

The role of India, Britain and Tsarist Russia in determining the political boundaries of Afghanistan

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Abstract: Great Britain's dominance in India and their attention and focus to preserve this fertile land and advance the Russians in Central Asia and pursue their great goal, which was to reach India and the warm waters of the Indian Ocean, it caused a clash of interests between the two colonial powers in South and Central Asia for the entire 19th century. Because of these goals, each of the parties had a special need for the current geography of Afghanistan at that time; The British based in India must dominate this geography directly or indirectly in order to prevent the passage of the army and the possible attack of the Russians to occupy India. On the other hand, in order to dominate and maintain their sovereignty in Central Asia and their possible attack on India, the Russians also needed to pass through the geography of Afghanistan. In this research, which has been carried out in a descriptive-analytical method and based on the library type, it aims to clarify how the Indo-British and Imperial Russians policy in creating Afghanistan's political borders, and also answer the question that what role did the British and Russians have in determining the political borders of Afghanistan? The findings of the research show that those two European powers, to resolve their differences in the region, first put forward a buffer plan regarding Afghanistan and then based on that plan, they drew the borders of the country.

Keywords: Indo-British, Tsarist Russia, colonialism, 19th century, borders

INTRODUCTION

Today's Afghanistan has a very important strategic position, as a crossroads between Central Asia and South Asia, as well as East Asia and West Asia (or the Middle East). According to historical documents, this important political geography is mostly the product of the colonial rivalries of the 19th century between the powerful European countries, the British governments based in India and Tsarist Russia that dominated Central Asia. The English as a trading company had obtained permission to operate in India at the beginning of the 17th century. According to their imperialist policy, they directly and completely dominated India from the middle of the 18th century with the beginning of the Plassey and Bogtar wars and finally after the suppression of the great Indian uprising in 1858, and a government called the Indo-British government was formed. On the other hand, the legendary wealth of

India had other competitors, in the first place, the British won over the French and the Portuguese by using their superior naval power in Indian waters and ports. But in the 19th century, their other European rival, Czarist Russia, with its rapid expansion towards the Caucasus and Central Asia, was advancing rapidly and became another contender for the occupation of India. This competition was seriously developed from the signing of the Treaty of Tilsit in 1807 between the Russian Tsar and the French Napoleon Bonaparte (Hopkirk, 2000: 16). With the fall of Napoleon, the Russians continued to think of reaching India and were getting closer to the borders of India every day, and this caused great concern to the British ruling India. The British also came to protect the north-western borders of India, which led to today's Afghanistan. But the tsarist Russians were still developing and advancing in Central Asia, that this action of the Russians endangered the interests of the British based in India and this threat existed throughout the nineteenth century for the British Indian Company and government (Nehru, 2009: 794).

As a result of the consequences of this competition, the demarcation of the most political borders of Afghanistan in the north, east, south and northwest was done decisively, completely and undisputedly by these two powers (Seatams, 2000: 55).

Border and Boundary

The two terms "boundary" and "border" are often used as a whole by geographers and the general public to describe political divisions (Pirdashti, 2014: 14). In the past, boundary was defined as political-geographic areas that were located beyond a political unit and often did not separate two political governments and even provoked governments to occupy those areas. (Hafiz-Niya, 2011: 299-300). Also, during the height of colonialism in the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, boundary were among the political dialogues and representatives of political divisions between the two governments (Pirdashti, 2014: 14). But from the point of view of contemporary political geography scholars, border is a new concept that arose in Europe after the industrial revolution of the 19th century (Mojtahedzadeh, 2010: 158). But since the states were formed on the basis of nationality, the border became the present-day form and concept, and boundary gave way to borders (Mirhaidar: 1992: 143).

Factors of involvement of India, Britain and Tsarist Russia in the formation of Afghanistan's political borders

In 1600, a seemingly commercial company was established in England, and in 1614, it started operating in India under the name of the British East India Company. From the beginning, this company sought imperialist goals in India and brought Madras (1639 AD), Hooghli (1640 AD) and Bombay under its influence and control in different ways. In 1689, they attacked the positions of the British, but with several casualties, they pledged not to interfere in the affairs of India and only engage in

commercial affairs. But since the 18th century, when the Babri government was in complete weakness, the British occupied Bengal (Ghabar, 2007: 430-432). And in the following, they expelled their European rivals, the Netherlands and France, from the field until 1763 and became the superior power in India until the beginning of the 19th century. But with the appearance of Napoleon in France and the plan to expel the British from India, he signed alliance agreements with Tsarist Russia and Persia for this purpose. This issue threatened the position of the British in India (Ataei, 2005: 50-52). The Russians in Central Asia and their approach to India worried the British more than Napoleon.

On the other hand, during the reign of Peter the Great, Russia became a powerful country in the political, military and economic fields. Russia sought imperialist competition with European countries and for its imperialist future, it thought of dominating the Black Sea, the Caucasus and the Caspian coasts in order to dominate the southeastern regions of Russia (Central Asia) (Timuri, 2013, 1: 142-144). In the beginning, the goal of the Russians was to annex the Ottoman Muslim states, Iran and Afghanistan, which were located in the south of their land, and since this is not possible for the Russians, they should keep them away from friendship with their rival England or create discord between these lands and England. (Abdul Rahman Khan, 1990: 546).

After the death of Ahmad Shah and Timur and the coming of power of Timur's children, from the beginning of the 19th century onwards, Afghanistan had lost its unity and was divided into separate and independent governments. (Nizam Mafi, 2001: 83) But during the reign of the Shah (1801-1793 AD) in Afghanistan, his attention was mostly focused on domination in India. In such a situation, Lord Murrington, the then Viceroy of India, considered the danger of Shah's time in India seriously. And because of the rejection of Shah Zaman (Ataei, 2005: 83) and also Napoleon, the emperor of France, who sought to bring Britain to its knees, he was the biggest and most powerful enemy in Europe and the world. He wanted to attack the British golden crown (India) and capture it. (Najmi, 1989: 132-133). For this purpose, he signed contracts with Tsar Paul of Russia in 1800, Finkenstein contract with Iran (1807) and another important and fundamental contract with Tsar Alexander in Tilst (1807) (Pio, 1980: 14-15) Even Alexander was preparing 25,000 troops to attack India together with the French army through Herat and Kandahar (Ghabar, 1989: 508). And all of these had seriously threatened the interests of the British in India more than ever from the address of the geography of Afghanistan, and they concentrated on protecting the borders and the north-western lands of India. Therefore, they made many agreements with the princes and kings of the region in order to create a barrier against the plans of Napoleon and Russia (Asil, 2022: 79-80). First, the British took action to repel Zaman Shah in 1798 and sent Mehdi Ali Khan

to the court of Iran to make Shah Qajar their ally against Zaman Shah (Varma, 2019: 198). After that, in order to better protect the north-western borders of India, which led to Afghanistan, they undertook the policy of isolation and division of Afghanistan. For this purpose, in 1800, the representative of the company, Sarjan Malik, signed a treaty with Fath-Ali Shah Qajar against the threat of the Shah's time in exchange for financial aid and weapons, until 1801. Based on this treaty, the Qajar government pledged to attack Afghanistan in the event of Zaman Shah's attack on India and to turn his opposing brothers like Mahmud against him (Ataei, 2005: 83-85). This was the first treaty in which the British decided to weaken and divide Afghanistan and for the first time the name of Afghanistan was mentioned in it (Farhang, 2015: 226).

After the removal of Shah Zaman, the English Company divided Afghanistan into tribal kingdoms according to their policy. In 1809, they sent their representative Elphinstone to Shah Shuja's court in Peshawar to make him their ally against the possible attack of the two allied powers of Tilst (Ataei, 2005: 86-88). On the other hand, after defeating the French Bonaparte, the Tsarist Russians formed an alliance for India against the British on the day of Tilst. Now, as a power and rival of England, they claimed the land of India, and for this purpose they considered the following plan:

I. Setting the groundwork for negotiations with Kabul and the establishment of an army corps in that city;

II. Seizing Kabul and determining a way to attack India;

III. A complete army and crossing Afghanistan and entering India;

But this plan was not serious, because at that point in time, they did not have such ability against the British, but it was a way to lay the groundwork for future goals in India, and on the other hand, they carried out these policies to scare the competitor and keep them away from Central Asia (Patriot: 2011: 46-47).

For their complete domination over India, after the defeat of their fierce enemy Tipu Sultan, the Marathas and the domination of Assam (1826 AD), the British gained influence over all of India and were directly dominating the Babri rule (Nehru, 2009, 2: 766).

After the defeats of Iran, the Tsarist Russians imposed the Golestan (1813) and Turkmen Chai (1828) treaties on Fath-Ali Shah, who, in addition to dominating the Caucasus, considered themselves the rulers of Central Asia, and the thought of attacking India rose among Russian politicians and soldiers. At this time, they paid attention to Herat, which was known as the key to India, and encouraged the government of Iran under their protection to capture this important city (Ataei, 2005: 109). In such a situation, Dost Muhammad Khan, the ruler of Kabul, complained about the seizure of Peshawar by Ranjit Singh to Alexander Burns, the political

representative of the British Eastern Company, and asked for their cooperation to take it back, but because Singh was their ally, they were satisfied with this event. Then he wrote a letter to the Russian government and asked for help to dominate that city. Meanwhile, Viktovich, the representative of Russia at the court of Kandahar, was near the brothers of Dost Muhammad, seeking their support to help the besieging forces of Iran in Herat. And because at this time Iran was under siege in Herat (1837 AD), the British saw Iran's attack on Herat as Russia's instigation, and in this situation and time, the issue of Herat became another field of competition for the two colonial powers and the diplomacy of the ambassadors of the two governments at the court of the Shah of Iran and their delegations at the courts of Herat, Kandahar and Kabul was at the peak of sensitivity, and because the Shah of Iran did not accept the advice of the British ambassador to leave the siege of the city, they declared war on Iran and occupied the Iranian islands in the Persian Gulf until Iran gave up the siege of Herat (Farhang, 2015: 281-281). On the other hand, the British government of India considered the presence and negotiation of the Russian representative in the court of Dost Mohammad Khan as dragging their rival Russia to the borders of India, and in order to depose him from Kabul and put Shah Shoja on the throne, they made Seduzai. (Ataei, 2005: 94-96). This is the way of the British with the Lahore Triangle Treaty (1838 AD), one of which was Shah Shuja's commitment not to claim his territory on many areas on the left and right of the Indus Sea. and the declaration of Samla (1839 AD), invaded Afghanistan and were present in Afghanistan until the victory of the people's uprising in 1842 AD (Ataei, 2005: 100). The British did not only show a thumbs up to Russia in Central Asia by invading Afghanistan, but also used it in the case of the Black Sea, the Bosphorus and Dardanelles, and the case of Egypt, and as a successful maneuver, they were able to make the Russians aware of the sensitivity of the British in India and its northwestern borders (Afghanistan) (Farhang, 2015: 287-288).

Based on the Lahore Triangle Treaty, the British took a commitment from Shah Shuja to control the left and right areas of the Indus Sea, which were under the control of Ranjit Singh, including Kashmir, Atak, Cheche, Hazara, Kambel Vanb and its provinces, Peshawar including Yousafzai, Khatak, Heshangar, Machhani, Kohat and Hangu, and the rest of Peshawar up to Khyber, Banu, Dawar, Waziri, Tank, Grank, Kalabagh, Khushal Gedeh and its suburbs, Deira Ismail Khan and its suburbs, Deira Ghazi Khan, Kot, Muthan, Umarmot and its suburbs, Sanghar, Dajl, Hajipur, Rajanpur, and all three kachis of Mankirah, Multan and all its surroundings, are under the rule of the Sikhs of Punjab, and in the future, the governments of Afghanistan should not have territorial claims in those areas (Habibi, 2001: 23-24) This treaty is the first treaty in which England separated many areas from Afghanistan at that time and started shaping the next Afghanistan.

After the death of Ranjit Singh, the English Company occupied Punjab and his family's possessions (including the aforementioned areas of the Lahore triangle) between 1845-1849 and included them in their occupations (Nehru, 2009, 2: 794).

In the years 1839-1842, when the British invaded and were present in Afghanistan, the Russians suffered a severe defeat at the hands of Khan Khiva, and this caused a great fear in the Russians that Central Asia would fall into the hands of their rivals. Therefore, they invaded Tashkent in 1845 and occupied Khojnd in 1866, and attacked Bukhara in 1868 and established the province of Turkestan, and the following year they took Samarkand and completely dominated Khan Bukhara. With these long steps, they reached the Amu Sea, on that day everyone thought that their next step would be through Afghanistan to India (Ataei, 2005: 123).

In 1857, following the capture of Herat by Iran (1856), the British saw this action from the Russian side. With the military attack on Iran through the Gulf, and the imposition of the Treaty of Paris, they took a pledge from the Qajar Shah to leave Herat, not to have any territorial claim to Herat from now on, and not to think of interfering in Afghanistan. (Mafi, 1380: 142) Also, Iran undertakes that in case of a problem and dispute between Iran and Afghanistan, it will call the British as an arbiter (Lasan-ul-Molk Sepehr, 1377, 3: 1451-1453).

The process of determining the borders of Afghanistan by India, Britain and Tsarist Russia

Today's political borders of Afghanistan are mostly defined during the reign of Abdul Rahman Khan, and the mentioned Shah writes in his memoirs that the western borders of my government with Iran and the eastern borders with China were determined without any special obstacles or problems, because these two countries did not have the ability of England and Russia to encroach on Afghanistan, And he says: "My kingdom is like a poor sheep that is stared at by the eyes of greed from both sides of the lion and the bear, and without the protection and help of the true protector, this small prey cannot be kept for a long time" (Abd al-Rahman Khan, 1990: 442-443)

Northern borders

1. Shir Ali Khan: The most important border for the British was the northern border of Afghanistan, where the Russians were advancing towards the Amu Sea, and this was one of the reasons for the British invasion of Afghanistan. (Farhang, 2015: 447). Later, in 1869, Granville, the British foreign minister, submitted to Russia the territory of northern Afghanistan with Russian possessions in Central Asia. Which is as follows: 1. Badakhshan and the Wakhan regions from Seri Qol (Jahil Chob) in the east to the intersection of the Kokche Sea with the Oxus (Panj) form the northern border of Afghanistan. 2. Afghan Turkestan consists of Kunduz, Khalm and Balkh regions, whose northern border is the Oxus line from the crossing of the Kokcheh Sea

to Khaja Saleh on the road from Bukhara to Balkh, and no claim should be made by the Shah of Afghanistan on the left bank of the Oxus. 3. The internal areas of Aqcheh, Sarpol, Maimene, Sheberghan and Andkhoi should be the final border in the northwest of the Afghan government, and in the northwest beyond it, it belongs to the free Turkmen tribes. 4. The western borders of Afghanistan are known between the provinces of Herat and Khorasan in Fars, which does not need to be defined (Atchison, 1930: 8-9). At first, the Russian Foreign Minister Gerjakov presented to England the plan determined by General Kofman, the Russian ruler of Turkestan. In those areas, he did not accept the third item above and considered those areas to be part of the territory of Shah Bukhara, and did not consider Badakhshan under the control of the Afghan government, and presented the two proposals attached, the first is that these areas should be annexed to the ruling territories of Bukhara or an independent country should be created in the northern areas of the Hindu Kush (northern Afghanistan today) which includes the above disputed areas. And this difference of opinion lasted for two years (1871-1869) until the British foreign minister Granville seriously raised the issue with the Russians in 1872. In this situation, the Russians occupy Khiva, and this raises the tension to the level of a war between the two powers, but the Russians manage the issue. And they accept the British proposed map around the northern borders of Afghanistan (Ataei, 2005: 546-547). This border was defined from Wakhan to Khamiab on the route of Rokhaneh Panj and Amu Sea (Farhang, 2015: 447). Ultimately, this agreement is known as the Clarindon and Gurjakoff (British and Russian foreign ministers) agreement (which is known as the Sher Ali Khan Line in Afghanistan) in 1872-1873 AD without negotiation with the Shah of Afghanistan (Atchison, 1930: 9), and in this way, the first border between the two powers is determined to reduce the competition over India and Central Asia for the buffer land (Afghanistan)

2. Rijvi Border: After determining the main northern border of Afghanistan with Russian Central Asia, the Russians continued their progress slowly for 8 years after the agreement of Granville and Gurjakoff (1872-1873 AD) towards Merv, until they master it, and this caused the protest of India and Britain, and because the borders of Afghanistan with the plains of Turkestan between Merv and Herat were not defined in that agreement, the advance of the Russians made the British anxious. In 1882, the British foreign minister Granville proposed the marking of those unspecified areas, and the Russians also agreed to complete the continuation of the border in 1872-1873 with the then government of Afghanistan. For this purpose, in April 1884, a joint commission was appointed under the leadership of the British and Russian Zelinov. The difference of opinion arises from the starting point and the path of this border. During this period, the Russians occupy the Khatun Bridge above Harirud and the Kheshti Bridge above Margab and then Panjdeh, (March 1885) and then, as a result

of the protest of the British, two months later, under the leadership of Colonel Sir West Ridgeway, they met with the Russian delegation in Zulfikar instead of Lamzden, and the Allameh Gezi started, and by September 1886, they reach Khamiab, the eastern end of the border, But in this region, they also have a dispute, and Rijoy goes to St. Petersburg to negotiate a settlement of the dispute, and the parties agree to a mutual compromise, and in January 1888, they complete the marking of this border. (Achesen, 1930: 9-10).

3. The border of the Pamirs: In 1891, the Russians, continuing their expansionist policy, entered Wakhan with an army on the Pamirs. According to the 1873 agreement of Granville and Gerjakov, which was part of Afghanistan, the following year, the Russians made the Chinese and Afghan forces escape in Soma-tash. This incident forced the British to mark the border with the Russians in this area as well, and sending Martimore Durand to Kabul, he got a promise from the Shah of Afghanistan that to resolve the conflict, he should withdraw his forces from the Badakhshan areas located in the north of Panj (Roshan and Shaghnan), and promised that the Emir of Bukhara will not interfere in the south of Panj (Wakhan and Pamir), and the British and Russian joint delegation of Major Gerrard and Tchaikovsky and two representatives of Afghanistan determined and specified the border from the west of Lake Zargul to the border of China. Thus, in March 1895, Badakhshan was divided into two parts, the northern part belonged to Bukhara and the Russians, and the southern part belonged to Afghanistan (Atchison, 1930: 10-11). With the establishment of the Pamir border, the British and Russian agreed borders for Afghanistan with Russia and the agreed buffer zone for the parties between India and Central Asia were completed.

Eastern and Southern Borders: Since the British defined the borders of Afghanistan with their rival Russia and the border of British India with the then government of Afghanistan despite the Lahore Triangle treaties of 1838, Jimrod I and II (1855 and 1855), and still, in 1879, it was still not clear and precise, so they thought of drawing this border. Martymore Durand, the foreign minister of the British Indian government, who came to Kabul in 1893 to resolve the border tension in the Pamir region, had the duty to negotiate the border agreement between India and the Afghan government. He did the same and led to the agreement of November 12, 1893, which became known as Durand's line or border. According to this agreement, the Afghan Shah gave up his claim on Swat, Bajaur, Chitral, Waziristan and Chaman, and on the other hand, with the acknowledgment of the British, the Kunar valley up to Asmar and Barmal region of Waziristan were included in Afghanistan, and it was decided that three joint British and Afghan delegations would start the work of marking and marking from three different areas and connect the lines, which started in 1894 and was completed by 1895(Farhang, 2015: 455-458).

Western borders

1. Makmahan: In 1872, Shir Ali Khan Shah of Afghanistan asked the British government of India to arbitrate on the border of Sistan province between Afghanistan and Iran, they sent Goldsmith to the region and he demarcated the border, but it was not accepted by the sides of Afghanistan and Iran. Once again, in 1888, Abdul Rahman Khan requested arbitration from England, but this time the decision was not accepted by the parties, until in 1902, two British governments requested arbitration for Barsoom. And this time Makmahan, after surveying the area, determined the border of the two states from Mount Malek Siah to Mount Black and presented his decision to both sides in 1905, and this time both sides were unhappy. Finally, in 1973, under the presidency of Musa Shafiq, the Helmand water sharing agreement was finalized (Ataei, 2005: 555).

2. Sarhad Fakhri: This border is located in the west of Afghanistan with Iran, and the issue was almost resolved in the Paris Agreement of 1857, and the last tension between the governments of Iran and Afghanistan was over the issue of Hashtadan in the west of Herat, where the soldiers of the two sides engaged in surface clashes several times and prevented the presence of each other's forces in the said area, the governments of Iran and Afghanistan approached the British Indo-British government to resolve their differences, and based on the Paris Peace Agreement (1857 AD), they once again found the opportunity to intervene in the affairs of Afghanistan and Iran (Asil, 2022: 84). In 1891 Sir Frank C. Lascelles, the British ambassador in Tehran, appointed Maclean, the consul of Mashhad, to resolve this dispute. After hearing the claims and seeing the plans of the parties in the region, he resolved the issue between the two governments in accordance with the usual plan of compromise or de-escalation of the tension (Mutouli Haghghi, 2004: 302-305), But because a large part of Afghanistan's border with Iran in the west of Herat and Farah up to the border of Makmohan was not clearly defined. Both the governments of Afghanistan and Iran requested mediation from the Turkish government in 1933, and General Fakhr al-Din, on behalf of that government, determined the border from Siah Ko to Dehne Zulfiqar, which was the starting point west of the Rijui line, to resolve the issue, and he submitted his decision to the parties in 1935 and it was accepted by both governments (Ataei, 2005: 556).

Northeast border: This border is a small area that connects the Wakhan Corridor to Xinjiang China. In the 1960s (1964) during the reign of Zahir Shah, this border was determined and defined with the Chinese Communist government without any problems (ibid.: 551).

CONCLUSION

The European imperialism and colonialism of the 19th century had many consequences for all countries that were backward in terms of civilization and

politics, and in some countries, it had a very deep effect, as the 19th century was the peak of the colonialism of these countries and for most of the countries at that time, these powers made decisions, imposed policies and demarcated borders.

During the 19th century, the advance of the Russians in the north of Afghanistan and the British India in the east and south of it created a threat in India from Tsarist Russia and in Central Asia from British India, and the geography of Afghanistan stood in the way of creating a threat to these lands. For this reason, at first, the British based in India thought of dividing this geography so that a powerful government would not be formed in it, and for this purpose, a series of their indirect and direct policies, along with the conflicts and strong family and ethnic differences of the Seduzai and Mohammadzai families, caused the division of Afghanistan, until this land was divided into three independent kingdoms of Kabul, Kandahar and Herat, and the northern areas of the Hindu Kush (modern-day northern Afghanistan) were not under the control of any of these governments, and this policy was imposed by the British on this land until the first half of this century, and from the second half onwards, their policy changed completely, and in order to protect India's borders, they found it necessary to create a centralized and unified government in Afghanistan under their support and control, and even to defend the lands of Afghanistan, the city of Herat was expelled from its possession by attacking twice in the Persian Gulf and dominating the Qajar islands of Iran, and then with the first and second Jimrod treaties of 1855 and 1857 with the ruler of Kabul and the Treaty of Paris (1857) with the government of Iran, and the agreement with Tsarist Russia, they adapted the ground for creating a single geography for Afghanistan, and these policies were carried out due to the advance of the Russians in Central Asia and the approach to the borders of India. In the 19th century, the competition of these two powers reached the point where the interests of both in the region were endangered, and the possibility of a direct war had formed between them and because they saw this issue against the interests of their global imperialism, then, in order to solve this big problem and solve their threats, they placed a land between them with specific borders and geography (Afghanistan), and they started this in London and Saint-Petersburg and set the first border in the north of Afghanistan in 1873, and then they demarcated the other borders of this country in the same way. And they also annexed or separated lands from it, But all these important decisions were made in the absence of the people of this land (Afghanistan) and its rulers and they decided about it without even informing these rulers, they dealt with this land in such a way that it can be said that these two powers were the main architects of this geography and country, and the rulers of this land were only the pure implementers of their policies and in creating the geography of their government, they only acted according to their policies and orders, and it can even be said that those two powers and their policies in India and

Central Asia could have brought any change other than these geographic and border characteristics to Afghanistan. which is bigger or smaller or another policy; Because in the first place, when the Russians were trying to create a buffer between them with the British. They did not consider the north of the Hindu Kush (northern Afghanistan today) as part of Kabul's sovereignty, and they thought that this land should be given to the ruler of Bukhara or exist as an independent country, and it was the pressure of the British that such a case did not happen. On the other hand, the British Indo-British government wanted to put the foothills of the Hindu Kush as a military barrier against the Russians, and for this reason, with their double aggression (1839 and 1878 AD), they tried to reach the Indian border to Kabul and Kandahar. But only the courage and struggles of the people of these lands prevented such a demarcation. In any case, today's geographical area can be considered the product of their policies, and in this matter, the politics of the kings of Afghanistan at that time did not play a decisive role in this matter.

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