

**INDIA – PAKISTAN RIVALRY IN AFGHANISTAN: IMPLICATIONS
FOR AFGHAN NATIONAL SECURITY**



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FINAL APPROVAL LETTER

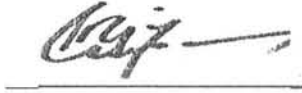
This is to certify that we have read the graduate essay submitted by Ms. Sayeda and in our judgment it is up to the standard of acceptance by the Quaid-i-Azam University for the grant of the degree of BS in International Relations.

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Dedication

Dedicated to my beloved parents, friends and teachers

APPROVAL

The BS thesis titled ‘Pakistan – India Rivalry in Afghanistan: Implications for Afghan National Security’ written by Sayeda Rahimi is approved for external evaluation.

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ABSTRACT

Afghanistan is known as the “Heart of Asia”; has important geographical significance that always caused to be the main reason of attracting the great powers. History shows that Afghans have been less likely to obey any power or to be governed by any power. Due to this reason their landscape played the role of buffer zone in the great game era. The colonial power of the time, Britain fought three wars with Afghanistan the last one resulted finally in Afghanistan’s independence by Amanullah in 1919. The Great Russian (USSR) invasion 1979 also got immense repulsion from the people of Afghanistan, which resulted in the demise of Union of Soviet Socialist Republic and a change in International system, US became the sole superpower in 1991.

During Afghans war with USSR, the regional countries got an opportunity to insert their policies. They divided Afghans in different factions to disable them from expected threat to their integrity and interests.

Terrorism and Al-Qaida found safe heavens under Taliban regime. They challenged the world security especially western powers as they attacked on the world trade center planned by them. United states and NATO forces toppled Taliban government and brought a semi-democratic government. Hamid Karzai was elected the first president of the existing political system through Bonn Conference. Pakistan and India two archrival neighbors also got their jaws in Afghanistan international political affairs. The game played by all sides but, the blood was from Afghans. This triangle rivalry has affected not only South Asia but also the world by increased number of terrorists’ activities and emerging other groups such as ISIS and other regional and sub regional terrorist militant wings.

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INTRODUCTION

Afghanistan has been the host of great powers rivalry for a very long time. The "Great Game" between Great Britain and Russia played out across the 19th and 20th Century in Afghanistan. One side was British which tried three times without luck to add Afghanistan to their Indian empire and wanted to prevent Russian empire expansion and on the other side was Russian whose objective was to have access to the Indian Ocean in the Afghan territories (today Pakistan). This created distrust and constant threat of war between the two empires.

In order to fix the border between British India and Central Asia controlled by Russia; Afghanistan was suggested as neutral zone by the Russians. To prevent Britain's influence in Afghanistan; Afghans had fought with Britishers three times in 1838 first Anglo-Afghan War and 1878 the Second Anglo-Afghan War.

To prevent another Anglo-Afghan war; on 12th November 1893, King Abdul Rahman Khan, and Sir Mortimer Durand, the Foreign Secretary of the Colonial Government of India, agreed to draw the border between British India and Afghanistan. Durand Line has drawn the border between Afghanistan and Pakistan in the modern times, cut through Pashtun tribal areas and villages. Later, the area on both sides of Durand became the subject of Pashtun independence movement aimed at creation of an autonomous state of Pakhtunistan in the mid-20th century.¹

In May 1919 after Amanullah Khan declared independence from British Third Anglo-Afghan war took place. Yet signing the final document of Peace Treaty between Afghanistan and British

¹The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica. "Durand Line." Encyclopædia Britannica. April 09, 2020. Accessed June 16, 2020. <https://www.britannica.com/event/Durand-Line>.

was not concluded that a Friendship Treaty was signed between Afghans and new Bolshevik regime in Soviet Union.²

The end of the Great Game is to be considered when the border between Afghanistan and the British empire was defined. It was a reason of dispute between governments of Afghanistan and British India and later when India-Pakistan were declared as separate countries in 1947, this conflict persists till present day between Afghanistan and Pakistan as both countries failed to have mutual consensus on the issue.

Afghanistan remained relatively peaceful from 1919 up until the Communist coup in 1978 but unfortunately, the end of the great game did not end the chaos in Afghanistan, the puppet and power hunger leaders backed by USSR were not able to govern the country well. Eventually the situation inside Afghanistan worried USSR for US influence during the ongoing Cold War between them. In 1979 USSR invaded Afghanistan and Taliban were created in 1973 by Pakistan backed by US to help Mujahidin in fight against USSR.

In 1988 an agreement signed among four countries-Pakistan-Afghanistan-US and USSR which changed Afghanistan to a nonaligned state.³ Then Cold War ended in 1991 with USSR disintegration. After withdrawal of Soviet Union, there were many chances at hand for Afghans to integrate and make Afghanistan a peaceful country, but Afghan leaders failed to compromise on issues. Therefore, Afghanistan has been gifted with Civil War from 1992 to 1996.

Afghanistan became a battleground for the proxies of regional powers, most prominently, India and Pakistan. During 1990s, the continuous civil war and rapacious activities of different

² The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica. "Anglo-Afghan Wars." Encyclopædia Britannica. June 02, 2020. Accessed September 16, 2020. <https://www.britannica.com/event/Anglo-Afghan-Wars#ref1119637>.

³ Zeidan, A., n.d. Afghan War. In: *Britanica*.

warlords supported by regional powers; provided another twist which led to the emergence of the Taliban.⁴

What happened in Afghanistan was that after civil war, Taliban who were supported by US and Pakistan took over Kabul government in 1996. India had troubled ties with Afghanistan in this phase marked by civil war, Islamic extremism and jihadist terrorism. ⁵Taliban had built friendly relation with Al Qaida and gave safety to its leader Osama Bin Laden who later has been found in the army-based city Abbottabad -Pakistan by USA (Al Qaida was accused of attack on World Trade Tower on September 11, 2001.)

Following the US intervention and overthrow of Taliban government, War on Terror started by US along with NATO forces and Afghanistan changed to a democratic country with an interim government Karzai as the head. India got a new chance after years of dealing with a hostile Taliban regime to resume relations with friends had in power and has since moved to secure and solidify these ties. India and Afghanistan established formal political and diplomatic relations on January 4, 1950 by signing first Friendship Treaty.⁶

Now, Pakistan was worried about the Indian influence in Afghanistan. Basically, India Pakistan animosity emerged at the end of British role over Subcontinent in 1947 after which Subcontinent divided into two countries, Islamic Republic of Pakistan and Republic of India.

There has been hostile interaction between India and Pakistan since their establishment which dispute over Kashmir is considered the main bone of contention between them in South Asia.

⁴ Rahimullah Yousafzai, "the Taliban's years in Powers" eds., Riffat Hussain, J.N. Dixit and et.al. *The Anatomy of a Conflict Afghanistan and 9/11*(New Delhi: The Lotus Collection Roli Books, 2002), 102.

⁵ file:///C:/Users/Sayeda_PC/Desktop/26465815.pdf

⁶ Ian Stephen, *Pakistan: Old country/New Nation* (England: Penguins Books Ltd, 1964), 265.

Their enmity became even greater from 1971 onward when Bengalis separated from Pakistan and formed their own state Bangladesh.

Since 1947, they have fought a total of four wars in 1947–1948, 1965, 1971, and during a crisis in 1999,⁷ they appeared to be on the edge of going nuclear war against each other along with an additional 43 militarized interstate disputes. During the 1980s Pakistan also started sending the Jihadis into Indian Kashmir.⁸

Soon, Afghanistan became embroiled in their conflict which was prominent during the course of the Afghan war; India came to support Ahmed Shah Massoud's Northern Alliance because of its enmity toward the Pakistani-supported Taliban⁹.

The Al-Qaida attack of September 9/11 and fall of Taliban regime after US intervention did not stop the two countries' hostility toward each other. India's goal after 2001 has been attempts to ensure a substantial footprint in Afghanistan by keeping a warm place in heart and mind of Afghans. It did so by implementing its soft power policy such as building good diplomatic and economic ties with Afghanistan which significantly was costly for Pakistan, challenging Pakistan's strategic and economic interests.

Since both countries Afghanistan and India have border disputes with Pakistan, Pakistan tries to avoid being sandwiched between two hostile neighbors¹⁰ therefore since long Pakistan has

⁷ Dalrymple, W. (2013). *A Deadly Triangle: Afghanistan, Pakistan and India*. The Brookings Institution. Washington DC: The Brookings Essay .

⁸ Dalrymple, W. (2013). *A Deadly Triangle: Afghanistan, Pakistan and India*. The Brookings Institution. Washington DC: The Brookings Essay .

⁹ Ganguly, Sumit, and Nicholas Howenstein. "INDIA-PAKISTAN RIVALRY IN AFGHANISTAN." *Journal of International Affairs* 63, no. 1 (2009): 127-40. Accessed June 18, 2020. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24384176>.

¹⁰ Says, Ramlal Sharma, Ramlal Sharma, ABHILASH AP Says, Abhilash Ap, Komal Says, Komal, Divyansh Says, Divyansh, Dr. Khalid Says, and Dr. Khalid. "India-Afghanistan Relations – Everything You Need to Know." ClearIAS. March 04, 2019. Accessed June 18, 2020. <https://www.clearias.com/india-afghanistan-relations/>.

considered India's rapid insertion of material support which India started after 2001 into Afghanistan as a strategic loss.¹¹

However, India does not share a common border with Afghanistan, but it is a part of its "extended neighborhood".¹² Therefore, the competition heightened when India built significant presence in Afghanistan. Indian visibility went from low to high, as the country built up an extensive diplomatic presence, with an embassy and four Consulates, 'including in the cities of Jalalabad and Kandahar', which are in closer imminence to Pakistan.

Limitation of the Study

It is acknowledged that Iran also has been involved in supporting Taliban in Afghanistan as its proxy and has been safe homes for the leaders of Taliban for many years. This research is not going to include Iran and its activities in Afghanistan.

Statement of the Problem

The rivalry of India-Pakistan has converted Afghanistan from a relatively peaceful to an insecure country of the region. Both India and Pakistan were crucial players which caused civil wars and later proxy wars in Afghanistan. Terrorism has been given good opportunity to fit itself in the country by threatening other states and even most of the time has been used by strangers to enforce their own agendas.

¹¹ Ganguly, Sumit, and Nicholas Howenstein. "INDIA-PAKISTAN RIVALRY IN AFGHANISTAN." *Journal of International Affairs* 63, no. 1 (2009): 127-40. Accessed June 18, 2020. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24384176>.

¹² Aly Zaman, "India's Increased Involvement in Afghanistan and Central Asia Implications for Pakistan", *IPRI Journal*, Vol. III, No 2 (Summer, 2003), 7 9.

After defeat of Taliban by US in 2001, both India and Pakistan have tried to influence Afghanistan at the expense of each other. India's multidimensional ties with Afghanistan resumed and had been effective for helping Afghans in building infrastructure. On the other side Pakistan in order to weaken its enemy (India) has used Taliban as mean to implement its strategic depth policy. Sadly, Afghans have been the main victims of the regional rivalry and have lost thousands of civilians and soldiers in the proxy wars. The long competition between the regional rivals has impacted Afghanistan's national security, economy and ethnic integrity

The terrorist activities on one side, inability of Afghans and NATO forces to secure the country on the other side, badly impacted the profile of Afghans at international level and introduced Afghanistan as a fragmented, poor and insecure to the rest of the world.

Moreover, Afghanistan has failed to attract foreign investment and tourism in the country due to insecurity. Therefore, unemployment is at the peak that caused many young and jobless people to join the terrorist groups.

Significance of the Study

Pakistan and India competition started with the departure of Britishers from Subcontinent. This paper attempts to crosses checks the reasons and motivation behind India and Pakistan rivalry and their directions towards Afghanistan after 2001. This long competition between India and Pakistan has increased security tensions in Afghanistan specially after 2014 when NATO forces announced to give the security to Afghan forces and then President Donald Trump policy to leave Afghanistan. This paper attempts to discuss the vacuum that the NATO and US forces has have created after their withdrawal to the regional competition of India and Pakistan in Afghanistan. The paper is going to find out whether India Pak will have an agreement not to

target each other's interest in Afghanistan after an US-Taliban and Afghan-Taliban peace agreement

Research Questions

Why is there rivalry between India and Pakistan on Afghan soil?

How Pakistan and India enmity has an impact on Afghanistan security?

Will an Intra-Afghan Peace Deal reduce the proxy war between India and Pakistan in Afghanistan?

Research Hypothesis

Most likely Pakistan will favor an instable and insecure Afghanistan till there is unfriendly government posing threat to Pakistan's ethnic and territorial integrity.

Theoretical Framework

Keeping in view the above literature, it would be conceivable that among the international political theories, Neorealism is the best-fit theory in it. Neorealism is the outgrowth of Realism which Kenneth Waltz presented in his book "Theory of International Politics" (1979). There are six fundamental approaches to Neorealism "anarchy, structure, capability, distribution of power, polarity, and national interest".¹³ The behavior of India-Pakistan is discussed in this paper considering Neorealism theory because Neorealism mostly focuses on inter-state conflict.

According to Neorealism states are dictated by international system and states are great powers and the main actors in international politics. These states also compete for power and the reason

¹³ Williams, Paul D., et al. "What Are the Basic Concepts of Neorealism?" ResearchGate, 15 Oct. 2016, www.researchgate.net/post/What_are_the_basic_concepts_of_neorealism.

that states want to be very powerful, pursue power, dominate their region of the world is that, if a state is weak in its region than there's no night watchman that it can call on the telephone to come and help it.

Development and progression of economic, military and diplomatic ties of any of them with any other county particularly in south Asia is considered threat to the security and national interest of the other. In this context both India Pakistan try to influence Afghanistan at the expense of each other where India's soft power strategy has been challenged by its most prominent rival Pakistan in the region, particularly in Afghanistan landscape.

Research Methodology

Research methodology is the procedure by which researchers use to describe, explain and predict phenomenon. Qualitative methodology is applied in this study. Qualitative research is supposed to study qualitative phenomenon that the primary goal is find out the meaning and define the situation.

It is descriptive and non-numerical that applies reasoning to study why and how of decision-making. The data which is used in this research includes secondary reaped from reports, research articles books, journals, news articles, and websites. Some interviews will be conducted with the experts and politicians to provide firsthand information on the concerned topic to attain the requirement of this research.

Literature Review

John Mitton: in his essay (The India–Pakistan rivalry and failure in Afghanistan) in consideration of NATO’s failure in Afghanistan. This essay is about the Pak-India rivalry in the region. In this sense, he is discussing that “Islamabad has remained reluctant to meaningfully target the Taliban, the Haqqani Network, and other insurgent groups operating in Afghanistan.” Pakistan and India expand their conflict in Afghanistan and the present-day scenario is largely shaped by South Asian rivals.

It is discussed that India Pakistan rivalry over Kashmir where Pakistan is a revisionist state and India is happy with the status quo and beyond Kashmir issue a new theatre has emerged that is Afghanistan. In the article the Indian role in Afghanistan has been mentioned more positively by investing and constructing Afghan’s infrastructures than Pakistan which has been involved in supporting and arming Taliban and insurgent groups in Afghanistan.

Tehseena Usman: Pakistan and India are worrying about each other’s influence in Afghanistan after the post-Taliban era both Pakistan and India are trying to influence Afghanistan through various means the latter through investment and projects which creates big tension for the Pakistan which shares longest border with Afghanistan

Zachary Constantino: In his report India-Pakistan rivalry in Afghanistan he emphasizes that India is using its soft power and Pakistan is using its patronage Taliban. He talks about the Kashmir issue which is playing an important role in originating tensions between India and Pakistan in Afghanistan. He also mentions that the mutual mistrust between India and Pakistan would most likely increase the violence in Afghanistan and even if there is a peace deal signed between Afghans the tools for Pakistan against India will persist in Afghanistan.

Objective

- 1- To explore proxy war between India and Pakistan in Afghanistan
- 2- To explore the possible peace agreement and its impact on Pak India competition

CHAPTER ONE

Pakistan in Afghanistan

1.1 Introduction:

In 1947 Afghanistan's closest neighbor came into being as Islamic Republic of Pakistan with majority Muslim population, bordering 13 provinces of Afghanistan on the South and East. Pakistan, in spite of cultural, religion, ethnic similarities and physical proximity to Afghanistan did not enjoy the most cordial relations thanks to the issues over Durand-Line.¹⁴ Afghanistan voted against Pakistan membership at UN and did not recognize Pakistan as the legitimate inheritor of agreements which were signed with British.¹⁵ Pakistan and Afghanistan relations have been multifaceted which have been unfavorable due to differences over Durand line as well as the issue of Pakhtunistan from 1947 till the USSR invasion of Afghanistan in 1979.

The separation of East Pakistan in 1971 was a great loss to Pakistan therefore, it was careful about any future threat to its ethnic and territorial integrity from Afghan side. From 1947 till 1973, Kabul was supporting Baluch and Pashtun nationalists hence, called for the creation of a new state for the Pashtuns of both Afghanistan and Pakistan which would be called "Pashtunistan."¹⁶

¹⁴ Ganguly, Sumit, and Nicholas Howenstein. "INDIA-PAKISTAN RIVALRY IN AFGHANISTAN." *Journal of International Affairs* 63, no. 1 (2009): 127-40. Accessed June 18, 2020. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24384176>.

¹⁵ "Pakistan and Afghanistan." Institute for the Study of War. Accessed July 5, 2020. <http://www.understandingwar.org/pakistan-and-afghanistan>.

¹⁶ "Pakistan and Afghanistan." Institute for the Study of War. Accessed July 5, 2020. <http://www.understandingwar.org/pakistan-and-afghanistan>.

Pakistan was aware that Pashtun and Baluch have the support of the third party-India. Pashtun nationalists hold Pakhtunistan Jirga in Delhi¹⁷ therefore, this tense relation due to issue of Pakhtunistan remained captive between Pakistan and Afghanistan. The Afghan's intentions were cleverly checked by Pakistan. Under Prime minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's administration, the "Afghan Cell" was created in 1973 to influence Kabul government. The Afghan Cell (Mujahidin, Taliban) might had been considered as the best option for Pakistan to influence Afghanistan as well as to contain India's presence there. This was clear to all when Interior Minister Naseerullah Babar of Pakistan called Taliban Pakistan's "boys" and conceded that they were trained by Pakistan.¹⁸

In late 1970s, Sardar Daoud made some improvement for the betterment of relations with Pakistan but, he was overthrown by a Communist coup in 1978.¹⁹ The 1978 USSR invasion called a serious threat to Pakistan. Therefore, Afghan Cell got the opportunity to be used for eliminating Russia, reputed as Mujahidin. USSR was soon defeated by Mujahidin linked with Pakistan, USA and Saudi Arabia. Later, in 1992 the leader of Northern Alliance took over the interim regime controlled by Sibghatullah Mojaddedi, He did not favor the undue interference of Pakistan in Afghan affairs therefore, he was known to be anti-Pakistan. Finally, after the civil war, Pakistan was successful in installing Taliban government in Afghanistan in 1996 which is considered the only period when Pakistan enjoyed good relationship with Afghanistan under the Taliban regime. Even after the September attack, Pakistan continued its support to the insurgent groups inside Afghanistan for instance: Mullah Omar's Shura (council), Gulbuddin Hekmatyar's

¹⁷ Ian Stephen, *Pakistan: Old country/New Nation* (England: Penguins Books Ltd, 1964), 265. Ian Stephen, *Pakistan: Old country/New Nation* (England: Penguins Books Ltd, 1964), 265.

¹⁸ "Baber admits training Taliban in 1994", *The Frontier Post*, Peshawar, June 22, 1998.

¹⁹ "Pakistan and Afghanistan." *Institute for the Study of War*. Accessed July 5, 2020.

<http://www.understandingwar.org/pakistan-and-afghanistan>.

Hizb-e Islami and the al-Qaeda-linked Haq-qani network – are based in and operate from Pakistan²⁰.

The US invasion of Afghanistan in 2001 resulted in bringing Indian favored leaders in power who were majority Pashtuns. This was a big threat to Pakistan because, a stable and peaceful pro-India Afghanistan could refresh the idea of Pakhtunistan and Durand Line hence, and Pakistan had to cooperate with Taliban.

Afghanistan has been Pakistan's strategic depth to punish India, but at the same time it has always tried to build good relations in terms of diplomatic, economic as well as civilian in order to take some positive steps farther than Indian in cooperation with Afghanistan. Most of the time the mistrust between the two countries has countered these efforts and both failed to change the tense relation into good and cooperative one.

1.2 Bilateral Preeminent Issues

The persistent tension between Afghanistan and Pakistan is closely linked with some major differences. Pakistan was born as the new Islamic state in South Asia, it was unhappy situation for the Afghans to vote against the Pakistan admission into UN but due to the unresolved issue of the Durand line Afghanistan had to do it.

The Afghan opposition to Pakistan's admission into UN has generated the roots of all existing mistrust between the two states. Soon after the birth of Pakistan, Afghanistan extended its support for the Baluch and Pashtuns inside Pakistan and called for the creation of Pakhtunistan²¹. From the time that the idea of Pashtunistan has been coined all the subsequent Afghan

²⁰ "Resetting Pakistan's Relations with Afghanistan." Crisis Group. July 15, 2020. Accessed July 08, 2020. <https://www.crisisgroup.org/asia/south-asia/pakistan/resetting-pakistan-s-relations-afghanistan>.

²¹ "Pakistan and Afghanistan." Institute for the Study of War. Accessed July 5, 2020. <http://www.understandingwar.org/pakistan-and-afghanistan>.

government (Zahir Shah, Daud, Dr. Najibullah, Hamid Karzai, Ashraf Ghani) and leaders (Burhanuddin Rabbani, Mojadadi, Ahmad Shah Massoud, Hekmatyar, Taliban) either have been pro Pakistan or not, have opposed the recognition of the Durand line as legitimate border between Afghanistan and Pakistan.

Since, the dialogues between British and Afghanistan government failed to build consensus, it remained unresolved in the first half of twentieth century before the division of subcontinent. Kabul's support (mostly rhetorical) continued till 1978 that invasion happened in Afghanistan. However, this invasion stopped the Afghan's stand on border issues somehow, in favor of Pakistan but, USSR invasion was considered a big threat to the security and territorial integrity of Pakistan; Pakistan armed Taliban with the support of USA and Saudi Arabia - was made five years before the 1978 Soviet invasion to Afghanistan- in 1973.

After the soviet defeat Afghan Mujahidin divided into separate groups that led to civil war. Afghans lost the chance for state formation in 1990s because the foreign country had hand behind internal conflicts which resulted in fragmentation of Afghanistan. In 1996 Taliban regime (Pro Pakistan) took over government in Kabul.

1.3 Durand Line

The issue of border demarcation dates to 19th century when king Abdul Rahman Khan wanted to specify border between British and Afghanistan. On November 12, 1893, an agreement was signed between British and Afghan King Abdul Rahman Khan which is called Durand Line agreement. This agreement did not include some regions to be given to Afghanistan which King Abdul Rahman was demanding, for instance British suggested that Waziristan would be part of India. Waziristan was not the only area added to British India but Dir, Swat, Chitral and

Peshawar also were also added to British India. In return Asmar which was a strategic point to access to Nuristan and other eastern regions was given to Afghanistan²². Apparently, King Abdul Rahman Khan was not pleased to this agreement because Afghanistan had historical claim over those areas.

After 1947 the legal status of the tribal areas was changed, and they became autonomous for they were not part of India and they had only direct agreements with British crown; not with government of India²³. Pakistan does not inherit these areas just like Kashmir that was an autonomous area but, forcefully divided between India and Pakistan. After the departure of British Afghanistan wanted to bring back these areas (areas which was taken from Afghanistan in 1893) under its territorial authority. Moreover, the division of Pashtuns into two was not the only reason for Afghans demanding their lost territories back but, also this line cut off the only access to the large body of water (the Indian Ocean, and the Arabian Sea).

The issue of Durand line which has been the reason of conflict in the areas of Pashtun inhabitants more than a century has created mistrust in Pak-Afghan relations and persistent insecurity in border areas of Durand line. Pakistan and Afghanistan have never enjoyed a peaceful relation, their relation has always been characterized by blaming and closer of the border between them. Due to the border issues Afghanistan is trying to find alternative trade and transit route for export and imports of her goods.

Afghanistan claims that, in 1893, 1905, 1919 and 1921 the agreements signed with British India, did not clearly acknowledge Durand Line as international border, but confirmed sphere of

²² Omrani, Bijan. "The Durand Line: History And Problems Of The Afghan-Pakistan Border." *Asian Affairs* 40, no. 2 (2009): 177-95. doi:10.1080/03068370902871508.

²³ Omrani, Bijan. "The Durand Line: History And Problems Of The Afghan-Pakistan Border." *Asian Affairs* 40, no. 2 (2009): 177-95. doi:10.1080/03068370902871508.

influences of the two states²⁴ and those agreements were under cogeny. On the other side Pakistan stand is that being inheritor state to British, it inherits all the agreements and treaties that were previously signed by British India government.²⁵ The border issue of Pak-Afghan has been fundamentally the source of tense relations between them. From this issue emanates another core issue; the issue of Pashtunistan.

1.4 Pakhtunistan

The area which lies between Afghanistan and Pakistan is called Pakhtunistan or Pathanistan where most of the Pashtuns live. The language and culture of Pashtuns are different from other ethnicities, and they have Pashtunwali. This area has been problematic for conquerors because it is not easy to control the Afghan people, particularly Pashtuns. It strides 1,000 miles of the 1,600-mile Afghan-Pakistani border²⁶. During 1920s and 1930s, the anti-British sentiment stimulates the emergence of a Pashtun nationalist movement on what was to become the Pakistan side of the Durand Line.²⁷

In late 1920s, Ghaffar Khan founded the "Red Shirt Movement" which is also called Khudia Khatmatgar (servants of God), constituted by Pashtun nationalists. The aim lied behind this movement was to awaken Pashtun's political consciousness²⁸. Ghaffar Khan was fighting for the right of Pashtun minority and for an autonomous Pakhtunistan in the border areas of West Pakistan.

²⁴ Ahmad, N. (2010). Pakistan's Afghan policy: Historical Perspective 1947-1977.

²⁵ Ahmad, N. (2010). Pakistan's Afghan policy: Historical Perspective 1947-1977.

²⁶ Shane, Scott. "The War in Pashtunistan." The New York Times. December 05, 2009. Accessed July 8, 2020. <https://www.nytimes.com/2009/12/06/weekinreview/06shane.html>.

²⁷ Singh, Harnaikh, ed. South Asia in 2008, a Review. New Delhi: Manohar Publishers & Distributors, 2009.

²⁸ The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica. "Abdul Ghaffar Khan." Encyclopædia Britannica. January 16, 2020. Accessed September 14, 2020. <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Khan-Abdul-Ghaffar-Khan>.

Hence, the idea to create Pakhtunistan as a separate state for the Pashtuns of both side of the line emerged before the birth of India and Pakistan as sovereign states. In 1947, the referendum on NWFP was expected to be winning by Pakistan, was unpalatable for Ghaffar Khan. Ghaffar Khan who is also known as Frontier Gandhi announced the decision of Pashtuns on 27th June, 1947, that “we have decided to establish Pathanistan (neither join Pakistan nor join India) which will be an independent state of all Pathans”.²⁹ However his idea for creation of Pakhtunistan had the support of Gandhi but, unexpectedly rejected by Nehru and other members of the congress. After separation of the subcontinent NWFP was added to Pakistan therefore, Bacha Khan’s demand for an autonomous "Pashtunistan" got him into trouble with local authorities, and he was arrested several times between 1948 and 1956.³⁰

At various period of time starting from the King Zahir Shah, Muhammad Daoud, Dr. Najibullah, Sibghatullah Mojaddedi, Burhanuddin Rabbani and post 2001 governments of Hamid Karzai and Ashraf Ghani all have in some aspect but most of the time rhetorically espouse the desire to add Pakhtunistan into Afghanistan’s territory, an independent Pashtunistan to be carved out of Pakistan or a ‘Greater Afghanistan’, directly annexing the lost territories³¹. The Pashtun number 12 million in Afghanistan side and 27 million on Pakistan side³² a total of 41 million; Afghanistan is recognized to be the main place of Pashtun where they constitute the largest ethnic group and in Pakistan Punjabis are the largest ethnic group.

²⁹ "NWFP History: Referendum and the Pakhtunistan Demand." Pakistan Defence. Accessed July 10, 2020. <https://defence.pk/pdf/threads/nwfp-history-referendum-and-the-pakhtunistan-demand.39251/>.

³⁰ Rfe/rl. "Profile: Bacha Khan, Pakistan's 'Frontier Gandhi'." RFE/RL. January 20, 2016. Accessed August 18, 2020. <https://gandhara.rferl.org/a/profile-bacha-khan/27499224.html>.

³¹ "'Pashtunistan': The Challenge to Pakistan and Afghanistan." Accessed July 28, 2020. http://www.realinstitutoelcano.org/wps/wcm/connect/5c14d3004f018b08ace5ec3170baead1/ARI37-2008_Harrison_Pashtunistan_Afghanistan_Pakistan.pdf?MOD=AJPERES&CACHEID=5c14d3004f018b08ace5ec3170baead1.

³² Shane, Scott. "The War in Pashtunistan." The New York Times. December 05, 2009. Accessed July 14, 2020. <https://www.nytimes.com/2009/12/06/weekinreview/06shane.html>.

Interestingly, the issue of Pakhtunistan during Prime Minister Sardar Mohammad Daoud Khan has been marked as the most significant national issue.³³ He was known to be a stringent champion of Pashtunistan. During his reign the issue was kept alive. In 1960-1961 the tension between Pakistan and Afghanistan reached to its highest peak when Islamabad government cracked down on Pashtun Nationalists. Khan Abdul Ghafar Khan and Samad Khan Achakzai were imprisoned. It was immediately condemned by Afghanistan and Pakistan was asked to release them. There was already simmering ties hence, this issue eventually did not only led to closure of border between them but, they also broke diplomatic ties.³⁴ The economy of the land locked Afghanistan lamed with the principle trade route cut off that compelled Afghanistan to look towards Iran and Soviet Union for trade routes. These crippled economic conditions gave room to Soviet Union influence in Kabul, which furthered its influx in the form of economic and military aid.

The Pak-Afghan relations were spoiled by these controversies whenever, sub nationalism of Pashtunistan sparked in Pakistan, as it was in 1948, 1949, 1955, 1961, and 1973.³⁵

1.5 Wall on Border

The border between Afghanistan and Pakistan is 2,430km long. To build chain-link fences along its sensitive 1,500-mile boundary with Afghanistan, Pakistan is spending around \$483 million³⁶ to prevent cross border movements. Qamar Javed Bajwa, a Pakistani top military official gave

³³ 1967, "Afghanistan Strategic Intelligence: British Records 1919-1970", Vol. IV, ed. A. Burdett (London: Archive Editions, 2002)

³⁴ Ahmad, N. (2010). Pakistan's Afghan policy: Historical Perspective 1947-1977.

³⁵ Pike, John. "Military." Pashtunistan. Accessed August 3, 2020.

<https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/war/pashtunistan.htm>.

³⁶ Yusufzai, Mushtaq, et al. "Pakistan Is Building a Fence along Border with Afghanistan." NBCNews.com, NBCUniversal News Group, 17 May 2018, www.nbcnews.com/news/world/pakistan-building-fence-along-border-afghanistan-n873291.

the idea in 2016 when he became the chief of army staffs.³⁷The idea behind building this wall has multiple reasons for Pakistan therefore; fencing the Durand Line border attracted the authorities in Pakistan for addressing those concerns. However, stopping cross border movements is not the only concern for Pakistan but, also the increased Indian influence in Afghanistan made Pakistan nervous which is another reason of fencing the border.³⁸

This wall is structured 11 feet on the Pakistani side and 13 feet high on the Afghan side.³⁹The construction of fencing the border has made Afghan side angered because, it tears apart the communities. This barrier has greater impact than the Durand Line-1893 to the people living in the two side of the border. The decision to build the wall has been taken unilaterally therefore the Afghan authorities are opposing it.

The border management plan did not only include the barrier, but it also will be backed by closed-circuit television cameras, drone footage and hundreds of checkpoints.⁴⁰ It has also been discussed by the Pakistani officials to add 60,000 troops for patrolling the Afghan border in order to secure it.⁴¹ Pakistan plans to build seven times more observer posts than Afghanistan along the border.

³⁷ Wong, Kristina. "Pakistan Is Building a Wall to Keep Out Terrorists: 'Simplest Solution in the History of the World'" - Breitbart. March 14, 2018. Accessed July 25, 2020. <https://www.breitbart.com/politics/2018/03/14/pakistan-is-building-a-wall-to-keep-out-terrorists-simplest-solution-in-the-history-of-the-world/>.

³⁸ Notezai, Muhammad Akbar. "Will Pakistan's Wall Work?" – The Diplomat. January 23, 2019. Accessed August 04, 2020. <https://thediplomat.com/2019/01/will-pakistans-wall-work/>.

³⁹ Yusufzai, Mushtaq, Francis Whittaker, Wajahat S. Khan, and Ahmed Mengli. "Pakistan Is Building a Fence along Border with Afghanistan." NBCNews.com. May 17, 2018. Accessed August 04, 2020. <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/world/pakistan-building-fence-along-border-afghanistan-n873291>.

⁴⁰ "This Border Barrier Got Built - and It's Upended Lives in Pakistan and Afghanistan." Los Angeles Times. May 26, 2019. Accessed August 04, 2020. <https://www.latimes.com/world/asia/la-fg-pakistan-afghanistan-border-wall-20190527-story.html>.

⁴¹ Notezai, Muhammad Akbar. "Will Pakistan's Wall Work?" – The Diplomat. January 23, 2019. Accessed August 04, 2020. <https://thediplomat.com/2019/01/will-pakistans-wall-work/>.

This wall has negative impact on the Pakistan-Afghanistan bilateral relations and might do more harm than good at the end; as Pakistan's former Ambassador to Afghanistan said that "it is disastrous" said "it violated more than a century's worth of agreements between the countries to allow free movement, particularly of families with historical ties to the land". Rustom Shah Mohmand also said that "The government cannot stop cross-border movement of terrorists by erecting the fence" and "It just cuts off families and will cause acrimony between the two countries."⁴²

⁴² "This Border Barrier Got Built - and It's Upended Lives in Pakistan and Afghanistan." Los Angeles Times. May 26, 2019. Accessed August 04, 2020. <https://www.latimes.com/world/asia/la-fg-pakistan-afghanistan-border-wall-20190527-story.html>.

CHAPTER TWO

India in Afghanistan

2.1 Introduction:

Considering Afghanistan's historically close links to the South Asian civilizations, India, and Afghanistan bilateral relations span centuries. The ties between them originate traditionally from the close cultural links.

Afghanistan the "Heart" and "Cockpit" of Asia⁴³ has no common border with India since 1947 but their historical friendship is still very famous. The relations between the people of India and Afghanistan can be traced to the Indus Valley civilization⁴⁴. From 10th to 18th century Northern areas of India have been conquered by the conquerors who were based in Afghanistan and when there was political unrest in Afghanistan, Afghan people used to immigrate to India. Despite, India had good relations with Afghanistan but, at the time of independence it did not backed the Afghan claim over the NWFP which resulted in an Afghan persistent conflict over border with Pakistan.

Soon, the conflict and difference over some territories between Pakistan and Afghanistan brought the latter close to India. The Indian conduct shows that they have been careful to keep good relations with people and regimes in Afghanistan through different means. India had good relations with King Zaheer shah and then with Daoud and successfully kept its close ties with the USSR supported regimes. Prior to the Soviet invasion in 1979, it had agreements with various

⁴³ Ahmed Rashid, *Taliban Islam Oil and the New Great Game in Central Asia* (I.B. Taurus Publishers, 2000), 7.

⁴⁴ Says, Ramlal Sharma, Ramlal Sharma, ABHILASH AP Says, Abhilash Ap, Komal Says, Komal, Divyansh Says, Divyansh, Dr. Khalid Says, and Dr. Khalid. "India-Afghanistan Relations – Everything You Need to Know." ClearIAS. March 04, 2019. Accessed August 16, 2020. <https://www.clearias.com/india-afghanistan-relations/>.

pro-Soviet regimes in Kabul. While India had not enjoyed good relations during the Jihad era, India expanded its development activities in Afghanistan, focusing upon different sectors between 1979 and 1989.

The end of 20th century is the only time which Indian ties were completely cut with the government in Kabul. All the Indian consulates and embassy in Kabul were closed but, despite that India continued its support for Northern Alliance that was anti-Taliban regime in Kabul.

Later on, in 2001 India once again found the opportunity to resume its ties even closer than before with Afghanistan and its continuous support for Afghans to eliminate terrorism as well as economic assistance, infrastructure development and military training for Afghan soldiers.

2.2 Natural Allies

India is known as one of the “most cherished partner of Afghanistan”⁴⁵ as India considers Afghanistan as part of its “extended neighborhood”⁴⁶ and their relationship is rooted from the strong cultural and traditional ties which the two countries share.

The reason behind good relation between India and Afghanistan is their historical tie. In 1947 with the separation of Subcontinent the issues over Kashmir between Pakistan and the issues of Durand Line between Afghanistan and Pakistan have led to the convergence of interests and the forging of amicable relations between Afghanistan and India.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ Sharma, Kartik. "Relations and Tensions - India, Pakistan, and Afghanistan." Sociology Group: Sociology and Other Social Sciences Blog. May 03, 2019. Accessed July 25, 2020. <https://www.sociologygroup.com/relations-india-pakistan-afghanistan/>.

⁴⁶ Aly Zaman, “India’s Increased Involvement in Afghanistan and Central Asia Implications for Pakistan”, IPRI Journal, Vol. III, No 2 (Summer, 2003), 79.

⁴⁷ Hanifur, R., & Faheemullah, K. (2014). Indo-Pakistan Zero Sum Rivalry and Afghanistan. Journal of Contemporary Studies.

However, Afghans and Pakistanis share more commons with each other than India, but these similarities could not bring the Pakistan and Afghanistan close to each other. India and Afghanistan are called to be the Natural Ally to each other in South Asia for they both have territorial disputes with one specific country which is located in between India and Afghanistan as Dalrymple mentions in his essay “mutual antipathy to Pakistan quickly brought India and Afghanistan together as natural allies.”⁴⁸

Hence, India for the development of its strategic interests will remain friendly with Afghanistan from which it has the capacity to monitor Pakistan. The India’s interest in Afghanistan reflects its aspiration to be a regional power. During Zaher Shah (1933-1973) the mutual antipathy towards Pakistan strengthened Indian and Afghan relations and in 1950 they signed the friendship treaty.

India had good relationship with Daoud government as well but, in 1970s due to the increased influence of Soviets in Afghanistan, President Daoud improved relations with Pakistan which was not in favor of India. After president Daoud was overthrown India regained its place in Kabul.

In 1980s India aiming to expand its influence in Afghanistan had series of purposeful contribution such as building manufacturing plants, hydroelectric facilities, development projects and supervising numerous irrigation initiatives.⁴⁹

In April 1991 there was a 180-degree shift in India’s Afghanistan policy.⁵⁰ India recognized the Mujahidin regime despite of knowing that they were fighting against the USSR the closet ally of

⁴⁸ Dalrymple, W. (2013). *A Deadly Triangle: Afghanistan, Pakistan and India*. The Brookings Institution. Washington DC: The Brookings Essay.

⁴⁹ Dalrymple, W. (2013). *A Deadly Triangle: Afghanistan, Pakistan and India*. The Brookings Institution. Washington DC: The Brookings Essay.

India. In 1996 when the Taliban regime took over government, within two days of coming to power in Kabul; Taliban lynched India's former ally Najibullah and hung his body in central Kabul⁵¹. Kabul's fall and Najibullah's gruesome murder came as a shock to New Delhi then Indian were boycotted by them until the regime was overthrown by US. India once again resumed its ties in Afghanistan and had greater influence through its soft power in Afghanistan.

2.3 India-Afghanistan in Post 9/11 Era

The years after 9/11 from 2001 till 2014 Hamid Karzai who was one of the commanders of the Northern Alliance, was the president of Afghanistan. Soon after the toppling of the Taliban regime India start resuming its bilateral ties with and gaining influence in Afghanistan by following a high-level policy of engagement with Afghanistan. India's assistance involved immense humanitarian, economic and development project, and participation in international efforts for the political reconciliation and economic progress of Afghanistan. Finally, after several years of coping with the Taliban, India's friend took over positions of power in Afghanistan⁵². By the time India was considered as the most important power of the region, investing in institution building in Afghanistan.

During this period, India successfully start exploiting the dictum that "the enemy of my enemy is my friend"⁵³ after the establishment of Interim Authority in December 2001 led to up gradation of India Liaison Office to Embassy in March 2002⁵⁴. Besides Mission in Kabul, India's four

⁵⁰ Paliwal, Avinash. *My Enemys Enemy India in Afghanistan from the Soviet Invasion to the US Withdrawal*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017.

⁵¹ Press, The Associated. "GUERRILLAS TAKE AFGHAN CAPITAL AS TROOPS FLEE." *The New York Times*. Accessed July 18, 2020. <https://www.nytimes.com/1996/09/28/world/gherrillas-take-afghan-capital-as-troops-flee.html>.

⁵² Mitton, John. "The India-Pakistan Rivalry and Failure in Afghanistan." *International Journal: Canadas Journal of Global Policy Analysis* 69, no. 3 (2014): 353-76. doi:10.1177/0020702014540281.

⁵³ Hanifur, R., & Faheemullah, K. (2014). Indo-Pakistan Zero Sum Rivalry and Afghanistan. *Journal of Contemporary Studies*.

⁵⁴ Embassy of India Kabul, Afghanistan. Accessed August 16, 2020. <https://eoi.gov.in/kabul/>.

Consulates are located in Mazar-e-Sharif, Herat, Kandahar and Jalalabad. India had significant role and active engagement in Bonn Conference that was positively received.

During the Hamid Karzai presidency India has signed different high-level preferential agreements with Kabul to advance cooperation and enhance ties with Afghanistan under US-NATO umbrella. Strategic Partnership Agreement was signed in October 2011 and several other agreements and Memorandum of Understanding were also signed. India devised closer relations with Kabul during Karzai's regime. India has fundamentally bank on a loose network of mainly nonethnic Pashtun leaders to keep political influence and during President Hamid Karzai 2004-2014, India worked to promote its control among Pashtun people.⁵⁵

2.4 Friendship and Partnership

India successfully preserved her relations with Afghanistan during 20th century despite many challenges she continued to build good economic, diplomatic, and political ties with the Afghan government. India was famous in supporting Northern Alliance who were fighting against Taliban. Since, the Indian soft power and Indian officials were targeted by the pro-Pakistani Taliban; India start seeking to support the pro-Indian leaders.

The Indo – Afghan relations went through different phase. Started with the signing of 'friendship treaty' in 1950 and the most recent is 'strategic partnership' in 2011. Since 2001, the relations between India and Afghanistan have been blooming with the passage of time. India has increased considerable influence in Afghanistan. The Afghan government has signed formally the first agreement in 2014 with a country to help in securing them after the US-NATO troops withdrawal. It contains, enhancing cooperation in security and trade. India accepted to provide

⁵⁵Constantino, Zachary. Report. US Institute of Peace, 2020. Accessed July 28, 2020. doi:10.2307/resrep24909.

training to Afghan security forces in a bigger scale and supply military equipment. The consortium of India also won the US\$6 billion bid for the Hajigak iron mining,⁵⁶ which Chahbahar port in Iran will connect it through railway track. The new chapter of India and Afghanistan relations began with the signing of strategic partnership. This agreement gives the opportunity to both countries to cooperate in the regional strategic and security issues.

Quite predictably, Pakistan would worry about this kind of agreement between India and Afghanistan because, Pakistan views Indian activities in Afghanistan as India's strategic encirclement. In this regard Afghan President Hamid Karzai conveyed through media that the Partnership agreement does not aim to target any state, pointing toward Pakistan. Hamid Karzia called Pakistan as brother and India as a good friend.⁵⁷

The Ambassador of Afghanistan to brief Pakistan about the agreement between India and Afghanistan, Omar Daudzai met General Kayani and clarified him that the agreement would not conversely alter the bilateral relations of Afghanistan and Pakistan. No matter what, Pakistan was greatly vexed with the agreement and demanded that Afghans should cut all ties with India and instead sign this agreement with Pakistan.⁵⁸

Up till now from 2001 to 2020 neither President Hamid Karzai had good relationship with Pakistan nor President Dr. Muhammad Ashraf Ghani who won two presidential elections most recent in 2019.

⁵⁶ Pant, H. V. (2012). *India's Changing Afghanistan Policy: Regional and Global Implications*. Strategic Studies Institute . US Army War College Press.

⁵⁷ Ranjan, A. (2013, November). Afghanistan Quagmire and India-Pakistan "Strategic" Rivalry: Is Cooperation Possible? *Journal of Asian Politics and History* , 73-93.

⁵⁸ Ranjhan, A. (2013). Afghanistan Quagmire and India-Pakistan Strategic Rivalry: Is Cooperation possible? *Journal of Asian Politics and History* , 3.

2.5 India – Afghanistan Relations after 2014:

In 2014 US-NATO started planning to leave Afghanistan, decided to decrease their troops, a few thousand of forces will stay for training of the Afghan National Defense and Security Forces (ANDSF). The security umbrella from India was vanishing. India's Afghan policy is often known to be strategy-less.⁵⁹ It has evolved through years and has experienced several setbacks. When new government was formed in Kabul and Ashraf Ghani became the President in September 2014, India – Afghanistan bilateral relations experienced a sudden jounce. After assuming power, President Ashraf Ghani immediately took a bold step and changed the course of Afghan policy towards Pakistan. Unlike his predecessor Hamid Karzai, Ashraf Ghani favored Pakistan over India to secure its cooperation in bringing Taliban to negotiation table.

Ghani visited Pakistan on his first foreign trip. To accommodate Pakistan's concerns Ghani even suspended arms, deal with India in an unexampled move.⁶⁰ This move of Ghani greatly stuck Indo – Afghan in limbo. In response India stopped the supply of fighter helicopters.

However, Ghani's rapprochement with Pakistan was proved to be short-lived, as was expected. Pakistan did not execute Ghani's wish of bringing Taliban to the negotiations table. Taliban's attacks hasten and Pakistan was eventually accused of harboring them. The quadrilateral peace talks also stalled, when the death of Taliban's supreme leader Mullah Omar was disclosed.⁶¹ Ashraf Ghani took back the old track and visited India in April 2015 and revived the Strategic

⁵⁹ Norfolk, D. (2011). *India's Engagement with Afghanistan: Developing a Durable Policy Architecture*. Institute of South Asian Studies. Singapore: National University of Singapore.

⁶⁰ Yousaf, M., & Smith, S. (2015, July). *Ashraf Ghani's Pakistan outreach: Fighting against the odds*. United States Institute for Peace .

⁶¹ Panda, A. (2015, November 24). *A turning Point in India - Afghanistan Relations*.

Partnership agreement. The ties reconstructed and India decided to dispatch the Mi-25 helicopters to bestead Afghan army in battlefield.⁶²

Since then, the Indo – Afghan relations have been strengthening with passing day and cooperation in both economic and security sphere is boosting.

2.6 India's Development and Economic Cooperation

India is pursuing critical interests in Afghanistan in which soft-power tools form the backbone of India's influence. Through the soft-power tools crucial role has been played by India in reconstruction and rehabilitation of Afghanistan most visibly, India has provided significant bilateral aid. These financial aids constitute simple but targeted assistance⁶³ that are included help in education, health, security, energy, communication, and infrastructure supports.

Soon after the Bonn conference India rapidly expanded its profile and reconnected both at the elite and community level by managing development projects and political presence. These development projects in Afghanistan are divided into four broad areas. First is humanitarian assistance, second, big infrastructural projects, third small development projects (SDPs), fourth, education, and capacity development⁶⁴.

Since the overthrow of Taliban in 2001, \$3 billion is committed in economic aid by New Delhi.⁶⁵ Among its landmark projects, In the western province of Herat, the Afghan-India

⁶² Panda, A. (2015, November 24). A turning Point in India - Afghanistan Relations.

⁶³ Ganguly, Sumit, and Nicholas Howenstein. "INDIA-PAKISTAN RIVALRY IN AFGHANISTAN." *Journal of International Affairs* 63, no. 1 (2009): 127-40. Accessed August 18, 2020. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24384176>.

⁶⁴ MEA A Development Partnership: http://www.mea.gov.in/Uploads/PublicationDocs/176_india-and-Afghanistan-a-development-partnership.pdf. Accessed 28 July 2020.

⁶⁵ "The India-Pakistan Rivalry in Afghanistan." United States Institute of Peace. August 21, 2020. Accessed August 25, 2020. <https://www.usip.org/publications/2020/01/india-pakistan-rivalry-afghanistan>.

Friendship Dam (formerly known as the Salma Dam) was built by India and the parliament building was also built by India and trade corridors developed by India that cross Pakistan.⁶⁶

Over the years, economic relation between the two countries is increasing significantly and moving to upward trajectory and the aid which India has offered to Afghanistan is very large that has placed it among the top five bilateral donors to Afghanistan⁶⁷

Indian government has taken multiple large and medium development projects in its assistance program in Afghanistan. It has also committed \$ 2.3 billion as aid for development and construction in the years after the 9/11.⁶⁸ Some of the constructions are Zaranj-Delaram highway a 218 km road that connects west Afghanistan to Iran's Chahbahar port via the border town of Milak in Sistan-Baluchistan (US\$ 150 million) parliament building in Kabul (US\$ 178 million committed and US\$ 28 million spent), the 42 megawatt Salma dam on the Hari Rud river in Herat (US\$ 130 million), and installing a power transmission line between Pul-e-Khumri and Kabul (US\$ 120 million)⁶⁹ the 220kV DC transmission line from Pul-e-Khumri to Kabul and a 220/110/20 kV sub-station at Chintala; telephone exchanges upgraded in eleven provinces in Afghanistan; national TV network expanded by providing an uplink from Kabul and downlinks in all thirty four provincial capitals for greater integration of the country,⁷⁰ India is also planning

⁶⁶ "The India-Pakistan Rivalry in Afghanistan." United States Institute of Peace. August 21, 2020. Accessed August 25, 2020. <https://www.usip.org/publications/2020/01/india-pakistan-rivalry-afghanistan>.

⁶⁷ Evan A. Feigenbaum, "India's rise, America's interest," *Foreign Affairs* 89, no. 2 (2010): 76 – 91.

⁶⁸ Paliwal, Avinash. *My Enemys Enemy India in Afghanistan from the Soviet Invasion to the US Withdrawal*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017.

⁶⁹ MEA, *India-Afghanistan Relations, 2012*: <http://www.mea.gov.in/Portal/ForeignRelation/afghanistan-aug-2012.pdf>; and Gareth Price (2013) 2–10

⁷⁰ Embassy of India Kabul, Afghanistan. Accessed August 12, 2020. <https://eoi.gov.in/kabul/>.

to build railway track from Hajigak, a mineral rich area in Bamyān Province where India has secured the bed to exploit the minerals, through Zaranaj and onward to Chahbahar.⁷¹

India has not only had cooperative role but, it also has tried to boost economic relations with Afghanistan therefore the bilateral ties are growing stronger with passing day. Over the years, economic relation between India and Afghanistan is increasing significantly. Their economic cooperation is moving to upward trajectory. Several trade agreements and "Memorandum of understanding of cooperation" were signed. These agreements, helped expedite private business development in a variety of fields.⁷²

⁷¹ Haneur, L., & Chalk, P. (2012). India's and Pakistan's Strategies in Afghanistan: Implications for the United States and the region. Center for Asia Pacific Policy. Santa Monica: RAND Corporation.

⁷² Pant, India's Changing Afghanistan Policy, 7

CHAPTER THREE

Afghanistan in India-Pakistan's Zero-Sum Game

3.1 Introduction:

Afghanistan is witnessing war for more than 40 years including the military intervention first by Soviet Union in 1979 and then by US in 2001. Afghanistan has also experienced the rise and fall of at least three ideologies communism, radical Islam, and liberal democracy, within a short span of fifty years.⁷³ Given its unfortunate history, Afghanistan is understood more as a buffer zone where external powers play 'Great games' that was coined for the benefit of the British, but which stubbornly persists to date.⁷⁴

India and Pakistan have imbalanced relations since their inception in 1947, first due to the issue of Kashmir, then the nuclear deterrence and later Afghanistan was changed to another theatre of rivalry. Influencing Afghanistan has become another reason for the competition of the two enemies in South Asia specially after the disintegration of the Soviet Union in 1991.

In 2001, many of the Northern Alliance members were part of the government which provided a platform for India to resume its ties and reopen its Embassy and Consulates in Afghanistan. The tension between India and Pakistan in Kashmir led to the creation of another theatre of competition between the two states in Afghanistan. Pakistan's objectives have remained broadly stable since 1970 and aims to secure a balance of power that diminishes India's role while

⁷³ Paliwal, Avinash. *My Enemys Enemy India in Afghanistan from the Soviet Invasion to the US Withdrawal*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017.

⁷⁴ Paliwal, Avinash. *My Enemys Enemy India in Afghanistan from the Soviet Invasion to the US Withdrawal*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017.

advancing Pakistan's interests.⁷⁵ On the other hand, India has critical strategic interests in Afghanistan and captures the magnitude and multitude of changes in security policy and foreign of India over the years.⁷⁶ Thus the interests of India in Afghanistan includes economic, security, and strategic considerations.⁷⁷ The presence of Pakistan and its support for Islamic extremism are actually at odds with the interests of India.

Both Pakistan and India are engaged in Afghanistan in a zero-sum game, in a way that the benefit of one is considered the loss of the other. During 1990s opposite factions were supported by the two countries. Their support of different factions helped in lengthening of the conflict in Afghanistan. India largely backed the Kabul governments, while Pakistan stood with the Islamic militant to damage Indian presence. Since 9/11, the competition is becoming more visible in the India - Pakistan policies in Afghanistan. India is rising economically but making its neighbors anxious specially Pakistan. Both have crucial objectives for Afghanistan and hence take different activities. India and Pakistan are rival to use Afghan landscape as a duct to Central Asian states but differs in means. India has mostly preferred to stand with Kabul government to fortify it and to merge Afghanistan to the regional political and economic circle. On the other side, Pakistan continues assisting, the Haqqani group, Afghan Taliban, and even terrorists such as Lashkar-e-Taiba that is famous for operating in Kashmir against India and since 2004 has been increasingly active in order to undermine the position of India in Afghanistan.⁷⁸ Pakistan's Afghan policy is India-centric, which focuses mainly to India's presence in Afghanistan. "Afghanistan in many ways has replaced Kashmir as the main arena of the still- unresolved

⁷⁵ "The India-Pakistan Rivalry in Afghanistan." United States Institute of Peace. February 21, 2020. Accessed August 17, 2020. <https://www.usip.org/publications/2020/01/india-pakistan-rivalry-afghanistan>.

⁷⁶ Paliwal, Avinash. *My Enemy's Enemy: India in Afghanistan from the Soviet Invasion to the US Withdrawal*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017.

⁷⁷ Mitton, John. "The India-Pakistan Rivalry and Failure in Afghanistan." *International Journal: Canadian Journal of Global Policy Analysis* 69, no. 3 (2014): 353-76. doi:10.1177/0020702014540281.

⁷⁸ Fair, "Under the shrinking US security umbrella," 181

struggle between India and Pakistan".⁷⁹ Their hostility in Afghanistan has impacted Afghanistan directly and could be one of the main reasons of instability and insecurity in Afghan soil.

3.2 Pakistan's Quest in Afghanistan

Pakistan and Afghanistan share culture, religion and language, along with the long about 2600 km border but what they don't share are the friendly postures throughout history. One can say that Afghanistan is one of the top Pakistan's policy priorities and had significant influence in Afghanistan well before the 9/11 attack. Pakistan relation with Afghanistan has been strained and based on mutual mistrust and blame game specially after India came closer with Afghanistan.

Despite the controversial politics between Pakistan and Afghanistan; Pakistan plays significant role in Afghanistan at present time. Pakistan has its embassy in Kabul along with its four consulates located in different and most important provinces like Mazar Sharif, Kandahar, Jalalabad and Herat.

Pakistan's aims are multifaceted in Afghanistan, and its major goal is to advance its influence and decrease Indian influence.⁸⁰ It is very indispensable for Pakistan because it can benefit from access to the energy rich countries and will be a good market for Pakistani products which is possible through Afghanistan. However, Pakistan's aim is not as coherent as Indian. There have been many efforts to establish friendly relation with Afghanistan but were rejected by government officials due to mistrust and policies, which Pakistan was adopting towards Afghanistan.

⁷⁹ Rashid , A., & Rubin, B. R. (2008). From Great Game to Great Bargain: Ending chaos in Afghanistan and Paksitan. Foreign Affairs .

⁸⁰ "The India-Pakistan Rivalry in Afghanistan." United States Institute of Peace. February 21, 2020. Accessed August 17, 2020. <https://www.usip.org/publications/2020/01/india-pakistan-rivalry-afghanistan>.

Pakistan believe that India has been perceived as the cheering state to Pakistani separatist Baluch and Pashtuns inside Pakistan. It has been clear that Pakistan is not in favor of Indian influence in Afghanistan as it was seen during the Taliban era that the Indian embassy and consulates were completely closed. Pakistan pursued an ambitious policy with regard to Afghanistan. Pakistan needed Afghanistan not only to provide training ground to the Mujahidin but also to pursue its own strategic depth policy viz-a-viz India.⁸¹ Pakistan's demand is that there should not be any kind of Indian presence in Afghanistan⁸²; and to block the most mutually beneficial cooperation with India⁸³. This was not acceptable for Afghanistan to cut all her friendship and ties with India because Afghanistan is a sovereign state and has the right to have friendly relations with all other countries.

Pakistan's policy damaged its image among Afghan and Afghan leaders; that can be one of the major reasons which made Afghans more pro-Indian and anti-Pakistan. So, Pak-Afghan relations were affected negatively by the Pakistan's policy in the last 20 years more than the issue of Durand Line and Pashtunistan.

Moreover, Pakistan claims that it gives high priority to close friendly and cooperative relations with Afghanistan and desires to maintain a broad-based, mutually beneficial relationship. A stable, secure, peaceful and developed Afghanistan remains in its best interest.⁸⁴ Afghanistan's

⁸¹ Zalmay Khalizad, "Afghanistan the Next Phase," *Perceptions* (Ankara), Vol.5, No.4, December 2000- February 2001, 8.

⁸² Steve Coll, "War by other means: Is it possible to negotiate with the Taliban?" *The New Yorker*, 24 May 2010, 51.

⁸³ Tridivish Singh Maini and Manish Vaid, "Roadblocks remain to TAPI pipeline construction," *Oil and Gas Journal*, 3 April 2013, <http://www.ogj.com/articles/print/volume-111/issue-3/transportation/roadblocks-remain-to-tapi-pipeline.html> (accessed 22 July 2020).

⁸⁴ "Bilateral Relations." Pakistan Embassy Kabul. Accessed September 06, 2020. <http://www.pakembassykabul.org/en/bilateral-relations/>.

officials and people do not believe in the rhetorical opinion of Pakistan and this resulted in the negative sentiments among the people of the two countries.

3.3 Geopolitical Interests

Afghanistan and Pakistan despite of being neighbors have not enjoyed good relations. Pakistan's controversial history with Afghanistan is the reflection of an overriding fear of encirclement from two sides. After 1971 with the separation of Bangladesh from Pakistan, the intentions of Pakistan have been broadly focused on reserving a balance of power in Afghanistan that empower Islamabad to promote its interests while decreasing India's role.

Rahmatullah Nabil former Director of National Directorate of Security (NDS), founder of Presidential Protection Service (PPS) and founder of H4AH for Afghan heroes, was of the view that Pakistan want Afghanistan to be their backyard and do not have the rights of a sovereign and prospered country. Pakistan is considered as a country in neighboring Afghanistan, that never want a strong and stable government in Afghanistan.⁸⁵

The issue of the two enemy India and Pakistan over Kashmir jointly with the issue of Durand line has impacted the bilateral relations between mentioned countries. Indian interest is to be a rising regional and global power including building relations with Central Asian states and access to their valuable resources therefore, India sees its efforts hand in hand with the need to Afghanistan. New Delhi's ties with Kabul is considered as a big threat to territorial and ethnic integrity of Pakistan. Islamabad has blamed India for supporting the Baluch separatism movement and creation of Pashtunistan.

⁸⁵ Interview with Rahmatullah Nabil, Former Director of National Directorate of Security (NDS), Founder of Presidential Protection Service (PPS), Founder of H4AH help for Afghan heroes, 10/9/2020.

According to Dr. Karim Pakzad who is Associate Researcher at IRIS, specializing in Afghanistan, Iran and Iraq, Pakistan is always afraid that India will turn Afghanistan into a base against Pakistan. He added, especially since Pakistan and India's birth, India and Afghanistan have been almost allies. Even today, Pakistan occasionally accuses India of being behind the riots by the Pashtun independence movement. The Taliban's bloody crackdown on the India's embassy in Kabul and other Indian interests in recent years have been attributed by India to Pakistan's support for the Taliban.⁸⁶

Since 9/11 Pakistan is vying to regain the political clout it had during 1980s and 1990s. Despite many efforts to create a stable relation, the two countries failed to build good relations. This has affected the economy, security and trade of both sides. Pakistan has been often blamed for following an “ambiguous” and “duplicitous” policy⁸⁷ that is mostly against Indian influence in Afghanistan aimed to punish India over Kashmir and further preventing India to influence Afghanistan and Central Asian states.

In this regard Rahmatullah Nabil added that India is supporting strong central government in Afghanistan, while Pakistan is afraid of strong Afghanistan due to its disputed relation with India and Afghanistan. Pakistan is pushing for their strategic depth in destabilizing Afghanistan in order to have a puppet government in Afghanistan.⁸⁸ A peaceful Afghanistan has remained Pakistan's necessity as well as priority⁸⁹ but, without any kind of Indian influence or presence.

⁸⁶ Interview with Dr. Karim Pakzad, Associate Researcher at IRIS, specializing in Afghanistan, Iran and Iraq, 4/9/2020.

⁸⁷ "Afghan-Pakistan 'Frenemy': A Tangled Relationship." South Asia Journal. Accessed September 15, 2020. <http://southasiajournal.net/afghan-pakistan-frenemy-a-tangled-relationship/>.

⁸⁸ Interview with Rahmatullah Nabil, Former Director of National Directorate of Security (NDS), Founder of Presidential Protection Service (PPS), Founder of H4AH help for Afghan heroes, 10/9/2020.

⁸⁹ "Afghan-Pakistan 'Frenemy': A Tangled Relationship." South Asia Journal. Accessed September 15, 2020. <http://southasiajournal.net/afghan-pakistan-frenemy-a-tangled-relationship/>.

3.4 Geo-Economic Interest

Afghanistan is the bridge between Central Asia and South Asian that's very important to India and Pakistan. Historically the markets of Afghanistan and Pakistan have supported each other but, the political issues had tremendous effect on the economic relations of the two states. Pakistan has wide range of economic interest in Afghanistan. The government and business leaders of Pakistan are seeking to build good relations and sign bilateral trade agreements with Afghanistan.⁹⁰ Rahmatullah Nabil thinks that Pakistan as an immediate neighbor with existence of longest border and close cultural and economic relation the friendly and mutual relation between the two country is crucial.

Additionally, the economic goal of Pakistan in Afghanistan includes wider access to the states of Central Asia. This region includes five Republics: Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan. These Republics have rich natural resources such as minerals and oil. In this regard Rahmatullah Nabil's view is that Pakistan wants the monopoly of Afghanistan to be used as Pakistan's backyard and free access to opportunities in Afghanistan and central Asia.⁹¹

In the view of Karim Pakzad Pakistan needs the gas and electricity of Central Asian states. If there is a government that is pro-Pakistan like Taliban, then it will be easy for Pakistan to build its trade and economic relations with these states.⁹²

⁹⁰ "What Drives Pakistan's Interest in Afghanistan?" Association of the United States Army. June 15, 2016. Accessed September 14, 2020. <https://www.ausa.org/publications/what-drives-pakistan's-interest-afghanistan>.

⁹¹ Interview with Rahmatullah Nabil, Former Director of National Directorate of Security (NDS), Founder of Presidential Protection Service (PPS), Founder of H4AH help for Afghan heroes, 10/9/2020.

⁹² Interview with Dr. Karim Pakzad, Associate Researcher at IRIS, specializing in Afghanistan, Iran and Iraq, 4/9/2020.

Pakistan has suspicious eye on the aids provided for Afghanistan by India and India's economic and infrastructure development in Afghanistan is considered anti-Pakistan's interests because Afghanistan becomes less dependent on trade routes crossing Pakistan and the Pakistani products.

India is building a seaport in Chabahar, Iran that will end India and other nation's dependency on Karachi-Kandahar routes for imports and exports services of goods into Afghanistan. Eventually one of the significant points is that Pakistan also predicts how India's access to Afghan markets could damage Pakistani trade policies with Afghanistan⁹³. Therefore, Pakistan aim is not only to prevent any damage to its markets but, also increase its economic influence in Afghanistan; in order to do so, the most mutually profitable potential cooperation continues to be blocked by Pakistan for example the long-proposed Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan-India (TAPI) pipeline damages from warmish Pakistani support related to anti-Indian Concerns.⁹⁴

3.5 India's Quest in Afghanistan

India and Afghanistan own a good bilateral relation that is based on historical and cultural ties and the relationship is not just between the governments in New Delhi and Kabul but has its cornerstone in the historical contacts and exchanges between the people. India has tried to promote its influence in Afghanistan from the early days of its independence in 1947⁹⁵.

⁹³ "What Drives Pakistan's Interest in Afghanistan?" Association of the United States Army. June 15, 2016. Accessed September 14, 2020. <https://www.ousa.org/publications/what-drives-pakistan's-interest-afghanistan>.

⁹⁴ Tridivish Singh Maini and Manish Vaid, "Roadblocks remain to TAPI pipeline construction," Oil and Gas Journal, 3 April 2013, <http://www.ogj.com/articles/print/volume-111/issue-3/transportation/roadblocks-remain-to-tapi-pipeline.html> (accessed 22 August 2020)

⁹⁵ Says, Ramlal Sharma, Ramlal Sharma, ABHILASH AP Says, Abhilash Ap, Komal Says, Komal, Divyansh Says, Divyansh, Dr. Khalid Says, and Dr. Khalid. "India-Afghanistan Relations – Everything You Need to Know." ClearIAS. March 04, 2019. Accessed September 8, 2020. <https://www.clearias.com/india-afghanistan-relations/>.

These relations have further strengthened after the fall of Taliban regime, when Afghanistan signed Strategic Partnership Agreement with Indian in October 2011. Indian helped Afghanistan on different parts and has been the fifth largest donor to Afghanistan. There are also many interests that Indian have been perusing such as economic interest, security interest and strategic interests; the most prominent Indian interest in Afghanistan is to monitor the activities of Pakistan.

At the present time, India has its embassy in Kabul and four consulates in other provinces. Indian Consulate in Mazar-e-Sharif, Indian consulate in Herat, Indian Consulate in Jalalabad and Indian Consulate in Kandahar. The two of the India's consulate are in the provinces that have border with Pakistan.

The Indian activities in Afghanistan are multifaceted; India seeks to increase its influence and limits the presence of Pakistan in Afghanistan. India does not want that a regime emerges in Afghanistan which has hostile behavior towards India as happened during 1990s. Moreover, In the long-term India wants to develop diplomatic ties and economic arrangements with a peaceful, popular and pro-Indian government in Afghanistan⁹⁶ and has been successful to implement this during the previous years. A stable and pro-Indian Afghanistan would then enable India to stray Pakistan and establish wonderful strategic and economic ties with the states of Central Asia.⁹⁷

The goals of India reflect that it desires to control maritime ports' routes for the resources of Central Asia. For this purpose, India is denying the ability of both China and Pakistan to threaten Indian assets in the region. Both states seek a peaceful, secure, and non-Talibanized Afghanistan

⁹⁶ Ganguly, Sumit, and Nicholas Howenstein. "INDIA-PAKISTAN RIVALRY IN AFGHANISTAN." *Journal of International Affairs* 63, no. 1 (2009): 127-40. Accessed September 08, 2020. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24384176>.

⁹⁷ Ganguly, Sumit, and Nicholas Howenstein. "INDIA-PAKISTAN RIVALRY IN AFGHANISTAN." *Journal of International Affairs* 63, no. 1 (2009): 127-40. Accessed September 08, 2020. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24384176>.

in their own favor. The Soviet Union's disintegration had created five new resource-rich states in Central Asia: Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan. India was in a race to access these resources. New Delhi was viewing Afghanistan not just in a South Asian context, but also in Central Asian context.⁹⁸

Moreover, several analysts from a broader strategic perspective, see Indian influence in Afghanistan as a significant "test case" for Indian aspiration as a regional, and ultimately world power.⁹⁹ In recent past, the Strategic Partnership Agreement between India and Afghanistan has further strengthened. This strategic agreement was signed between the two countries in October 2011¹⁰⁰ while Afghanistan-Pakistan bilateral relations were becoming blurred during Ashraf Ghani's presidency since 2014.

3.6 Geo-Political Interests

During the end of 1990s India experienced bad relations with the government in Kabul, in spite of its continued support to Northern front, India's embassy and consulates were completely closed in Afghanistan. From 2001 onward one of the fundamental goals of India is to prevent restoration of a resurgent Taliban regime that is anti-India. In the view of Karim Pakzad, if Taliban is completely in power, the policies of India and Kabul will not have the same validity as before.

⁹⁸ Paliwal, Avinash. *My Enemy's Enemy: India in Afghanistan from the Soviet Invasion to the US Withdrawal*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017.

⁹⁹ Fair "The US-Pakistan relations after a decade of the war"

¹⁰⁰ Embassy /High Commission /Consulate General of India. Accessed September 05, 2020. <https://eoi.gov.in/kabul/?0354?000>.

India wants to maintain foothold mainly due to its security concerns, rather economic.¹⁰¹ Over the long term, India aims to decrease the influence of Pakistan over any emergent regime in Kabul. India is cleverly observing the rise of Islamist militancy on the border area of Durand Line because it correlates strongly with the rise of militant capabilities in Kashmir and across the line of control.¹⁰²

Imtiaz Gul added that India has been trying to stay there in Afghanistan and leverages its influence in Afghanistan against Pakistan. It has tried to act as a direct neighbor of Afghanistan whereas, it is not. There was also seen of an intensified sort of proxy war between the two countries in Afghanistan¹⁰³

Moreover, Michael thought was that as for India, the goal has always been to cultivate strong relations with Kabul—when a pro-India government has been in place—in order to push back against Pakistan’s efforts to build out a footprint. Hence Delhi’s support for the Northern Alliance during the Afghan civil war, and its pursuit of strong relations with anti-Taliban (and unfriendly-to-Pakistan) governments in Kabul in more recent years.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰¹ Pant, H. V. (2012). *India's Changing Afghanistan Policy: Regional and Global Implications*. Strategic Studies Institute . US Army War College Press.

¹⁰² Ganguly, Sumit, and Nicholas Howenstein. "INDIA-PAKISTAN RIVALRY IN AFGHANISTAN." *Journal of International Affairs* 63, no. 1 (2009): 127-40. Accessed September 01, 2020. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24384176>.

¹⁰³ Interview with Imtiaz Gul, Executive Director of CRSS, Chief Editor Matrix Media, Author of *The Most Dangerous Place*, 3/9/2020

¹⁰⁴ Interview with Michael Kugelman, Senior Associate for South Asia, Woodrow Wilson Center, 2/10/2020.

3.7 Geo-Strategic Interests

Afghanistan's location at the heart of Asia owns significant geographical importance. Despite India does not share border with Afghanistan since 1947 but, it has maintained its support to Afghanistan. Looking from a broader strategic side Indian presence in Afghanistan is a significant test case for Indians desired goals as regional and global power.

India has been provided a favorable environment in post 9/11 to instrument its security, strategic and economic policies in Afghanistan so that the role of Taliban and Pakistan could be undermined. Foremost, the Indian partnership with both US and Afghanistan gave the idea for India to use all tools to achieve its strategic interests vis-a-vis Pakistan; the increasing role of India in the security and stability of Afghanistan has never been in Pakistan's interest.¹⁰⁵

Michael thinks that the question of what India is up to in Afghanistan, outside of the economic/development aid it provides to Kabul and its training of Afghan security forces, is tough to answer. Islamabad insists that India is actively working with anti-Pakistan groups in Afghanistan (the BLA and TTP, especially) to destabilize Pakistan, while Kabul and New Delhi insist that India is doing no such things. The truth likely lies somewhere in the middle. There are indeed anti-Pakistan groups based in Afghanistan, and there is a very real possibility of links with Indian intelligence. For example, the little scholarship that has been done on this issue has found (according to Dr. Avinash Paliwal's book on Afghanistan-India relations) that the Pakistani Taliban, in the recent past, has sought financial assistance from Indian consulates in Afghanistan. How much aid, if any, India has given to the TTP is unclear.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁵ Akhtar, Nasreen. "India's Regional Strategic Outlook and Influence via Afghanistan." *UNISCI Journal*, vol. 17, no. 49, 2019, pp. 173–190., doi:10.31439/unisci-40.

¹⁰⁶ Interview with Michael Kugelman, Senior Associate for South Asia, Woodrow Wilson Center, 2/10/2020.

Nasreen Akhtar in her article has added that Post-Taliban Afghanistan provided a favorable environment to India to instrument its security and strategic policy in Afghanistan to undermine the role of Taliban and Pakistan which abbreviated the Indian security objectives in South Asian region.¹⁰⁷ Pakistan views Indian presence as a threat to its ethnic and territorial integrity and claims that India uses Afghan soil against Pakistan.

In the view of Rahmatullah Nabil, good strategic relation between India and Afghanistan always had positive and negative impact on the situation in Afghanistan and turn to become a push and pull factor. India invested around three billion USD in education, construction and institution building in Afghanistan, while Pakistan Army created very misperception about these friendly relation inside Pakistan in order to legitimize their interference in Afghanistan. He also says that “Not at all” India does not use Afghanistan against Pakistan and this is a perception which has been invested by Pakistan Army.¹⁰⁸

According to Imtiaz Gul there were different indications that India maybe using the Afghan soil against Pakistan. One indication is the ISIS which is used as a proxy group and it does not have any real logical explanation for operations in Afghanistan, the other indication was Kulbhushen Jadhav the Indian spy under jail right now. The way he was operating in Baluchistan and probably was using the Afghan Kandahar based groups and the cross-border attacks on Pakistani security check posts.¹⁰⁹

The Indian Afghan bilateral relations further boosted by the Strategic Partnership signed in 2011.

¹⁰⁷ Akhtar, Nasreen. “India’s Regional Strategic Outlook and Influence via Afghanistan.” UNISCI Journal, vol. 17, no. 49, 2019, pp. 173–190., doi:10.31439/unisci-40.

¹⁰⁸ Interview with Rahmatullah Nabil, Former Director of National Directorate of Security (NDS), Founder of Presidential Protection Service (PPS), Founder of H4AH help for Afghan heroes, 10/9/2020.

¹⁰⁹ Interview with Imtiaz Gul, Executive Director of CRSS, Chief Editor Matrix Media, Author of The Most Dangerous Place, 3/9/2020

Imtiaz Gul view is that Indian - Afghan strategic partnership primarily is focused in Pakistan to basically deny Pakistan; a foothold influence in Afghanistan through this direct cooperation between India and Afghanistan and they have successfully plays against Pakistan like the heart of Asia conference in Berlin where president Ghani openly pointed out finger to Pakistan's national security advisor Sartaj Aziz that "Mr. Aziz keep your 5000 millions for your own self and for deradicalizing Pakistan we don't need your money". He added that it was a very rude expression of disinterest and dislike for Pakistan.¹¹⁰

According to Michael Kugelman, the implications of strategic partnership are surely all positive for India and Afghanistan, because it gives influence and a deep footprint to an Indian state that lacks direct geographic access to Afghanistan (given that Pakistan does not extend transit trade rights to India). And for Afghanistan, it entails much-needed largesse and assistance from a key regional player in a volatile neighborhood.¹¹¹

3.8 Geo-Economic Interests

Afghanistan has bridged the South Asia that is energy needed region with the Central Asia that is energy rich region. Both Pakistan and India the energy needed states desire to access Central Asian states to exorcise their energy thirst.

Since 1997 India has economically grown that has ennobled its regional and global position. This dramatic growth has placed India as the second fastest growing energy market in the globe. India will need to export more than 80 percent of its energy from the energy rich states, by 2030.¹¹²

¹¹⁰ Interview with Imtiaz Gul, Executive Director of CRSS, Chief Editor Matrix Media, Author of *The Most Dangerous Place*, 3/9/2020

¹¹¹ Interview with Michael Kugelman, Senior Associate for South Asia, Woodrow Wilson Center, 2/10/2020.

¹¹² Haneur, L., & Chalk, P. (2012). *India's and Pakistan's Strategies in Afghanistan: Implications for the United States and the region*. Center for Asia Pacific Policy.

Pakistan lies in between India and Afghanistan that has blocked Indian direct access to Afghanistan and Central Asian republics. Therefore, Indians are investing in the Chabahar port of Iran that will connect India to Iran, Afghanistan and Central Asian states bypassing Pakistan.

Karim Pakzad thinks that India in order to end Afghanistan's dependency on Pakistan that was connecting Afghanistan to the port of Karachi. It has even expanded Iran's Chabahar port to connect Afghanistan to the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf to divert Afghanistan from Pakistan.¹¹³

Additionally, Indian goods have gainful market in Afghanistan and Central Asia. For Afghanistan the Chabahar port is also lucrative, that will enable Afghanistan to have access to Indian Ocean and it will significantly decrease Afghanistan's dependence on Pakistan, which is considered an achievement of success for both Afghanistan and India.

In Michael's view the implications of partnership are surely all positive for India and Afghanistan, because it gives influence and a deep footprint to Indian state that lacks direct geographic access to Afghanistan (given that Pakistan does not extend transit trade rights to India). And for Afghanistan, it entails much-needed largesse and assistance from a key regional player in a volatile neighborhood.¹¹⁴

Land route is constructed by India to connect Chabahar with the Ring road in Afghanistan through 220km Zaranj – Dilaram road and designing to construct railway track from Chabahar to the Hajigak mine ores for exporting it back to India. India has enormous economic interests in Afghanistan which has annoyed Pakistan. This zero – sum antipathy has greatly impacted the stability of Afghanistan.

¹¹³ Interview with Dr.Karim Pakzad, Associate Researcher at IRIS, specializing in Afghanistan, Iran and Iraq, 4/9/2020.

¹¹⁴ Interview with Michael Kugelman, Senior Associate for South Asia, Woodrow Wilson Center, 2/10/2020.

3.9 India – Pakistan Rivalry and its Effect on Afghan National Security

India – Pakistan conflict over the issue of Jammu and Kashmir started from 1947 is a famous topic in the world. Their rivalry soon was directed towards Afghanistan soil and Afghanistan has been changed to a new theatre for India – Pakistan zero-sum competition. India sided with Northern front and Pakistan with Taliban.

Islamabad has pursued a dual-track strategy, seeking ties with Kabul which has been unsuccessful to do so and shielding the Afghan Taliban's leadership and given them safe heaven inside Pakistan.¹¹⁵ This had immense negative impact on the destabilizing the security of Afghanistan.

In the view of Michael, the India-Pakistan rivalry has impacted Afghanistan by transforming that country into a battleground for influence between the two rival states. During the Afghan civil war in the 1990s, the Pakistanis (the Taliban) and Indians (the Northern Alliance) sided with competing belligerent groups. In the post-Taliban era, India has enjoyed close relationships with all Afghan governments—and the broader Afghan strategic elite—while Pakistan has continued to nurture ties with the Taliban as a hedging strategy for the future, in case the Taliban is to one day take power again (which is certainly a strong possibility).¹¹⁶

¹¹⁵ "The India-Pakistan Rivalry in Afghanistan." United States Institute of Peace. February 21, 2020. Accessed September 17, 2020. <https://www.usip.org/publications/2020/01/india-pakistan-rivalry-afghanistan>.

¹¹⁶ Interview with Michael Kugelman, Senior Associate for South Asia, Woodrow Wilson Center, 2/10/2020.

Both states have their own strategic, economic and political interests in Afghanistan, they consider each other's activity and influence in Afghanistan as a threat to stability and security of their own from the very beginning.

Rahmatullah Nabil added that Pakistan demand is that Afghanistan should be their backyard and does not have the rights of a sovereign and prospered country. Pakistan is a country in neighboring Afghanistan, that never wants a strong and stable government in Afghanistan.¹¹⁷

According to Karim Pakzad Afghan politicians who have negotiated with Pakistan in recent years believe that Pakistan wants to control Kabul's foreign policy. Pakistan is so afraid that it has no trust in the current government and did not trust all previous governments too. Pakistan's support for the Taliban in fact is their desire to control Afghanistan's foreign policy. In addition, if the Taliban gain power, it will relieve Pakistan of India's influence in Afghanistan, and it can have access to Central Asia.

After 2001 with the US intervention (operations enduring freedom) the friendly Taliban regime was overthrown and the war on terror started against Al-Qaida and Taliban. Pakistan appeared as an important ally of US in this war and had to cut its ties with Taliban under pressures from US (with us or with them). This was the time when India got the opportunity to lobby in the Bonn conference in favor of the pro-Indian members; Taliban were not asked to attend this conference. The absence of Taliban and the enemy of Pakistan, India's role increased that caused Pakistan re-establishes its ties with the Taliban.

¹¹⁷ Interview with Rahmatullah Nabil, Former Director of National Directorate of Security (NDS), Founder of Presidential Protection Service (PPS), Founder of H4AH help for Afghan heroes, 10/9/2020.

In this regard Karim Pakzad said that after 9/11, Pakistan came under pressure from the United States and Western countries. Al-Qaeda and the Taliban all see it as a product of Pakistani politics. Pakistan came under intense pressure.¹¹⁸

Afghanistan continued enjoying good relations with India while it did not recognize Pakistan at UN due to the issue of Durand line. Afghanistan presents an attractive hub for Pakistan's confrontation with India. The activities of Pakistan in Afghanistan act as means through which Pakistan is able to challenge India, circumventing its inability to do so conventionally.¹¹⁹

According to Imtiaz Gul, of course India and Pakistan have been trying to use their influence in Afghanistan against each other. Pakistan also have been wanting due to 2600km border to have neutral and friendly government in Afghanistan from the very beginning their relation have not been very good during the time of Daoud in 1976 things good improved but the sour revolution caused that the relation again down hell where India has been trying to stay there and leverage its influence in Afghanistan against Pakistan. It has tried to act as a direct neighbor of Afghanistan whereas it is not. There was also seen of an intensified sort of proxy war between the two countries in Afghanistan. He added that British historian William Dalrymple has also written about this proxy war several few years he wrote a book and articles about how Afghanistan has become the battle ground for Pak - India proxy war. He said that he thinks India now has been wanting to extract or take revenge from Pakistan for Pakistan's support of Kashmiri militant groups.¹²⁰

¹¹⁸ Interview with Dr. Karim Pakzad, Associate Researcher at IRIS, specializing in Afghanistan, Iran and Iraq, 4/9/2020.

¹¹⁹ Mitton, John. "The India-Pakistan Rivalry and Failure in Afghanistan." *International Journal: Canadas Journal of Global Policy Analysis* 69, no. 3 (2014): 353-76. doi:10.1177/0020702014540281.

¹²⁰ Interview with Imtiaz Gul, Executive Director of CRSS, Chief Editor Matrix Media, Author of *The Most Dangerous Place*, 3/9/2020

The continues fear of Pakistan is that Kabul in conspire with India will be dangerous for Pakistan. It believes that India is using Afghanistan as a springboard to damage Pakistan's territorial integrity, particularly by adding fuel to spark unrest among its ethnic Baloch and Pashtun populations.¹²¹

Imtiaz Gul added that Pakistan wants Afghanistan not to permit its soil to be used against Pakistan by any third party (India). Pakistan obviously does not want any infiltration from the border the way it has been happening. There have been several hundred attack on Pakistani security forces.¹²²

This competition at the expense of the two belligerent powers in Afghanistan complicated the war on terror and over all challenged the security and interests of all fronts (India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, US). Except India and Pakistan there were many other states which were supporting the Taliban terrorist group such as Iran and it is expected that even China wanted to improve its ties with this terrorist group.

Rahmatullah Nabil said that "I think both followed the wrong policies towards Afghanistan. According to several surveys India's popularity as good friend of Afghanistan is on the top due to helping Afghanistan in different field particularly in last 20 years. While Pakistan is the most hated country due to its support of terrorism and extremism in Afghanistan to destabilize Afghanistan for their own interests in the region."¹²³

¹²¹ "The India-Pakistan Rivalry in Afghanistan." United States Institute of Peace. February 21, 2020. Accessed September 17, 2020. <https://www.usip.org/publications/2020/01/india-pakistan-rivalry-afghanistan>.

¹²² Interview with Imtiaz Gul, Executive Director of CRSS, Chief Editor Matrix Media, Author of The Most Dangerous Place, 3/9/2020

¹²³ Interview with Rahmatullah Nabil, Former Director of National Directorate of Security (NDS), Founder of Presidential Protection Service (PPS), Founder of H4AH help for Afghan heroes, 10/9/2020.

3.10 Peace Negotiations

The US – Pakistan relations depend upon the convergence of interests. Many times their interests had assembled, but their strategies and politics had not resultingly always harmed the two sides .¹²⁴ US attention was directed into Iraq after the declaration of war on terror and US lost its interests in Afghanistan. Pakistan rejoin the Taliban, who were ‘saved for the rainy day’ who with each passing day gained impetus. US have continuously expressed concerns about Taliban’s haven in Pakistan and has dispraised Pakistan’s relationships with Taliban followed by periodic threats of cutting aid. Islamabad has not accepted to update its Afghan policy and tier it with America’s and is not easily going to alter if its demands are not met. In a conversation with the head of Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI), Lt. Gen. Mahmud Ahmed, he has said “The Taliban is the future of Afghanistan.”¹²⁵ This is exactly what happened today, the Pakistan and US interests to end the war and bring Taliban to take part in government; definitely they will end violence and attacking civilians. The Afghan Peace talks with Taliban started in Doha after 19 years war from 9/11 and is expected to bring peace. According to the former chief of ISI Ahmad “true victory in Afghanistan would come only by negotiating”, “If the Taliban are eliminated” he said, “Afghanistan will revert to war eras”.¹²⁶

Imtiaz Gul said that Pakistan desire to have a stable and peaceful Afghanistan that stamps from the very fact that if you have a troubled neighborhood then you can’t prosper and develop. He added that, this is what Pakistan has realized and has been pursuing for the past five six years

¹²⁴ Hussain, T. (2018, March 22). What Pakistan needs from America's Afghan effort? Middle East.

¹²⁵ Sandy Gall, War Against the Taliban: Why it all Went Wrong in Afghanistan, Bloomsbury Publishing (2012) pp. 347-348 <https://www.amazon.ca/War-Against-Taliban-Wrong-Afghanistan/dp/1408822342>

¹²⁶ Sandy Gall, War Against the Taliban: Why it all Went Wrong in Afghanistan, Bloomsbury Publishing (2012) pp. 347-348 <https://www.amazon.ca/War-Against-Taliban-Wrong-Afghanistan/dp/1408822342>

but, the Indian influence on the people like Amrullah Saleh and Rahmatullah Nabil and many people in the Northern Afghanistan this reflects that India refuses to accept a big reality that Pakistan is a direct neighbor and it needs to protect its interests and it needs to secure peace and development and security in Afghanistan to stay peaceful inside and it is the core interest.¹²⁷

It has been said that Pakistan began seeking an inclusive and stable political distribution in Kabul since 2012,¹²⁸ instead of seeking a “friendly government” in Kabul.¹²⁹ It has been changing its Pashtun-centric outlook¹³⁰ Most visibly we can see that Pakistan is getting closer with the former Prime minister and current Chairman of the High Council of National Reconciliation.

Pakistan is seeking a peaceful Afghanistan that is not damaging its interests and should not be a threat to its ethnic and territorial integrity. In this case Pakistan will enjoy in a stable and progressed Afghanistan that would be considered a proximate and profitable market for the products of Pakistan and Pakistan will gain access to Central Asian states.

If the oppositions accept each other and there be a compromise between Taliban and other ethnicities (Tajiks and Uzbeks of the Northern Alliance) then Indian interests would be safe and most probably, there will be no room for rivalry, violence, and conflicts in Afghanistan. In this regard Rahmatullah Nabil said that India and Pakistan cooperation in Afghanistan will lead the

¹²⁷ Interview with Imtiaz Gul, Executive Director of CRSS, Chief Editor Matrix Media, Author of *The Most Dangerous Place*, 3/9/2020

¹²⁸ Jinnah Institute's Report, Sherry launches endgame report on Afghanistan, *The News*, 27 Aug 2011 <https://www.thenews.com.pk/archive/print/318850-sherry-launches-endgame-report-on-afghanistan>

¹²⁹ Anita Joshua, No favourites for post-2014 Kabul: Khar, *The Hindu*, 30 Nov 2012

<https://www.thehindu.com/news/international/no-favourites-for-post2014-kabul-khar/article4151029.ece>

¹³⁰ Pakistan's new engagement in efforts to find a peaceful end to the conflict in Afghanistan has been received with optimism in the West. Daud Khattak, For Pakistan, a change of heart in Afghanistan?, *Foreign Policy*, 17 Dec 2012 <https://foreignpolicy.com/2012/12/17/for-pakistan-a-change-of-heart-in-afghanistan/>

region to stability and Pakistan as an immediate neighbor of Afghanistan will be the main beneficiary of this stability.¹³¹

United States has been the supporter of the Peace negotiation agreement specially the US president Trump is seeking to include this agreement before the US election.

If a broad-based peace agreement is secured by United States in Afghanistan, there are possibilities that for Pakistan pleasing pathways to execute proxy violence are likely to persist against India.¹³² There are Afghan leaders who refused to participate in the Peace Negotiations such as ex-president of Afghanistan Hamid Karzia, Hekmatyar the leader of Hezb I Islami and Salahuddin Rabbani the leader of Jamiat-e-Islami.

In the view of Rahmatullah Nabil, if the Peace Process would be considered as monopoly of Pakistan or if it turns to become a proxy peace, it will add to the complicity of the region and we will inter to another proxy war, which will affect the region including Pakistan very badly.¹³³

Imtiaz Gul added that Pakistan does not represent a challenge to stronger Hindu - Afghan relationship, Afghanistan is an independent sovereign country, it has the right to maintain relations of whatever nature with any other country. He added that obviously if both Afghanistan and Pakistan can cooperate with each other in Afghanistan that can help in recovery, rehabilitation and establishment of peace in Afghanistan so the more people join hands the better

¹³¹ Interview with Rahmatullah Nabil, Former Director of National Directorate of Security (NDS), Founder of Presidential Protection Service (PPS), Founder of H4AH help for Afghan heroes, 10/9/2020.

¹³² "The India-Pakistan Rivalry in Afghanistan." United States Institute of Peace. February 21, 2020. Accessed September 17, 2020. <https://www.usip.org/publications/2020/01/india-pakistan-rivalry-afghanistan>.

¹³³ Interview with Rahmatullah Nabil, Former Director of National Directorate of Security (NDS), Founder of Presidential Protection Service (PPS), Founder of H4AH help for Afghan heroes, 10/9/2020.

it is always so I guess if both can somehow sort out the differences that will be very helpful for Afghanistan.¹³⁴

According to Michael, it is hard, under current circumstances, to imagine any way for the two to cooperate in Afghanistan. The India-Pakistan relationship is worse than it's been in years, and the two rivals see each other as competitors at best and enemies at worst in Afghanistan. There are some potential pathways for cooperation. Infrastructure is certainly one of them, and continued pursuit of, and eventual completion of, TAPI would be one possibility. But these potential—and long-shot—collaborations would only be in the realm of possibility if there were to be a future peace agreement. He said that he can't imagine India and Pakistan cooperating in Afghanistan until they resolve their broader issues and come to a broader understanding over Kashmir and other deep-seated tension points. And this won't be happening anytime soon.

He added that Pakistan certainly poses a challenge to a stronger India-Afghanistan partnership. A deeper security relationship between New Delhi and Kabul (beyond small arms support, occasional large weapons transfers, and the training of Afghan security forces) is out of the question. India fears that this would provoke Pakistan in ways that could imperil Indian interests—and lives—in Afghanistan, and in India. Even the current Indian government, which is a right-wing, nationalist administration and has been willing to make bold moves (like the revocation of Article 370), is not willing to take this step. So, in effect, Pakistan won't have a major impact on the India-Afghanistan relationship as it exists today—one driven largely by diplomatic and economic cooperation. But the notion of the relationship expanding into a security partnership is out of the question. And it becomes even less likely when we contemplate

¹³⁴ Interview with Imtiaz Gul, Executive Director of CRSS, Chief Editor Matrix Media, Author of *The Most Dangerous Place*, 3/9/2020

the possibility of a peace process that leads to a post-war Afghan government where the Taliban—which is no friend of India’s—exerts a significant degree of power.¹³⁵

Conclusion

Decades long Pak- India animosity has threatened the phenomenon of regional peace and stability. Afghanistan is the most effected country where both historical rivals exercised their anti - state activities against each other. The soil of Afghanistan became a battlefield for the world and particularly for the regional foes, Pakistan - and India .

Pakistan and India allegedly used Afghanistan as launching pad to harm each other interest in a larger context. Both countries covertly supported some non- states actors against each other as proxies. India’s support to the Northern alliance Ahmed shah Massoud and Pakistan’s incessant support to the Taliban government backed by US, Saudi Arabia and Pakistan. This kind of diversion role shattered the very fabrics of Afghanistan national cause.

Afghanistan is a land locked country, it has no direct access to the international water bodies, Pakistan has been the providing the shortest land route to the Afghanistan trade via Karachi port. Pakistan shares hundreds of kilometers long border with Afghanistan. Pakistan strategic depth policy regarding Afghanistan and possible threat from the Indian side has widened the trust deficit between two neighboring Muslim countries. There are some keen similarities in Pakistan and Afghanistan cultures, large number of Pashtun population on the border of both sides, they have some common religious and tribal characteristics.

¹³⁵ Interview with Michael Kugelman, Senior Associate for South Asia, Woodrow Wilson Center, 2/10/2020.

An enemy of my enemy is my friend old Indian policy strategy also created gigantic political and strategic problems for Afghanistan, Indian negative role against Pakistan, numbers of their consulates along Pak-Afghan borders and alleged support to the anti- Pakistan militants caused serious security competition on the soil of Afghanistan. Indian covert support to the Baloch separatist and TTP leaderships also ignited the ongoing proxy' wars competition.

The land of Afghanistan belongs to its own native people, they have right to choose, to vote, to act as independent country in the comity of nations, first they have to shun all of their mutual discordance and animosity and then to stop external forces meddling in Afghanistan internal state affairs. Pakistan & India should stop their negative role in Afghanistan which is not in favor of any, a stable Afghanistan can bring both rival countries on the table talk, both countries highly dependent on oil imports, Afghanistan providing a safe and shortest route to both countries energy requirements.

Both countries have nuclear weapons, some unending territorial disputes, using Afghanistan soil against each other is not a good strategic option, only a stable, peaceful and politically mature Afghanistan can mitigate both countries geo strategic queries in economic and political fields. Police changes in the country behavior is the need of hours, they must realize this fact that unstable Afghanistan is the only reason of contention between two countries Pakistan and Afghanistan. Let's peace prevail in the region.