghanistan and Pakistan were working together via the Afghanistan-Pakistan Action Plan for Peace and Solitary (APAPPS) whose main purpose was to achieve peace and stability, ending of terrorism and development between both countries. In April, the leadership of both countries agreed upon seven key principles for finalizing the APAPPS Talk in Doha. The diplomats from both countries finalized the agreement in May in Islamabad. Both countries agreed to overcome the past and founding and build new relations between both countries for political and bilateral relationships and for the social and economic development between Pakistan and Afghanistan.

## Cultural Contacts and people-to-people contacts

Cultural exchanges and people-to-people

contacts were also the key aspect of the PTI Government and it was also seen as an important tool for the building of understanding and mutual trust between Pakistan and Afghanistan. There were many efforts which were made to enhance people-to-people interaction and to bring cultural contacts between both countries. There were many initiatives which were taken by the PTI Government to promote and exchange in the fields of sports, education, culture and many other things. As both countries suffered from the traumas of war and terrorism, it was the best way to remove the existing trust deficit between both countries through people-to-people interactions and contacts. They can build up their trust again and know about each other and about their cultural norms and values which can bring mutual understanding and greater interactions among the populations of both countries and can promote peaceful relations and coexistence (Shah, 2019).





### **Educational Exchange**

Education plays a very important role in the friendly academic relationship between the two states. Many students from Afghanistan and Pakistan study through exchange bilateral agreements between both states. The PTI government promoted the skilled youth agenda and on the basis of that policy, many Pakistani students and Afghani students getting higher education through different scholarships.

Afghanistan for decades has been under severe threats of terrorism which caused many socio-political and economic issues not only for Afghanistan but also for Pakistan. The main and most important thing for any state's socioeconomic and political development depends on its political stability and educated skilled youth. Therefore Pak-Afghan academic relationship has played an important role in educating their young generation.



### **Conclusion**

Imran Khan played a pivotal role in fostering peace in Afghanistan and was instrumental in facilitating the deal between the Taliban and the American government. Upon the withdrawal of the US military from Afghanistan, the Taliban assumed control of the nation and established

their own governing body. He also made sure to guarantee the Afghan government that there will be training provided for both tutors and Afghan tutors. Concisely, his policies proved effective for both nations. He facilitated the rapprochement between both nations, resolving their misunderstandings and fostering peaceful

relations. He conveyed a message of unwavering support from Pakistan, emphasizing the enduring brotherhood between the two countries and their people. Thus, Khan's measures greatly benefited the relations between Pakistan and Afghanistan. Overall, Pakistan-Afghanistan relations during the PTI Government were characterized by a combination of collaboration and obstacles. Although attempts were made to tackle the fundamental features and concerns in their relationship, including trade and economic collaboration, security cooperation, the issue of Afghan refugees, the Afghan peace process, and various others, the development remained sluggish. In the future, it will be crucial for both nations to have a stable, mutually advantageous, harmonious, and peaceful relationship.

### **Policy Recommendations**

---

- Encouragement was needed for the further enhancement of economic cooperation with Afghanistan through trade agreements, infrastructure and development projects to promote economic growth mutually.
- Recommendation for the improvement of border management, addressing security concerns, facilitating cross-border trade, and preventing illegal activities.
- Strengthening cooperation was needed on counter-terrorism to remove the extremist groups that were threatening both countries and needed to enhance regional stability and security.
- For the promotion of cultural and educational exchanges, mutual understanding and trust building are needed for long-term friendship between two countries. And to foster people-to-people ties.
- Encouragement was needed for the PTI Government to engage with regional and international partners to address the common challenges and for the promotion of regional cooperation for peace and stability in Afghanistan and Pakistan.
- The efforts of the PTI Government were needed to support the facilitation of the Afghan Peace Process and also for recognition that a stable Afghanistan was/is in the best interest of Pakistan.
- To promote the joint developmental projects between Pakistan and Afghanistan, improvement was needed and was a key aspect for the infrastructure and connectivity, and also for the economic cooperation to benefit both countries.
- The recommendation of public diplomacy campaigns was needed to promote the positive image of Pakistan as well as Afghanistan and also to bring up goodwill and enhance the bilateral relations.

## References

- Khatoon, A., Rahim, N., & Ali, B. (2018). A Historical Perspective of China's Peaceful Policies and its Rise as World Economic Power. *Liberal Arts & Social Sciences International Journal*, 2(1), 65–74. <https://doi.org/10.47264/idea.lassij/2.1.8>
- Ahmad, J. (2019). Afghan Taliban cancel peace talks with U.S. citing 'agenda disagreement'. *Reuters*, <https://www.voanews.com/a/afghan-taliban-cancel-peace-talks-with-us-citing-agenda-disagreement/4734906.html>
- Ahmad, Z. (2023, December 8). IK criticises policy on illegal Afghan immigrants. *Business recorder*. <https://www.brecorder.com/news/40277353/ik-criticises-policy-on-illegal-afghan-immigrants>
- Ataf. (2021). The conduct of Pakistan's Foreign Policy: structure, strengths, and issues (2018-2020). *Policy Perspectives*, 18(1). <https://doi.org/10.13169/polipers.18.1.0085>
- Aslam, M. (2022). Pakistan's Foreign Policy from 2018 to 2022: The PTI Government's Contribution to the Development of Foreign Relations with Major Powers. *Pakistan Languages and Humanities Review*, 6(III). [https://doi.org/10.47205/plhr.2022\(6-iii\)67](https://doi.org/10.47205/plhr.2022(6-iii)67)
- Ayres, A. (2018). A Glimpse of Pakistan's Foreign Policy Under Imran Khan?. <https://www.cfr.org/blog/glimpse-pakistans-foreign-policy-under-imran-khan>
- Batool, F. (2021, July 20). *South Asian Voices*. <https://southasianvoices.org/author/fizzarizvi/>
- BAZAI, A. M. (2008). AN ASSESSMENT OF PAK-AFGHAN RELATIONS. *DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS UNIVERSITY OF BALOCHISTAN*, 103.
- Doucet, L. (2020, September 12). *BBC*. <https://www.bbc.com/news/topics/c2e418d0zxqt>
- Noorzai, E. (2021). Public-Private partnership Risks in conflict zones and solutions: A case study for Afghanistan. *Journal of Infrastructure Systems*, 27(1). [https://doi.org/10.1061/\(asce\)is.1943-555x.0000599](https://doi.org/10.1061/(asce)is.1943-555x.0000599)
- Hashim, A. (2018). Imran Khan pledges citizenship to Afghan refugees. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/9/17/imran-khan-pledges-citizenship-to-afghan-and-bangladeshi-refugees>
- John R. Allen. (2020). Around the halls: Brookings experts discuss the implications of the US-Taliban agreement. <https://www.brookings.edu/articles/around-the-halls-brookings-experts-discuss-the-implications-of-the-us-taliban-agreement/>
- Khan, A. K. (2018). The FATA Conundrum: A Case Study of Pak-Afghan Border. *The FATA Conundrum: A Case Study of Pak-Afghan Border*, 27.
- Khattak, D. (2018).. *Imran Khan's Foreign Policy Approach*, 01. <https://thediplomat.com/2018/08/imran-khans-foreign-policy-approach/>
- KUMAR, S. (2019). *PAKISTAN'S FOREIGN POLICY TRENDS AND CHALLENGES*. [https://books.google.com.pk/books/about/Pakistan\\_s\\_Foreign\\_Policy.html?id=fSdbyQEACAAJ&redir\\_esc=y](https://books.google.com.pk/books/about/Pakistan_s_Foreign_Policy.html?id=fSdbyQEACAAJ&redir_esc=y)
- MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS. (2024, 03 Monday). *MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS* <https://mofa.gov.pk/foreign-minister-receives-speaker-of-afghanistans-wolesi-jirga-2>
- Aslam, M. (2022, September 30). *PLHR*. [https://doi.org/10.47205/plhr.2022\(6-III\)67](https://doi.org/10.47205/plhr.2022(6-III)67)
- N°320, A. R. (2024, March 11). *International Crisis Group*. <https://www.crisisgroup.org/asia/south-asia/pakistan/pakistans-hard-policy-choices-afghanistan>
- Idrees, M., & Naazer, M. A. (2022). The dynamics of Pak-Afghan relations: an analysis of (mis)trust between the two countries from 2001-2018. *Journal of Humanities, Social and Management Sciences*, 3(1), 525–539. <https://doi.org/10.47264/idea.jhsmms/3.1.36>
- PARWIZ KAROKHAIL, W. A. (2022, February 22). *Arab News*.

- <https://www.arabnews.com/article-authors/parwiz-karokhail>
- Raza, S. I. (2021). Imran highlights govt performance over three years. *DAWN*. <https://www.dawn.com/news/1642870>
- Hussain S. W. (2014). The Causes of Transit Related Pak-Afghan Cross Border Smuggling. *Dialogue (Pakistan)*, 28.
- Shah, S. A. (2019, November 20). Pak-Afghan ties: peace through trade and culture. *The Express Tribune*. <https://tribune.com.pk/story/2102783/pak-afghan-ties-peace-trade-culture>
- Shaheed, A. (2024). *Ghani rejects prospect of interim govt*. *TOLONews*. <https://tolonews.com/afghanistan-169074>
- Yusufzai, R. (2018, October 2). Pakistan and Afghanistan in the PTI era. *Geo News*. <https://www.geo.tv/latest/213144-pakistan-and-afghanistan-in-the-pti-era>
- Sotuda, F. (2023, September 19 ). *Afghan refugees in Pakistan: victims of political games*. Hasht-e Subh. <https://8am.media/eng/afghan-refugees-in-pakistan-victims-of-political-games/>
- Staff, U. (2018). What will Pakistan's Foreign Policy Look Like Under Imran Khan? *Will the Afghanistan-Pakistan relationship change? What about Pakistan's role in the Afghan peace process?*, 01.
- Syed, B. S. (2024, March Monday). Islamabad worried about security vacuum in Afghanistan. *DAWN.COM*. <https://www.dawn.com/news/1626959/islamabad-worried-about-security-vacuum-in-afghanistan>