



Cold War and its Effects on Developing Countries: The Case of Afghanistan

* Ruqaiya Bibi

† Anfal Afridi

‡ Javeria Noor Sawal

▪ Vol. VII, No. III (Summer 2022)

▪ Pages: 34 – 42

▪ p- ISSN: 2521-2982

▪ e-ISSN: 2707-4587

Key Words: United States, Soviet Union, Afghanistan, Cold War, Invasion, Mujahedeen

Abstract: Afghanistan is one of the emerging nations still feeling the effects of the cold war. The Soviet invasion, which lasted from 1979 to 1989, had a significant impact on Afghanistan. In response, the United States the Cold War opponent of the Soviet Union supported the rebel mujahedeen organizations to force the Soviet soldiers to withdraw. Not only Afghanistan but also its neighbors, Iran and Pakistan in particular, have been impacted by numerous internal and external crises. As a result of finding asylum in these nations, many Afghans committed crimes. This study examines how the Cold War affected developing nations. What difficulties did Afghanistan encounter both before and after the Soviet troops invaded? What impact it had on the dynamics of Afghanistan's relations with the United States, Russia (formerly known as the Soviet Union), and Pakistan? The following paper provides a detailed discussion of the costs and benefits of the Cold War period.

Introduction

The Cold War, which lasted from 1946 to 1991 and was characterized by a series of wars between the Soviet Union (modern-day Russia) and the United States, was brought on by ideological differences between the two blocs. The United States supported capitalism, while the Soviet Union promoted communism. The two most powerful nations in the world at the turn of the 20th century fought for almost 45 years. As World War II came to an end in 1945, weakening the European nations with the loss of nearly 60 million people, a political vacuum in Europe allowed the United States to step forward and fight alongside the Communist bloc. Despite believing in isolationism, the United States is currently intervening in every state to support capitalism. The Soviet Union, which now covered one-sixth of the planet's surface, allied the nations that were frequently republics with one party in power. Conversely, the United States being a liberal democratic nation supported capitalism, possessing formidable nuclear weapons and a massive industrial base, making it both

economically and militarily powerful (Jackson, 2019).

Since Europe was the most significant continent, at the time of 1948—both powers made every effort to have an impact there. The United States used the Marshall Plan extremely skillfully to improve relations with Europe and create economic channels, which resulted in the division of Europe into two blocs and the construction of an iron curtain between the two super powers (Jackson, 2019). There is constant competition between the two blocs. As the United States exploited Hollywood to produce anti-communist propaganda, various policies were established to combat one another. Oppositions were put down in the Soviet Union. However, despite differences in personality, both opponents engaged in competition in the areas of science, space exploration, business, military, nuclear weapons, and sports. The Soviet Union tests its first atomic weapon on August 29, 1949. However, the US created a military alliance 'NATO' (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) to contain its opponent.

* BS Honors Graduate, Department of Political Science, Women University, Mardan, KP, Pakistan.

† Lecturer, Department of Political Science, Women University, Mardan, KP, Pakistan.

‡ Mphil, Department of Political Science, Qurtuba University of Science & Information Technology, Peshawar, KP, Pakistan. Email: javeriabashar@gmail.com (*Corresponding Author*)

Both groups were ideological rivals who made every effort to spread the opposing ideologies as widely as they could by forming alliances or invading other nations to dominate the world. The nature of world politics during this time changed significantly, and the superpowers had a direct impact on how their allies' governments were run. The internal and exterior affairs of the allied third-world countries were significantly impacted by this influence. The Berlin Wall, built on August 13, 1961, is the ideal illustration of how both blocs treated the divided city of Berlin, the East and West wings, where the East wing was under the control of the Socialist-Soviet Union, and the West wing was under the control of the United States the capitalist bloc. Major cultural divides were caused by this delineation inside Berlin (Germany, Europe). In addition, there are two different kinds of alliances that developing nations must have with superpowers: ones that they choose knowing all the terms and conditions of the alliance and the second ones that the superpowers impose forcibly. In both cases, the developing nations find it more challenging to work together and support the respective blocs. The circumstances of the developing countries, which were captured against their will and policies, worsened as a result of the union with superpowers as they were already involved in several internal and external crises. The host nations developed several political and military movements to combat the undesired alien invasions. These movements were founded to defend their nation, uphold their national identity, and encourage international cooperation. The aims and goals of these political movements affected both domestic and foreign policies, which resulted in numerous internal and external changes (Rabbani, 2016).

Afghanistan, which was developing during that time, was severely damaged amid Cold War. The developing nation suffered as a result of the expansionist policies of the two superpowers. Central-South Asia is home to the landlocked country of Afghanistan. Pakistan forms its eastern and southern boundaries, while Iran, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan can be seen on its western borders. China shares its northeastern borders with this country. Around 40.2 million people are living there, including Pashtuns, Tajiks, and Hazaras. The Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan in 1979, ending the Cold War's

détente—a period of relaxation between the US and the Soviet Union—came to an end. The USSR invaded Afghanistan with roughly 100,000 violent soviet soldiers controlling the most significant cities and major thoroughfares. The rebel organizations received significant external assistance from Pakistan, Iran, China, and the United States as well. In the nine years of the battle, one million civilians, 90,000 Mujahedeen combatants, 18,000 Afghan army, and more than 14,500 Soviet militant soldiers perished. After the Soviets left Afghan soil, the Taliban took control of the nation in 1996, which had an impact on its political growth and caused the Afghani people to endure a variety of hardships (Taylor, 2014).

The nine years from 1979 to 1989, saw the Soviet Union and Afghanistan at war with one another. The Mujahedeen insurgent militant groups which operated primarily in rural regions waged guerilla warfare against the USSR (soviets) and the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan government during this conflict. The United States, Saudi Arabia, and Pakistan initially sponsored these groups, turning them into a proxy war that murdered between 562,000 and 2,000,000 people and forced millions of Afghans to flee to their neighboring Pakistan and Iran. Within a few days, Soviet armor columns occupied key population centers, airfields, and vital communication corridors all over Afghanistan. After a 20-month guerilla war, the rebellious Moslem tribesmen who were about to overthrow the Taraki-Amin communist government appear to be the target of a full-fledged counter-insurgency operation by the Soviets (Phillips, 1980).

However, on 27th December 1979, under the guise of a continuing Soviet military buildup, heavy-armed troops of a Soviet airborne brigade were airlifted into the capital city of Kabul, Afghanistan to overthrow President Hafizullah Amin's government. Within hours of the operation starting, Soviet troops overran the elite presidential guard, captured Amin, executed him along with other members of his family for crimes against the people, and took control of the capital. Before the Soviets invaded Afghanistan, the communist party of that country seized control in 1978 following a coup, installing the popular Nur Muhammad Taraki as its leader. He and his party introduced several new changes to modernize and grow the

country because it was extremely unpopular and underprivileged due to Afghanistan's ancient forms and power structures. The armed opposition to the government rose in some regions of the country in April 1979 (Siddiqui & Butt, 2020). Thus, due to this instability and internal party rivalries that existed within the government, Hafizullah Amin, the then foreign affairs minister, ordered Taraki's death in September 1979, which harmed relations with the Soviet Union. On December 24, 1979, the 40th army was established under the direction of Leonard Brezhnev-Former Chairman of the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Russian Federative Socialist Republic. After executing the de-facto president Amin upon their arrival in Kabul, a Soviet supporter named Babrak Karmal was installed by competing forces. Due to the Brezhnev ideology, it was referred to be a legal intervention by the socialist governments of the USSR. However, in Afghanistan, the Western media and rebels referred to it as an "invasion" (Cox, 1990).

The foreign ministers of the 34 member countries of the Islamic Conference drafted a resolution calling for the Soviet troops withdrawal from the Afghan territory, but the US, Pakistan, the Persian Gulf Arab monarchies, and China provided significant financial aid and military training to the Afghan rebel groups. The Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) played a significant part in increasing American influence in Afghanistan by providing finance and training to militant rebel organizations so they could fight the Soviets and drive them out of Afghan territory. The United States and the Soviet Union started this war as a proxy conflict. The Afghani government and the Soviets had no authority over the insurgent Mujahedeen, who were fighting a guerrilla war in small groups in approximately 80% of the nation while the Soviets were in control of Afghanistan's towns, highways, and important communication and transportation routes (Javaid & Nasreen, 2020).

The fierce guerilla opposition forced the Soviets to alter their strategy in Afghanistan, securing towns and cities and establishing a stable administration under the leadership of the new leader Babrak Karmal. Mikhail Gorbachev, however, the reforming leader of the USSR, announced the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan in 1987 after numerous discussions

and agreements, the process of the Soviet troops' withdrawal finally began on May 15, 1988, which left the Afghan people and government fighting extremist organizations that have greatly increased their popularity and influence over state affairs (Imran & Xiaochuan, 2015).

Overview: Invasions in Afghanistan

Afghanistan lies on the periphery of Central Asia therefore its geostrategic importance in the geopolitical events of the region cannot be denied. Nearness in terms of race, ethnicity, culture, and religion is just as significant as proximity in terms of location. Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, and other Central Asian nations are related to Afghanistan. The involvement of Superpowers in Afghanistan has made racial, national, and terrorist conflicts worse. Afghanistan is constantly positioned in a way that prevents Central Asian nations from ignoring it. They don't understand how cooperation could lead to regional peace and security. Similar difficulties are faced by other nations, such as Pakistan, India, and those in the nearby region. Afghanistan continues to be a point of dispute between major powers and served as the setting for the Great Game of Asia's superpowers, which featured dynamics that went well beyond its physical boundaries. Therefore, research on Afghanistan is necessary to comprehend Central Asian geopolitics. There have been investigations from every historical and geopolitical viewpoint the conduit for dialogue between several problems will assume new dimensions once US and NATO militaries depart. Afghanistan has a significant influence on Central Asian geopolitics, as evidenced by its history. Afghanistan's map was intentionally constructed as a buffer zone and an attempt to stall between the two major colonial powers, the Russian and British empires. Its growth was influenced by local warlords, ethnic leaders, and the government which leads to a severe lack of a crucial communication network. A quick review of Afghan history demonstrates that the Persian Empire served as the impetus for significant developments in the region. In 1709, the Hotaki dynasty was established in Kandahar, and Pashtuns grew to be a significant tribe. Afghanistan's modern history began at this point. Durrani's first arrived in 1747, while Afghanistan was founded in the late nineteenth century as a result of Tsarist Russia and the British

Empire, the imperial powers of the twentieth century. The United States and the Soviet Union entered the new Great Game during the Cold War after the British had already left Asia with India's independence in 1947. The effect of Afghanistan is expanding. Violence broke out between the two parties in 1979. The US sponsored the Mujahedeen, while the Soviet Union supported the Pro-Russian Afghan government. By the end of the 1980s, the Soviet Union had left Afghanistan, and the country had attained independence. It temporarily lost its geostrategic importance from 1991 until 2001. The war-torn country once again became under a period of invasion, this time it was invaded by the US accusing the Afghan Taliban of the 9/11 Pentagon and World Trade Center attacks. Thus, the new era of war started known as the 'War on Terrorism' No one bothered to look when 9/11 shook the justification for US backing for Afghanistan. In December 2001, the UN Security Council gave its approval for the International Security Assistance Force to be built. In its efforts to reform and democratize Afghanistan, the Karzai administration has been granted protection and assistance. However, terrorist organizations like Hezbollah, Haqqani, and others are gradually waning. There is a chance of reestablishing peace in the nation since every day, armed civilians are killed. International assistance and support are gradually returning, and the Taliban are ready to reemerge. For more than ten years, Afghanistan has been undergoing rehabilitation. (Priya, [2014](#))

The Aftermath of the Afghan war

The Cost of a Buffer Zone

As a result, Afghanistan has paid a heavy price for its independence to serve as a buffer zone. Due to the Hindu Kush running east to west and north to south, it was a landlocked region, which was made worse by a lack of infrastructure for communication and transportation. However, the British and the Afghan governments deliberately underdeveloped the transportation systems. The Afghans believed that building a road network would protect their independence, whilst the British neglected it to prevent Russians from having easy access to the south. This ignorance, according to McLachlan, is "positive political and economic stupidity". Afghanistan, on the other

hand, is exposed because of its location on a geopolitical fault line. Unfilled space the international community frequently seeks to end Inner Asia's isolation, yet the former Anglo-Russian buffer arrangement is no longer in effect. Afghanistan has consistently been the focus of attention (Bell, [1990](#)).

The Current Scenario of Afghanistan

According to two Central Asian officials who spoke to the United Nations General Assembly and urged a political resolution to the conflict, according to a report released by the United Nations News Centre on September 27, 2013, the war in Afghanistan continues to pose one of the greatest threats to regional and global security concerns. Terrorism, extremism, drug trafficking, and unauthorized immigration are projected to rise in 2014. The Uzbek Minister of Foreign Affairs, Abdul-Aziz Kamilov, highlighted that cooperation is the key to resolving the problem. The only way to fix the Afghan problem, according to the International Security Council, is through political action. The country's war may deteriorate after the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) departs, which might have a significant impact on Central Asia and the territories nearby. In addition, Uzbekistan promises to keep its stance toward Afghanistan "clear and unequivocal," based on the principles of good neighborliness and refraining from meddling in its internal affairs. Undoubtedly, the scenario in Afghanistan beyond 2014 will continue to determine the center of the region.

Another worrying development has emerged; the United States finally after two decades is moving its troops in 2021. If Central Asian nations are seen as competing to deepen diplomatic and military connections with the United States, China, and others to undermine Russian dominance in the region. A geostrategic goal is to connect Afghanistan to Central Asia. Afghanistan will likely play a part in the processes because of its connections to Central Asia, West Asia, and South Asia. They participate in local geopolitics, voluntarily or not. Afghanistan is concerned about multinational defragmentation, militarism, and re-Talibanization because the time for keeping things separate has already passed. The Central Asian concern for regional stability grows after the removal of US-NATO soldiers. Instead of asserting their control over Afghanistan, Central

Asian governments must rethink their policies toward the country and keep it as a "Buffer Zone," although one with promising futures. Only then can Afghanistan's geopolitical future work in harmony with other regions and help its neighbors (Priya, [2014](#)).

The Pashtun Nationalism

Although Pushtuns are divided along familial, clan, and tribal lines, the Pashtun people who reside on the Afghan–Pakistan border nonetheless constitute an ethnically based country in the conventional sense. Since the end of 2001, several of them have been the target of intensive attempts by the Pakistani and Afghan governments, backed by the US and its allies, to drive out the Taliban Islamic movement dominated by extremist Pushtuns. On the other side, many Pashtuns believe that enemy forces are encroaching on their territory, honour, resources, social and cultural values and norms. They likely to accept the Taliban as both a nationalist and religious movement in the absence of stability and peace in their country and they may eventually put aside their historical differences and support the Taliban leadership in pursuit of their historical goal of an independent "Pashtunistan." This report makes some recommendations for how such a situation might be avoided, a factor that is ignored in the strategic planning of the Afghan and Pakistani administrations as well as their international backers (Saikal, [2010](#)).

The Cost and Benefits of the Afghan War to Pakistan

An important turning point in world politics occurred with the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in December 1979. Due to Soviet expansionism, Pakistan developed as a "front-line" state, a significant player in the conflict, and the main route for aid to reach the Afghan mujahedeen (holy warriors). Pakistan's internal and external security was significantly impacted by the Afghan Wars as a result of the enormous influx of Afghan refugees, who not only created social, economic, political, ecological and environmental, issues but also gave rise to a significant security threat to their neighboring Pakistan. In many parts of the country, the Afghan refugees have upset the ecological balance, ensuing soil erosion and

causing desertification as well as encouraging a Kalashnikov culture, drug trafficking, sectarianism, and ongoing law and order instability. Elites in Pakistan were also tarnished by the Afghan War (Hilali, 2002).

The Afghan Political Economy of War and Peace

The 20-year-old Afghan war has created an open war economy that has an impact on Afghanistan and the areas around it. In addition to being the largest opium producer and a hub for arms trafficking, Afghanistan now supports a multibillion-dollar trade in goods from Dubai to Pakistan. This criminalized economy provides funding to both the Taliban and its adversaries. It has affected social ties across the area and undermined legal economies and nations. Long-term peace in the region will need not just the end of hostile relations and the signature of a political agreement between the countries, but also a shift in the regional economy that provides new sources of revenue and encourages the system of accountability.

Opium and Terrorism in Afghanistan

How does the illicit drug trade support terrorism in Afghanistan? The illegal opium economy has a direct and indirect impact on the survival and actions of terrorist organizations. In terms of immediate effects, the illegal drug trade generates enormous sums of money that terrorist organizations can use for a variety of purposes, including member recruitment, training, and compensation, the purchase of weapons and equipment, the establishment of training and command centers or networks of safe houses, bribery of government officials to obtain false legal documents, travel, forming alliances with other terrorists, and ultimately increasing their effectiveness and lethality. Researchers studying civil wars have found a connection between the start and length of internal armed conflicts and the presence of "lootable" natural resources. The UNODC estimates that the worldwide drug trade generates between \$300 and \$500 billion in sales annually, whereas Reuter and Greenfield arrive at a far more conservative estimate of \$20 to \$25 billion. Nevertheless, even more, conservative estimates imply that illegal drugs are a promising

and expanding source of revenue for armed organizations, including terrorist groups. This is especially true given the dramatic reduction in state financial support for terrorism in the years following the Cold War, which forced the groups to look for alternative sources of funding and gave them more freedom to operate. Afghanistan, where terrorist movements are particularly well-positioned to enter the drug trade and profit from drug trade earnings due to the dominance of the opium economy and low levels of internal security is where one can witness the direct effects of the illicit drug trade on terrorism patterns (Piazza, [2012](#)).

The Role of Unhcr and Afghan Refugees in Pakistan

Over the past three decades, millions of Afghans have been safeguarded and housed on Pakistani soil, increasing UNHCR's (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees) standing as a humanitarian organization that works with Pakistan's government to manage the largest refugee caseload in the world. The office has received recognition for returning the most Afghans since 2002 (about 3.6 million). The UNHCR's credibility and reputation have significantly improved as a result of this effort in Pakistan and Afghanistan. A national registration push from October 2006 to February 2007 followed the organization's 2005 coordination of an Afghan census in Pakistan, giving policymakers the vital information they required to create comprehensive refugee responses. However, the group has run with various issues while managing and safeguarding Afghans. It has received criticism for finishing the return during a period when Afghanistan's situation is anything but stable. Additionally, it has come under fire for allegedly not being fully committed to addressing the refugee problem due to its protracted stay and interaction with the government. Many individuals claim that the UNHCR and the Afghans have a financial stake in extending their stay in Pakistan since it creates jobs and grants them a share of the humanitarian budget.

The UNHCR was founded by UN member states as a wholly non-political organization for refugee advocacy, but as it grew over the Cold War, its function was influenced by the funding sources

as well as the politics of the international system. The organization's main issue has always been helping Afghan refugees, who fled after their nation was attacked by Soviet troops in December 1979. As a result, the US used Pakistan to wage a proxy conflict with the Afghan Mujahedeen. Many Afghan refugees crossed the border to engage in jihad to push the Soviets back from their position and joined the fight against their government. Despite its desire to maintain its humanitarian face by aiding the weak and needy Afghan population, the UNHCR became entangled in refugee politics. From the beginning of the refugee flows into Pakistan, it had to walk a tightrope. In a highly politicized climate, it had to protect and support them (Hilali, [2002](#)).

Education and Politics in Afghanistan (the Cold War Mentality)

After the Soviet invasion in 1979, the turning point in history solidified the Cold War mentality and spread the dread of the development of communism throughout the world. An ideological battle, between the two major superpowers, saw Afghanistan on the front lines. One of the significant methods for spreading anti-communist ideology in the United States was seen to be the educational system. Saudi Arabia saw an opportunity to carry out Islamic Jihad against unbelievers as once in a lifetime. To further their own political goals, the United States and Saudi Arabia provided financial aid to modify textbooks and train teachers. Moreover, the Cold War period was further exacerbated by the aftereffects of the Iranian Revolution in 1979. To combat the Soviet forces, Afghanistan, Pakistan and more significantly the United States required a constant flow of new soldiers. As a result, previously carefully regulated and repressed more radical militant Islamic groups were given room to grow and are now widely supported globally. This branch of Islam was the Sunni, Hanafi, and Deobandi sect. It has a profound enmity with Shi'a Muslims and is closely tied to the Arab Ahle Hadith group. Over the following six years, as the Afghan jihad gained momentum, around 1000 Madrassas were opened to provide religious education. According to the most recent official update from 1995, two thousand and ten additional Madrassas have been founded since 1979, raising the overall number of registered

Madrassas to 3906 (Javaid&Nasreen, 2020). With the assistance of the University of Nebraska-Omaha, the US contributed to the design of a new set of books. UNO participated in an exchange program with Kabul University. Furthermore, in Pakistan near the Afghan border, a center was established in Peshawar. After the pro-Soviet coup, several Afghanistan-related activities were put on hold. However, the center did secure its first USAID contract in 1984 to offer facilities and an educational training program to Afghan refugees. The United Nations has invited six of Afghanistan's seven Mujahedin organizations to join its program for educational reform. Not because of their technical academic prowess, but rather because of their passionate desire to drive the Soviet invaders out of their homeland, Mujahedin fighters were needed. Violent Jihadi warriors labored in the UNO office in Peshawar for nearly ten years to change the curriculum with a \$60 million USAID grant. The CIA contributed to the development and execution of the entire program to strengthen the resistance to the Soviet occupation, even though USAID financed the Center's educational and training operations in Afghanistan. The CIA was involved in a type of covert support to the opposition to fight against the Soviets. In actuality, rather than advocating love for one's country, the textbooks of the era demonstrated a zeal for militant ideology. In arithmetic textbooks for elementary schools, exercises based on the number of Russians who are dead and alive have been developed. By observing examples of how to evenly distribute rounds among commanders, children learned division. Religious textbooks for secondary schools emphasized a particularly Deobandi ideal of Islam, stressing that anyone who was not a "good Muslim" should be put to death. According to history books, the Prophet Mohammed faced three significant dangers during his lifetime in the seventh century: non-Sunni Muslims, atheists, and communists. Hence, complete updates to the textbooks were never made. Instead, fundamental Communist beliefs were assimilated with militant Islamic viewpoints and anti-Pashtun histories and cultures from earlier documented sources. Afghan history curriculum focused on revering the histories of Pashtun Amirs and Kings, instilling in young people a mistrust of the descendants of Ali (the Shi'a sect of Islam) and hostility toward all non-Muslims. During the Taliban regime, Saudi

Arabia provided financial support to update Afghan textbooks once more. Most of the content from the earlier volumes was carried over into the new books, however, they were modified to include more Islamic topics and all depictions of living things were removed. Arabic was the primary language of the majority of the new religious writings. As a result, these new publications were incomprehensible in Afghanistan, where Arabic is not a widespread language (Spink, 2005).

Conclusion

The events of the 1970s acted as the seeds for the Soviet war in Afghanistan. The Afghan government was insecure. The nation had become weak and fragmented as a result of political infighting, many coups, and societal unrest. Daoud Khan, the nation's first president, tried to modernize it at the price of social liberty and traditional Muslim beliefs, which infuriated many Afghans. He was overthrown and put to death during the 1978 Saur Revolution, which allowed the People's Democratic Republic Party of Afghanistan (PDRA) to take power. The Soviet Union, which is located just beyond the country's northern border, supported this party. Hafizullah Amin, the first PDRA leader in Afghanistan, however, demonstrated that he was an even more fervent reformer. People's perceptions of the government deteriorated further as a result of political murders and ruthless crackdowns on anti-socialist sentiment. Particularly among the Islamic tribal chiefs of the remote areas, and mountainous districts, rioting, and insurrection sprang out. The rebel organizations, particularly the Islamic nationalist Mujahedeen, fought a guerilla war for the following eight years against the Soviet occupiers and the Soviet-backed Afghan government. The United States helped them by providing them with weapons through Pakistan. Following a period of exhaustion, the Soviet army signed the 1988 Geneva Peace Accords with the US, Pakistan, and Afghanistan, formally announcing its withdrawal. Many points to this protracted, contentious military error as the cause of the USSR's eventual collapse in 1991. Although the two Superpowers after fulfilling their interests have now departed from the Afghan territory the two discordant states have left the country imperiled both internally and externally.

References

- Bahoosh, M., & Zanganeh, P. (2017). Explaining the Crisis Process between the United States and Afghanistan after the Cold War. *The Iranian Research letter of International Politics*, 6(1), 27-52. <https://doi.org/10.22067/ijpr.v6i1.66732>
- Bell, C. (1990). The winning of the Cold War. *Quadrant*, 34(3), 13-24. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1149164>
- Borthakur, A. (2017). Afghan refugees: The impact on Pakistan. *Asian Affairs*, 48(3), 488-509. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03068374.2017.1362871>
- Brzoska, M. (2004). The economics of arms imports after the end of the cold war. *Defence and Peace Economics*, 15(2), 111-123. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1024269032000110496>
- Cicek, A. (2015). The Quicksand of Afghanistan: The Impact of the Afghanistan War on the Breakup of the Soviet Union. *International Journal of Russian Studies*, 4(2), 115-134.
- Cox, M. (1990). From the Truman doctrine to the second superpower detente: the rise and fall of the Cold War. *Journal of Peace Research*, 27(1), 25-41. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/423773>
- Grau, L. W., & Nawroz, M. Y. (1995). The Soviet War in Afghanistan: History and Harbinger of Future War? *Military Review*, 2(1), 44-54.
- Hilali, A. Z. (2002). The costs and benefits of the Afghan War for Pakistan. *Contemporary South Asia*, 11(3), 291-310. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0958493032000057717>
- Imran, A., & Xiaochuan, D. (2015). The Revenge Game: US Foreign Policy During Afghan-Soviet War and Afghan-Pakistan Falling Into Hell. *Asian Social Science*, 11(27), 43. <https://doi.org/10.5539/ass.v11n27p43>
- Jackson, G. (2019). Who Killed Détente? The Superpowers and the Cold War in the Middle East, 1969–77. *International Security*, 44(3), 129-162. https://doi.org/10.1162/isec_a_00369
- Javaid, P. D. U., & Nasreen, F. (2020). Liquidation of American Forces from Afghanistan: Its Impacts on the Region. *South Asian Studies*, 28(2).
- McNamara, R. S. (1991). The Post—Cold War World: Implications for Military Expenditure in the Developing Countries. *The World Bank Economic Review*, 5(1), 95-126. https://doi.org/10.1093/wber/5.suppl_1.95
- Meernik, J., Krueger, E. L., & Poe, S. C. (1998). Testing models of US foreign policy: Foreign aid during and after the Cold War. *The Journal of Politics*, 60(1), 63-85.
- Mendelson, S. E. (1993). Internal battles and external wars: politics, learning, and the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan. *World Politics*, 45(3), 327-360. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2950722>
- Mulk, J. U., Ali, B., & Ullah, A. (2020). Impacts of Afghan Refugees on Security Situation of Pakistan. *Pakistan Journal of Society, Education and Language (PJSEL)*, 6(1), 37-46. <https://digitalcommons.fiu.edu/etd/1674>
- Nunan, T. (2013). *Developing powers: modernization, economic development, and governance in Cold War Afghanistan*. University of Oxford.
- Omelicheva, M. Y., & Markowitz, L. (2019). Does drug trafficking impact terrorism? Afghan opioids and terrorist violence in Central Asia. *Studies in conflict & terrorism*, 42(12), 1021-1043. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2018.1434039>
- Phillips, J. (1980). *The Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan*. The Heritage Foundation.
- Piazza, J. A. (2012). The opium trade and patterns of terrorism in the provinces of Afghanistan: An empirical analysis. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 24(2), 213-234. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09546553.2011.648680>
- Priya, G. (2014). Importance of Afghanistan in inner Asian geopolitics. *An International Journal in English*, 5(3), 94-100.
- Rabbani, M. I. (2016). *International Relation International Relation* (287). Lahore: world times.
- Rubin, B. R. (2000). The political economy of war and peace in Afghanistan. *World development*, 28(10), 1789-1803. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0305-750X\(00\)00054-1](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0305-750X(00)00054-1)

- Saikal, A. (2010). Afghanistan and Pakistan: The Question of Pashtun Nationalism? *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, 30(1), 5-17. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13602001003650572>
- Siddiqui, A. J., & Butt, D. K. M. (2020). Afghanistan-Soviet relations during the Cold War: A threat for South Asian peace. *South Asian Studies*, 29(2). 58-66.
- Smith, R. (1992). The Economic Effects of the end of the Cold War. *Economic Outlook*, 16(9), 36-41. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-0319.1992.tb00280.x>
- Spink, J. (2005). Education and politics in Afghanistan: the importance of an education system in peacebuilding and reconstruction. *Journal of peace education*, 2(2), 195-207. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17400200500185794>
- Taylor, A. (2014, August 4). The Soviet War in Afghanistan. *The Atlantic*. <https://www.theatlantic.com/photo/2014/08/the-soviet-war-in-afghanistan-1979-1989>