

ambassadors and commercial agreements, including transit facilities and border questions. The statement Najibullah broadcast after his return to Kabul was hostile to Pakistan.¹ His demands were that: (a) the tribal areas between Pakistan and Afghanistan must be constituted into a 'sovereign province'; (b) Pakistan must give Afghanistan access to the sea, either by the creation of an Afghan corridor in West Baluchistan or by allotting a 'free Afghan zone' in Karachi; (c) Afghanistan and Pakistan should enter into a treaty which should permit either party to remain neutral in case the other party was attacked. This last point clearly meant that, in the event of further Indo-Pakistan clashes, Afghanistan could maintain a benevolent neutrality in favour of India.

Nevertheless, despite these diplomatic skirmishes and mutual suspicions, Afghanistan established diplomatic relations with Pakistan in 1948. And in Pakistan considerable significance was attached to the appointment of Marshal Shah Wali Khan, the uncle of King Zahir Shah, as the first Afghan Ambassador. It was regarded as a compliment to Pakistan and evidence of both a marked improvement in relations and the intention to develop that improvement.² Shah Wali Khan was born in the subcontinent, and had been educated at the famous University of Aligarh. He could speak Urdu fluently and was quite familiar with the freedom struggle of the Muslims of the subcontinent. Speaking at a party given in his honour by the Aligarh Muslim University Old Boys' Association in Karachi, on June 13, 1948, Shah Wali Khan said: "Our King has already stated, and I, as the representative of Afghanistan, declare that Afghanistan has no claims on frontier territory, and even if there were any, they have been given up in favour of Pakistan. Anything contrary to this which may have appeared in the press in the past or may appear in the future should not be given credence at all and should be considered just a canard."³ About the same time, *Anis*, supported by Kabul Radio, demanded that the territory between the Durand Line and the Indus river should be amalgamated

¹*The Times* (London), February 9, 1948, "Pakistan-Afghan Treaty Talks". See also I. H. Baqai, "Relations Between Afghanistan and Pakistan", *Pakistan Horizon*, September 1948, pp. 206-21; ref. 215.

²*The Statesman* (Delhi), April 24, 1948.

³*Pakistan News* (London), June 16, 1948.

See *The Statesman* (Delhi), June 23, 1948, "Policy at Kabul" (editorial).

with Afghanistan.¹ However, a statement supporting the views expressed by his Ambassador was soon issued by the Counsellor of the Afghan Embassy in Karachi. This led to an unusual situation in which Kabul Radio challenged the authority of the Afghan envoy to speak for his own Government! These contradictions not only created an awkward position for the envoy, but also proved to be detrimental to Pak-Afghan relations. It was quite unprecedented for a country's accredited representative to be openly contradicted through a medium of publicity generally identified with his own Government. The upshot of the affair was that the Afghan Ambassador was transferred to another country; and the Embassy at Karachi remained without a senior diplomat for a long time. Thus, even after the opening of formal diplomatic contacts, Afghan relations with Pakistan remained strained.

In July 1949, the Afghan Parliament declared that "it does not recognize the imaginary Durand or any similar line". Kabul Radio and the Afghan press intensified their propaganda, inciting the tribesmen living on the Pakistan side of the Durand Line to revolt in the name of 'Pakhtoonistan'. The Afghan Government sponsored a so-called Pakhtoonistan Government at Tirah in the borderland, which was headed by a Haji Mirza Ali Khan, better known as the 'Faqr of Ipi' and remembered for his anti-British activities in the days before independence. The Afghan campaign against Pakistan for 'Pakhtoonistan' reached its climax when the Afghan King and Prime Minister, in August 1950, flouted all diplomatic convention by making anti-Pakistan speeches at a 'Jashan' celebration in Kabul. 'Pakhtoonistan' flags were hoisted and anti-Pakistan leaflets were dropped by the Afghan Air Force,² which was followed by Afghan raids in the frontier region on September 30, 1950.³

However, the Afghan rulers had little success in arousing the tribesmen on the Pakistan side of the boundary. The tribes themselves apparently resented this Afghan interference and re-

¹The Afghan newspaper *Anis* front-paged an article demanding the amalgamation with Afghanistan of the entire 600-mile territory of Pakistan from the Durand Line to the Indus river. The paper asked for the revision of the boundary demarcation made in 1893 and hinted at 'internal trouble' in Pakistan if this was not agreed. Cf. *The Hindu* (Madras), June 12, 1948.

²*The Times* (London), October 9, 1950; *The Hindu* (Madras), October 9, 1950.

³*The New York Times*, October 7, 1950.

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