

Özet


Abstract

This abstract gives a general overview of the Afghan migration phenomena that took place between 1985 and 1988 against the turbulent sociopolitical background of Afghanistan. Several reasons, notably the Soviet-Afghan War, internal unrest, economic instability, and regional geopolitics, contributed to the exodus at this time. This essay examines the factors that led to Afghan migration during this crucial period and its patterns and effects. A variety of primary and secondary sources, such as historical documents, scholarly studies, and eyewitness narratives, are consulted in this study. It focuses on nearby states like Pakistan and Iran, which acted as the main host countries, and investigates the causes of Afghan refugees and the many travel routes they took. The article explores the difficulties Afghan migrants encounter, such as their issues in relocating and assimilating into their host nations. Additionally, the abstract aims to deal with how governments, international organizations, and humanitarian groups struggled to aid and safeguard the Afghan population that had been displaced due to the migratory issue in Afghanistan. It examines how humanitarian programs, refugee camps, and diplomatic activities may all help meet the urgent needs of Afghan refugees. Debates of the national assembly are a major source of this article.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Afgan, Göçmenler, Mülteciler, Ziyâülhak.

Keywords: Afghan, Migrants, Refugees, Zia ul Haq.

* Phd Student, Department of History and Pakistan Studies University of the Punjab, Lahore, aqsaakhant9551@gmail.com, Orcid: 0009-0001-8428-7533, Ror ID: https://ror.org/011maz450, Pakistan.
Introduction

Under General Zia-ul-Haq’s rule, Pakistan held non-party general elections in 1985. Although they were held under his military administration and in a regulated political environment, these elections were a part of Zia-ul-Haq’s efforts to return the nation to civilian governance.

The elections of 1985 were planned to provide a front of democracy while nevertheless exerting strong control over the political system. Candidates ran as independents since political parties were prohibited from running in elections. Zia-ul-Haq attempted to legitimize his authority and establish a government that would cooperate with the military by extensively manipulating the electoral process. Muhammad Khan Junejo became a well-known character in this situation. In 1985, Zia-ul-Haq designated him as the interim prime minister. The candidates were divided into distinct categories depending on their perceived political leaning even though there were no political parties involved in the elections; these groupings were heavily influenced by the military dictatorship.

The administration of Zia-ul-Haq backed Junejo’s organization, also known as the “Islamic Democratic Alliance” (IDA) or “Islami Jamhoori Ittehad.” The government made sure IJI-affiliated candidates had an edge during the elections, and several independent candidates received the military establishment’s effective support. In the National Assembly, Muhammad Khan Junejo’s IJI was able to win a majority as a result of these rigged elections. With the backing of the military administration, Junejo later attained the position of Prime Minister and effectively served as the civilian face of the military rule. During his tenure, a careful balance was struck between preserving civilian administration and the military’s influence over important decisions.

It’s crucial to remember that throughout their conduct, these elections drew harsh criticism for their lack of openness, true rivalry, and military influence over the democratic system. The military continued to maintain major control over important issues, limiting the elected government under Junejo’s leadership. Afghanistan saw substantial political, social, and economic changes during the Zia period, which lasted from 1979 to 1989. In Pakistan’s history, General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq (1924–1988) played a crucial role. He was the nation’s sixth President, taking office in 1977 following a military takeover. He held the position until his untimely passing in an aircraft crash in 1988. Pakistan underwent substantial transition and turbulent development under Zia-ul-Haq’s presidency.

Zia-ul-Haq’s tenure was distinguished by his firm hold on power and the adoption of Islamization strategies meant to bring Pakistan closer to Islamic ideals and values. Under his direction, Pakistan rose to prominence in the Cold War era’s geopolitical dynamics by closely allying with the US and obtaining a lot of financial and military support. Major infrastructure projects and modernization initiatives were also launched during his rule, but they were overshadowed by worries about violations of human rights, political persecution, and a growingly complicated internal and regional context. The legacy of Zia-ul-Haq is incredibly contentious and is still up for discussion among Pakistani citizens, political analysts, and historians.

Zia-up-Haq sought to establish his authority, mold Pakistan’s identity, and negotiate the difficulties of a fast-shifting international environment while in office. His actions had a long-lasting effect on Pakistan’s political, social, and religious environment, influencing the course of the nation for many years. These changes had a huge influence on the country’s people and sparked waves of migration. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979, which resulted in several intricate and far-reaching effects, including mass migration, was a defining moment in President Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq’s presidency.

The violence and instability brought on by the Soviet occupation were major factors in the Afghan exodus during the Zia regime. Resistance groups, largely made up of mujahideen militants,

2 Haqqani, Pakistan: Between Mosque..., p. 89.
3 Muhammad Munir, From Jinnah to Zia, Sani H. Panhwar, 2018, p. 98.
developed to combat the Soviet Union’s attempts to impose rule over Afghanistan. This sparked a protracted, terrible struggle that resulted in substantial internal displacement.

Many civilians were forced to deal with violence, loss of livelihoods, and the devastation of their villages as a result of being trapped in the crossfire. Afghans left their country in search of safety and better opportunities as a result of this dreadful scenario. Many people decided to emigrate to nearby nations like Iran and Pakistan, which shared borders with Afghanistan. These nations played a big role in hosting Afghan refugees, leading to one of the most severe refugee crises in recent times. Both Afghanistan and the host nations were significantly impacted by the Afghan migration during the Zia administration. Afghans had several difficulties in their new circumstances, such as restricted access to economic, medical, and educational options. During this time, massive refugee camps proliferated and housed thousands of displaced people and their families.

The migration also had a long-lasting effect on the growth and social structure of Afghanistan. The social and economic institutions of the nation were left vacant by the disappearance of a sizeable percentage of the populace, including educated professionals. In conclusion, the Soviet invasion and following fighting led to chaotic circumstances that led to the Afghan exodus during the Zia era. It resulted in major demographic changes as well as socioeconomic and political ramifications for Afghanistan and its surrounding nations. The dynamics of the region are still impacted by this migration’s legacy.

**Causes of Afghan Migration**

Reasons for Afghan migration: The large flood of Afghan migration into Pakistan during the Zia era was caused by several interconnected reasons, including:

Security Issues: Afghanistan is now experiencing a climate of instability and insecurity due to the Soviet invasion and the ensuing fighting. Many Afghans left their homes to avoid being killed, persecuted, or drafted into the Afghan army.

Ethnic relations: Pashtun-dominated parts of Pakistan’s northwest maintain ethnic and cultural ties with Afghanistan. This eased cross-border travel and gave Afghan migrants a false sense of comfort and assistance.

Humanitarian Motives: The conflict caused extensive human misery and relocation. Pakistani society accepted and assisted Afghan refugees, guided by its Islamic and humanitarian ideals.

Proxy War Dynamics: The Afghan mujahideen organizations’ resistance to the Soviet army was supported by the United States and its allies, particularly Pakistan. Pakistan was used as a base for educating and arming these organizations, which accelerated the flow of Afghan combatants and refugees.

Both Pakistan and the international community have to take action to control and reduce possible dangers to solve these security challenges. This requires to separate legitimate migrants from possible militants, establishing refugee camps with security measures, and attempting to lessen the effects of the battle on the local populace. The continuous struggle in Afghanistan, geopolitical factors, and the domestic stability of both Pakistan and Afghanistan all played a role in the complex and multidimensional security issues brought on by Afghan migration during the Zia-ul-Haq era.

**According to National Assembly Debates**

General Zia wanted to impose Islamic injunctions in the constitution. For that purpose, he passed many ordinances for the development of Shariah in the political system. He also tried to Islamize the state with his powers as president. For that purpose, he tried to pass the 10th Amendment. Parliament which was full of many politicians who were not in favor of pure Islamic State opposed

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5 Burki, *Pakistan Under the Military……..* p.67.
the amendment. Sometimes Majlis e Shura was hijacked by the military for the approval of bills according to their own will. After the elections, Zia-ul-Haq appointed Muhammad Khan Junejo, a politician who supported his government, as Prime Minister. Under Zia-ul-Haq’s tightly regulated political climate, Junejo’s political party, the Pakistan Muslim League (PML), played a supportive role. The true power remained in the hands of Zia-ul-Haq, who continued to have a significant impact on the government and decision-making, even though Junejo pretended to be the Prime Minister.

To give his military administration the appearance of legitimacy, Zia-ul-Haq used the 1985 elections and Junejo’s appointment. Zia-ul-Haq was able to maintain major control over the government’s operations and policies thanks to this arrangement, nevertheless, ensuring that his military regime’s power endured. As the military was running the state affairs they didn’t want to make parliament powerful as compared to their institution7. Main portfolios like foreign policy, economy, and interior of the state were in the hands of the military. They didn’t want to involve politicians in foreign policy. After martial law, in 1979 Afghan war started and it was a proxy war that was fought between two superpowers. The USA and the USSR in the Cold War tried to use smaller states to weaken the other one. Mujahedeen of Pakistan and Afghanistan were at daggers drawn in the Afghan war. Both of them were supported by the two superpowers. That war resulted in an increase in militancy and insurgency in the state. Pakistan had to face the repercussions of the Afghan War in the state. Bomb blasts and the influx of refugees had created problems for the masses of Pakistan. As Kalashnikov culture was introduced in Pakistan. Many innocent lives were lost because of militancy. Mujahedeen culture was also promoted. Pakistan was involved in fulfilling the interests of the USA and Mujahedeen was fighting with Russian forces on Durand Line. Afghanistan became a playground for both superpowers to use their hold in the region. South Asia was facing consequences in the shape of loss of lives, poor economy, and militancy in the region.

In a joint sitting, Mr. President Zia addressed the house in which he discussed the current law and order situation as well as talked about foreign policy. But, if we talk about the issues which were faced by the masses then President didn’t want to talk about it. He said that the state was moving towards pure democracy in which people had their basic fundamental human rights. However, no policy was discussed by the President about the issues faced by the masses. He only talked about the role of Pakistan in the Afghan War and the Islamic Welfare State. If we talk about his intentions then it was seen by historians that he was not in favor of devolution of powers to Prime Minister. So, a tussle was created between the Prime Minister and the President. As Prime Minister opposed the President on many occasions. So, in 1988, Mr. President sacked the government of Junejo and imposed an emergency in the state. Parliament had also issues with the military as well as the judiciary. Parliament was trying to move the state towards a powerful democracy but institutions were not willing to participate in their ambitions.8

Parliament also focused on solutions to public issues as they had a firm belief in democracy. Because they thought that democracy could solve the issues. And martial law only increases problems for the public. One of the parliamentarians also mentioned the development in foreign affairs, he pointed out that if our relations were not smooth with India, Afghanistan was taking us as an enemy and Iran was not willing to develop relations with us, then it was an example of no civil government in Pakistan. As we didn’t have any law and the world accepted martial law was not a law. That’s the reason we could not maintain balance in our foreign relations. Now, the time has come that we should develop our civil government because the world doesn’t accept martial law or military government. Democracy had been adopted as the best form of government and we were running our state under the umbrella of martial law.9 Now that umbrella should be removed from us and we should develop civil institutions in our country. He also focused on abrogation of martial law as it had been said by

8 Malik, The Story of My Struggle, p.87.
In this session, the Tenth Constitutional Amendment Bill was introduced but it couldn’t be moved. This was because of a sense of deprivation among the masses because Pakistan had been supporting the USA for 9 years. Against India in which there wouldn’t be any help by the USA to Pakistan against India. This created a vacuum in Pakistan on its borders and it became a source of worry to all Pakistanis. The point of concern was that the Afghan government was conscious of the increasing number. Russians and Afghans were aggressive in actions against Pakistan on its borders and it became a source of worry to all Pakistanis. The point of concern was the territory as a playground for their interests. In that session, one parliamentarian raised questions about the violation of Afghan aircraft on 4th June and asked about the number. As the Afghan war continued and violations of air space were at their peak many parliamentarians were concerned. The legality of violations according to International Law. He also focused on weapons technology as these aircraft were difficult to bring down in Pakistani territory.

Another important point that was raised by one parliamentarian about the violation of airspace by Afghanistan. Ch. Nisar Ali Khan from (Islami Jmahori Itehad) a member of OPG assured that in the future such incidents would not occur. One of the parliamentarians also asked about the development of the Karachi Steels Project and the completion of the project. The project was working at 50 percent of capacity and it would start working at 100 percent in two years. The return of Nationalized factories and the rights of laborers were also discussed in the session.

In the next session on 30th May, the budget discussion was continued by members and another important issue of Afghan Refugees was also discussed in the session. Members questioned the Minister for States and Frontier Regions about the population of Afghan Refugees as they were increasing day by day due to the Afghan War of 1979. Almost their numbers had increased up to 2.6 Million. These refugees were settled on frontier people’s land. They had to pay the amount to them for their settlement. As they were purchasing immovable property the government of Pakistan didn’t allow them to purchase land in the region. Working days up to five days a week were also discussed in that session. Parliamentary groups were also formed in that session. A prayer session for the people of Bangladesh was also covered in that session. Cyclone hit Bangladesh on 26th May 1985 and the people of Bangladesh once were part of Pakistan. That’s why special prayer was done by members for the recovery of Bangladeshis. An aid of one crore rupees was also approved by the parliament for Bangladesh.

In the next session debate on Anti-Muslim Riots in India was held. In this debate, one of the parliamentarians told the house about the killing of 13 people in the Gujrat District. In Ahmadabad District 14 people were burned alive. He said that the Muslim community in India participated in Pakistan Movement that’s the reason our neighbor had been treating them brutally. One of the parliamentarians pointed out the violation of Afghan aircraft on 4th June and asked about the number of violations that occurred by Afghan aircraft. As these violations were increasing day by day. It should be curbed down because the sovereignty of Pakistan had been preached by the Afghan government. As the Afghan war continued and violations of air space were at their peak many parliamentarians were conscious of the increasing number. Russians and Afghans were aggressive in actions against Pakistan on its borders and it became a source of worry to all Pakistanis. The point of concern was the territory as a playground for their interests, in that session one parliamentarian raised questions about the legality of violations according to International Law. He also focused on weapons technology as these aircraft were difficult to bring down in Pakistani territory.

Further discussion was on Afghan refugees and their treatment, railway accidents, FATA issues, women in the labor force, Sindhis employed abroad, factories in FATA, and other general discussion. The next session was also on general discussions like accommodation issues of government employees, extraction of oil and gas fields in Pakistan, the establishment of the PARCO oil refinery, Chashma Canal issues, and others.

In the session of February, members pointed out the role of the USA in the aggression of India. As Pakistan was a strategic partner of the USA in the Afghan War of 1979, so American role against India in which there wouldn’t be any help by the USA to Pakistan against India. This created a sense of deprivation among the masses because Pakistan had been supporting the USA for 9 years. In this session, the Tenth Constitutional Amendment Bill was introduced but it couldn’t be moved.

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13 Shah, The Army and Democracy ..., p.197.
due to lack of consensus. Reports of the Auditor General relating to the Accounts of the Federation were also tabled in session and discussion was done on it.

Islamization had been linked with his tenure in which Islamic laws were presented and people saw the state tilting towards the Islamic way of life. He said that the revival of political parties was the task of parliament but it should be resolved according to the stable political structure of the state. President Zia addressed the house in that session only and highlighted the issues of Afghanistan and Kashmir as well as the state’s foreign policy according to Islamic countries. In a joint session of the National Assembly and Senate on 15th November 1985 President of Turkey Kenan Evren addressed the house and the Prime Minister of Pakistan thanked him in his address. In address, the relationships between both states were addressed and it was shown by both states that Turkey and Pakistan were brothers’ states and they would work for further strong relations in the future.

The seventh session of parliament was started on 18th September 1986 and an amendment bill related to Legal Practitioners and Bar Councils was put in the house. Members discussed the law and order situation in the country. They highlighted the practices of courts in the state and issues that had been faced by common citizens. The Interior Minister answered the questions of members and two days were decided for the debate on that bill. As the Afghan war was towards the end military courts were criticized by members and the role of ministers in giving safe havens to banned personalities was also a point of concern for opposition benches. As former Law Minister always considered that issue of provinces but the incumbent Law Minister at that time considered it the issue of the federal government. The law and order situation was at a deteriorating stage and insurgency on the Afghan border had resulted in traditional threats to the lives of the masses.

The Effects of Afghan Migration include

Socioeconomic Impact: Pakistan’s resources were put under stress by the unexpected influx of Afghan refugees, particularly in border states like Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Balochistan. Competition for employment, overcrowding, and strain on public services all emerged as urgent issues.

Cultural Exchange and Social Challenges: Migrants from Afghanistan introduced Pakistan to a variety of distinct cultures, languages, and traditions. While this enhanced Pakistan’s cultural diversity, it also presented integration and possible conflict issues.

Islamization and Militant Extremism: Religious extremism grew as a result of the Afghan war and the Zia regime’s promotion of Islamic principles. Some Afghan and Pakistani immigrants became radicalized, which aided in the eventual growth of terrorist organizations.

Diplomatic ties: Pakistan’s ties with its neighbors and other international players have been strained as a result of the Afghan exodus. For instance, tensions with Iran increased as a result of the massive number of refugees seeking safety along the Pakistan-Iran border.

In summary, the Afghan migration under Zia-ul-Haq had a significant impact on Pakistan, Afghanistan, and the surrounding area. The humanitarian, economic, security, and social issues that the inflow of migrants raised had a long-lasting effect that still shapes the dynamics of the area today.

Government Action and Foreign Assistance

The efforts of the Pakistani government include the establishment of refugee camps to offer food, housing, and other services to Afghan migrants. However, due to resource shortages and congestion, these camps frequently experienced difficulties.

International Support: The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), along with the rest of the world, was crucial in supplying humanitarian relief to Afghan refugees in Pakistan.

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15 Haqqani, Pakistan: Between Mosque..., p.112.
17 Haqqani, Pakistan: Between Mosque..., p.156.
During the Afghan exodus in the Zia-ul-Haq era, the government’s initiatives and foreign aid played a critical role in delivering necessary services, addressing security issues, and managing the humanitarian disaster brought on by the fighting. However, it’s crucial to remember that although aid initiatives tried to ease pressing difficulties, the long-term effects of the refugee crisis continued to have an influence on both Afghanistan and Pakistan in different ways.
Conclusion

After dismissing Junejo’s administration in 1988, Zia-ul-Haq’s dictatorship finally came to an end due to an aircraft disaster later that year. In Pakistan’s political history, Muhammad Khan Junejo’s limited time as Prime Minister during this controlled democratic process is nevertheless a crucial episode. In Zia ul Haq parliamentary period several debates on the law and order situation of the country. Afghan war had destroyed the security situation of the country. Bomb blasts and massive killings of innocent people created fear among the public. As the civilian government was not academic to the public and the military was not the law and order situation of the state was also questionable. The civilian government wanted to arrange a setup that would pave the way for peace in the region. Suicide bombers and Kalashnikov culture had destroyed the societal fabric and people were questioning the performance of representative government. Parliament was formed with the votes of the public and parliamentarians had been trying to save their faces for the future election.

During that time, the Afghan War was ongoing in Afghanistan. There were border skirmishes between Mujahedeen and Russian forces as well as Afghan Mujahedeen. On the Durand Line, Russian forces were staying and they were creating insurgency on the western border of Pakistan. On the other hand, Indian forces were doing military exercises on the eastern border. The president was busy in Kuwait for the representation of the state. The foreign affairs portfolio was in the hands of the President. Parliamentarians were worried about such a scenario in which if there would be an attack on the eastern border then who would be responsible as COAS and Foreign Minister with Defense portfolio were in state. This paper studies the level of usurpation of powers of parliament. Because the President was not in favor of the devolution of power. The Defense Minister was not able to make any decision related to the military. Military who were interested in foreign affairs as well as in interior minister didn’t want to tackle the external and internal pressures.

In conclusion, the Zia era’s Afghan exodus was a complicated phenomenon influenced by several historical, political, and humanitarian causes. It left a lasting impression that still has an impact on the area today on Pakistan’s society, economy, and security environment. Afghan migration at this time illustrates how regional events are intertwined and how crucial it is to comprehend historical context while analyzing current challenges. Overall, during the Zia-ul-Haq era, a sizable wave of Afghans migrated into Pakistan as a result of the Soviet invasion, the accompanying battle, Pakistan’s backing for the mujahideen, and the deteriorating humanitarian situation. The Afghan refugee crisis had a significant impact on Afghanistan and Pakistan for many years to come, changing their social, economic, and political environments. During this time, foreign aid and government initiatives tried to lessen Afghan refugees’ suffering, supply them with essentials, and handle security problems brought on by the fighting. Even after the Soviet-Afghan War ended, the refugee crisis’ long-term effects on the region’s dynamics persisted.

In conclusion, the Zia-ul-Haq period Afghan migration had a significant influence on the social, economic, and political structures of both Afghanistan and Pakistan. It left a lasting impact on their relationships, security situation, and socioeconomic landscapes.

19 Ahmad, Government and Politics ..., p. 121.

Bibliography


Debates


Extended Abstract

This research explores the factors that led to and affected the migration of Afghans to Pakistan between the years of Zia ul Haq (1985–1988). During this time, the exodus of millions of Afghan refugees had a huge influence on the stability of the area as well as Afghanistan and Pakistan. This research strives to offer a complete knowledge of the circumstances that caused this huge exodus and the effects it had on both nations by examining historical documents, scholarly literature, and eyewitness testimonies. The causes and effects of Afghan migration to Pakistan between 1985 and 1988 under Zia ul Haq are examined in this paper. Political, social, and Afghan conflicts all combined to cause a major migration of Afghan refugees into Pakistan during this time. This research tries to clarify the complex causes of this exodus and its ensuing effects on the host nation and the refugees by using a thorough review of historical records, academic literature, and primary sources. The long-running struggle in Afghanistan during the Zia ul Haq administration, which was sparked by the Soviet invasion and ensuing resistance movements, lies at the foundation of the reasons for Afghan migration. This paper explores the crucial role Zia ul Haq’s administration played in giving Afghan mujahideen and civilians a place to call home, motivated by ideological compatibility, geopolitical concerns, and outside assistance. The study also looks at how Afghanistan’s socioeconomic problems and political unrest influenced the migrant flow. Migration from Afghanistan has many different effects on Pakistan. The burden of hosting so many refugees on Pakistan’s infrastructure and resources has a profound effect on the nation’s economic and social structure. The study examines the difficulties faced by the host nation’s employment, healthcare, and educational sectors. It also assesses the security ramifications of hosting Afghan refugees, including the risk of radicalization and the possibility of the conflict spreading into Pakistan. In contrast, the study also looks at the effects on Afghan refugees themselves, underlining the psychological, social, and financial costs of exile. While acknowledging the struggles they faced, it highlights the tenacity and contributions of the Afghan refugee community to Pakistan’s cultural variety and labor market. This work advances knowledge of the relationship between political, social, and security aspects in determining migration patterns by providing a thorough examination of the Afghan migratory phenomena during the Zia ul Haq era. Lessons learned from this historical era may be applied to current refugee crisis policies and offer guidance on how to handle the opportunities and problems presented by cross-border population migrations.

Migration from Afghanistan: The flood of Afghan refugees had a big influence on Pakistan and Afghanistan as well as the dynamics of the wider region.

Humanitarian Crisis: The unexpected influx of migrants put a strain on Pakistan’s meager infrastructure and resources, resulting in congested camps and subpar living conditions. The lack of necessities including food, housing, and healthcare frequently led to a humanitarian disaster.

The presence of millions of refugees in Pakistan had a negative social and economic impact on the country as they fought for few resources and employment opportunities. Tensions between Pakistani host communities and Afghan refugees resulted from this strain. Additionally, the protracted refugee population contributed to rising crime rates and the expansion of squatter communities.

The refugee crisis in Afghanistan had larger geopolitical repercussions. The aid Pakistan gave to Afghan Mujahideen militants accelerated the Soviet evacuation by igniting the uprising against the Soviet-backed Afghan government. However, as a result of this engagement, extremist forces also grew, which subsequently fueled regional instability.

Return and Reintegration: A slow repatriation process started as the Soviet-Afghan War came to a conclusion and the country’s situation got better. Refugees’ re-entry into Afghanistan, however, was fraught with difficulties due to continuous fighting, ruined infrastructure, and a lack of essential amenities.

Legacy and Prolonged Effects: Both Pakistan and Afghanistan are still feeling the effects of the Afghan refugee crisis. Long after the refugees had returned, there were still social inequalities
and racial tensions in Pakistan. The refugees’ difficulties reintegrating into a war-torn culture in Afghanistan exacerbated the country’s enduring instability and insecurity.

In conclusion, the Zia ul Haq period Afghan migration to Pakistan was a complicated phenomenon caused by a confluence of political, military, and social causes. The inflow of refugees had a significant effect on both nations and the surrounding area. This research helps us comprehend the historical background and effects of the Afghan refugee issue at this pivotal time in South Asian history.
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