



RESEARCH PAPER

The Role of Pakistan in the Afghan Peace Process: A Thematic Study

¹Dr. Farhana Kousar * ² Inayatullah Magsi and ³ Faisal Charan

1. Ph. D International Relations, Federal Urdu university of Arts, Sciences and Technology Karachi, Sindh, Pakistan
2. Assistant Professor Department of Allied Subjects, Sindh Madressatul Islam University, Karachi,
3. Junior Lecturer, Basic Science and Humanities Department, Dawood University of Engineering and Technology Karachi, Sindh, Pakistan.

***Corresponding Author:** farhanakausar1212@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

This study analyzes Pakistan's diverse contributions to the Afghan peace process, focusing on its diplomatic initiatives, historical ties, and role as a regional intermediary. To assess the impact of Pakistan's involvement and identify potential challenges and opportunities for achieving long-term peace in Afghanistan. Pakistan's long-standing relationship with Afghanistan and its complex history necessitate a nuanced understanding of its current engagement. Cultural similarities and shared borders create intricate regional dynamics that influence Pakistan's approach to peace building. Utilizing a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods, this research examines diplomatic documents, historical accounts, and media reports. Semi-structured interviews with key stakeholders, including government officials, diplomats, and experts, provide deeper insights. Pakistan's diplomatic efforts have facilitated communication between the Taliban and the Afghan government. It has also played a crucial role in facilitating transit corridors and trade agreements, contributing to regional economic stability. However, historical tensions and competing interests within the region pose significant challenges. Continued international cooperation is essential to support Pakistan's peace building efforts. Addressing historical grievances and fostering trust among all stakeholders is crucial for long-term success. Regional economic integration and development initiatives can incentivize peace and stability.

Keywords: Afghan Peace Process, Civil War, Pak-Afghan Relations, Resurgence of Terrorism

Introduction

Pak-Afghan ties are tense at best. There are several causes for this dissatisfaction. Afghanistan was the sole nation to vote against Pakistan's UNO membership in September 1947. It claimed a large section of its North Western provinces as irredentist and refused to recognize Pakistan as a British Raj successor. Additionally, the Afghan government supported Pashtunistan, a separatist state. Pakistan is uneasy about its western neighbors' hostility. India benefited by backing Afghan anti-Pakistan policies (Muzaffar, et. al.2019)

Washington and Taliban reconciliation mediated by Pakistan will succeed if the US administration keeps its pledge to reduce US and NATO troops in Afghanistan. Only by addressing fundamental security problems like power sharing, the future governmental structure, and equitable representation to the major factions of the Afghan parliament can the Taliban enter mainstream politics. If the Taliban, rebel groups, war lords, and Kabul administration are not willing to compromise, the US and NATO exit will worsen the situation in Afghanistan and the region (Muzaffar, et. al. 2020; Muzaffar, et. al. 2021). The bordering nations, notably Pakistan, cannot tolerate another destructive civil war if all players fail to reach a peace deal. Thus, Pakistan hopes to mediate between foreign and

domestic interests to reach a compromise. Islamabad authorities believe that only an Afghan-owned and sponsored negotiated solution with key foreign partners will succeed.

Afghanistan's instability has increased Pakistan's security worries. King Zahir Shah, Afghanistan's longtime ruler, was overthrown by his cousin Muhammed Daoud Khan in 1973. A communist administration overthrew President Daoud in 1978. The Khalq and Parcham communist party groups' infighting allowed the Soviets to invade in December 1979. The world denounced the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, but India backed it. Despite worldwide boycotts, India was one of the few countries to send a team to the 1980 Moscow Olympics (Muzaffar, et. al. 2021b)

The Soviet invasion caused Afghan revolt and exile. This caused a massive refugee surge and a rise in terrorism in Pakistan. Soviet troops left in 1989. Afghanistan descended into civil conflict after their evacuation. The Taliban took over Kabul in 1996 after defeating warring groups. In October 2001, the US attacked Afghanistan to punish the Taliban for sheltering Al-Qaeda. Attack masterminds were to be defeated. Next year marks 20 years since the US invasion of Afghanistan. Long conflict has taken its toll. Despite combat exhaustion, the Trump administration is discussing a peace deal with the Taliban before they leave Afghanistan. After American departure from Afghanistan, Pakistan's security might be affected. After the Soviets withdrew, Afghanistan was uneasy.

Peace in Afghanistan is crucial for Pakistan's security due to a clear link. Pak Afghan 'security interdependence' has three causes: Afghanistan is landlocked, and its traditional sea access via Pakistan under the Afghan Transit Trade Agreement (ATTA 1965) has been utilized for smuggling and other illegal operations. Two nations have a porous 2500 km border over harsh mountains. The major Pakistan-Afghan border crossings are Torkham and Spin Boldak. Ghulam Khan in North Waziristan, Angoor Ada in South Waziristan, Arandu in Chitral, Nawa Pass in Mohmand, Gursul in Bajaur, and Kharlachi in Kurram districts of recently integrated FATA into KP are five additional crossing points for goods and persons. Mountain gullies and small passes provide almost 700 lesser-known entrances and exits. The split tribes may visit relatives over the Durand Line with a rahdari or border permission. Because Durand Line passes across border communities and separates tribes, tribesmen are granted easement privileges even though there is no legal foundation for this. Many criminals utilize this free tribal mobility. After the 2014 Peshawar Army Public School incident, Pakistan adopted a 20-point National Action Plan to combat terrorism. The border barrier was not part of NAP, but it was an extreme step to block terrorist infiltration.

This study examines security concerns from the Afghanistan imbroglio and regional instability. Experience has shown that withdrawing foreign soldiers from Afghanistan without first securing peace destabilizes the area. Pakistan must be ready for everything.

Pakistan's Regional Engagement for Afghan Peace

Peace requires US, China, Russia, and Pakistan as significant international partners. Iran and India have stronger interests in Afghanistan, but India has declared to stay out of the process and Iran has been kept out owing to US-Iran rivalry. India attended Russia's Moscow peace summit as a non-official participant in November 2018. Her envoy said that India supports a "Afghan-led, Afghan-owned and Afghan controlled" conflict resolution, including the Afghan government (Saberin & Qazi, 2018). India is in a bind due to the US and Russia's fast departure of foreign military and peace process. India has always been wary of the Taliban returning to Kabul because she worries they may move to India and Indian-occupied Kashmir (D'Souza, 2019). Indian refusal to engage with Taliban jeopardises its long-term interests in the nation and "puts it at odd" with the world (Mitra, 2018).

India signed the 2018 Tashkent Agreement, which suggested an Afghan-led peace process. India and the Taliban were not actively involved in the process. The Taliban have expanded their network of supportive nations and are no longer alone. From its Qatar headquarters, they have built diplomatic connections with friendly nations, including erstwhile foes Iran, Russia, and India, who were unfriendly in the 1990s. Iran works to make peace with the Taliban and is crucial to their negotiations. Taliban representatives have met with Iranian officials many times. A discussion was conducted in Tehran amid rumors of the US withdrawing 7,000 soldiers from Afghanistan. For domestic political success, the Trump administration needs a smooth departure. It withdrew from Iran's nuclear agreement, canceled the Paris Climate Change Agreement, and moved the US embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem (Rehman, 2019, April).

The senior head of nationalist party ANP advised include all prospective partners in the Afghan peace process (Rehman, 2019, January). Campbell said, "I think Afghanistan, I think China, I think the United States, I think many countries can do to encourage the Taliban to come to the negotiating table, I think the peace process has to end up at some point in time" (Gul, 2019). All parties must strive to overcome their high goals of downplaying each other. Regional nations including China, Pakistan, Iran, and Russia needed a multilateral peace council to resolve the situation via discussion. Regional nations' power struggle in Afghanistan prevents such things. "The blame game between Kabul and Islamabad combined with trust deficit between the US and Russia and the US and Iran has prompted them to talk separately, which has led nowhere." Sultan, 2019; Zia, August 2018. Kabul's relations with China, Iran, and Pakistan are "still weighed down heavily" by security issues like smuggling, cross-border terrorism, and "threats to the safety of foreign citizens residing in and traveling to Afghanistan" (Ali, Ali, & Ullah, 2019; Jan 2019).

The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in the final quarter of the 20th century affected regional security. Afghanistan was known to Russians. A buffer state between Central Asian conquests and British India. They'd eyed it for ages. It was the Russian entrance to India and the British gateway to Central Asia. Both nineteenth-century imperial powers tried to establish their own rulers in Kabul to gain influence. Conflicting interests shaped the Great Game (1830–1895). Afghanistan was on the fringe of international politics for much of the 20th century. The two world wars did not harm it. Only until the US and USSR clashed did the Cold War disrupt the stasis.

The Soviets fought the Mujahideen in Afghanistan, losing. Reagan used this divine chance to avenge the Soviet 'evil empire.'⁸ Pakistan was a handy route for US military help and supplies to Afghan Mujahideen battling the Soviets due to its location. The Mujahideen received all types of weapons, including the lethal Stinger man portable ant aircraft missiles. Pakistani intelligence services provided weapons and trained the Mujahideen. The Afghan jihad grew popular worldwide, and young men from all around Islam fought the Soviets. Its affluent benefactors included Saudi philanthropist Osama bin Laden (OBL). Al-Qaeda founder and 9/11 mastermind OBL became famous later.

Afghanistan's barren plains killed the Soviet Union. The Warsaw agreement collapsed in 1991. The Soviet Union collapsed due to a weak economy and imperial ambition. The 'Graveyard of Empires' buried another great empire.¹⁰ Afghanistan was rapidly forgotten as the West celebrated Communism's fall and the Berlin Wall's fall. No post-conflict plan was developed, therefore the wound festered. The US slapped nuclear restrictions on Pakistan to compound this.

Pakistan managed and contained the radioactive remnants of the conflict next door alone after foreign players withdrew. Domestic instability was a lingering effect of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. 3.5 million Afghan refugees in Pakistan refused to return to war-torn Afghanistan. Discontent and crime permeated certain Afghan refugee settlements in Pakistan throughout their protracted stay. Drugs and Kalashnikov culture spread.

International warriors who married and resided in tribal communities lost their jobs. Their nations wouldn't welcome them back. Others sought chances with the growing number of non-state actors, while others joined warlords fighting for territory.

Warlords in Afghanistan vied for riches. Afghanistan was severely destabilized by infighting and no central government. Pakistan sought to end the issue, but Afghan officials were too stubborn and broke all commitments, even in the sacred Kaaba. Civil war turmoil favored the Taliban. Afghanistan achieved some peace under the Taliban. Pakistan and two other nations recognized the Taliban authority in Kabul. Saudi Arabia and UAE are the others. Taliban were cruel dictators. A brutal misogynist, they hosted Al-Qaeda and administered harsh punishment. They rejected reason and demolished the Bamiyan Buddhas despite Pakistan's attempts. They also refused to give up Al-Qaeda members under hospitality. Post-9/11 Pakistan broke diplomatic relations with them and suffered a terrible backlash. Pakistani Taliban turned against the state. A diverse group of warlords began private conflicts. Their actions against Pakistan were their most serious trend. These organizations eventually became the Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP). This Pakistani Taliban chapter was annoying. Several military missions would cleanse and sterilize the region.

The 9/11 assaults on mainland America changed the globe. Al-Qaeda-controlled hijackers smashed their aircraft against American icons. CNN televised the incident live worldwide. The Bush government immediately attacked Al-Qaeda and the Taliban in Afghanistan. The US formed a "coalition of the willing"—NATO and non-NATO allies—under Operation Enduring Freedom to give the attack an international flavor.

The US, NATO, and other allies used the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) mission to stabilize Afghanistan after invading it. The operation ended in December 2014.¹² PRTs helped rebuild Afghanistan at this period. Major US allies including the British, German, and French troops spearheaded this restoration effort, but it failed to alter this war-torn nation.¹³ NATO renamed the operation to train and support Afghan troops Resolute operation Support (RSM) in 2015. US Gen Austin Miller leads it.

After the US attacked Afghanistan, Musharraf knew it had no option. It was swiftly determined to leave the Taliban and accept all seven US requests. Pakistan granted Intel-sharing, unfettered air space, ports, and communication infrastructure.¹⁵ American acknowledgment of Pakistan as a key non-NATO ally was doubtful. This provided short respite and international reintegration, but its long-term effects are unclear. Pakistan suffered a major domestic reaction after turning on Taliban.

American Operation Enduring Freedom began on October 7, 2001, to destroy Al-Qaeda and the Taliban. By December 17, the Taliban were overthrown. Its cadres withdrew into the countryside to battle again. OBL, among others, escaped to Pakistan. Armed predator drones targeted Taliban and Al-Qaeda leaders' residences in tribal Pakistan. Indiscriminate drone use was ham-handed. Although it killed few accused militants, it traumatized the people.

Bush instead of conquering Al-Qaeda and the Taliban in Afghanistan, he went after Saddam Hussein in Iraq a few months into the war. To eliminate Saddam's alleged WMDs was the surface reason for invasion. Indeed, it was aimed to demonstrate American military strength and seize Middle Eastern oil deposits without a real international resistance. As two fronts split the military effort, US attempts to pacify Afghanistan failed. Two-term US presidents failed to destroy the Taliban despite technology and military dominance. Instead, they slowly regrouped to dominate Afghanistan, battling both US-led NATO soldiers and the Kabul administration. Obama attempted to leave Afghanistan, but his generals stopped him. In his drive for a second term, Trump wants to exit Afghanistan quickly. Zalmay Khalilzad, his Afghanistan envoy, struck a peace pact with the Taliban in Qatar on February 29, 2020,

signaling a withdrawal. The full pullout depends on prisoner release, intra-Afghan dialogue, and violence reduction.¹⁸ After the Afghan government freed the last Taliban inmates on September 12, 2020, intra-Afghan discussion started in Doha. The Kabul administration wants a fast ceasefire but has little chance.

Fenced border between Pakistan and Afghanistan in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP). The police have been reformed and levies have joined the force. The Frontier Corps (FC), the major law enforcement body responsible for border security and law and order, has increased its combat capabilities. The military-led counter-insurgency war in former tribal territories has eliminated most tribal malcontent, although anti-state groups still operate in pockets. All efforts are being made to limit the Tehreek Taliban Pakistan's operations from Afghanistan. Security forces often exchange fire, causing casualties and deteriorating relations.

Outcomes Achieve Through Peace (Probable Events)

As the Americans leave from Afghanistan, it's necessary to imagine different outcomes. Some options rely on the pace of the American withdrawal, such as:

Quick withdrawal: If the US and other foreign forces go swiftly without a clear agreement with all Afghan groups, the region might fall into anarchy. The Afghan National Army (ANA) and ANP may escape with their weapons. Afghanistan might be chaotic and ethnically divided. Controlling these forces would be tough. New migrants may migrate to Pakistan to escape the conflict and mayhem in their nation. The Taliban may return, but reconciliation with its enemies will take time.

Consistent short-term withdrawal: As planned, US soldiers leave, leaving several to observe the transfer. Local elements hostile to the Kabul administration will wait for the American pullout while pressuring Afghan state troops.

Long-term phased withdrawal: A long-term gradual withdrawal is desired, but may not be practicable. Trump cannot tolerate funding a dead pact. The Kabul government will need billions from his administration and other donors to survive.

Possible Preventions: Pakistan would face instability if the Americans leave Afghanistan without a thorough transition. Afghans may fight bitterly if the final chopper leaves the Saigon embassy rooftop. Pakistan benefits from a calm Afghan transition. This is widely acknowledged in Islamabad, thus Pakistan is trying its utmost to assist Taliban-US peace negotiations. Pakistan is also actively engaged with President Ashraf Ghani. Pakistan must plan for post-withdrawal scenarios. All internal and external stakeholders should be meaningfully engaged in the following areas:

Afghan Refugees: Pakistan should create a thorough plan for the honorable repatriation of Afghan refugees. Third and fourth generation Afghan refugees, who have been loyal and law-abiding Pakistanis, should also be granted citizenship. If Afghanistan experiences another migration, the government should be ready.

Afghanistan Reconstruction and Rehabilitation: Afghanistan's restoration and rehabilitation must include Pakistan. This will be relevant for builders and construction workers as well as specialists who can assist reconstruct Afghanistan's health, education, judicial, and administrative institutions.

Restoring Trade Links: With Afghanistan, Pakistan has a good trading connection. Pakistan benefited from Afghanistan's landlocked condition. A deteriorating relationship and Indian initiatives to assist Afghanistan sidestep Pakistan have slowed Pak-Afghan commerce. Iran wants to minimize Indian influence at Chabahar port, but Indian

investments are important. Indian Border Roads Organization (BRO) built the Zaranj-Dilaram route to link the Afghan ring road to Chabahar port.²⁴ Pakistan must revive trade with Afghanistan when foreign soldiers depart. A conservative estimate suggests \$5 billion in commerce with Afghanistan.²⁵ Good commercial connections would benefit everyone and minimize terrorism.

The international border: Pakistan is fencing the border, but this should not be the end of boundary demarcation. Political approaches must be used to resolve the Durand Line problem with Kabul's next leaders. Unrecognized borders may damage international relations.

Conclusion

The inaccessible border region of Pakistan's erstwhile tribal territories and Afghanistan's surrounding parts was excellent for sheltering criminals. The Mujahideen launched their fight against the USSR from there. After Soviet retreat, Warlords split the Mujahideen into factions to protect their territory and influence. Their actions reached Pakistan. A porous Pak-Afghan border made logistics easier for guerrilla attacks against foreign troops and state authority. Without official authority, irregular militias might lay explosives, hit and run, and escape through checkpoint breaches into Afghanistan. Return only under safe conditions.

Under all evacuation scenarios, there may be temporary or extended upheaval, depending on who takes over Kabul's government. The extent of foreign intervention in Afghanistan might worsen the situation. The Taliban will likely construct a central administration. All parties must be flexible and accommodating regardless of the new Kabul leadership. Despite donor weariness, governments or consortia may still spend to rehabilitate Afghanistan's administrative and physical infrastructure. Some political alternatives for post-conflict Afghanistan are outlined below:

As of now, Afghanistan has three to four power groups: the Kabul government, the Taliban, the Khurasan franchise of IS, and autonomous warlords. Given the influence of each party, a fight for authority might split Afghanistan along ethnic or ideological lines.

If Afghan parties reach a settlement, a hybrid government may be established, ensuring equal distribution of power. There would be issues with the form of government (traditional, Islamic, parliamentary, presidential, etc.), the head of state (the President of the country, but the Taliban call their leader the Emir), and the share of powerful ministries. If the Taliban organize a government separately, they must make significant concessions to other claims. This would keep them jovial and prevent difficulties.

The condition must improve. Afghanistan and Pakistan can't afford turmoil again. Pakistan and Afghanistan must work to eradicate mistrust. Close coordination and goodwill-based cooperation will bring peace and stability to the area. Every effort should be made to avert violence. Plans must be developed for all possible outcomes, including a peaceful and not-so-peaceful return to normality. Pakistan must employ economic, diplomatic, and military levers to avoid turmoil and conflict in Afghanistan and benefit from regional peace and development.

Whenever there is peace in Afghanistan, Pakistan is the country that stands to benefit the most. A positive role is being played by Pakistan in the process of bringing stability to Afghanistan. There have been several occasions when Pakistan has attempted to build friendly ties with Afghanistan; however, the western neighbor has not responded favorably to these first attempts. The Afghan government is not exhibiting any encouraging

indicators, despite the fact that Pakistan is concerned about the influence of India in Afghanistan and has raised its voice against RAW's participation in Pakistan. Pakistan, on the other hand, has gained wisdom from its previous errors and is making an effort to include all aspects of Afghan society. Currently, Pakistan has altered its attitude about Afghanistan and is extending invitations to other Afghan officials to become members of various political parties and sects. In an effort to get the Taliban to the peace table, Pakistan has made every effort possible. Islamabad is interested in participating in the intra-Afghan talks and is eager to do so. The United States of America is accepting Pakistan's participation in the peace process in Afghanistan. Although India is attempting to destroy the peace accord between the United States of America and the Taliban, it has not been successful as of now. Currently, Pakistan is enclosing its borders with Afghanistan with fence, and eighty percent of the construction has been completed. The fact that the international community is now embracing Pakistan's efforts to establish a lasting peace in Afghanistan is a promising development.

References

- Ali, R. Ali, I. & Shaukatullah (2019). Shanghai Cooperation Organization as a passage to regional security: Future developments and opportunities for Pakistan. *Liberal Arts and Social Sciences International Journal (LASSIJ)*, 3(1), 19-29.
- Council, S. (2019, March 11). *Success of Afghanistan peace process will depend on international support for local efforts, Special Representative tells Security Council*. Relief Web
- Dawn (2019, July 14). *Afghan peace*. Dawn.
- Daily Times (2019, January 30). *Russia and Pakistan key stakeholders in Afghan peace: Envoy*. Daily Times
- D'Souza, M. (2019, March 18). The limits of India's soft power in Afghanistan. *Fair Observer*
- Gul, A. (2019). *Afghanistan stakeholders push diplomacy*. Retrieved from *Small Wars Journal*: <https://smallwarsjournal.com/blog/afghanistan-stakeholders-push-diplomacy>
- Gul, A. (2019, April 28). Pakistan: Afghan peace to boost China-funded regional connectivity effort. *VOA News*
- Gul, A. (2019, June 28). *Ghani seeks Pakistan's support for Afghan peace talks with Taliban*. VOA News
- Idrees, M., Naazer, M. A., & Rehman, A. U. (2017). Conflict and conflict management in SAARC. *Liberal Arts and Social Sciences International Journal (LASSIJ)*, 1(2), 1- 11.
- Iqbal, A. (2019, July 13). US, Russia, China recognise Pakistan's role in Afghan peace process. *Dawn*
- Jan, W. (2019, January 31). China's role in brokering peace in Afghanistan. *Pakistan Today*
- Jeong, M. (2017, January 19). *Afghan Peace Talks*. Pulitzer Center
- Jianing, Y. (2016, August 4). *Afghanistan, China, Pakistan, Tajikistan issue joint statement on anti-terrorism*. Chian Mail
- Kaura, V. (2018, April). *Understanding the complexities of the Afghan peace process*. ORF Occasional Paper No. 151 Observer Research Foundation
- Marsden, P. (2008). Whither the Taliban. *Asian Affairs*, 39(3), 362-369.
- Masood, T. (2019, July 3). *Regional efforts for peace in Afghanistan*. *The Express Tribune*
- Mitra, J. (2018, November 2). *Should India talk to the Taliban?* TRT World
- Munshay, M. (2016, March 10). *An incoherent push for peace in Afghanistan*. Retrieved from LSE Blogs on South Aisa
- Muzaffar, M., Khan, I., & Yaseen. Z. (2019). End Game or a New Great Game? Indo-Pakistan Rivalry and Post Withdrawal Afghanistan, *Asian Journal of International Peace & Security (AJIPS)*, 3, 1-11

- Muzaffar, M., Nawab, M. W. & Yaseen, Z. (2021). The US Exit from Afghanistan: A Way Forward, *Journal of Development and Social Sciences*, 2(2), 30-41
- Muzaffar, M., Yaseen, Z., & Afzal, N. (2021b). US Exit from Afghanistan: Impacts on Pakistan and India, *Journal of Political Studies* 28 (2), 55-68
- Muzaffar, M., Shah, S. T. A., & Karamat, S. (2020). US Taliban Dhoha Accord: A Compromise, *Journal of Development and Social Sciences*, 1(2), 32-42
- Naazer, M. A. (2018). Islamic universalism and the nation state. *Liberal Arts and Social Sciences International Journal (LASSIJ)*, 2(2), 29-41.
- Naazer, M. A. (2019). Nationalism in the Muslim world: A curse or blessing? *Liberal Arts and Social Sciences International Journal (LASSIJ)*, 3(1), 30-42.
- Naazer, M. A., Mahmood, A., & Ashfaq, S. (2017). Political rights situation during Musharraf era: 1999-2004. *Liberal Arts and Social Sciences International Journal (LASSIJ)*, 1(1), 20-31.
- Qarqeen, F. (2015). *Afghan Peace Talks: Negotiating with the Taliban*. PhD Thesis submitted to American University of Central Asia, Bishkek
- Rehman, A. U., Hakim, A., Khan, K., & Khan, I. U. (2018). Role of CPEC in development of trade, transport, and economy of Pakistan. *Romanian Journal of Transport Infrastructure*, 7(1), 77-92.
- Salim, A. Semetko, H. A., & Zehraa, S. (2018). Pak-US Strategic Partnership and Challenge of Internal Radical Symbiosis. *Liberal Arts and Social Sciences International Journal (LASSIJ)*, 2(1), 57-64.
- Shah, K. M. (2019, June 13). *The problem with the Afghan peace process*. Retrieved from Observer Research Foundation
- Stone, R. (2019, July 19). *Slowly but surely, China is moving into Afghanistan*. TRT World
- Sultan, T. (2019, January 8). *Peace in Afghanistan joint responsibility of all regional stakeholders: Analysts*. Radio Pakistan
- Zikriya, Khan, N. & Salim, A. (2019). Middle East dilemma: Pakistan's role as mediator for conflict resolution. *Liberal Arts and Social Sciences International Journal (LASSIJ)*, 3(1), 9-18.